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Japan and the Birth of Takao’s Fisheries in Nanyo 1895-1945
1895年から1945年にかけての日本と高雄の南洋漁業の誕生

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

The purpose of this article is to describe and analyse Japan’s influence on the rise of Takao's fisheries, at three different levels. Firstly, from a macro perspective, I will analyse the impact of Japan's Marching Southwards Policy (including international reactions) on Takao's fishing industries. Secondly, I will focus on the operational level of the industry, and describe how fishing methods diffused from Japan to Takao. Thirdly, from a micro perspective, I will describe the construction of Takao Fishing Port and demonstrate how its marketing channels were established. Due to the lack of relevant publications in English in this study, I have heavily relied on literature published in pre-war Japan.

Map 1: Geographic location of Takao

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THE MARCHING SOUTHWARDS POLICY AND NANYO FISHERIES

‘The Idea of Southward Development [南進論]’ was first proposed by Japanese intellectuals during the Meiji Restoration [明治維新]. They asserted that the economy of Southeast Asia was still underdeveloped and that the societies and cultures in the southern ocean were not well established. Hence, it was Japan’s duty to exercise control and civilise Southeast Asia (Yano 1997: 53-55).\(^1\) However, before they embarked on this civilising mission, an outpost would have to be established nearby, and Taiwan, unquestionably, was viewed as the ideal choice. Prior to the formal annexation of Taiwan in 1895, some Japanese scholars had already foreseen the significance of Taiwan’s geographical location and condition in aiding Japan’s southward development. Tokutomi Soho [德富蘇峰], referred to as the ‘Guide of the Japanese Empire [帝國日本の嚮導者]’ stated in his article ‘Suggestions regarding the occupation of Taiwan [臺灣占領意見書]’:

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 (Gotô 2001: 79-80).

He also declared that Japan would have to defend herself on the northern frontier, and then concentrate upon initiating the southward expansion. With Taiwan as a southern outpost, Japanese influence would certainly be able to penetrate into Southeast Asia (Yano 1997: 148).

This expansionist point of view was regarded as the template for the ‘Theory respecting Taiwan as a Southward Fortress [臺灣南進據點論]’, and it soon was adopted by colonial officials in Taiwan. They, too, expected Taiwan to play an active role in Japan’s southward expansion. Katsura Taro [桂太郎], Taiwan’s second Governor-general [臺灣總督], deemed that the geographical position of Taiwan not only enabled Japan to hinder China’s development, but it also provided Japan with an excellent outpost of empire, if Japan wanted to extend her political and commercial influence into Southeast Asia. The ideas and plans mentioned above were implemented gradually, following the ascendancy of the Japanese economy in the course of World War One (Gotô 2001: 81-82).
The outbreak of World War One in 1914 prevented the European nations from selling industrial products to their overseas colonies. Therefore, the colonial markets that the Europeans left in Southeast Asia were quickly glutted with Japanese products. The Japanese colonial bureaucrats expected Taiwan, a southern doorway of the Japanese Empire, to play an active role in this southward economic expansion. At that time, censuses of the population and land ownerships in Taiwan were completed, and significant advances had been made in the production of rice and sugar, which effectively increased the government’s revenues. Moreover, the Taiwanese military resistance had been suppressed. These conditions enabled the colonial government to implement its southward development plans. This period, in the context of Taiwan history, was called the Southward Development of the Taisho Period \([\text{大正南進期}]\) (Nakamura 1988: 14-15).

Three more shipping lines were established from Taiwan to Southeast Asia by the Colonial Government, and three branches of the Bank of Taiwan \([\text{臺灣銀行}]\) were set up in Java, the Netherlands Indies, as key financial outlets. In addition, a financial act, the ‘Special Expenditures for Establishing Facilities in South China and the Nanyo’ \([\text{南支南洋施設費}]\), was officially promulgated by the Colonial Government. Shimomura Horoshi \([\text{下村宏}]\), the Chief Secretary of Civil Affairs \([\text{民政長官}]\), expressed an opinion similar to that of Tokutomi in 1915. He also described Taiwan as ‘a gateway of Japan’, and believed that Taiwan should become one of the Japanese Empire’s principal outposts, because it also faced China and Middle Asia, as well as Southeast Asia (Gotō 2001: 81-82). It is clear that the essence of the southward development policy was passed on from its founders to its successors without any significant change.

In 1919, a system of civil governorship \([\text{文官總督}]\) was adopted, and the tradition of appointing governor-generals in Taiwan was abolished. Nevertheless, such an important change in the bureaucratic apparatus did not alter the Colonial Government’s 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 (Gotō 2001: 82).

Given this concise overview of the role of Taiwan in the southward development...
development of the Japanese Empire, I will now discuss the following questions: Did the colonial fishing industry develop along with the booming southward economic expansion, whilst the Japanese Government extended its influence into Southeast Asia? If so, did the Colonial Government also expect Taiwan to participate in the southward development of the fishing industry?

The fishing industry was certainly considered an important part of the Japanese economic sector, when the Colonial Government was carrying out its southward economic expansion. As early as the outbreak of World War One the Japanese Government had realised the economic and ecological significance of the southward development of Japan’s fishing industry. A Japanese fisheries official, Takayama Itaro [高山伊太郎], had clearly pointed out that migration of fishers (to Southeast Asia) could solve the problem of overpopulation in Japan’s fishing villages; also, the expansion of fishing grounds could boost Japanese national prestige in Southeast Asia, and unlock the market for marine products in colonial metropolises like Singapore (Gotō 2001: 48). In 1917, the slogan ‘March Southward! Japanese Fishing Industry!’ [水産南進] was created in Japan.³

In 1934, an aggressive proposal on Japan's fisheries development was put forward by Kunishi Kōsuke [國司浩助], an extremely patriotic fisheries expert. He said that size of Japan's naval fleet had been strictly limited after the International Conference on Naval Limitation (Washington Naval Conference) in 1922. The construction of modern distant water fishing fleets, however, could effectively make up this deficiency. He said the distant water fishing fleets were equipped with modern telecommunication devices and were suitable for long-distance navigation. Therefore, distant water fishing fleets should be organised for military purposes. Also, fishers should work as naval reserve force (Takaoka 1991: 259-260). This suggestion was actually put into practice by the Japanese navy as the international situation in the Southeast Asia became increasingly tense.

In 1936, Kobayashi Seizo [小林躋造], a Japanese Naval Reserve Admiral [預備役海軍大將], was appointed Taiwan’s Governor-general. ‘The Marching Southwards Policy’ [南進政策] was one of his most important policy initiatives (Gotō 2001: 94). The southward presence and regional movement of the Japanese navy directly encouraged the southward development of the Japanese fishing industry. The military expected
fishing vessels to collect intelligence information of all sorts for the navy, and the Japanese fishing vessels also liked to offer their strategic services (Gotô 2001: 58).

**Map 2**: Japanese geographical view of Asia: Taiwan is the centre of the East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere [大東亞共榮圈]. Takao was a major supply base for the developing fishing industry in Southeast Asia.

![Map of East Asia showing the East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere](image)


To meet Japan's wartime food demand was also a very important reason why the Japanese wanted to exploit the fishing grounds in Southeast Asia. By the early 1930s, the northern fishing grounds, particularly the East China Sea, had been gradually thinning out (Taiwan Suisankai 1935: 16). It was believed that the potential catch of Japan's north-sea fisheries [北洋漁業] had reached its peak. However, the food demand in Japan rose as the war situation in China became steadily worse. In the late 1930s, Japan had started to suffer from problems caused by rice shortage (Suisan Keizai Kenkyushyo 1941: 91-93). In order to solve the food problem, numerous fishing vessels were encouraged by the Japanese government to operate in the
southern and comparatively newer fishing grounds like the Taiwan Strait and the South China Sea (Koshiyoshi 1938: 129, 133-134). The advantages of this fisheries policies are dual: militarily, to control the fishing grounds in the Southeast Asia was one of the preparatory works of the construction of the East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere [大東亞共榮圈]. Economically, the exploitation of the marine resources would make a major contribution towards the wartime food supplies (Suisan Keizai Kenkyushyo 1941: 93).

Taiwan, especially Takao, a port city on the margin of Southeast Asia, was expected to play a substantial role in the southward development of the fishing industry. Its position had become more and more important while the Japanese fishers and fishing enterprises were badly boycotted at overseas supply bases in Southeast Asia because of the rise of the anti-Japanese sentiment in the 1930s.

Japan's economic expansion in Southeast Asia caused concern among the colonial powers in the region. The government of the Netherlands East Indies [蘭印] started to take precautions against Japan after the Holland-Japan Talks [日蘭會商] in 1930s. Several strict fisheries-related regulations were issued by the Dutch authorities to manage and control Japanese migrants who were engaged in fisheries in the Netherlands East Indies. In 1937, the government of the Netherlands East Indies formally prohibited foreign fishing vessels from fishing in its territorial waters, a decision which impacted heavily on Japanese distant water fisheries (Suisan Keizai Kenkyushyo 1941: 40-41).

The offshore fishing industries of the British Malaya [英領馬來] was dominated by the Japanese migrants. In the 1930s, numerous Japanese fishing boats were using the ports of Malaya, which raised the British's concerns over the national security because British Malaya was also one of the most important bases of the British Navy in the Far East. In order to discourage the Japanese from investing in Malaya's fishing industries, after February 1937, the colonial government in British Malaya began to issue some harsh fisheries-related regulations aimed at creating an unfriendly environment for the Japanese fishing enterprises. The policy became tougher after the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War (Suisan Keizai Kenkyushyo 1941: 45-46).

The Commonwealth of the Philippines had stopped issuing new fishing licences to foreign fishers and fishing enterprises since 1933. The war situation in the
late 1930s also had a significant negative impact on the Japanese fisheries in the Philippines. Firstly, the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937 and Japan's Marching Southwards Policy deeply alarmed the Filipinos. For national security reasons, the Commonwealth of the Philippines had postponed the progress of the national independence. Also, on regional issues, it chose to cooperate closely with the United States, a military power which made Japan feel deeply threatened.

In 1938, the Filipinos amended their fisheries related regulation [漁業法改正], and imposed more restrictions on foreign fishing enterprises. This amendment was considered an unfriendly move by the Japanese. They believed that the Filipinos would adopt a further measure to drive off the Japanese fishing fleets and enterprises from the Philippines for American military needs (Suisan Keizai Kenkyushyo 1941: 49-52).

The business environment in Nanyo (Southeast Asia) turned difficult in the 1930s, and deteriorated further after 1937, a situation which the Japanese believed resulted from the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War [支那事変]. In order to avoid political harassment, many Japanese distant water fishing vessels shifted their supply bases from Southeast Asia to Takao.

**JAPAN'S FISHERIES POLICY GOALS AND CIVIL BUSINESS INTERESTS**

The marine environments surrounding Taiwan are exceptionally well-suited to the propagation of marine life and the development and operation of various kinds of fishing industries (Provincial Government of Taiwan, 1971: 2). Two ocean currents flow by the coastline of Taiwan, and their interactions bring abundant marine resources to the island. The Japan Current [黒潮] brings warm seawater with a high saline content from the Equator. The main stream of this warm water flows along the eastern coast of Taiwan, and a branch flows through the Taiwan Strait. The two currents meet in the East China Sea, and then advance towards Japan. This important current brings a stock of migratory fish including mackerel, bonito, and tuna. The Littoral Current flows by the coast of China [中國沿岸流] and moves southward along the China coast. It endows Taiwan with rich marine resources, such as pomfret, eel,
porgy, yellow croaker, and cutlass fish (Bank of Taiwan 1974: 66-67).

North of the Taiwan Strait lies the East China Sea which covers an area of about 950,000 square kilometres and south of the Taiwan Strait is the South China Sea which is approximately 206,000 square kilometres. Both are large bodies of water adjacent to Taiwan. Furthermore, the main rivers in China, such as the Yangtze and Pearl Rivers convey a prodigious quantity of marine life to the South and East China Seas (Department of Information, 1953: 1), and form an ideal breeding ground for marine species. These two seas, combined with the Taiwan Strait, span an area stretching from northern China to the southern end of Vietnam, which, at the start of the twentieth century, was considered one of the biggest demersal fishing grounds in the world.

The marine resources in the waters off Taiwan would enable the onshore communities to undertake a variety of fishing activities all year round, which proved extremely advantageous in the initial stage of the development of Taiwan’s fishing industry.

Map 3: Ocean currents around Taiwan

Produced by Chen, Ta-Yuan
Compared with fishing ports in Japan, those in Taiwan, especially Takao, were much closer to the major fisheries. Thus, the vessels sailing from Takao Port could save much time and money in terms of running costs, compared with those voyaging from Japan (Department of Agriculture and Forestry 1962: 5 & Jhang 1952: 20). More importantly, to use Takao as supply base could avoid boycotts from the colonial authorities and overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia.

The Colonial Government and Taiwan’s fishing industry not only took full advantage of Taiwan’s geographic conditions, they also expected that Taiwan, especially her southern port city, Takao, would play a significant role in the southward expansion of the fishing grounds. These expectations were frequently expressed and reiterated in official publications, as well as fisheries magazines throughout the colonial period. ‘Industries in Taiwan and their Leading People’ [臺灣事業界と中心人物], published in 1919, pointed out:

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 (Kamimura 1919: 17).

This early quotation shows that the commercial advantages of Taiwan’s geographical circumstances had been well understood, and the Japanese had foreseen that the offshore regional fisheries could be highly developed by Taiwan.

Takao, as the biggest port in southern Taiwan, became very important. It was expected to contribute to sea transportation and the southward development of the fishing industry.4 ‘A Brief History of Takao City, 10-year Anniversary’ [高雄市制十週年略誌] indicated this trend and colonial expectation:

Regarding marine or land transportation, without a doubt, Takao is an unmatched port in southern Taiwan. The supply for the fishing industry in Takao is absolutely convenient; moreover, it is situated in the best location for the southward exploitation of fishing grounds (Takao City Government 1934: 88).

The increased prominence of Takao to the southward development of the Japanese fishing industry has just been noted. A similar, but even more explicit point of view can be found in ‘A Comprehensive Study of the Progress of Takao’ [躍進高雄の全貌], published in 1940.
Takao, the doorway of southern Taiwan, is a commercial port which constrains the progress of southern China and Southeast Asia. As the southmost point of the empire, it is tasked with the significant mission of seeking economic development for the future… Takao is not only a trading port, but also a major supply base for the developing fishing industries in Southeast Asia. Furthermore, Takao possesses the most advantageous geographical advantages (Nakayama & Katayama1940: 201).

Just as Taiwan was considered the southern gateway or entrance to the empire, so, Takao was regarded as the southern doorway of Taiwan. As a transportation and entrepot hub between East and Southeast Asia, Takao could assist Japan in extending her commercial influence further southward. Also, its unique location would prove extremely beneficial to the southward expansion and development of Japanese fishing grounds. Taiwan, especially Takao, was consistently mentioned in official colonial circles whenever the southward development of the fishing industry was discussed. Besides government officials and fisheries experts, some leading Japanese fishing companies also realised that Takao/Taiwan could make major contributions towards building their off-shore industries. Several major fishing companies and branches were established, and a huge amount of capital was invested in Takao by the Japan Fishing Company [日本水産株式會社], Takao Seaweed Gathering and Marketing Company [高雄海藻採取販賣株式會社], Takuyo Fishing Company [拓洋水産株式會社], Rinken Shop [林兼商店出張所], and Takunan Fishing Company [拓南漁業株式會社] (Nakayama & Katayama1940: 208-214). As Nakayama and Katayama explain:

The branch office [of the Japan Fishing Company] in Takao has been developing rapidly in recent years. It is located at the main outpost of the fishing industry in the South, and possesses 11 large-sized trawlers…, and the branch hopes to maintain its splendid performance and fulfill the grand task of developing the country through fishing productivity (Nakayama & Katayama1940: 208-209).

As demonstrated by the above quote, the Japan Fishing Company had every confidence in the branch in Takao partly because of its established fishing fleet and partly because of its excellent location. The following pre-war quote is another example that highlights Takao’s ideal geographic location:

The company [Takuyo Fishing Company], taking into consideration Taiwan’s geographic condition, has chosen Taiwan as its operating base and expects to be able to operate in the South China Sea. With the assistance of the Colonial Company of Taiwan [台灣拓殖株式會社] and the Japan Fishing Company, the company with a capital of 2 million yen was
set up in Takao City, the supply base for a southward fishing industry (Nakayama & Katayama 1940: 213).

In view of what has been discussed above, it is clear that due to the geographic advantages that Taiwan provided, the island was regarded as the southern entrance or gateway of the Japanese Empire, and it was expected to make major economic contributions when the idea of Southward development was implemented. Further, with regards to the development of the fishing industry, Takao, was always considered one of the most important supply bases for the exploitation of the southern regional fishing grounds. To use Takao as homeport and then exploit marine resources in Southeast Asia had satisfied both Japan's expansionist policy goals and civilian business interests. This viewpoint fostered a common consensus among the fisheries authorities and fishing companies. As a result, tremendous efforts were made by the Japanese Colonial Government to develop Taiwan/Takao’s fishing industry.

THE DIFFUSION OF FISHING METHODS FROM JAPAN AND THE SOUTHWARD EXPLOITATION OF FISHING GROUNDS IN NANYO

Numerous fishing methods and innovations were introduced or refined by the fisheries authority and fishing enterprises. Some of them developed into mainstream fisheries in post-war Taiwan. They include the single trawl fishery (Jap. 軽船トロール漁業 Chi. 輪船拖網), pair trawl fishery (Jap. 底引き網漁業 Chi. 機船底曳網漁業), and the tuna longline fishery (Jap. マグロ延繩漁業 Chi. 鮪釣漁業) (Koshiyoshi 1938: 121-122).

The singular trawl fishing was introduced to Taiwan by the Taiwan Fishing Co., Ltd. [臺灣漁業株式會社] in 1912. In the initial stage, the operating results of this new company were not as good as had been expected. However, some contemporaries still ignored the failure of the Taiwan Fishing Co., Ltd. and established the Taiwan Trawling Co., Ltd. [臺灣トロール株式會社]. By the mid-1920s, both of these pioneering companies had shut down operations, owing to the economic depression in Taiwan (Lin 1936: 865 & Koshiyoshi 1938: 129).

In 1927, Taiwan’s trawl fishing industry was brought back to life by the Kyodo Fishing Co., Ltd. [共同漁業株式會社]. For several years after the revival of the trawl
fishery, the number of single-trawlers in Taiwan was strictly limited under the direct management of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry of Japan (MAF [農林省]). The fishing grounds around Taiwan were divided into two zones. The northern zone included the East China Sea and the Taiwan Strait, and the southern zone comprised the South China Sea. No more than four trawlers were permitted to operate in each area, and Kyodo, as a staunch supporter of this fishery, was privileged by the government and the company monopolised the trawl fishery in Taiwan for several years. However, in 1936 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 tonnages was imposed. This measure now broke the monopoly that the Kyodo Fishing Company had enjoyed. Another fishing company, the Horai Fishing Co., Ltd. [蓬萊水産株式會社] was soon also engaged in trawl fishery activity in the East China Sea and South China with the single-trawlers *Tamura-maru* [田村丸], *Soga-maru* [曾我丸], *Dainichiminato-maru* [第二湊丸] and *Meiji-maru* [明治丸] (Lin 1936: 865-866 & Koshiyoshi 1937: 15-17).

By the year 1940, eight single-trawlers were based at the Kiryu Fishing Port (Keelung [基隆]), and two in Takao. In addition, the eleven that were operating in the South China Sea with permission and licences from the MAF, also used Takao Port as a supply base (Taiwan Suisankai 1935: 15-16; and Shosankyoku 1940: 23).

**Table 1:** The development of the (single) trawl fishery in Taiwan 1931 to 1940*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of trawlers</th>
<th>Annual catch (ton)</th>
<th>Tonnage (per vessel)</th>
<th>Horsepower (per vessel)</th>
<th>Annual Catch (ton per vessel)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1,693.784</td>
<td>225.8</td>
<td>574.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1,581.828</td>
<td>205.0</td>
<td>507.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2,259.393</td>
<td>205.5</td>
<td>507.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3,013.056</td>
<td>251.7</td>
<td>553.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2,962.001</td>
<td>230.8</td>
<td>512.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3,251.119</td>
<td>230.8</td>
<td>560.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4,136.154</td>
<td>209.0</td>
<td>572.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>6,124.422</td>
<td>267.4</td>
<td>501.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>9,181.455</td>
<td>223.3</td>
<td>536.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>14,930.234</td>
<td>349.1</td>
<td>542.64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The pair trawl fishery was introduced to Taiwan in 1924. When it was introduced to Taiwan, the Colonial Government nevertheless imposed strict management measures to control the number of pair-trawlers in order to protect coastal fishing grounds. At first, only twenty units of pair-trawlers were permitted to operate in the waters off Taiwan. Nevertheless, following the rapid growth of the industry, the fisheries authority granted more pair-trawlers permission to operate. By 1927, there were 30 units; however, by 1931, 50 units of pair-trawlers had already obtained permission to operate from the fisheries authorities. In 1936, as previously noted, the fisheries management in Taiwan experienced a major reorganisation, and the total tonnage of single-trawlers and pair-trawlers was now confined to 10,000 tons (Koshiyoshi 1938: 133-34).

The main fishing grounds of the pair-trawlers were the East China Sea, the Taiwan Strait, the South China Sea and the Gulf of Tonkin (Naitō & Syu 1957: 14-15). Initially, most pair-trawlers and single-trawlers were located in Kiryu Fishing Port. There were comparatively fewer of them in Takao. However, the fishing stocks were being rapidly depleted in the north. With a view to conserving the marine environment, the Colonial Government began to encourage fishers to exploit the southern fishing grounds (Suisansha 1939: 176-77). Consequently, the number of pair-trawlers that operated in the north was confined within certain limits, but with respect to the southern fishing grounds like the Taiwan Strait and the South China Sea, there was no restriction placed on the number of pair-trawlers (Koshiyoshi 1938: 133-34). This government measure accelerated the southward expansion of the trawl fishing grounds.
Table 2: The development of the pair trawl fishery in Taiwan during the period 1931-1940*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of vessels</th>
<th>Annual catch (ton)</th>
<th>Tonnage</th>
<th>Horsepower</th>
<th>Annual catch (per unit)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>9,824,442</td>
<td>57.10</td>
<td>106.96</td>
<td>388.498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>8,513,468</td>
<td>54.19</td>
<td>104.00</td>
<td>266.045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>12,811,449</td>
<td>54.19</td>
<td>104.00</td>
<td>400.357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>15,492,798</td>
<td>53.40</td>
<td>103.00</td>
<td>484.149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>22,900,217</td>
<td>63.50</td>
<td>115.90</td>
<td>789.662</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>22,251,552</td>
<td>61.25</td>
<td>110.00</td>
<td>556.289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>25,726,870</td>
<td>71.28</td>
<td>112.00</td>
<td>735.053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>27,255,727</td>
<td>76.09</td>
<td>132.85</td>
<td>825.931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>30,217,786</td>
<td>78.25</td>
<td>137.42</td>
<td>719.470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>42,219,092</td>
<td>79.39</td>
<td>142.11</td>
<td>1,029.730</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


* The pair trawl fishery in colonial Taiwan reached its peak in 1940, then declined dramatically due to World War Two.

The tuna longline fishery was introduced to Taiwan in 1913, and was then developed separately in Takao and northern Taiwan. The tuna longline fishery in northern Taiwan was prosperous because it was located close to the main market, Japan. However, the fishing grounds in Southeast Asia were still too far away from northern Taiwan, hence longlinermen only continued to work nearby areas. Therefore, the further development of the tuna fishery in northern Taiwan could not ultimately compete with its counterpart in Takao. Takao eventually became the most important port-base of Taiwan’s tuna longline fishery (Koshiyoshi 1938: 133-34). By the end of the colonial period, 81 per cent of tuna catches were from Takao, and only 16 per cent from Taihoku (台北 Taipei) (Koshiyoshi 1938: 123-24).6

The tuna longline fishery, single-trawl fishery and pair trawl fishery were all introduced to Takao as soon as they were introduced to Taiwan. Takao’s single trawling industry started with just two trawlers—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 chose Taiwan as a strategic supply base. Nine trawlers of the Japan Fishing Company, each of whose gross weight was 500 tons, left Hong Kong and used Takao as a homeport.
and a forward base, while two trawlers of the Linken Shop [林兼商店], each of whose gross tonnage was 600, also left Shimonoseki [下関] and went to Takao. By 1945, the Japan Fishing Company was building a huge vessel weighing 1000 tons to be deployed to fish in the Gulf of Thailand, the Indian Ocean, and along the coast of Africa (Taiwan no Suisan 1941: 6-7).

Concerning the status of the pair trawl fishery, by 1941, 28 units of pair-trawlers were based in Takao and most of them operated in the Taiwan Strait, the waters off Hong Kong as well as the Gulf of Tonkin. From 1936 onwards, the Japanese Colonial Government, in order to expand its fishing grounds southward, also used Hainan [海南島], China as a supply base for its experimental fishing vessel, and consequently obtained excellent fishing results in the waters off Vietnam. In 1941, 23 units of pair-trawlers were under construction, and it was believed that the pair trawl fishery would become very prosperous in the future (Ibid. 5 & Takao State Government 1941: 112).

The tuna longline fishery was the most important fishing industry in pre-war Takao, illustrated by the fact that 80 per cent of the motorised vessels in Takao were longliners. The longliners in Takao were classified into three groups based on their size: large-sized longliners with 100 gross tons and 200 horsepower; middle-sized longliners with 30 gross tons and 60 horsepower; and small-sized vessels with 20 gross tons and 40 horsepower. The small-sized vessels accounted for 70 per cent of Takao’s longliners (Takao no Suisan 1941: 3-4). Table 3 depicts the growth of Takao’s fishing industry during the period 1938-1940. The catch value of these fishing industries grew rapidly, especially the tuna longline and pair trawl fisheries. The fishing industry had, without a doubt, become a very important economic sector in Takao with the development of a long-term fisheries infrastructure.
**Table 3:** The catch value of the tuna longline fishery, and trawl fisheries in Takao, 1938-1940 (unit: yen)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1938 (Yen)</th>
<th>1939 (Yen)</th>
<th>1940 (Yen)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. tuna longline fishery</td>
<td>2,952,759</td>
<td>4,714,939</td>
<td>8,646,761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. pair trawl fishery</td>
<td>807,210</td>
<td>1,693,055</td>
<td>2,253,783</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. single trawl fishery</td>
<td>453,857</td>
<td>1,289,116</td>
<td>1,139,371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,213,826</strong></td>
<td><strong>7,697,110</strong></td>
<td><strong>12,039,915</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Map 4:** The southward development of Takao’s fishing industry

THE CONSTRUCTION OF TAKAO FISHING PORT AND THE OPENING OF INTERNATIONAL MARKETS

In addition to the favourable island-wide conditions, such as the excellent geographic circumstances and the introduction of advanced fishing techniques, there were also local conditions that supported the development of the fishing industry in Takao. However, there are some questions that need to be clarified. Firstly, why could this port support the development of a distant water fishing industry in Southeast Asia and what kind of modern infrastructure had been constructed in the pre-war Takao Fishing Port?

The late nineteenth century construction of Takao Port was one of the basic keys for the development of Takao’s fishing industry, although the original motive behind building this port was not solely for the fishing industry. In the 1890s, the first decade of the colonial period, the rapid growth of the sugar industry in Taiwan required the large-scale importation of sugar-producing machines from overseas and the export of raw and manufactured sugar. Despite being one of the major gateways to Taiwan, it was still difficult for the small Port of Takao to deal with the large scale importation of heavy industrial machinery and products. In order to overcome this logistical problem, it was decided in 1904 that the port would be expanded. By 1908, the preliminary stages of the modernisation project had been accomplished. Sugar-producing machines could now be transported by train, as soon as they arrived at the dockside. The link between ocean-going shipping and land transportation, and the new facilities, had a positive influence on the development of Takao Port itself as well as the other industries based in southern Taiwan—but especially the fishing industry (Jhang & Syu 1998: 10-15).

In the same year, 1908, the main railroads in western Taiwan were also completely connected to one another. The Takao Train Station now became the southern departure point and rail head of the main railroads, and Takao Port, as a result, became the economic gateway of southern Taiwan. Rice, sugar, wood and other commodities for export were stored at Takao Port. However, in a comparatively short space of time, the existing infrastructure of the port was no longer adequate to cope with the import and export volume required. Further, construction and development for the port was immediately necessitated, and undertaken. Between 1908 and 1912,
the first phase of a new major port-building programme was launched. The submerged reefs around the port were removed, two modern harbours were established, more railroad lines were constructed, storage houses and godowns were built, and an artificial waterway and boat quay was also constructed for fishing vessels and small boats (Ibid).

The second phase construction of Takao Port caused a remarkable increase in its volume of trade. By 1912, its commerce accounted for 37.54 per cent of the entire trade of the island—which almost exceeded the volume of trade of Kiryu Port. The second phase also of the major port-building programme was proposed in the same year. It was scheduled to be completed in 1920. However, it took far longer and was not finished until 1937. With this final phase of the programme, the embankment was enlarged, the waterway was dredged, the port was widened and the number of harbours increased (Jhang & Syu 1998: 10-15).

While these major construction projects were being systematically planned and launched, a special project pertaining to the extension and modernisation of the Fishing Ports had been proposed in 1924 by the Transportation Bureau [交通局], but it was not approved until April 1926, when the Governor-General Kamiyama Mitsunoshin [上山滿之進] inspected Takao Port. The project included three main aspects: dredging work, the construction of a protecting embankment at Shōsento Fishing Harbour [哨船頭], as well as the building of onshore fisheries-related infrastructure. The first two projects enabled larger vessels like the distant water fishing boats to anchor in this safe haven, thus directly 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 tank fuel facility. Each of them had their own separate but related contribution to make to the industry. Firstly, access to a modern fuel depot supported the motorisation of fishing vessels in Takao, and the motorisation of the industry was a major basis for the development of distant water fisheries (Tagame 1930: 2-10). Secondly, a huge fish market in Takao could handle, purchase and market most of the fish products arriving from the Taiwan Strait and Southeast Asia without difficulty.
In addition to the modernisation of port infrastructure as well as the island-wide and international fish markets, the construction of transportation networks also made an invaluable contribution towards the development of Takao’s fishing industry. The markets for Takao’s fishing industry were opened up in three phases: firstly, the establishment of the Takao Fish Market in 1912. Secondly, combining the Takao market in an organisational chain with other fish markets across Taiwan in 1918 and, finally, the opening of international fish markets in 1922.

Prior to the establishment of a modern fish market, the trade in marine products 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 Sealand Property Company (TSPC). Under the management of TSPC, the operation of the fish market became far more efficient and market transactions became more readily transparent. Therefore, Japanese fishing vessels from Yamagechi, Fukuoka, Kagoshima and Miyazaki began to use Takao as their forward supply base. By 1921, the volume of business in Takao Fish Market had already grown five times larger when compared with its initial opening in 1913 (Tagame 1930: 18-19).

However, the activities of the Takao Fish Market alone could not cater to the increased demand and supply of fish products from Southeast Asia following the continuous southward growth and expansion of the fishing industry. Hence, to open
up other marketing and distribution channels became one of the most pressing issues confronting the future of Takao’s fishing industry (Taiwan Suisankai 1935: 47-49 & Kamimura 1919: 21-22). But this task could not be adequately 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 on the island was limited and located only in the northern part of Taiwan. Therefore, transportation of fish products both north and south was traditionally done by sea, along the coast. In 1899, however, the Colonial Government commenced building railroads in the western part of Taiwan. Lines were developed to Chyoshyū [潮州線], Taito [臺東線], Giran [宜蘭線], and Kaigan [海岸線] and stations were built one by one. The Takao Train Station had already been constructed by 1900, and by 1908, the main railroad system in western Taiwan had been completely connected up. The marine products from Takao Fishing Port could now be transported by train to northern Taiwan. Two years later, railway carriages with refrigerating equipment were introduced, enabling marine products to be kept fresh despite the long journey (Taiwan Suisankai 1935: 51-53).

Besides these main railway networks constructed by the Colonial Government, from 1906 onwards, the sugar producing companies also built private railway lines which ran deep into the countryside. This was not only necessary for the transportation of sugar and related products, but was also extremely advantageous for the transportation of fish products. It should be noted that while the general problem of handling and transporting marine products between stations around the island was settled, the problem of transporting marine products from the stations to the local fish markets still remained. Fortunately, the system of roads and highways in western Taiwan and the prevalence of trucks for overland transport provided a timely solution to this problem by the end of World War One. The establishment of highways in Taiwan can also be traced back to 1895 when the Japanese army engineering corps were building roads for military purposes, but with the subsequent support of Colonial and local governments, the advent of highways became more common across Taiwan. After 1919, trucks were frequently employed for the conveyance of goods over longer distances and became the main means of transport for the delivery of fish products from the train stations to the markets (Taiwan Suisankai 1935: 51-53 & Chen W., Han & Chen S. 1999: 14).
Because of the continuous growth of Takao’s pre-war fishing industry, the supply of tuna and sailfish gradually exceeded the demand of the fish markets across Taiwan. With the intention of stabilising fish prices, Takao’s fishing industry had to take a further important step by opening up their activities to offshore markets. By the end of 1922, it was already proposed that fish products in Takao could be transported to Kiryu Port by train, and then shipped by steamers to Japan. This plan never came into practice though, until a direct shipping line from Takao to Yokohama [横浜] was established in September of 1923. Satō Kanjiro [佐藤勘次郎], an important fish broker, took advantage of this opportunity to market fish products directly from Takao to Yokohama. However, it was difficult to be a pioneer entrepreneur. An unexpected sea disaster on one occasion ruined a shipment of his fish products and caused him serious financial losses. Also, the containers for fish products were space-consuming so that not every shipping company was happy to offer their services. In the years that followed 1923, however, these obstacles were gradually overcome (Tagame 1930: 18-19), and Kanjiro eventually became one of the most successful fish brokers in the Tokyo Fish Market [東京魚市場]. By 1930, fish products from Taiwan were successfully being exported to all big cities and coastal port towns in Japan, including Tokyo, Yokohama, Nagoya [名古屋], Osaka [大阪], Kobe [神戸], Shimonoseki [下関] and Moji [門司].

By 1930, the value of the trade volume of fish products moving between Taiwan and Japan had reached ¥ 1,600,000, which accounted for 14 per cent of the annual catch. In addition to Japan, marine products from Taiwan could now also be found in the overseas markets of China, the British colony of Hong Kong, and the Japanese colonies, Kantōshū ([関東州], the southern part of Liaodong Peninsula [遼東半島], China), and Chosen ([朝鮮] Korea) (Bank of Taiwan 1930:15-17).

CONCLUSION

Japan's influence on the pre-war development of Takao's fishing industries can be classified into three major categories: firstly, 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 of Southeast Asia. The outbreak of the Second 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 more and more important, especially when Japan's fishing fleets and enterprises were badly boycotted by the colonial powers in the region due to the rise of anti-Japanese sentiment.

Secondly, the introduction of new fisheries largely modernised Takao's fishing industries. The tuna longline fishery, single and pair trawl fishery were promoted in Taiwan by fisheries authorities and civilian fishing companies, and they even developed into mainstream fisheries in the post-war era and generated considerable revenue for Taiwan which was badly stricken by poverty after World War Two.

Before the advent of the colonial era, fishing vessels in Taiwan were either bamboo rafts or tiny boats whose voyage range was limited and whose operating capabilities were low. However, motorised fishing vessels became increasingly popular under the auspices of the fisheries authorities. By 1940, the number of motorised fishing vessels in Taiwan had risen to more than 1,200, and their operating grounds now 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 (Shosankyoku 1940: 109-10).

Finally, the large-scale exploitation of marine resources in the waters of Southeast Asia during the colonial era laid a solid foundation for the development of the fishing industry of post-war Taiwan. From a social-psychological perspective, the pre-war explorations and operations in Southeast Asia had become part of the collective memories and folklore of the fishers in Takao. The fishing grounds in Southeast Asia were not considered too far away for them, and they were not afraid to go there to fish in their small boats. This positive psychological factor and sense of place on the sea was to prove really advantageous to the re-establishment of the Taiwanese fishing industry in post-war Southeast Asia.
Although most of Southeast Asia had been controlled or colonized by European powers during the Meiji Period, some Japanese scholars still believed that God had entrusted Southeast Asia to the westerners only in the interim, and that Southeast Asia would come under the rule of Japan sometime in the future.

The investigation activities included the exploration of marine resources in Southeast Asia. At that time, experimental vessels were built by the Colonial Government for the exploitation of new fishing grounds.


During the colonial period, the fishing industry in Keelung was stronger than in Kaohsiung. However, with respect to the southward development of the Japanese fishing industry, Kaohsiung was always the first port that was mentioned, due to its strategic location and economic potential.

According to Taiwan no Suisan and Taiwan Suisan Yōran, the Sokohiki ami fishery was introduced to Taiwan as early as 1919, which is obviously a different account from Takemoto Ichirō’s version.

The tuna longliners had a wide range of sizes. The smallest vessels were less than 5 tons, while the largest ones were more than 100 tons. The most popular vessels were medium-sized longliners whose capacity varied from 10 to 20 tons.

These two fisheries kept growing and they became two of the most important fishing industries in Kaohsiung. Their dominance could not be challenged even in the post-war period.

Shōsentō was the first harbour of the Takao Fishing Port, where I spent more than nine months doing fieldwork from December 2001 to July 2002 and January 2003 to February 2003.

Here, it must be noted that in addition to the Takao Fish Market, several other large fish markets also existed in the other populous areas of Taiwan.

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