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General Condition of Fishery Labour in Japan.

PART I.—GENERAL SURVEY OF FISHERY INDUSTRY IN JAPAN.

CHAPTER 1. CONDITION OF FISHERY ENTERPRISES IN JAPAN.

Japan topographically lies long north to south, extending from the frigid zone to the torrid zone. The coast line measures approximately 20,000 miles. Cold and warm ocean currents wash the shores of the Honto, Main Island. For these reasons, Japan is suited geographically for fishery industry. The people are fond of aquatic products, and fishery industry has prospered since ancient times. To add to it, the efforts made of late years by the government and the people have enabled the fishery industry of Japan to attain an extraordinary progress in all directions, fishing, aqua culture and manufacturing industries included, so that in 1919 the total value of fishery products reached to ¥296,025,000.

	1919	1914
Coast Fisheries... ..	¥ 246,834,000	¥ 95,054,000
Deep sea Fisheries	37,600,000	9,188,000
Aqua culture	11,591,000	4,087,000
Total	296,025,000	108,329,000
Manufacture	190,834,000	60,397,000

The number of persons engaged in the production of fishery goods was also very many. In 1919, the total number in Japan

proper was 1,365,000. Consequently, the number of fishing vessels employed in the industry was proportionately many. In 1919, it was 384,000, of which approximately 4,000 were motor vessels. (The total number, however, of persons engaged in fishery industry includes those engaged in small scale enterprises, and the total number of fishing vessels the smaller vessels.)

Persons in Fishery Industry (1919).

	Engaged exclusively	Engaged occasionally	Total
Japan Proper	664,791	700,667	1,365,458

Fishing Vessels (1919).

	Without Motor	With Motor	Total
Japan Proper	380,577	4,032	384,609

SECTION 1. FISHERY INDUSTRY.

The fishery industry is one of the oldest industries in Japan. Everywhere along the sea coast, in lakes and streams it has been generally engaged in. Of late years, the industry developed extraordinarily. The development of the aqua culture was also remarkable. Especially noteworthy is the fact that of late years, due to the progress in the deep see fishery industry, the fishing area was greatly widened, the result of which was that the fishing industry which had hitherto been confined to the coast fishing was now extended farther from shore and even to some foreign shores. The following is a brief outline of facts.

COAST FISHERIES.

The coast fisheries include the fishing in the sea by means of drift-nets, pound-nets, haul-ashore seines, purse seines, hand lines, and long lines, from the vantage grounds of the small vessels or of the sea shores, to catch sardines, herrings, porgies, ocean bonitos, yellow

tails, tunnies, flat fishes and also in rivers, brooks, lakes and ponds by means of weirs or traps to catch grey mullets, eels, salmon and trout. The following is the value of produce from coast fisheries in 1918.

Total value of the fisheries (1918)

Coast Fisheries in Japan Proper	¥151,186,000
Freshwater fisheries in Japan Proper	20,000,000
Total	171,186,000

DEEP SEA FISHERIES.

The sea fisheries of Japan in the past had been confined to the coast and had not extended to the deep oceans. In 1897, the government promulgated a law for the encouragement of the deep sea fisheries, according to which subsidies or bounties were made by the government for encouragement under certain conditions, in order to assist in the development of the new ventures. Since then the enterprise prospered gradually and the area of fishing was widely extended to the far-regions of Russian territory, Korea, and Kwantung province.

The most remarkable development of all was noted in the building of motor fishing vessels. In 1913, the number of such vessels was only 1,600, which in 1919 increased to 3,933. Consequently the fishing for ocean bonitos and other fish by means of these motor vessels extraordinarily developed. Again, referring to the steam trawling, the industry was supported by the subsidies in the earlier period, but such subsidies became unnecessary with the subsequent development of the industry of its own accord. During the European war, however, the trawlers were sold to foreign countries, so that the number of such vessels considerably decreased. Whereas there were 139 of steam trawlers in Japan in 1913, the number fell to only 6 in 1918. After the war, the number increased owing to the revival of the trawl fishing. At present, the number of the vessels actively employed is 54. Recently, the government put a limit to the number of vessels to 70 or less, with the object in view of preserving the fish. As for steam vessels engaged in whaling, the actual number is 27. For similar reasons as for the trawlers, the number of such whaling steamers licensed was limited to 30.

The following is the yields of the fishing industries described in the preceding paragraphs with the kinds of the products.

Yields of the Deep sea fisheries.

Nature of Fishing	1919	1914	Kinds of Products
Deep sea fisheries ...	¥ 27,524,000	¥ 5,860,000 (including the value of steam trawlers and whaling steamers).	Ocean Bonitos, mackerel, sardines, cod, Porgies dentex.
Steam Trawling... ..	1,231,000		
Whale fisheries	2,706,000		Sulphur bottom, dike, sperm, hump back.
Taken in Korea (not including that which was taken by those staying permanently in Korea... ..)	5,451,000	3,187,000	Porgies mackerel, dabs, spanish mackerel, herrings, Yellow tails, cod.
Taken in Kwantung Province Coast ...	688,000	141,000	Porgies.
Total	37,600,000	9,188,000	

FISHERIES IN FOREIGN TERRITORIES.

Fisheries in the Russian waters had been conducted to some extent in the early days. But any noteworthy development was attained since the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese treaty of 1907. In 1919, the total quantity of yields approximately reached to 460,000 koku, which were manufactured into canned goods, salted products and fertilizers, valued at ¥30,000,000. The following is a brief outline of facts.

	1919	1914
Number of Claims of Fishing Area	246	226
Number of Vessels Employed...	309	330
Number of Persons engaged in Fisheries and of the Crews...	16,100 fish	12,635 fish
A mount of Yields {salmon trout herring}	58,935,000 } 460,389 koku 30,040,000 }	77,931,000 } 459,447 koku 29,105,000 }
Canned Products... ..	639,465 boxes	75,000 boxes

AQUA CULTURE INDUSTRY.

Japan has many suitable places for nursing fish and shell fish in lakes, ponds and other fresh waters and also bays and inlets which abound in the country. In recent years, the industry prospered extraordinarily. In 1919, the amount of culture products of Japan proper reached to ¥11,590,000. Compared with ¥4,000,000 of 1914, the production trebled in five years. The area of culture grounds at present employed in Japan proper is 183,837,000 tsubo (tsubo equals 4 square yards) or 61,279 chobu (chobu or cho equals 2.45 acres), the area of inland waters which may be used for the purpose in the future approximately is 420,000 chobu, and the area of shallow waters along the coast approximately is 500,000 chobu. These facts will indicate that the future of the industry is much promising. The principal kinds of fish which may be cultured and propagated are carp, snapping turtles, eels, grey mullets, oysters, clams, razor clams, gillheads, flat fish and lever, etc.

The hatcheries where salmon, trout, etc. are hatched numbered 92 in 1919, both the government and private ones included. In the salmon hatcheries 180,000,000 fries were turned loose and in the trout hatcheries 15,000,000 fries.

SECTION 2. CURING AND MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES.

Along with the development of fishing industry, the curing and manufacturing industry also remarkably developed. In 1919, the amount of products of fishery plants reached to ¥188,000,000. Compared with 1914, it was an increase approximately of 340 per cent. The following is a brief outline of facts.

Kinds and value of Fishery Products in Japan Proper.

Kind	1919	1914
Boiled and smoked fish (<i>fushi</i>)	¥ 23,436,000	¥ 8,707,000
Hard Dried fish	19,194,000	8,016,000
Salted and Dried fish	8,068,000	2,665,000
Boiled and Dried fish	26,094,000	8,212,000

Kind.	1919	1914
Smoked fish	¥ 184,000	¥ 141,000
Salted fish... ..	20,925,000	3,892,000
Sea Weed for Food... ..	19,841,000	—
Fertilizer	41,480,000	14,046,000
Fish oil, whale oil	4,002,000	1,002,000
Canned fish	8,002,000	2,654,000
Vegetable ising glass	3,289,000	1,833,000
Others... ..	14,319,000	4,021,000
Total	188,834,000	55,189,000

CHAPTER 2. ORGANIZATION OF ENTERPRISES.

As explained in the foregoing chapter, the fishery industry of Japan remarkably developed of late years. Consequently, not insignificant changes have been introduced in the organization of enterprises. To survey generally, whereas in the past, except in two or three instances, the greater part of capital needed for fishery industry was supplied by fish commission-agent, fish market brokers or merchants dealing in sea products; in recent years the method was somewhat changed; and in the case of large enterprises the enterprises have come to be changed into corporate ones in which the capital needed was secured by popular subscriptions. Thus, the fishery industry has gradually become capitalistic.

Reviewing the enterprises from the standpoints of capital invested and of the enterprises themselves, we may divide them into the following kinds.

(1) Classification According to Capital Invested.

There are the following three general kinds.

- (a) The enterprise engaged in by a whole family with the capital of its own.
- (b) The enterprise conducted by an individual person or family owning fishing vessels, apparatuses and other fixed capital needed,

but borrowing a greater portion of current capital from fish commission agents, fish market brokers or sea products dealers, and employing labourers.

(c) The enterprise in which abundant capital is invested by an individual enterpriser or large amounts of capital invested through a corporate organization and labourers employed by contract altogether from outside. In the case of a larger scale enterprise, fishing, manufacturing, transporting and selling are conducted altogether under one management.

(2) Classification of the Enterprises Viewed from the Enterprises Per Se.

(a) Independent Management.

Independent management refers to the condition of management of fishery industry referred to in (a) of the classification mentioned before. Its scale is generally small. The enterpriser and his family become at the same time labourers, so that no parallel relations exist between the employer and the employed. This sort of management has been prevalent chiefly among fishermen in the coast villages. But in point of the total number of such enterprises and also of the total amounts of yields, it should not be treated lightly. Besides, this class of fishermen often become fishing labourers and are employed as such by others. They form very important elements in studying the fishing labour problem in Japan.

(b) Enterprise by Employed Labour.

Enterprise by employed labour refers to the management of the enterprise by employing labourers for certain wages, the relations of the employer and the employed being mutual. The (b) and (c) in the foregoing described classification of the organisation of enterprises belong to this category. This sort of enterprise is resorted to mostly for large scale fishing by means of fixed net or of various kinds of motor vessels and trawlers. This kind of enterprise is gradually becoming capitalistic.

(c) Joint Management.

Joint management refers to a condition of management in which the enterpriser and the labourers, while standing in relations of

employer and employed, are in reality on a parallel footing. To subdivide this, it implies three states; investment of labour, of capital and of both labour and capital.

(d) Rental Management.

Rental management refers to a process by which a person possessing fishery rights in a certain fishing area for which he has secured the license in accordance with law rents his rights to another for a consideration, which he receives as his remuneration. Ordinarily, he conducts the industry himself in the best locations in his control and rents the rest to others, or for reasons of his personal conveniences rents all of his rights. In either case, the enterpriser is a big capitalist or a big scale fishing enterpriser or a fishing association, who had several or ten or more claims of fishing area.

PART II.—CONDITION OF FISHERY LABOUR.

CHAPTER 1. FISHERY LABOURERS.

The fishery labourers in a broad sense are those who invest their labour in fishing, nursing fish and manufacturing fishery goods. They are either men or women, young or old; or they are either a family of the enterpriser or those having other independent business of their own or engaged in such business in a capacity; so long as they invest their labour in the foregoing described enterprise at a certain definite period. They are not, therefore, necessarily confined to those who are in a position of employed in relation to employer. On the other hand, in a narrow sense fishery labourers are those (a) who all the year round offer their labour for certain wages under a contract of labour to the service exclusively of fishing, nursing and manufacturing fishery goods; (b) who are engaged in certain other kinds of industry for certain periods in the year or who have no other occupation but only render service during the fishing season, under similar condition as in (a) and belong to the class of ordinary labourers; and (b) who are small scale fishermen principally engaged in ordinary times in their independent individual enterprises of fishing and manufacturing fishery goods, only offering their service at a

certain period in the year to the fishing enterprise by others. Consequently, those who belong to the class (c) should theoretically be regarded in ordinary times as independent fishery enterprisers, but in reality they should be properly regarded as fishery labourers.

In brief, the fishery labourers in a narrow sense are those who belong to the general labouring class and who subsist chiefly by means of their labour, but who for the most part of the year or during a certain fishing season engage in fishing industry under contract for certain wages. This class of fishery labourers in common parlance are called the "fishermen." In the present paper, they are classed as "Pure labourers" and the rest of fishery labourers as "Other labourers." In point of the time of employment, both of them are divided into three other classes; employed by day, by season and permanently employed.

SECTION 1. NUMBER OF FISHERY LABOURERS.

Dividing the fishery labourers throughout the country into pure labourers and others and again into employed by day, by season and permanently employed, their numbers are as follows.

Number of Fishery Labourers throughout the Country.

(No. 1) At end of December, 1920.

Class of Labourers	Number of Labourers	Men		Women		Children	Total
		Old and Adult	Young	Old and Adult	Young		
Employed by Day	Pure Labourers	55,479	10,716	23,850	3,667	1,803	95,515
	Others	58,088	10,120	53,688	9,268	3,524	134,688
Employed by Season	Pure Labourers	247,884	17,367	19,090	2,382	3,729	290,452
	Others	85,150	6,925	25,199	3,177	1,797	122,248
Permanently employed	Pure Labourers	61,241	6,151	8,333	1,408	610	77,743
	Others	51,453	6,854	8,540	1,650	93	68,590
Total		559,295	58,133	138,700	21,552	11,556	789,236
Servants		6,105	1,837	8,634	2,657	946	20,179
Grand total... ..		565,400	59,970	147,334	24,209	12,502	809,415

(No. 2).

	Employed by day	Employed by season	Permanently employed	Total
Pure Labourers...	95,515	290,452	77,743	463,710
Others	134,688	122,248	68,590	325,526
Total	230,203	412,700	146,333	789,236

(No. 3).

	Men		Women		Children	Total
	Old and Adult	Young	Old and Adult	Young		
Pure Labourers...	364,604	34,234	51,273	7,457	6,142	463,710
Others	194,691	23,899	87,427	14,095	5,414	325,524
Total	559,295	58,133	138,700	21,552	11,556	789,236

Note.

1. Fishery labourers are those who, regardless of the length of employment, are employed in fishery industry for wages.

Those who are engaged in the manufacture of fishery products of a simple process are regarded as fishery labourers.

2. The employed by day are those who are employed with the day as the unit or by fixing wages according to the amount of work done and are daily employed. The employed by season are those who fix their pay during the fishing season with ten days or a month or one whole season as the unit, and are employed for such ten days, month or season. The permanently employed are those who are employed with more than one whole fishing season as the unit, or employed without previously determining the time of employment. The servants are those who are exclusively engaged in household duties of the fishery enterprisers.

3. The young persons are those who are above 14 and below 16 years in full. The children are those who are below 14 in full.

SECTION 2. LIVING CONDITION OF FISHERY LABOURERS.

In this section, an attempt will be made to explain in full exclusively (a) and (b) in the foregoing section concerning the labourers in a narrow sense, because the fishery labourers of the class of (c) belong to the group of ordinary labourers.

The fishery labourers of the class of (a) always lead the life of fishery labourers as such, so that their condition of living ade-

quately represents the condition of living of the pure fishery labourer's class. They shift almost all the year round in a locality or from one fishing ground to another during the fishing season, thus continuing the life of labourers. In most occasions, they are led by a certain ship captain or in groups of several persons to seek work in localities where their service is required. In this case, however, the employers and the labourers usually have been acquaintances of long standing. The food and clothing of the labourers are in most cases supplied by the employers. As for wages, they were already received beforehand in the form of advance loans, which were used partly by the family of the labourers and partly by the labourers themselves as their personal expenses.

The fishery labourers belonging to the class (b) are in ordinary times independent enterprisers of small scale fishing industry, so that compared with the foregoing described class the living of these is somewhat more stable. They at any rate form the community of fishermen conducting fishery industry in a small scale in a certain fishing village. But in most instances they rarely are well to do people, and chiefly live by the sweat of their labour. Their method of fishing is to fish by means of simple devices made by themselves, thereby earning a certain amount of revenue. As a side business they engage in their spare hours in tilling the soil and in forestry industry. During the busy fishing season, they go out to work as fishery labourers, thereby earning a certain amount of more revenue.

And so they are comparatively well off. Especially since the recent development of the fishermen's associations their living condition has been considerably improved, so that they are happy and contented with their lot.

The only drawback with the two classes of labourers described in the foregoing paragraphs is that they have very little money saved up, so that in case of an accident they often become victims of poverty and need to be relieved from their sufferings, which is a cause of regret.

Next as to the health of these fishery labourers, they are generally very robust. That is due to the fact that they daily go out to the sea to fish under the blue sky and on the blue water, breathing fresh air and subsisting on fresh fish and shell fish, while their labour is not too hard to perform.

SECTION 3. EDUCATION AND RELIGION OF FISHERY LABOURERS.

The educational standard of the fishery labourers is almost uniform throughout different localities. They have as a rule completed primary school education. In the past, the fishermen generally had not recognized the value of education and when their children grew to a certain age, these were at once employed in assisting their parents in the fishery industry. In recent years, however, the value of education has come to be recognized by them. This development should be ascribed to the spread of general education and also to the lectures given occasionally on fishery industry.

Next, in reference to the religion of the labourers; since their life is on many occasions under the direct influence of nature they strengthen their fear and sense of awe in Nature. Consequently, their religious sentiments and also superstitious faiths are very much more profound than in the case of other general labourers. In fishing villages, shrines of gods and temples of Buddha are built everywhere for the people to worship.

SECTION 4. MORALS OF FISHERY LABOURERS.

The morals of the fishery labourers have close relations with the morals of the fishing villages. The morals of fishing villages are lower than those of other industrial communities, due to the rough life the inhabitants lead. It is a most hopeful sign that their morals are being improved by the spread of general education in recent years.

CHAPTER 2. CONDITION OF FISHERY LABOUR.

Because of the differences between different classes of fishery labourers, the condition of their labour cannot be described under one heading. For instance, there is a kind of labour rendered for a fixed duration of time fishing out in the near sea or offing and returning to port at a fixed hour which differ from the labour rendered for the deep sea fisheries or at a seasonal fishing ground. Again, in one kind of fishing there are the differences of weather and various conditions on the sea between the northern parts and

the southern parts. Consequently, the labour rendered in different circumstances cannot be described with one breath. On the other hand, viewed from the standpoint of similarity, there are not lacking many common features throughout different kinds of fishery labour and throughout different localities. For instance, as the fishing industry is most subject to the conditions of nature, in times of bad weather when the catch is very small, the labourers waste almost the whole of their days. While in times of good catch and plentifulness they are expected to work day and night. Otherwise, fishing labour being conducted on a wide area of the sea, it is much different from the factory labour which is rendered within a plant under one supervising management; so that cooperation and unity of service is needed much more, a feature which should not escape notice in studying the labour conditions.

SECTION 1. HOURS OF LABOUR AND DAY OF REST.

By the nature of the thing, the fishing labour is not to be rendered in a fixed time. There is, however, naturally a general agreement as to the hours of labour according to different kinds of fishery industry and different localities. For instance, in the coastal and inshore fishing, the weather permitting, the fishermen go out to the sea early before dawn and return along the sunset (as for instance in the case of fishing by means of *utase ami* [shrimp trawler] fishing or *teguri ami* [off-shore haul net] fishing in the near sea) or they go out in the evening and engage in fishing during the night, returning early before dawn the next morning (as for instance in the case of calamary fishing, mackerel line fishing, *samma* fishing, ocean bonito fishing, and drift net fishing); or they go to the fishing ground in the evening, spread the net and return, and go again there early before dawn the next morning to pull the net ashore (as in the case of dog-fish gill-net fishing); or they rise before dawn every day during the fishing season as in the case of fishing of salmon, trout, herrings, by means of pound net, and engage in pulling the net about three times a day at certain hours, and during the rest of hours they engage in making various preparations for fishing in the season. They generally go to bed at 10 p.m. The foregoing is a description of the fishery labour along the sea coast. Regarding the fishing in the deep sea, the cod line fishing in the ocean ordinarily lasts

from the early part of May until the latter part of October. About four months of the season are the time of stay in the fishing area, numbering approximately 100 or more days. Every day, at dawn (at 51 degrees latitude north in summer time the sun rises at 3 a.m. and sets at 9 p. m.), the labourers rise and work immediately after breakfast, finishing the work for the day at about the supper time. Their rest time is very short at night. They take meals four times a day, at 6 a.m., 11 a.m., 4 p.m. and 10 p.m. Since the labourers get percentages of yields beside the wages guaranteed they wish for long hours of work.

Next, regarding the trawler fishing, the time spent for one venture out in the ocean is about 12 days from the departure until the return to port. An average frequency in a month is twice or three times, using the fishing implements five times a day and working all day and all night on a shift in four hours for sailors and from three to four hours for engineers. Upon their return to port, they take a rest of one half of a day or one day before they sail out for another venture. In this case, also, generally some percentages are given them out of the yields beside their wages. Next, referring to the fishing out in the Russian Coast Province and Kamtchatka, the fishermen and useful men go out to the sea between March and April and between May and June, returning in August and October respectively, after spending about four or five months. The actual time for fishing is about one to one and a half month on an average. They rise at 5 a.m., cast the net three to ten or more times a day.

Thus it will be seen that the hours of labour of the fishermen are such that they are expected to work continually day and night when the catch is good. But other times they take their own time of rest between their work.

There is no fixed day of rest, except during the mid-summer *Bon* Season, the New Year season and on festival days, in different localities, of Shintoism or Buddhism, when they make it a point to rest from work. At other times, the days of bad weather are naturally holidays for them, although they do not rest altogether even in such days of bad weather.

SECTION 2. LABOUR EFFICIENCY AND AMOUNTS OF YIELDS.

It is very difficult to generalize on the degree of the labour efficiency of the fishery labourers. To describe the relations of the labour efficiency with the amounts of yields in connection with chief kinds of fishing industry; in the case of fishing of cod fish, calamary, mackerels, and ocean bonitos wherein joint operation is not required but exclusive individual skill remarkably influence the amounts of yields, individual skill and the amounts of yields maintain certain direct ratios. But in the case of pound net, ground seine, purse seine and other methods, wherein all of the labour is always rendered jointly, individual efficiency does not control the efficiency of the organization so very remarkably. The skill of management on the part of the ship captain superintending the work has more control over the efficiency of the organization, and has influence over the amounts of production. Consequently, there are different situations according to the methods of fishing; one in which importance is attached to individual efficiency and the other in which importance is attached to the efficiency of the organization. The fishermen who belong to the former class of fishery labourers in Japan generally possess great efficiency and skill, whereas those who belong to the latter class are inferior in individual efficiency to the former and they act chiefly under the command of the superintendent, or ship captain. We imagine that this state of affairs is no doubt due to the fact that individual efficiency is not regarded with very much importance. But at the same time the labourers who engage in this kind of fishing industry generally lack intelligence and personal initiative to work.

SECTION 3. WOMEN AND YOUTHS ENGAGED IN FISHERY LABOUR.

The part of women in the fishery labour is mainly divided into two kinds; (a) that of diving and gathering fish or shell fish and sea weeds; and (b) that of service chiefly on land and in fishery factory plants necessary in the conduct of fishery industry.

(a) The women divers, known in Japanese as "*Ama*" are a peculiarity of Japan and they operate mostly along Saishu (Tsichow) island in Korea and the Province of Shima as the centers. They

are between 14 or 15 to 60 in age. The total number of *Ama* in Shima province in 1914 was 2,409. At present their supply is greater than the demand. Consequently, every year more or less than 300 of them emigrate to Korea and more or less than 200 to the province of Kii to work along the coast of those regions. These *Ama* operate usually at the depth of 12 to 13 fathoms and in the case of experienced ones at the depth of 20 fathoms. As for their preparations to work, they only require cotton tights. The season of their operation is eight months of the year from April to November. Their hours of labour are on the average from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. in April and May, but actually working four to five hours during that time; in June, July, August and September, six to seven hours a day. The duration of operation in a single dive is 30 seconds at the shortest and 180 seconds at the longest, the average being 60 seconds.

Their employment is effected through the intermediary service of an agent, whose duty it is not only to draw up the contract between the employer and the *Ama*, but also to direct and superintend the *Ama* at work during the entire term of the contract. At first thought the service of the agent appears to be very useful and expedient. But in reality the agent usually is in league with the employer and concludes a contract of employment very unfavourable to the *Ama*. Consequently, of late years, the women diving labourers have organized themselves into associations of *Ama*, drew up constitutions and prepared uniform blanks for contracts, in order to defend themselves against tyrannical enterprisers and agents.

Next, as to the relations of the labour of the *Ama* and their health. Compared with the factory labour, the *Ama's* work has less of danger. While their labour may at a glance appear to be violent, in reality it is not by the nature of the work. The *Ama* always work cheerfully and in good spirit.

(b) The service of this kind of women labourers is generally required as a temporary employment during the season of plentiful catch. They chiefly engage in carrying the fish caught or cutting them and other service as a part of the manufacturing process. In most instances, beside the pay per number of fish carried or according to a fixed schedule, they receive a percentage of the yields. Since the nature of fishery industry is such that when there is a

reasonable amount of yields extra labour by the temporarily employed is necessary, the service of the women of this class is a most important one.

Lastly, referring to the labour by youths, it is rendered as an auxiliary or as an apprentice labour. For instance, the youths engage in the auxiliary service in applying the bait in ocean bonito fishing or in the auxiliary service in handling fishing vessels in the small scale coast fisheries. They are usually up to 14 to 15 years of age. Beyond those ages, they become full-fledged fishing labourers and are employed as such. The fishery industry in Japan has developed differently in different localities, and even in fishing vessels and implements there are differences. Consequently, one frequently notes the practice in different localities of educating children in the art of fishing as apprentices and of employing them as full-fledged fishermen when they have grown up to be 16 or 17 years of age.

SECTION 4. SANITARY CONDITION OF LABOURERS.

Investigating the conditions of living of the fishery labourers, one finds that in respect of food they are generally better fed than the agricultural and factory industrial workers. They usually eat four times a day. But in respect of their dwellings and the arrangements for sanitation they are seriously lacking. Their clothes, however it may be due to the relations of their occupation, are generally very shabby both for men and women. Whereas their dwellings and clothes, not their food, are thus very much lacking, their health is good out of proportion to these things. It is due altogether to the fact that their occupation is a healthy one. In regard to the hours of sleep, they are not lacking in ordinary times, save in the case of a few exceptions.

CHAPTER 3. RELATIONS OF EMPLOYMENT.

The subject of this chapter interpreted in a broad sense should include all the problems of employment, referring also to the problems of hours of labour, treatment of fishermen and the employment agency for the labourers. But these various features may conveniently be treated in the foregoing and subsequent chapters devoted to them. In the present chapter, emphasis will be laid among the relations of

employment chiefly on the kinds of contracts of employment, conditions of the employed and the dismissed, and the method of payment of wages and distribution of profits which are the chief points of employment.

SECTION 1. KINDS OF CONTRACTS OF LABOUR.

There are three kinds of contracts of labour; employed by season, permanently employed and employed by day. Of these, the employed by season form the principal nuclei of fishery labourers. These are employed for one whole fishing season as the unit. The length of the season differs according to the difference in the methods of fishing. In the case of fishing of salmon and trout by means of pound net along the Russian Coast Provinces and Kamtchatka, or in the case of deep sea fisheries or cod fishing in the sea of Ohkotsuk, the season lasts longest; on the average it lasts from six to eight months. In the coast and inshore fisheries of Japan proper, the longest season lasts five to six months and the shortest not less than two or three months. The labourers generally have had a certain necessary experience in fishing and usually they have had the relations of employment with their employer before, and it is a rare occurrence that the labourers are altogether changed. In their respect, the readers are referred to the clauses dealing with the methods of employment.

The permanently employed are those who offer their labour to their employer all the time under a certain definite agreement without limiting the term of service. They usually work on the arrangement of salaries, shares or both together. The labourers of this class are engaged in the continued fishery industry all the year round. The labourers employed for the trawler fishing, the fishing by the motor vessels, the fishing by means of *teguri ami* (off-shore haul-net) or the fishing by means of purse seine net are the examples. The employed by day are chiefly auxiliary labourers in the fishing industry. These are usually employed from the neighborhood of the locality of fishing temporarily when needed in times of good catch. They engage chiefly in landing the fish caught and delivering them to places where they are wanted. They usually supply their own meals. Their pay is generally higher than they get elsewhere. Very often they are paid in kind, that is by a part of the fish caught.

SECTION 2. EMPLOYMENT AND DISMISSAL.

The methods of employment of the fishermen may be divided into the following four general classifications; (a) the fishing enterpriser personally goes to the place where labourers are to be secured and employs them; (b) the employment of fishermen is altogether entrusted to the master who has rendered the service of securing the labourers, in which case the fishermen employed are generally those who had been employed in previous years; (c) when the fishing enterprise is conducted in a small scale and a large number of hands are not required, the enterpriser employs hands in the neighborhood of his own; (d) in case the number of fishermen employed is not sufficient after the foregoing methods are resorted to, and chiefly in case of the industry in which the work on land and manufacturing service are combined, ordinary labourers as miscellaneous service men are employed through the agency of employment bureaus in cities.

Of these methods, in the case of (a), (b), and (c), as men are employed by direct negotiations by the enterpriser or the master various personal relations develop, so that the relations between the employer and the employed are generally smooth. But in the case of the last of the four methods, (d), the labourers maintain only legal relations of employment, so that there is not particularly friendly feeling between them and the employer. On the part of the labourers of the last class, they often break their contract and desert. But judged from the general condition of fishery labour in Japan, this class of labourers form only a small portion of hands and the nuclei of labourers are formed by those secured by the methods, (a), (b) and (c).

Next, as to the form of contracts at the time of employment, we shall omit reference to the pay, as it was already described in the foregoing clauses. Here we shall chiefly describe conditions of employment other than those already mentioned. In all of the cases of employment of labourers, at the time the contracts are entered into, a part of the wages is usually loaned as an advance pay. Besides, a sum of money is allowed as travelling expenses. Otherwise, as to the kind of service, required during the period, hours of labour, the cases of illness and dismissal, generally they are mentioned in written contracts signed by the employed and given to the employer. The

form of the document is generally such as is one-sided in favour of the employer, and the contents of the blanks appear to be very advantageous to the employer, although it should not be concluded at once that these contracts represent the tyranny of the enterpriser. In order to avoid desertion or double dealing contracts on the part of labourers, copies of the family registries and certificates of leaving the town to work out of the town are also required of the labourers.

SECTION 3. WAGES AND ALLOWANCES.

In the fishery industry of Japan, the method of pay of wages of labourers according to the pure relations of employment is rarely adopted. Generally the labourers are induced to take a share of the enterprise or the method of pay by means of so-called percentages out of the profits of the enterprise under a certain standard. Consequently, those who engage in the labour of fishery industry cannot be regarded as mere laborers in their relations with the employer. Not only that, but, since their remunerations usually include various allowances beside their wages, it is not proper to view the matter only from the point of view of their wages in the narrow sense. The fishery industry is conducted with the operations on the sea where there are dangers of storms and gales, and the guarantee for the living of the families of the labourers while those are out fishing on the sea and the relief of the survivors of the victims of accidents are naturally entrusted to the enterpriser. As for the behavior of the labourers on duty out on the sea, it has to be left altogether to the discretion of the labourers themselves. For these reasons, the enterpriser and the labourers are bound to be in relations of especially close intimacy. That is the explanation of the fact that the simple relations of employer and employed and the system of pay of wages in the narrow sense are not prevalent, that the system of joint participation in the enterprise is adopted, and that the social policy in a sense is being unconsciously worked out through the pay system of the broad sense.

We shall below mention some representative illustrations of various relations between capital and labour.

(1) Profit-sharing system side by side with the wage system of the narrow sense.

(2) Profit-sharing system based on co-partnership.

(3) Profit-sharing system based on social policy.

The (1) profit-sharing system side by side with the wage system of the narrow sense is one which has come to be most universally adopted in the industrial world of today. But in the fishery industry of Japan, it has been long in practice in different kinds of the fishery industry and therefore is one very deeply rooted. The (2) profit-sharing system based on co-partnerships is a system in which the labourers take interest in the management of the industry and which is one in practice everywhere in accordance with the old customs. Of late years, this system has come to be more generally resorted to by thoughtful fishery enterprisers in their new undertakings. The (3) profit-sharing system based on social policy has not yet been so widely in practice as the two foregoing systems. But it is a system which is most effective in establishing harmony between capital and labour in fishing villages. For that reason, the system has been adopted in the ocean bonito fishing industry in Yaizu, Shizuoka Province. Not only are the profits from the enterprise shared with the labourers participating in the enterprise, but they are also distributed in part to the families of the labourers for the support of the old and young. Otherwise, the system provides for cases of inability of the labourers to work owing to illness and other unavoidable causes by guaranteeing them a percentage of the yields of the industry. Especially, the provision to distribute a certain percentage of the yields for the support of the surviving families of the labourers who are dead is one which should be regarded as most significant of the social welfare policy.

CHAPTER 4. DEMAND AND SUPPLY OF FISHERY LABOUR.

Fishery labour is in a condition in which it is very difficult to maintain the harmonious relations of supply and demand. This difficulty is always experienced in a large scale enterprise or in small scale enterprises when many of these enterprises are engaged in at the same time and at the same place. The cause apparently lies in the following circumstances.

(a) Japan topographically is long extending north to south,

which condition causes violent changes in the conditions of weather on the sea and the conditions of the fishing grounds. Consequently, in one kind of fishing enterprise, different localities have developed peculiarly their own skill. The sphere of employment of labourers of a district has a tendency naturally to be limited within a certain sphere.

(b) The main feature of the fishery industry in Japan is still today that of the coastal fishing, so that the demand for human labour is very great.

(c) The fishery industry is one required for a particular season, so that during the season it is demanded at once in a same locality at a same time and is disengaged at a same time.

The foregoing circumstances combined lead to shortage of labour. At present, it seems to be borne out by facts that there is an excessive demand for labour for the fishery industry in Japan.

SECTION 1. CONDITION OF DEMAND.

The fishery labour is supplied for various reasons, chief among which are that in a native village of the labourers no other profitable work can be secured when the catch has continued to be unfavourable for many years; or when the fishery industry has practically ended; or when the labourers lack capital to conduct their own independent enterprises; or when they are induced to work by the enterpriser who engages annually in a certain locality.

Thus the labourers contract to work generally two or three months before the fishing season commences and receive a part of their pay in advance. When they leave their home to serve, they usually go in groups of 40 or 50 each by steamers or trains, or when the enterpriser cooperates with other enterprisers in transporting men, he often chartered a steamer of several hundred to two thousand tons, and carries the labourers together with the paraphernalia of fishing. The foregoing sentences apply particularly to large scale coastal fishing enterprises in Hokkaido and Saghalien. In the case of the fishery industry along the Russian coast Provinces and Kamtchatka, the labourers are altogether carried by the enterpriser. The same thing may be said to some extent in regard to the transportation of fishery labourers along the coast of Japan proper, although the scale is smaller.

Next, as to the directions and spheres of shifting of the labourer for reasons as already described in the beginning of the present section, the directions and spheres of shifting of labourers are naturally limited; so that, except in the case of experiments or of the fishery industry having peculiar circumstance of its own, it is very rare that labourers are brought from far-away strange districts to the locality where they are wanted. There is a natural limitation due to the historical relations of contracting for labour. For instance, for the fishery industry conducted in the northern districts—in the Russian coast Province Kamtchatka, Hokkaido, the Kurile islands, and Saghalien—the labourers are chiefly employed from the north-eastern parts of Japan; that is Hokkaido, Akita, Aomori, Niigata, Toyama prefectures. For the fishery industry conducted in the southern districts—Chugoku, Shikoku, Kyushu, Korea and Formosa—the labourers are chiefly employed from the neighboring prefectures, which form a sphere of supply.

Beside the foregoing described two large spheres of labour market, the fishery labourers in Japan proper shift only within a prefecture or overlapping a few neighboring prefectures, and their spheres and number are very much limited.

SECTION 2. SCRAMBLE FOR FISHERY LABOURERS AND DESERTION.

In a permanently established fishing ground conducted in a large scale and employing a large number of hands, a great difficulty is experienced in obtaining labour, which leads to a scramble for labourers. Especially during the European war when other industries experienced an unprecedented prosperity, a large number of otherwise fishery labourers shifted to those other industries, resulting in a greater scarcity of fishery labourers. Consequently, a violent scramble took place for labourers to go out fishing in the Russian territory. For instance, whereas the average monthly salary for the fisherman in 1917 was ¥40 with an advance loan of ¥40 to ¥48, in 1918 the salary rose to between ¥50 and ¥60 and the advance loan to between ¥60 and ¥70. The quality of labour supplied by the latter was far inferior to the former. This condition was not confined to the fishery labourers in the direction mentioned. It prevailed also

among the trawler fishing labourers and other wage-earning labourers engaged in the fishery industry in general.

The next thing to be noted refers to the desertion of the fishery labourers and their double-dealing contracts, which have been practiced for years. After the labourers received their advance loans, some of them will not fulfill the contracts to work but will contract to work for another employer; while in reality rendering their service neither to the one nor to the other. Some of them also desert in the midst of their service. In short, these labourers only obtain the advance loans by deception and do not fulfill the contracts. These dishonest labourers are found mostly among those who have been engaged through the employment agents in cities.

In short, the present state of relationship of supply and demand of labour is very imperfect. This drawback is gradually remedied by the development of the fishery associations and the free labour-exchanges.

CHAPTER 5. RELIEF OF FISHERY LABOURERS.

Since the fishery industry is chiefly conducted on the sea, it is natural that the labourers will encounter many accidents. It will be to assist in the sound development of the industry to perfect the arrangements for the relief of fishery labourers. Below we shall briefly describe the conditions of accidents and arrangements for relief.

SECTION 1. CONDITION OF ACCIDENTS TO FISHERY LABOURERS.

At the close of 1919, there were in Japan proper a total of 384,000 vessels, large and small included, employed in the fishery industry. The number of vessels meeting accidents in a year was only 1,000, and the number of the dead and wounded by these accidents was 810 in a year on the average. The numbers, to be sure, are not small. Moreover, as it was considered a way to assist the development of the industry to take measures for preventing the accidents, the government took steps to encourage improvement of the fishing vessels, to establish a system of spreading the news of the weather forecasts, and of late years to hasten the repair of ports

of refuge for the fishing vessels as well as the fishing ports. Below we shall give a table showing the number of fishing vessels and labourers meeting with accidents.

Year	Number of Vessels in Accident	Total Number of Labourers in Accident	Number of Dead and Wounded among labourers meeting accident
1915	771	3,762	894
1916	871	3,721	732
1917	976	4,955	1,125
1918	1,346	2,471	567
1919	982	3,059	768
Average	989	3,593	816

That the number of labourers meeting with accident is small in proportion to the number of the vessels meeting with accident indicates the fact that in the fishing industry in Japan small vessels are employed. The majority of the vessels meeting with accident are those below 20 tons in size. The accidents take place mostly in February, March, April and December.

SECTION 2. ARRANGEMENTS FOR RELIEF.

Regarding the relief of fishery labourers meeting accidents and of the surviving families of the dead, no particular step has yet been taken by the government. But when the government established the system of official insurance for labourers the fishery labourers subscribed to the insurance in ever increasing numbers. Other than the government undertakings, local fishing village communities have been taking various measures for the relief of the neighbors suffering from accidents. In recent years, an encouragement was given to the establishment of fishery associations in local communities for the purpose of mutual protection and relief. Already there are 3,600 of such associations throughout the country. These associations generally have their constitutions and bye-laws drawn up, with provisions for the rescue and relief of the members, and the associations have already rendered a certain amount of active work. As for the as-

sociations of the pure fishery labourers alone, there are not many of them which are influential enough. But since, as we have explained before, the number of fishery labourers in Japan who subsist solely by means of their labour is small and as these labourers are also independent enterprisers, the activity of the fishery associations is expected to conduce toward the gradual development of arrangements for the relief of sufferers from accidents. Especially to be noted is that in the present year, 1921, the law for fishery societies was enacted, with the object in view to encouraging formation of self-governing institution among the fishery enterprisers, so that such institutions may act as intermediaries between the government and the fishery enterprisers themselves, and thus encouraging the general improvement and development of fishery industry. It is therefore expected that the fishery societies will perfect the arrangements for the relief of sufferers from accidents.

PART III.—LAWS REGARDING FISHERY LABOUR.

Concerning the fishery labour in Japan, Article 40 of the law extant which was promulgated in April, 1911, provided that an Imperial ordinance shall be issued regarding the execution of the provisions made in the article of the law for the relief of the labourers engaged in fishery labour and of the surviving families of the labourers dying from accidents. But the Imperial ordinance has not yet been issued. The delay may be attributable to the fact that, since, as we have explained before, the profitsharing systems and other old practices have assisted in harmonizing capital and labour, the relations between the two have been smooth, and the necessity for the execution of such law has not been so very acute. In connection, however, with the general labour problems, it was considered convenient also to establish a special law regarding fishery labourers. An investigation is now being conducted in view to having the Imperial ordinance referred to issued. To be sure, in regard to the agency of employment and police control, some prefectural governments have established orders and regulations of their own within the limits of jurisdiction of the local governors.

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