



LIEUT.-GENERAL VISCOUNT KODAMA,  
Governor-General of Formosa.

# JAPANESE RULE IN FORMOSA

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## CHAPTER I.

### BRIEF SURVEY OF OUR SUCCESSES.

Empires founded upon force, short-lived—Misgivings as to Japan's aptitude for colonial rule—Discouraging reports disproved by actual facts—Railway building—Safety of travelling; order and peace restored—Slow progress made in suppressing brigands—Want of co-operation between civil and military authorities—Regular troops unfit for the work—Faithless interpreters—Viscount Kodama establishes civil rule and successfully seeks to conciliate the people, organises relief and encourages learning—Many brigands come to terms—Remainder broken up—Military authority curbed—French difficulties in Tonkin solved by M. de Lanessan—Development of enterprise and prosperity under Kodama régime—Formosa financially independent—Comparison with results attained by France in Algeria and Indo-China.

NEW territory may be won by the sword, and a widespread dominion may for a time be kept up by force; but unless the conquering nation possesses the qualifications necessary for the wise administration of its possessions, decay and dissolution inevitably follow. Poland, now divided between Russia, Germany and Austria, its people only able to lament, in sorrowful dirges, the sad fate of their country, once delivered the proud city of Vienna from the armies that laid siege to it. Sweden, too, which at one time stood at the head of the Protestant Reformation in Northern Europe, and subsequently defeated ignominiously the forces of Russia, now stands stripped of all she once possessed beyond her own original boundaries, and trembles with apprehension at every move of her huge neighbour. Turkey, before whose fearless fighters all Europe once stood aghast, is to-day regarded as "The Sick Man of the East," upon whose demise the Powers are for ever counting, as they discuss what portions of his possessions should fall to each, when the time for the final division really comes.

It is obvious, therefore, that nations cannot maintain their existence by military power alone. In fact, military power has

brought misfortune upon many a country, because the commensurate administrative skill and national spirit were subsequently found to be lacking. On this account, nations like Spain, which at one time possessed vast colonies but lost most of them through misgovernment, are watching, with much uncertainty as to the result, Japan's first attempts at colonization, remembering their own sad experience. On the other hand, certain powers like England, possessed of colonies and inclined to believe that they alone possess this gift, are hardly disposed to acknowledge that Japan has any colonizing ability at all.

When Formosa first came into our possession, and we, Japanese, commenced to colonize it, we were ourselves anxious as to what the result might be. As it was our first attempt, we naturally made some mistakes; but, notwithstanding these mistakes which have been unsparingly criticised at home and abroad, good work has been done. Peace has been restored, order prevails, the productive power of the island has increased, the Government, is respected and trusted, and on every hand are seen evidences of life and prosperity. In short, Japan can point to her successes thus far in Formosa as a proof of her worthiness to be admitted into the community of the world's great colonial powers.

In June, 1904, I went to Formosa to ascertain how far our attempts to colonize that beautiful island had been successful. The reports which had reached me before I landed were almost discouraging. I was told that neither life nor property was secure from the brigands who still made frequent raids; that infectious diseases were so prevalent as to render the whole island an unfit place of residence for Japanese; that the administration was lax; that all productive occupations were neglected; and, finally, that what little trade still remained was all in Chinese hands.

What I myself saw, however, soon convinced me that these reports were absolutely without foundation—mere travellers' tales started by adventurers, whose plans for exploiting the island had been frustrated. To me the prospects looked very hopeful.

In the succeeding chapters, I intend to write at length on the present condition of the country; but, in the remainder of this

chapter, I wish to give a brief summary—a bird's-eye view, so to speak—of the results already achieved.

While the island yet remained a Chinese possession, the Governor, Liu Yung Fu, had commenced a railway, but when Japan took possession, the only part finished was the sixty-two miles between Kelung and Shinchiku. The route selected was, however, so inconvenient that our authorities resolved to start afresh and lay a line 230 miles long, starting from Takow in the south, and running the whole length of the island. The work was commenced from both ends at the same time, and was pushed forward night and day, so that at the time of my visit, trains were running over all but about sixty miles in the middle part of the line. Here a light railway had been laid temporarily, each car being propelled by two Chinese coolies who ran behind. At many of the stopping-places, companies of these coolies were to be seen looking at first sight like disguised brigands. They struck me as not unlike the crowds of palanquin-bearers to be seen in old times, at the post towns along the road between Tokyo and Kyoto.

I left Taichu on the 15th of June, and chanced to run across a Japanese girl on her way to the south. Though not more than sixteen or at most seventeen years old, she appeared quite at her ease and showed no trace of fear. The constable who was with me said, that she belonged to a well-to-do family and was on her way to Takow. At my request, he asked her whether she was not afraid to travel so far all by herself, but she replied, "Not in the least, sir!" A single straw shows which way the wind blows, and so these few words, "Not in the least, sir," rejoiced me greatly, and made it clear to me, that in that part of the island at any rate, peace and order were fully restored.

Some weeks later, when I was spending a few days in Amoy, Mr. Lim Pan Bang (Liu Wei Yuan) invited our Consul, Mr. Ueno, and myself to a quiet dinner. In the course of our conversation, Mr. Lim Pan Bang asked me how things were in Formosa. I replied, "Everything is quiet". I then told him how I had met the girl, spoken of above, and what she had said, and added, "From this you will understand that peace and order are fully restored. Perhaps, indeed, we may say that, since the day when Koxinga (Teiseiko) first occupied the

island, the inhabitants have never enjoyed such perfect peace as they enjoy to-day." Hearing this, Mr. Lim was lost in wonder and admiration.

If it be asked when this satisfactory state of things began, I should answer, "in 1902". In that year, Viscount Kodama became Governor-General of the island, and thenceforth devoted all his abilities to civil administration and to the work of putting down the brigands. This work had been attempted before; but as fast as one band was broken up, new bands arose in other places, and both soldiers and police were wearied out, without having apparently accomplished anything. It is true that in each expedition some brigands were killed, and thus they were weakened to some extent; but the fact that occasionally peaceable inhabitants were mistaken for brigands and treated accordingly by the punitive expeditions, led some of these to turn brigands. Thus the end seemed as far off as ever. Moreover, so long as the country was swarming with brigands, the more law-abiding portion of the population who would have liked to assist the Government, found it impossible to do so.

This state of things caused the gravest anxiety to the successive Governors-General, but try as they might, they could find no remedy. Several reasons may be given for this failure.

1. Owing to circumstances, the former Governors-General found themselves unable to place the whole island under civil administration. Thus the military authorities frequently encroached on the civil power and friction arose between the two.

2. However effective regular troops may be against a disciplined enemy, they have but little chance of success when sent against brigands living in jungles and swamps, who appear and disappear as if by magic. In the struggle with such a foe, discipline proved a distinct hindrance to our troops and prevented them taking the same advantage of sudden openings, as they might have done had each man been fighting for himself.

3. Up to this time all information had come to the Government through interpreters, some of whom were absolutely untrustworthy. These took advantage of their position and sometimes asserted that brigands were law-abiding people,

hoping thereby to secure some reward from the brigands later on. At other times, from motives of private revenge, they denounced law-abiding persons as brigands.

Thus the brigands came to lose all respect alike for troops and interpreters.

When Viscount Kodama took office, however, he determined to change all this, and to make the military administration subordinate to the civil. He accordingly gave orders that, in the councils held in his office, neither the military nor naval staff officers should have any voice save on matters connected with their own special departments. Moreover, to remedy, as far as possible, the abuses caused by the dishonest interpreters, he set himself to win the goodwill and confidence of the natives. He reopened the Charity Hospital in Taihoku; and founded asylums in Shoka, Tainan and the Pescadores for the relief of the destitute poor. He also made arrangements to provide for the aged, and invited all persons above eighty years of age to Taihoku, Shoka, Tainan or Hozan, where banquets were given in their honour. As if this were not enough, he also called together all the leading men in the island who held Chinese degrees, and held a meeting in Taihoku for the encouragement of learning. In this way he manifested his respect for the learned, and also attested his purpose to devote himself to the development of culture and enlightenment in the island, leaving no stone unturned to adapt himself to the manners and customs of the natives and to pacify the disturbed minds of the people.

As a result of this wise policy, the inhabitants gradually came to have confidence in the new government. At the same time, the Civil Administration Board opened direct negotiations with the brigand chiefs, and, substituting gentle measures for stern ones, invited them to surrender. When any chief submitted, he was given either work or a grant of money, to promote good behaviour. The names and whereabouts of his followers were then ascertained, and the distinction between the law-abiding members of the community and the brigands became clear. The abuses arising out of the interpreters' selfish practices were also removed. Even when any chief abused the kindness shown him by our authorities and became refractory, the military authorities were not allowed to take

action except at the request of the civil officials. This action usually took the form of sending soldiers to work with the police, the combined party attacking the headquarters of the chief, and subduing him and his lawless followers once for all. These expeditions were planned and carried out so satisfactorily that there was no place left in which the chiefs could hide, and the result was they were all forced to surrender. From this time the Civil Administration gradually gained strength, and soon spread its sheltering wings over the whole country, thus enabling the people to enjoy continued peace and happiness.

Formosa is not the only place where there have been abuses arising out of military administration or through the faithlessness of interpreters. M. de Lanessan, at one time Governor-General of Indo-China, in his book, *History of French Administration in Annam and Tonkin*, tells how one interpreter in Saigon attempted to stir up disaffection at the court, overawed the regent and the ministers, and almost threw the whole country into confusion, but was at last banished. Moreover he shows the evil of relying solely on military power, and says: "Military force should never be regarded as the only means of subduing people. For many years this method has been sadly abused. I consider it my duty to put an end to this as soon as possible." True to this idea, he paid great respect to the native rulers and treated all other natives with courtesy, and so gained the confidence of the Government and people, and restored order. This line of policy lost him popularity among military circles in France, and led to his recall, but it assuredly established on sound foundations the prosperity of French Indo-China.

In my opinion, the evils incident to military government and to government through interpreters are the same to-day as they were in ancient times, both in the East and in the West, and nothing but wisdom and resolution can overcome them.

As already stated, under Viscount Kodama's administration, the influence and power of the military and civil branches of the service were equalised, each branch assisting the other. Regulations were also issued, whereby military and civil officials without distinction were required to salute each other according to their respective ranks, whenever they passed each other in

the street. These regulations did much to cure the military of their arrogant ways; indeed, I consider that this curbing of the military power deserves special mention in this book, as I am convinced that it contributed materially to the success of our administration in Formosa.

As long as the brigands were still unsubdued the police were kept busy, attacking first this band, then that, so that little time or strength was left them for attending to their proper duties. But now that the brigands have been put down, the police are able to devote themselves entirely to the protection of the inhabitants and to the maintenance of order among them. They are also beginning to gain the respect and confidence of the natives, and in consequence the hold of the Government upon the people is greatly strengthened.

From the time Formosa passed under Chinese rule, after Koxinga's defeat and death, down almost to the present day, there were continual disturbances, at least twenty of which were outbreaks of some importance; in short, the island never was entirely free from rebellion. True, there were brief periods of apparent peace, but the authorities secured these by bribing the brigand chiefs and governed with their assistance for the time being. The inhabitants, therefore, came to regard the brigands as their possible future rulers, and felt that any turn of fortune's wheel might make them their actual governors. With this thought they paid taxes to the rightful government and also to the brigands. When our Government, therefore, as a new-comer unacquainted with the customs of the country, first attempted the subjection of the brigands, the inhabitants laughed in their sleeves, thinking it was like endeavouring to dry up the ocean. Considering our defeat as a foregone conclusion, they remained subservient to the brigands, while at the same time professing allegiance to their new rulers. To their extreme surprise, however, the brigands were entirely suppressed, and the inhabitants became at once perfectly willing to obey the Japanese Government.

With the restoration of peace and order all industries in Formosa began to develop with astonishing rapidity; signs of increasing prosperity are evident throughout the whole island. The first great Japanese private undertaking, the Formosa Sugar Company in Kyoshito, had at the outset many difficulties

to overcome; but it is said that the net profits this year (1904) will amount to about 20 per cent. This success has roused and encouraged the wealthy Formosans, who never had sufficient faith in the Chinese administration to invest their capital in the development of the resources of the island. Six new sugar refineries have already been established or are now being organised. This shows the confidence of the inhabitants in our rule and what rapid strides industry is making.

I had striking evidence of the progress achieved at a conference of the governors from all the districts in the island, held in Taihoku during my visit. All the questions discussed at this meeting related to industry, *e.g.*, irrigation, engineering plans, experimental farms, etc. Thus the various District Civil Offices which in the past all seemed as if they were branches of the Main Police Office, have now come to look like branches of an Industrial Bureau. All this is the result of the new administration under which the brigands have been suppressed, and all law-abiding citizens enabled to enjoy security of life and property.

One result of this peace and progress has been to make Formosa financially independent of the mother-country. Since 1896, the Japanese Government has granted the island regular assistance in the form of a considerable annual subsidy. It must be admitted that much of that money was squandered. This, however, was unavoidable, and may be regarded as the price paid by the mother-country for her first lessons in governing a colony.

In olden times, Spain exploited her colonies solely in her own interest; she systematically prevented the growth of native manufactures, and only allowed the inhabitants to use articles imported from the metropolis, making it her principle that the mother-country should always enrich herself by squeezing the colonies to the greatest possible extent. On the other hand, England always seeks to follow the saying, "The mother-country should always pour as much gold as possible into her colonies so that they may return a large interest". But the changes that have taken place in international relations during the last few years, have given rise to another precept, "Always encourage your colonies to undertake new enterprises, so far as their strength will allow". Every colonial power has en-

deavoured to practise this, the latest precept, but found it next to impossible to do so.

We may well congratulate ourselves, therefore, that since Formosa first came into our possession, our Government has steadfastly followed this rule, and in consequence, within the short period of nine years, the island has become self-supporting. In the Budget for 1904, the subsidy receivable from Japan was entered as Yen 1,490,000; and even in 1907 Japan expected to have to pay over as much as Yen 1,200,000. Nevertheless, the Formosan authorities were able to decline half the subsidy for 1904, although the Diet had already sanctioned the payment of the full amount mentioned above. Moreover, they have, it is said, resolved to receive no more subsidies, but to make the island's revenue cover the whole of the expenditure. This shows how well the island is governed.

It is now about a hundred years since France began to rule her oldest colonies in Indo-China, and at least twenty since she acquired the last, the whole area thus governed covering 363,000 square miles with a population of 17,620,000. But as, according to the Estimates for 1902, the expected revenue amounted only to 32,295,000 piastres, France had to face the prospect of having to pay out a subsidy of 30,000,000 francs. Algeria with an area of 184,474 square miles and a population of 4,739,556 is said to be the most prosperous colony France possesses, but as its revenue is only 66,799,372 francs, this one colony draws from France a yearly subsidy of 74,697,455 francs. Of course we must remember that 55,918,711 francs of this sum go back to France each year as military taxes, income from monopolies, etc., but even if these be deducted the French Government has still to pay out over 18,500,000 francs per annum. (The above figures are taken from the French Budget for 1900.)<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> After the above had been written, an essay by Mr. Allen Ireland, on "Colonial Administration in the Tropics," appeared in the *London Times* on 31st August, 1904. According to this article, M. Doumer's policy in Indo-China has proved a success, and that colony has now reached the point of no longer receiving subsidies from the home-land. Truly remarkable progress has also been made in other ways. Not long ago this colony was receiving an annual subsidy of 40,000,000 francs, and the total amount it has cost the Home Government during the past thirty-five years is 750,000,000 francs. But as the subsidy was not quite sufficient to meet the deficiency in the revenue, Public Loan bonds were issued in 1896 to the amount of 80,000,000 francs. Now, however, it has become financially independent. In 1893 its foreign trade amounted only to

Formosa, on the other hand, has only an area of 14,000 square miles while the population does not exceed 3,079,692, and but nine years have passed since we began colonizing the island. For these reasons it is hardly fair to compare it with the two French colonies mentioned above. The island's revenue, however, already amounts to Yen 20,000,000 yearly, sufficient to obviate the necessity of drawing any further subsidies from Japan. From this we conclude that our colonial policy, having already passed through the French, has now entered the English era.

According to the returns for the year 1904, the Japanese residents numbered 53,365, not including soldiers; the students in Government and private schools receiving instruction through Japanese teachers numbered 26,700; 180 licences had already been granted to doctors who had studied Western medical sciences and were practising in the island.

While in 1896 there were in the whole island only 80 pillar boxes and 45 offices where postage stamps could be bought, there are now 726 pillar boxes and 547 offices where stamps are on sale. Letters and postal packets received from Japan and other foreign countries numbered 16,300,000, showing since 1896 an annual increase of about 14 per cent.; while those despatched from the island during the same year (1904) numbered 15,500,000, showing an annual increase of about 15 per cent.

Telephones are now in use in Taihoku, Taichu, Kelung and Tamsui; and long distance telephones are also employed in some places. The telegraph lines, which in 1896 only measured 710 miles, now extend 2,700 miles. Wireless telegraphy is also in use in some districts to which the ordinary lines have not yet been extended. In 1898, only 1,727 steamers, 12 sailing vessels and 13,746 Chinese junks entered Formosan ports; but the number entering in 1904 was 2,215 steamers, 135 sailing vessels and 36,322 Chinese junks. In 1896 the total value of the exports only amounted to Yen 11,402,227. These had increased to Yen 22,822,431 in 1904, while the imports had increased during the same period from Yen 8,631,001 to Yen 22,994,854.

162,000,000 francs, whereas now it is over 400,000,000 francs, and all visitors are greatly impressed with admiration for the genius which has caused this wonderful progress. (Written 12th October, 1904.)



BARON GOTO,  
Chief of Civil Administration.

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Confidence in the Law Courts, and in the Civil Administration, is firmly established throughout the island; weights and measures have been corrected according to standard so as to insure just and fair dealing; harbours have been improved, roads made, sanitary matters attended to, laws for protecting the destitute promulgated, life and property made secure, so that journeys may now be undertaken without risk. In short, an entirely new Formosa has arisen unknown in past history.

Baron Goto, Chief of the Civil Administration Bureau, said to me one day, "I wish to found Formosa on scientific principles". Judging from the condition of the island to-day, I am inclined to think that the Baron's desire is being realized.

Most French colonies have hitherto been failures—Algeria is considered the most successful, and Indo-China comes next. The success attained in the latter has been ascribed to MM. de Lanessan and Doumer, both of whom held the position of Governor-General for a time. On their return to France, their fame was in everybody's mouth. Yet in truth their success is not to be compared with that achieved by our administration in Formosa. If we also remember how handicapped our country always is by lack, not only of capital, but also of able and powerful merchants, we shall more fully appreciate how brilliant is the success, which has crowned the efforts of our great colonial leader, Viscount Kodama—the maker of Formosa—and of his able lieutenant, Baron Goto, Chief of the Civil Administration Bureau. Nor let us forget the honour due to the Diet, the members of which, without any of that jealousy by which colonial governors have so often been hampered, granted the Formosan authorities freedom of administration and also liberal financial assistance. I cannot but rejoice that we, Japanese, have passed our first examination as a colonizing nation so creditably. The thought also of the future fills my heart with joy, because, as the Southern Cross seems to invite the mariner to investigate the wonders of the Southern Seas, so our successes in Formosa beckon us on to fulfil the great destiny that lies before us, and make our country "Queen of the Pacific".<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The above was written before the Battle of the Japan Sea, when Japan overcame the Russian Armada, and thus practically became "Queen of the Pacific". (TRANSLATOR.)