

The modernization of Taiwan

台灣的近代化

Lin Cheng-rong, Associate Professor Department of History
Tam-kang University

林呈蓉／淡江大學歷史系 副教授

每一時期皆有不同時代特質

台灣短短的四百年歷史過程中，易幟五次。近代政府組織的首次出現，始於 17 世紀初的荷蘭統治時期，其後經歷了明鄭統治時期、清王朝統治時期、日本帝國統治時期、中華民國統治時期、直至現在。由於政權不斷更迭，台灣四百年歷史的每一

個時期，都發展出不同
的時代
特質。以日本帝國統治時期為例，如果想
以一個簡單的語詞來說明此一時代的特
質，那應該就是「近代化」。

Each period has its own particular characteristics

In the short four hundred years of recorded Taiwanese history, there have been five changes of rule. The first modern government structure appeared at the beginning of the seventeenth century during the period of Dutch rule. This was followed by the era of Koxinga and his son, then the Qing Dynasty, Japanese imperial rule, and finally the Republic of China, which brings us up to the present day. Due to the constant changes in power, each period in Taiwan's four hundred years of history has developed its own characteristics peculiar to the period. To take the example of the Japanese imperial era, a simple word to sum up the characteristics of this period would have to be "modernization."

一度成爲燙手山芋

1895 年 6 月，日本根據清日戰爭後雙方簽訂的馬關條約內容，獲得了包括澎湖群島在內的台灣新領地。然而，至少在 1895 年 6 月至 1898 年 3 月期間，文明未開的台灣對日本帝國而言，竟成爲一塊燙手山芋。

Not something that Japan wanted to touch

In June 1865, at the end of the Sino-Japanese War, Japan took the territory of Taiwan, including the Pescadores, according to the terms of the Treaty of Shimonoseki. However, at least between June 1895 and March 1898, the uncivilized lands of Taiwan were not actually something that Japan wanted to touch.

各種風土病肆虐

由於缺乏近代教育機制的洗禮，多數的民眾仍是文盲，民智程度偏低；這裡的風土民情與日本迥異；在過去清朝接近兩百一十二年的統治期間，社會公權力不張，導致民風強悍，管理不易；再加上氣候溼熱，衛生環境不佳，風土病到處肆虐。打開當時的報紙「台灣日日新報」，在日本帝國統治初期的五年間，各種風土病肆虐的記事隨處可見。

All kinds of local sicknesses rampant

The majority of the population was still illiterate. Unbaptized by the modern education system, the cultural standard was fairly low. The local people were very different from the Japanese in terms of popular culture. In almost 212 years of Qing Dynasty rule, social and public authority had not extended very far, with the result that folk customs still held sway and management was not easy. On top of this, the climate was hot and humid, sanitation was primitive, and local diseases were rampant. Open a newspaper from the first five years of Japanese rule, the *Taiwan Daily News*, and everywhere you will find records of virulent local diseases.

曾一度提出「台灣賣卻論」

對台灣的經營統治，在諸多不順遂的情況下，日本帝國議會中曾有人提出「台灣賣卻論」的想法，主張以當時的錢一億日元將這塊新領地轉賣給對台灣情有獨鍾的法國。不過，這個提案並沒有被議會所接受。

Taiwan Baiyaku Theory

As for management and control of Taiwan, since the circumstances were not all that easy, somebody in the Japanese Imperial Diet came up with the idea of the “*Taiwan Baiyaku Theory*,” which advocated selling the territory to France, which had a particular interest in it, for 100 million yen. However, this proposal was not accepted by the Diet.



Taipei.

日治時期的台北街道林立的電線桿說明台北都市的近代化

A Taipei street in the period of the Japanese occupation. Presence of electrical lines and poles shows the extent of modernization of

採「漸進同化」的作法

1898年3月，兒玉源太郎接任第四任總督之後，整個情況開始有了改變。因為他啓用了一位有醫學背景の後藤新平來擔任台灣的民政長官。後藤氏本著「生物學的殖民地經營」原則，開始在台灣奠定各項近代化建設的基礎。所謂「生物學的殖民地經營」，依照後藤氏的說法，他認為就像是把鯛魚的眼睛移植到比目魚身上一樣，是一件何其不自然的事！如果把日本帝國現行的各種制度直接移植到尚未受過近代文明洗禮的台灣社會，勢必會帶來許多無謂的誤解與衝突。對台灣的經營，後藤氏主張「漸進同化」的作法，也為長久以來在台灣統治基本政策上「內地延長主義（同化政策）」、「特殊統治主義（非同化政策）」的爭議暫時劃上了休止符。

Choosing a process of “gradual assimilation”

In March 1898, after Kodama Gentaro took office as the fourth governor-general of Taiwan, everything began to change. Kodama appointed Goto Shimpei, who had a medical background, as the chief civil administrator of Taiwan. Goto founded his work on principles of “biological colonial management,” and began to establish the foundations of modern construction in Taiwan. Goto’s “biological colonial management” based on principles were based on his belief that to try to transplant the eyes of a bream onto a flatfish was completely unnatural. If all the systems and institutions in use at that time in Japan were to be directly transplanted to unmodernized and uncivilized Taiwan, they would certainly bring unwarranted misunderstandings and clashes. For governing Taiwan, Goto advocated a process of “gradual assimilation,” and also temporarily terminated the long-running debate between the two approaches of basic policy, “interior expansionism (assimilation policy),” and “special government (non-assimilation policy).”

後藤新平的新政

後藤新平從1898年3月到1906年11月，長達八年的民政長官任職期間，從衛生環境的整備開始，推動各項調查事業；統一幣制以促進金融與商業的流通；建設與擴充各種交通運輸事業；開發水力與火力發電廠，以奠定台灣發展工業的動力基礎；並從品種改良開始，重振台灣重要的米糖產業。

The new policies of Goto Shimpei

In office from March 1898 to November 1906, Goto Shimpei spent eight years as chief civil administrator. Starting with hygiene and health, he advanced all kinds of investigative work; created a unified monetary system by which promoted financial and commercial exchange; carried out construction and expansion of all kinds of communications and transportation enterprises; developed hydro and thermoelectric power plants in order to establish the power resource foundations for Taiwan’s development of industry; and, starting with the improvement in plant strains, revitalized Taiwan’s rice and sugar industries.



民政長宮後藤新平

Goto Shimpei

實施戶口與國勢調查

以調查事業為例，除了土地調查、林野調查、台灣舊慣調查之外，日本帝國在台灣也實施了戶口調查與國勢調查。對於近代國家而言，為了有效掌握支配領域的各種情報，統計調查事業的推動是一項基礎工作。其中，國勢調查又位居各種統計調查事業之根本。然而，日本帝國本身最早施行國勢調查是在 1920 年，而台灣則早在 1905 年便已經完成了第一次的國勢調查作業。由於當時日本的國家政治指導者對於國勢調查事業欠缺正確的認知，導致帝國內部的國勢調查事業起步較新領地台灣遲了十年。主要的因素在於這些政治指導者無法清楚分辨出戶口調查與國勢調查的異同處，自然不願意為國勢調查事業提撥預算。因此，1905 年在台灣初次實施國勢調查事業時，是以「第一次臨時台灣戶口調查」的名目闖關；而 1915 年則是以「第二次臨時台灣戶口調查」為名，推動國勢調查作業。事實上，國勢調查正確的譯法應該是「人口調查」，從事調查事業

Implementing household registration and population census

To take the investigative work as an example, apart from land and forestry surveys, and investigations into old customs in Taiwan, Japan implemented a household registration system in Taiwan, and carried out a population census. In order to effectively handle all sorts of information concerning the territory under their rule, the promotion of statistics and surveying work was extremely important groundwork for modern nations. The population census was also the base of all kinds of other statistical and surveying work. However, Japan did not carry out a population census of itself until 1920, while Taiwan had finished the work for its first population census in 1905. Because those leading domestic politics in contemporary Japan lacked accurate knowledge of the work involved in a population census, the census in Japan took off ten years after that of Japan's new territories. The major factor was that these political leaders were unable to differentiate household registration from a population census, and naturally they were unwilling to put a budget aside for a population census. Consequently, when the first population census was carried out in Taiwan in 1905, it was under the name of "First Provisional Taiwan Household Registration Survey." In 1915, population

的統計學者則以「國勢調查」的名義強調，「population census」所包括的範圍除了人口學之外，還包括產業調查、經營調查等各個層面，自然而然地給予外界有「國富」調查的印象，再加上歐美列強也實施這樣的政策，是日本想成爲「文明國」所應必備的要件之一。在統計學者不斷透過各種宣傳以及壓力團體的協助，終於在 1920 年說服了國家政治指導者施行國勢調查，台灣也得以與帝國內部同時以「國勢調查」名義，名符其實地繼續推動各種調查實務。

census work was promoted under the name of a “Second Provisional Taiwan Household Registration Survey.” In fact, the population census was literally entitled “survey of national strength,” and the statisticians engaged in the survey used this title to emphasize that the scope of a population census goes beyond mere population figures, and includes surveys of industry, management and other levels, and as a matter of course gives the outside world an impression of being a survey of “national wealth.” On top of this, the great Western powers were carrying out this kind of policy too, and this was one of the important conditions for Japan to become a “civilized nation.” With the incessant propaganda of the statisticians and the help of pressure groups, in 1920 the political leaders of Japan were finally persuaded to carry out a population census, and Taiwan too, was able to continue, with Japan, to promote all kinds of survey work under the name of “survey of national strength.”

年份	高砂族	本島人	內地人	總計
昭和十三年	2,04	23,71		25,75
昭和十六年	6,64	32,03		38,67
昭和十七年	9,433	28,82	27,83	66,086
昭和十八年	71,85	28,42	28,20	128,47
昭和十九年	74,97	41,10	28,26	144,33
昭和二十年	86,87	57,56	28,55	172,98
昭和二十一年	67,26	61,54	28,72	157,52

台灣現代化教育也始於日治時代，由日本政府主張統計表可知，台灣兒童就學人數逐年增加至 1941 年時已達 60% 以上

Modern education began in the Japanese period. From this chart produced by the Japanese government it can be seen that by 1941 the number of young Taiwanese in school had reached sixty

percent.

對台灣的經濟助益亦是不可抹滅

An undeniable help to Taiwan's economy

帝國政府在台灣領有初期，以每年七百萬日元的補助金支付給台灣總督府，原本預估十三年後台灣的財政應該可以獨立。然而，伴隨產業振興的順遂與公賣、地租收入的增加，在 1905 年台灣的財政已經可以獨立，甚至從兩年後的 1907 年

At the beginning of its occupation of Taiwan, the imperial government provided the governor-general with subsidies of seven million yen a year, and originally calculated that after thirty years Taiwan's public finances could achieve independence. However, in the wake of the smoothness of vigorous industrial development and increase in income

開始，還可以回饋帝國政府。1935年10月台灣總督府曾舉辦過一次「台灣始政四十週年紀念的大博覽會」，至目前為止這個可謂「空前絕後」的博覽會，也是日本帝國在台灣近代化歷程上的一個成果報告。當時受到了包括中華民國國民黨政權在內之海內外各界的矚目，評價極高。事實上，日本統治下「殖民地近代化」的遺產即使在戰後的五〇、六〇年代，對台灣經濟的助益亦是不可抹滅的。

無可諱言地，日本帝國在台灣所奠定的近代化基礎，基本上完全是為了配合其帝國內部資本主義發展的需求所設計的，但是，如果台灣史上欠缺了這一段歷史經驗，把今天的台灣社會與中國治下的海南島相比，恐怕也無出其右了。

from government monopolies and land taxes, Taiwan's public finances became independent in 1905. From 1907 a surplus could be returned to the imperial government. In October 1935, the governor-general of Taiwan held an "Exposition to Commemorate the 40th Anniversary of the Beginning of Administration in Taiwan," an exposition which has remained unique and unrivaled to this day, and which served as a report on the achievements of Taiwan's modernization process under Japanese rule. It attracted attention from all over the world, including the Republic of China's KMT regime, and was highly admired. In fact, the legacy of "colonial modernization" under Japanese rule was an undeniable help to the economy of Taiwan until well into the 1950s and 1960s.

There's no hiding the fact that the foundations of modernization established during the Japanese imperial occupation of Taiwan were basically meant to tie in with capitalist development in Japan itself. But if Taiwan had not had this historical experience, there would be precious little difference today between Taiwan society and Hainan Island, under Chinese rule.

Edited by Ann Lin / translated by Elizabeth Hoile

(林玫君編輯／何麗薩翻譯)