

Chapter One

Introduction

The prison is such an integral part of the justice system in modern society that it is hard to imagine a system of punishment without it. However prior to the creation of modern penal institutions in the West in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, punishment in most societies did not include a custodial sentence within a purpose-built institution such as a prison. Rather, punishment consisted of a variety of brutal punishments visited on the body, such as hanging, whipping, tattooing, and amputation. Offenders were usually only incarcerated until they came to trial or were sentenced. The jails that confined wrongdoers were characterised by their chaotic, dirty and dangerous nature and were a far cry from the disciplined, well ordered prisons that developed in their wake.

The creation of these new penal institutions was a result of a variety of factors, such as changing political and moral sensibilities as well as the efforts of penal reformers, and led to the prison being seen as an institution that was capable of reforming and improving the deviant individual. Prison not only served to incarcerate and confine the offender, but also to transform them into a useful member of society. Thus the idea of the prison came to be seen as a sign of modernization, epitomizing civilization, a prestige symbol.¹ Consequently, those in the West came to view the punishment systems of the East as embarrassing remnants of Eastern backwardness. This allowed Western nations to cite barbaric punishments in Japan and China as the excuse for introducing the practice of extraterritoriality.² Thus, as Japan and China struggled to resist the encroachment of Western imperialism, prison reform came to be seen as

¹ Frank Dikotter, *The Promise of Repentance: Prison Reform in Modern China*, British Journal of Criminology, Spring 2002, 42, 2, p, 241

² Extraterritoriality (according to the Columbia Encyclopaedia, 6th Edition) is defined as the privilege enjoyed by certain aliens of immunity from local law enforcement.

integral to achieving equality with the West and ridding themselves of this hated practice.

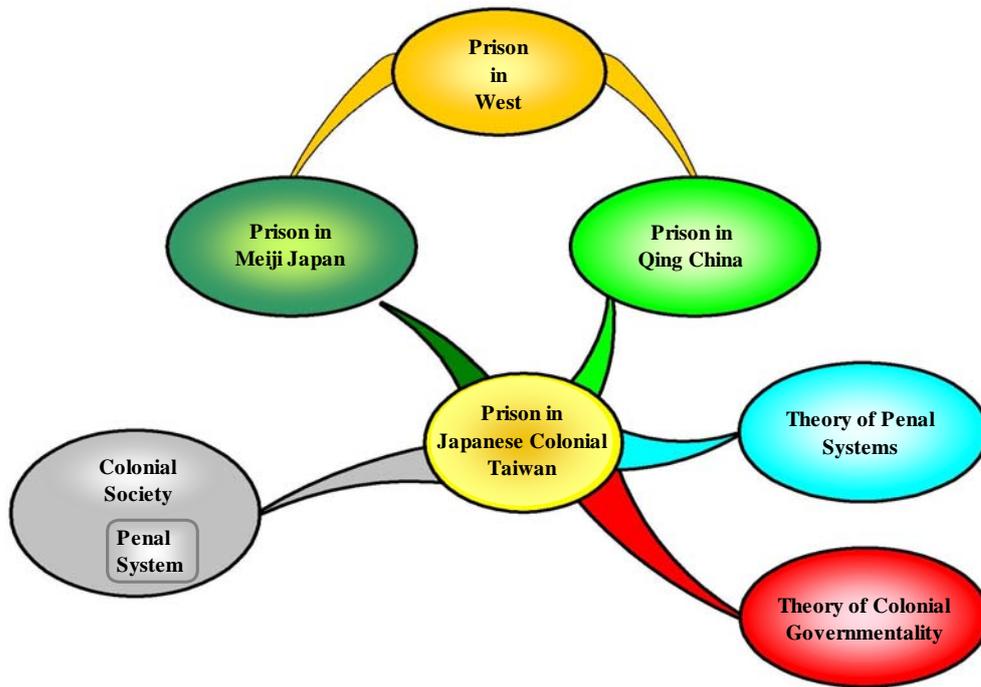
When the Japanese took over Taiwan in 1895, one of their first tasks was to dismantle the Qing justice system and to install their own legal and penal systems based on Western models. However, it was no small matter to attempt to create a modern prison system in their new colony, despite their recent experience introducing modern penal concepts in Meiji Japan. Different methods and approaches were called for due to the specificities of colonial Taiwan. This paper focuses on the early colonial era between 1895 and 1908 as this period covers not only the initial experimentation and problems that occurred in the first five years of colonial rule, but also the subsequent expansion and consolidation that had been achieved by 1908, when prison legislation in Taiwan was brought in line with Japanese law. Thus the prison system was stabilized by this point and had achieved the form it was to hold for the subsequent three and a half decades of colonial rule. Examination of this key period of penal development in colonial Taiwan shows how the early years of experimentation, expansion and consolidation allowed Japanese authorities to introduce and refine modern penal concepts and policies into Taiwan. Thus this paper seeks to demonstrate how Japanese colonial rulers adapted the penal system developed in Meiji Japan to the needs of their new colony and thus created the first modern penal system that Taiwan had ever known.

After introduction of the research and theoretical framework of this paper in chapter one, the second chapter will examine the origin and development of the penal system in China. Also the system of punishment and detention existing in Taiwan prior to 1895 under Qing imperial rule will be analysed. The third chapter will detail the

origin and development of the prison in Meiji Japan and the efforts of the Japanese state to transform Tokugawa era punishments into modern penal practice. Chapter four looks at the establishment of the Taiwanese penal system between 1895 and 1900 under Japanese colonial rule with particular attention paid to penal practice, policy and architecture. Chapter five takes up the story between 1900 and 1908 detailing the consolidation of penal practice as the colonial regime stabilized their control over the prison system. And lastly comparisons are made between penal practice and philosophy in Qing Taiwan, Meiji Japan and Japanese colonial Taiwan and conclusions drawn.

1.1 Framework of Research

The diagram following shows the framework within which this research topic will be located. As the history of the prison in the West was hugely influential for the creation of modern prison systems in both China and Japan, this serves as our research starting point. We must first understand the impetus and motivations for penal reform in the West as well as the types of early Western prisons developed to evaluate later developments in the East. Next, the creation of a modern prison system in Taiwan was influenced by two different countries- Meiji Japan and Qing dynasty China, and the prison systems of both these places are also evaluated. In addition the research framework for this paper will site the history of the prison in Taiwan within a theoretical framework of both penal systems and colonial governmentality, in particular by looking at the Taiwanese penal system, as it existed within Japanese colonial society.



1.2 Literature Review

The history of crime, punishment and the prison is a field of historical research that has become an increasingly popular over recent years and there exists an increasing number of complex and diverse works dedicated to this topic. The impetus for research into the history of the prison came from historians with an interest in social history seeking “to expose the fundamental norms of a society, often so fundamental as to remain hidden and unarticulated, [by]...investigating the fate of those who openly violated those norms. The history of the deviant [thus] became a way to understand the history of the normal.”³ These academics examined such topics as the history of the prison from medieval times⁴, the rise of the modern penitentiary in the West (1780s to 1860s)⁵, as well as prison specialization (for women and juveniles) and penal philosophy. Along with this diversity came debate as historians developed different approaches to explain changes in penal philosophy and practice over the ages.

Until recently, works examining the history of the prison characterized penal reform as a progression along a scale, from cruel, barbaric practices, to enlightened punishment.⁶ This teleological approach showed the efforts of reformers who pushed for change as creating a “moral concern” in society, which then led to widespread

³ Morris, Introduction, *The Oxford History of the Prison: The Practice of Punishment in Western Society*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1998, p. VII.

⁴ Edward Peters, *Prison Before the Prison: The Ancient and Medieval Worlds*; Pieter Spierenburg, *The Body and the State: Early Modern Europe in The Oxford History of the Prison*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1998

⁵ Randall McGowen, *The Well-Ordered Prison: England, 1780-1865*; David Rothman, *Perfecting the Prison: United States, 1789-1965*; Sean McConville, *The Victorian Prison: England, 1865-1965 in The Oxford History of the Prison*; Tim Carey, *Mountjoy, the Story of a Prison*, The Collins Press, Cork, 2005; McGowen, *A Powerful Sympathy: Terror, the Prison and Humanitarian Reform in Early Nineteenth Century Britain*, *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 3, Jul 1986

⁶ See R.A Cooper, *Ideas and their Execution: English Prison Reform*, *Eighteenth Century Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 1, Autumn 1976, pp. 73-93

penal reform. They focused on changes within the prison itself and did not attempt to relate these changes to events occurring in wider society. Thus penal history was “a sub-branch of institutional history of the modern welfare state.”⁷ In reaction to this ‘reformist’ approach, the ‘revisionist’ school developed, which saw penal historical development as resulting from more than just the efforts of reformers, and wanted to situate penal history within the philosophy of authority and the exercise of class power.⁸ One of the major works of this school of thought was Michel Foucault’s *Discipline and Punish*, which set forth a framework of analysis based on social control and discipline, and has been hugely influential and controversial.⁹ Other major ‘revisionist’ historians (such as Rothman and Ignatieff) have produced histories of penal institutions arguing that penal reform “was not due primarily to the conscious efforts of individual reformers; instead penal change was a response to or part of political or economic transformations.”¹⁰

According to Ignatieff in *A Just Measure of Punishment*, the emergence of the prison as the main form of punishment in England between 1775 and 1850 was a process by which punishments directed at the body, such as the gallows and the pillory, were replaced by punishments directed at the mind, such as the penitentiary. Ignatieff examines the efforts of early Western penal reformers, such as John Howard and Jeremy Bentham, and decides that their efforts were driven, not so much by humanitarian concerns, but more by desire to modify inmate behaviour through moral reformation within the ‘laboratory’ of the penitentiary. He ultimately concludes that

⁷ Ignatieff, *Recent Social Histories of Punishment*, in S. Cohen, and A. Scull, (Editors), *Social Control and the State: Historical and Comparative Essays*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1985, p. 76.

⁸ Ignatieff, *Recent Social Histories of Punishment*, in Cohen and Scull, (Editors), *Social Control and the State: Historical and Comparative Essays*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1985, p. 77

⁹ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish The Birth of the Prison*, Vintage Books, New York, 1995

¹⁰ Pieter Spierenberg, *Punishment, Power and History*, *Foucault and Elias*, *Social Science History*, 28:4, Winter 2004, p. 615.

economic change was the main reason for the rise of the prison and links new forms of authority within the prison walls to changes in class relations and social tactics outside the walls in a society undergoing capitalist transformation. He therefore seeks to “define where the rich and powerful of English life placed the outer limits of their power over the poor, and how these limits were redrawn during the making of an industrial society.”¹¹

However, the revisionists have come under attack for relying too much on class analysis and even Ignatieff, characterizing himself as a “former, though unrepentant member of the revisionist school”¹² admits that historical reality is more complex than expressed by this school of thought. Other academics have sought to develop theoretical perspectives by examining the sociology of punishment. To understand the prison as an institution they have sought to address the social function of the prison in society. Academics such as Durkheim, and Foucault amongst others have sought to examine the relationship between punishment and society with the purpose of “understanding punishment as a social phenomenon and thus trace its role in social life... and understand [the role of the prison] as one distinctive set of social processes situated within a wider social network.”¹³ Garland identifies four distinctive theoretical viewpoints within the sociological approach. Emile Durkheim’s concept of social solidarity posits that punishment is an “example of the ‘collective consciousness’, which both expressed and regenerated society’s values”.¹⁴ Thus he sought to analyse society through examining penal institutions and rituals. Marxist

¹¹ Ignatieff, *A Just Measure of Pain: The Penitentiary in the Industrial Revolution 1750-1850*, Pantheon Books, New York, 1978, p. 17

¹² Ignatieff, *Recent Social Histories of Punishment*, in Cohen and Scull (Editors), *Social Control and the State: Historical and Comparative Essays*, p. 78

¹³ Garland, *Punishment and Modern Society: A Study in Social Theory*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1990, p. 10

¹⁴ Garland, *Punishment and Modern Society*, p. 23-24

viewpoints on the other hand have done much to focus attention on “the role of penal institutions in strategies of class rule” and how punishment can act to express the power of the state.¹⁵ Thirdly, Foucault argues for the exploration of “forces and relations based on punitive mechanisms which pave general social patterns” in order to site punishment “within wider strategies of domination and subjectification”.¹⁶ Fourthly, other prominent penal theorists such as David Garland and Pieter Spierenburg have also suggested more multi-dimensional frameworks for understanding the complexity of the prison as a social institution.¹⁷ Spierenburg argues against the revisionist view of reformers’ motivations and believes that sensibilities still played a role in penal change. He proposes an Elias-based theory of the development of punishment. According to this sociological-historical approach, society can be understood as the outcome of several, interconnected and long-term processes, which changes people’s attitudes to physical punishment over time and these changes, in turn, are related to the process of state formation.¹⁸

The rise of the modern penitentiary and penal reform in the West influenced the types of penal systems adopted both in China and Japan (and hence Taiwan), however the origin and development of the prison in Asia thus far is a much-neglected topic of research. The history of the prison continues to be centred on the West, which means that apart from a small number of major important works completed over the last five years, the analysis of prison history of the East is underdeveloped. In general, it is not an exaggeration to state that the Asian carceral experience remains an area in need of

¹⁵ Garland, *Punishment and Modern Society*, p. 83-84

¹⁶ Garland, *Punishment and Modern Society*, p. 13

¹⁷ See Garland, *Frameworks of Inquiry*, *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 41, No. 1, March 1990, pp. 1-15 and Spierenburg, *Power, Punishment and History*.

¹⁸ Spierenburg, *Punishment, Power and History*, p. 618.

further research. In particular, a comprehensive prison history in Taiwan has not yet been written.

Recent studies have attempted to examine the history of the prison in Asia both in the colonial context and as part of the modernization process. Two recent studies of the history of the prison in Meiji Japan have adopted a Foucauldian perspective to analyze penal reform. Daniel Botsman, in his study of penal reform in early modern and modern Japan, sees punishment as part of a larger system for maintaining order, a way in which the state demonstrates its power. He sees the development of modern penal practices during the Meiji Restoration as indicative of the Japanese response to aggressive Western imperialism and “something integral to the making of modern Japan”.¹⁹ He examines the changes in punishment between the Tokugawa Shogunate and the Meiji Restoration, and shows how the national network of modern penitentiaries established in the 1880s and 1890s were based on Western models.

Naoyuki Umemori also examines the establishment of the modern penitentiary system in Japan within a framework of control and state authority.²⁰ He examines the introduction and development of Jeremy Bentham’s “panoptical technology” in modern Japanese history and analyzes the “various discursive practices related to imprisonment from 1867 to 1900”. He states that a certain type of “disciplinary power” (as per Foucault) emerged in Meiji Japan, which placed the prisoner in a certain type of spatial configuration.

¹⁹ Botsman, *Punishment and Power in the Making of Modern Japan*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 2005, p. 9.

²⁰ Umemori, *Spatial Configuration and Subject Formation: The Establishment of the Modern Penitentiary System in Meiji Japan*, in *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*, Hardacre and Kern (Editors), Leiden, New York, 1997

Another Asian country that sought to modernize their penal system in response to Western imperialism was China. Frank Dikotter's book *Crime, Punishment and the Prison in Modern China* is the only English language full-length work that focuses specifically on the emergence of the modern penal system in China between 1895 and 1949.²¹ The author views the most important factor in the emergence of the prison as the political revolutions of the late eighteenth and mid nineteenth centuries. He cites France after 1789, Russia after 1863, Japan after 1868 and China after 1905, as examples of nations sweeping away old social hierarchies and replacing them with a modern state having the duty of care over its subjects.²² Thus during this time, prison reform became a global development as nations sought to modernize, with the prison being increasingly seen as a symbol of civilization and the new political order. In addition, penal reform in China was linked to the quest for national reconstruction, wealth and power, which by necessity involved attempts to get rid of extraterritoriality. Modernizing elites saw penal reform as a way to modernize by appropriating Western innovations in order to free China from imperialism, but they also sought to adapt this technology to a specifically Chinese concept of governance. Therefore, while the Chinese penal system was influenced strongly by Western and Japanese systems, it was viewed not as foreign transplant, but as "a microcosm of exemplary society"²³ where prisoners were expected to emulate role models.

²¹ Michael Dutton's book, *Policing and Punishment in China: From Patriarchy to the People* is an analysis of policing and punishment practices in China from the past to the present from the Foucauldian perspective of the 'genealogy of power'.

²² Dikotter, *Crime, Punishment and the Prison in Modern China*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2002, p. 4

²³ Dikotter, *Crime, Punishment and the Prison in Modern China*, p. 16.

Another area of scholarly inquiry into the history of the prison in a non-Western environment focuses on the experience of the colonial prison.²⁴ Zinoman examines the role of the colonial prison in Vietnam and its role as a distinct form of colonial institutional power. He looks at the origin of the prison as an urgent need in colonial societies, its particular characteristics and the influence of local penal traditions on colonial punishment. While colonial prisons were generally seen to be ‘laboratories of modernity’, utilizing innovations of disciplinary power and techniques of social engineering and control, there was a gap between prison policy and practice. Thus colonial prisons in Dutch East Sumatra, British India, Burma and French Indochina rarely utilized modern disciplinary techniques and this contrasts with the highly disciplined colonial prison eventually established by the Japanese in Taiwan.²⁵ He examines the colonial prison as one component of a larger colonial administration, which exhibited distinctive organizational and operational characteristics of the state, a distinct form of colonial institutional power. The prison is thus sited in a legal, financial and institutional framework and we shall examine this more closely in the Taiwanese penal system as we examine the place occupied by the prison in the hierarchy of authority of the Japanese colonial state.

Due to the virtual lack of a body of literature in English on the history of the prison in the Japanese colonial era in Taiwan²⁶, it is easy to conclude that research in this area is underdeveloped. However, Daniel Botsman, in his account of penal history in Meiji Japan concludes his book by briefly examining the establishment of the colonial prison in Taiwan by the Japanese. He also analyses the practice of flogging,

²⁴ Zinoman, *The Colonial Bastille: A History of Imprisonment in Vietnam 1862-1940*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2001, Anderson, *Legible Bodies: Race, Criminality and Colonialism in South Asia*, Berg Publishers, Oxford, 2004

²⁵ Zinoman, *The Colonial Bastille*, p. 37

²⁶ For late imperial Taiwan prisons, some detail is provided in Allee’s *Law and Local Society in Late Imperial China*, SMC Publishing, Taipei, 1994

introduced by the Japanese to punish Taiwanese, even when it had been disused in Japan, as evidence of the difference in status between the colonizer and the colonized in Taiwan. The introduction of a modern penal system in colonial Taiwan, according to Botsman, was intended to “create difference and confirm backwardness”.²⁷

Although there are many studies appraising different aspects of Japanese colonial rule, a comprehensive picture of the carceral society established by the Japanese is lacking. In addition, more research is also needed, not only into the colonial judicial and penal system of colonial Taiwan, but also to site these works within the framework of not only Japanese colonial authority, but also colonial governance as a whole.

1.3 Theoretical Framework

It has been recognized that prisons are part of a “political, economic and moral order”²⁸ and that their interaction with these structures influence penal practice. Thus we can say that the type of ruling political regime in a given society will necessarily affect the prison system that develops in that society. Hsu posits that different political ruling systems “pose different political discourses and strategies corresponding to the governance of population and individuals, and shape different dimensions of social life and penal rationality.”²⁹

So how do we uncover what is different and unique in the construction of penal systems in Taiwan as a result of the specificities of social, political and cultural systems? The time period under examination is the era of Japanese rule of Taiwan,

²⁷ Botsman, *Power and Punishment in the Making of Modern Japan*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 2005, p. 211

²⁸ Jacobs quoted in Hsu, *State Power and Penal Rhetoric: An Historical Analysis of the Prison System in Taiwan*, *Asian Journal of Criminology*, Vol. 1, No. 1, p.23

²⁹ Hsu, *State Power and Penal Rhetoric*, p. 3

thus colonialism is the key mode of governance. Accordingly this paper utilizes a framework based on Scott and Brown's exploration of colonial governance and the distinct mechanisms of power within colonial society and the exercise of that power between colonizers and colonized.³⁰

Before we discuss colonial governance, it is necessary to first evaluate what is meant by the concept of 'governmentality'. In thinking about what government is and how it works, Foucault shows us that government is not limited only to the process of politics but exists throughout society, having a large number of techniques and applying to a broad spectrum of objects. Thus we can say that governmentality is "concerned with systems of thinking and action which seek to know and govern populations."³¹ This 'conduct of conduct' "aims at shaping, guiding or affecting the conduct of the population"³² and as such shapes both social life and penal rationalities.

Scott's article, *Colonial Governmentality* takes as its central focus not "the way colonialism as a practice of power works to include or exclude the colonized"³³ but rather Foucauldian-based political rationalities of colonial power. By this he means "those historically constituted complexes of knowledge/power that give shape to colonial projects of political sovereignty."³⁴ Focusing on the concept of a colonial political rationality, its targets, point of application and field of operation, enables him to reformulate the question of how colonial power is organised as an activity "designed to produce effects of rule." In other words, he asks what is distinctive about political rationalities of colonial power and how the transformation effected by

³⁰ Brown, Mark, "That Heavy Machine": Reprising the Colonial Apparatus in 21st Century Social Control, *Social Justice*, 2005, 32,1, p.41-52; Scott, David, *Colonial Governmentality*, Social Text, No. 43 (Autumn 1995), pp.191-220

³¹ Hsu, *State Power and Penal Rhetoric*, p. 45

³² Hsu, *State Power and Penal Rhetoric*, p. 45

³³ Scott, *Colonial Governmentality*, p. 193

³⁴ Scott, *Colonial Governmentality*, p. 193

modern power in the metropole altered the construction of the colonial project. He finds that a form of power emerges that is “concerned above all with disabling old forms of life by systematically breaking down their conditions, and with constructing in their place new conditions so as to enable- indeed so as to oblige- new forms of life to come into being.”³⁵

Brown also examines the nature of colonial political rationalities and finds that the central difference between the colonial state from “other examples of modernizing governance is the particular relationship between subject and state established there, and thus the structure of expectations within which relations between state and subject take place.”³⁶ He thus examines the different ways that colonial states try to produce subjects of rule. Central to this idea is Scott’s thesis that:

If modern power is concerned with disabling non-modern forms of life by dismantling their conditions, then its aim in putting in place new and different conditions is above all to produce governing-effects on conduct. Modern power seeks to arrange and rearrange these conditions (conditions at one discursive and nondiscursive) so as to oblige subjects to transform themselves in a certain, that is, *improving* direction.³⁷

He sees the relationship between the subject and the state as being characterized by the way in which the colonial state emphasizes “the importance of virtue over right and thus the way, subsequently, that relations between subject and state [are] structured around assessments of character and virtue.”³⁸ Thus, by placing obligation above rights, the colonial subject is made an ‘agent of obligation’ who is expected to acquire new and modern virtues such as rationality and respect for ‘particular

³⁵ Scott, *Colonial Governmentality*, p. 193

³⁶ Brown, “*That Heavy Machine*”, p. 45

³⁷ Scott, p. 34, quoted in Brown, “*That Heavy Machine*”p. 45

³⁸ Brown, “*That Heavy Machine*”,p. 45

thoughts and ways of living'. Thus new strategies were used to 'constitute' these virtues and make them 'required'.³⁹

Thus Brown develops a new understanding of the rule of colonial difference as not based on race, but rather on an "ethical capacity defined and structured through virtues."⁴⁰ Colonial subjects thus could be progressively included in civic, social or political life through acquiring the virtues deemed necessary by the colonial government.

Another point worth mentioning is the importance of examining the relationship between the colony and the metropole. Cohn believes, in opposition to Chatterjee, that colonialism is an integral part of a modern administration. Chatterjee's concern with the differences between forms of power between the colony and metropole means that he cannot explore the interrelationship between the two. Thus because the two interact, they must be seen in a 'unitary field of analysis'.⁴¹ Thus the relationship between the metropole, namely Japan, and the colony, Taiwan, is integral to understanding the establishment of a colonial administration in Taiwan.

So how does a certain type of political rationality (such as colonial governance) affect penal discourse? First, what do we mean by penal rationalities and discourse? Hsu tells us that penal discourse can be divided into ends discourse and means discourse.⁴² Ends discourse can be defined as "corresponding to political rationalities as the appropriately moral and legitimate justification of what prisons are for" and can include reformation, rehabilitation and control discourses. While the control discourse emphasises that the disruptive individual must conform to measures deemed

³⁹ Brown, "*That Heavy Machine*", p. 46

⁴⁰ Brown, ., "*That Heavy Machine*", p. 47

⁴¹ Cohn, quoted in Umemori, *Spatial Configuration and Subject Formation*, p. 19

⁴² Hsu, *State Power and Penal Rhetoric*, p. 29

necessary for maintaining law and order, reformation and rehabilitation discourses stress that punishment of the individual (as deviant) will act as a positive force for the good of society.⁴³ Means discourses are those “used to implement procedure, techniques and strategies that produce administrative practices and attitudes, as well as policy statements” and can include bureaucratic, professionalism and authoritarian types. Thus identifying the ends and means discourses in a particular penal system can help to analyse how a “system of thought informs and justifies the actions of prison authorities”.

Hsu identifies the Taiwan prison system in the Japanese colonial era as being characterized by a means discourse of retribution and an ends discourse of authoritarianism. The retribution discourse was needed to bring about a stable social order by dictating that punishment should relate to past crimes and that the degree of severity of punishment should suit the seriousness of the crime.⁴⁴ This meant that the Taiwanese criminal justice system was, under the Japanese, based on rational penal ideas rather than the arbitrary system that had existed under the Qing. Hsu defines the penal administrative mode during this time as authoritarian and based along “strict militaristic lines” due to the primary concern of maintaining the social order and the project of governmentality. This was not to change until after 1920, when the militaristic governance changed to civilian governance, which affected the penal discourse to one of rehabilitation.

This paper seeks to examine the relationship between the differing stages of penal development in Taiwan and colonial governmentality. The changing strategies of colonial governance in Taiwan affected the historical development of the penal

⁴³ Hsu, *State Power and Penal Rhetoric*, p.29

⁴⁴ Hsu, *State power and Penal Rhetoric*, p. 34

system and this is reflected in the strategies and technologies employed in the prison system of colonial administrators. This will situate the prison within the highly organised and disciplined Japanese colonial environment in Taiwan, and understand the historical development of the prison in Taiwan as shaped by a variety of forces.

Primary sources from the government archives of the Japanese colonial era related to the penal and law enforcement systems will be utilized in this study. These include government reports and legislation from the Governor General's Office (in Chinese translation). Contemporary writings and newspapers such as the RiRi Xinbao (日日新報) from 1897 onwards as well as relevant academic works both in English and Chinese will also be used.