HÀNWÉN AND TAIWANESE SUBJECTIVITIES: A GENEALOGY OF LANGUAGE POLICIES IN TAIWAN, 1895-1945

By

Hsuan-Yi Huang

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Curriculum, Teaching, and Educational Policy—Doctor of Philosophy

2013

ABSTRACT

HÀNWÉN AND TAIWANESE SUBJECTIVITIES: A GENEALOGY OF LANGUAGE POLICIES IN TAIWAN, 1895-1945

By

Hsuan-Yi Huang

This historical dissertation is a pedagogical project. In a critical and genealogical approach, inspired by Foucault's genealogy and *effective history* and the new culture history of Sol Cohen and Hayden White, I hope pedagogically to raise awareness of the effect of history on shaping who we are and how we think about our self. I conceptualize such an historical approach as *effective history as pedagogy*, in which the purpose of history is to critically generate the pedagogical effects of history.

This dissertation is a genealogical analysis of Taiwanese subjectivities under Japanese rule. Foucault's theory of subjectivity, constituted by the four parts, *substance* of subjectivity, *mode of subjectification, regimen* of subjective practice, and *telos* of subjectification, served as a conceptual basis for my analysis of Taiwanese practices of the self-formation of a subject. Focusing on language policies in three historical events: the New Culture Movement in the 1920s, the Taiwanese *Xiāngtǔ* Literature Movement in the early 1930s, and the Japanization Movement during Wartime in 1937-1945, I analyzed discourses circulating within each event, particularly the possibilities/impossibilities created and shaped by discourses for Taiwanese subjectification practices. I illustrate discursive and subjectification practices that further shaped particular Taiwanese subjectivities in a particular event.

The analysis of language policies and issues in the three events suggests that *Hànwén*, the Classical Chinese language, endured during the entire colonial period of Japanese occupation. *Hànwén* was versatile in different linguistic forms and literary genres, which were performed for

different political purposes. The variety of *Hànwén* practices continued to shape possibilities and impossibilities for Taiwanese practices of the self.

DEDICATION

To my mother-in-law, Li Yeh T'ao-tzu (李葉桃仔), whose love and understanding made possible my intellectual pursuit in the United States; to my sisters and brothers who have honored my intellectual endeavors abroad, assisted me in collecting historical sources from Taiwan, and considerately taken over responsibility of taking care of my parents; to my parents, whose endless love and care have been an essential part of my life; most importantly, to my husband, Li Hsin-Lin (李信霖), who without a doubt lovingly joined with me during this long journey, has unwaveringly offered emotional and intellectual support, and has been a valuable part of this dissertation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My historical research for this dissertation has received invaluable support from many people and resources at Michigan State University (MSU). First of all, I wish to thank the College of Education at MSU, which awarded me the Summer Renewable Fellowship in 2011 and 2012 for supporting my preliminary exploration of archives in Taiwan and analysis of historical sources here in the U.S. I am also grateful to the recommendation of my home department, the Department of Teacher Education, and of the College of Education, for my dissertation research to the Graduate School at MSU, which awarded me the Dissertation Completion Fellowship. This fellowship has been a great support in completion of my dissertation.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Dr. Lynn Fendler and Dr. Jeff Bale, who co-directed my dissertation. During my years at MSU, I have always felt grateful of having Dr. Lynn Fendler as my advisor; she has enlightened me in the study of the history of my country, and guided me into a most intellectually rewarding journey of Foucaultian genealogy and New Culture History. I have been inspired and stimulated to wonder "what it is possible/impossible to think" by provocative discussions of historiography and philosophy of education with her in person and in her classes over the years. Her continuous support, guidance, and encouragement have meant a lot to my personal and intellectual life. I am also grateful to Dr. Bale, who generously included me in his team of preparing World Languages teachers, from which my knowledge and skills in foreign language teaching and curriculum have been broadened. As a Marxist historian in language policy, Dr. Jeff Bale has kept me aware of the materiality in the

discursive practices of history. His insights and expertise, in combination with Dr. Fendler's guidance, have shaped my dissertation into a particular pedagogical history.

I also owe a special debt to the members of my dissertation committee—Dr. Kyle Greenwalt and Dr. Doug Hartman. I have appreciated the opportunity of working with and learning from them during my years at MSU. They have provided generous and warm support for my intellectual pursuit in humanities-oriented inquiry and in the history of literacy in the U.S. Their thoughtful comments and insightful questions have opened up my thinking about history and the historical work in my dissertation.

Special thanks must also go to Dr. Douglas Campbell, who has always provided timely assistance in reviewing my writings over the years. Dr. Campbell's meticulous edits and useful advice have sharpened my writings and helped me improve as a writer. I very much value his time and discussions with me on critical and pedagogical topics in my writings.

I am also particularly grateful to the Critical Studies Reading Group, led by my adviser, Dr. Lynn Fendler, in College of Education at MSU. Readings and discussions in this group have been stimulating and generative, and they have broadened my theoretical knowledge from other academic fields, such as history, social theory, philosophy of education, and literature. I have been cultivated by this group toward being a critical, ethical scholar.

I also wish to thank the staff in the Interlibrary Service at MSU Libraries, particularly Xian Wu, Huei Wang, and Andrea Salazar. With their advice and assistance, I gained access to an abundance of primary and secondary sources on the history of Taiwan under Japanese rule in Taiwan and in other universities in the U.S. Those sources have been invaluable to my dissertation research and to expansion of my knowledge about Taiwan.

Finally, I honor the historical work of pioneers in the field of Taiwan Studies, particularly in the history of Taiwan under Japanese rule, 1895-1945. The historical writings about education, Japanese and Taiwanese language movements, and Taiwanese Literature have served as invaluable resources and references for my historical dissertation.

A NOTE ON ROMANIZATION

This dissertation applies the Romanization conventions currently used in scholarly practices. Chinese and Japanese proper names begin with surnames, followed by given names. The *Hanyu Pinyin* (漢語拼音) system is adopted for Chinese names and references. For the convenience of international readers, Chinese Romanizations are supplemented with tone marks, Chinese characters, and English translations. Romanized Japanese names are supplemented with Chinese translation. When names and places have been Romanized in a specific Romanization system, their original forms are observed. For example, most contemporary Taiwanese authors and places in Taiwan have been Romanized in the Wade-Giles System, with apostrophes omitted, and some Taiwanese author's names have been Romanized based on Hoklo (a Taiwanese language) pronunciation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter One

A Discursive Practice of Knowing Taiwan

Naming the Island

Knowledge of the island of Taiwan has been shaped by a discursive practice of naming the island. Through calling, interpreting, imagining, and repeating its name by its inhabitants, visitors, and neighbors, Taiwan has been known to people with different meanings at different times. Such discursive practices not only shape people's knowledge about Taiwan, but also involve political implications and pedagogical effects. Inō Kanori (伊能嘉矩), a Japanese anthropologist whose main interest was the indigenous people in Taiwan, told the story of how indigenous people's calling *the other* was transliterated into a name for the island. According to him, when *Hàn* Chinese, the newcomers, came to the island in the 17th century and met the old-timers on the island, the Siraiya people, they were called "Taian" or "Tayan." *Hàn* Chinese then transliterated this calling into "Taioan" and named the place what they called where they first landed, which was the sandbank (the current An-ping port 安平港 in Southwest Taiwan) around the lagoon (the current T'ai-chiang, 台江) facing Taiwan.[1] The name of the sandbank, "Taioan," which meant "The Other," was transliterated and repeatedly used by *Hàn* Chinese, thus shaping the knowledge of Taiwan.

For example, Inō Kanori told another story, that the Míng loyalists (*Hàn* Chinese), who landed in the same place, "Taioan," in the mid-17th century, did not like the name "Taioan" or "Teijouan," because in their language (i.e., Hoklo), "Taioan" is a homonym for "finished by

[1] See Inō Kanori (伊能嘉矩), *Taiwan wénhuà zhì*, shàng juǎn [Taiwanese Culture Record, vol. 1], ed. & trans. Guóshǐ guǎn Taiwan wénxiàn guǎn [Taiwan Historica] (Táiběi Shì: Taiwan shūfáng chūbǎn yǒuxiàn gōngsī, 2011), 61-63.

being buried," which meant an ominous ending. They instead named the place of the sandbank (the current T'ai-chiang 台江) as "An-ping (安平)," which literally means safe and sound.[2] This story indicated that when the Míng loyalists came to the sandbank, the name "Taioan" had already been in use and shaped their knowledge about the place they just landed. However, through the negative feeling and association with the homonym meaning, they changed the name to "An-ping," which was believed to bring a positive meaning to them. The meaning of this name shaped the beliefs and feelings of Míng loyalists and later generations about the place, because the name is still in use for the same place in contemporary Taiwan.

Inō Kanori continued to relate that when the Manchurian Qīng dynasty subdued the Míng people and took over their land in Taiwan (1683 CE), the Qīng refused to use "An-ping," named by the Míng, for the place at which the Míng used to stay. The Qīng re-adopted its old name "Taioan." Inō mentioned that by changing the name of the island, the Qīng "disrupted the legitimacy of the Míng's rule in Taiwan and at the same time reclaimed its authority."[3] In Qīng's historical documentations, "Taioan" was used consistently generally to refer to the mysterious island facing the mainland.[4]

Inō Kanori's story demonstrates that the linguistic practice of naming a place and the discursive practice of repeatedly documenting the name have political implications. The use of "Taioan" demonstrated the political stance of the Qīng Empire, and its political practice of documenting Taiwan has shaped the ways of knowing the whole island. On the other hand, the name "An-ping," with an auspicious meaning created by Míng loyalists, was excluded from the

---

[2] Inō Kanori, *Taiwan wénhuà zhì*, shàng juǎn [Taiwanese Culture Record, vol. 1], 61.
[3] Ibid.
[4] See for example the description of the Qīng's governance of Taiwan by Inō Kanori (伊能嘉矩), *Taiwan wénhuà zhì*, shàng juǎn [Taiwanese Culture Record, vol. 1], 144-228.

Qīng documentations. This exclusion also excluded the possibility of adopting the name "An-ping" for the whole island. Instead, it was sustained by later *Hàn* Chinese generations settling down near Tai-chiang and specifically named for that small place.

Ang Kaim's (翁佳音) argument can be regarded as a linguistic practice that constitutes the discursive formation of the knowledge of Taiwan. Ang Kaim examined the map of Taiwan and documents created by the Dutch, and showed that places such as peninsulas or inlets were marked as "Teijouan," which was "grote baai" in Dutch, literally meaning "big bay." She maintained that when the Dutch first landed on the peninsula of Tai-chiang (the current An-ping Port) in Southwest Taiwan in 1624, they were amazed by the "big bay" and were told by local people that the place was called "Teijouan." She argued that the name "Teijouan" for the island meant "big bay," and was given by *Hàn* Chinese rather than by the indigenous people, the Siraiya. Because "Teijouan" is very similar to the Hoklo pronunciation of "big bay," Ang Kaim argued that the local people saying "Teijouan" must be associated with *Hàn* Chinese from Fukien province.[5] Ang Kaim's argument indicates another discursive practice of naming Taiwan. More importantly, it challenges the received story about the Siraiya people's naming of Taiwan, and at the same time it disrupts the existing knowledge about Taiwan.[6]

I offer Ang Kaim's argument not to show historical truths about Taiwan or to identify whose saying is closer to the truth, but to illustrate the pedagogical effects of history. I argue that

---

[5] Ang Kaim (Hoklo name, 翁佳音), "Cóng jiùdìmíng yǔ gǔdìtú kàn Taiwan jìndài chūqíshǐ [Early Modern History of Taiwan in Old Maps]," 72.

[6] The same story was repeated by Hsu Chi-tun (許極墩) in his *Taiwan yǔ gàilùn* [Introduction to Taiwanese Languages] (Kaohsiung Shì: Taiwan yǔwén yánjiù fāzhǎn jījīn huì, 1990), 33. It was also challenged by Ang Uijin (Hoklo name, 洪惟仁), who based on historical sources maintained that the name of Taiwan was originally from an indigenous group named "Tayouan." See Ang Uijin, *Táiyǔ wénxué yǔ Táiyǔ wénzì* [Taiwanese literature and Taiwanese characters] (Táiběi Shì: Qiánwèi chūbǎnshè, 1992), 170-72.

history itself is a linguistic and discursive practice that can shape our understandings of both the past and the present. Histories are written and told with implicit or explicit political and rhetorical purposes and have effects on readers. Ang Kaim challenged the received story, and at the same time, opened up new ways of understanding Taiwan, particularly its relationship to its historical inhabitants. I argue that the pedagogical effect of history lies in the possibilities that are opened by the various stories for further imaginations about Taiwan, the Taiwanese people, and the history of Taiwan.

Another story is about naming Taiwan "Formosa." It has been told that in the 16th century, when adventurous Portuguese sailors came across the island of Taiwan, they exclaimed about the beauty of the island, "Ilha Formosa!" (literally "beautiful island").[7] This accidental encounter and calling positioned the island on the world map. The island with a "beautiful" connotation, marked by the Portuguese as "Formosa" between longitude and latitude, became known to the West and attracted subsequent foreign merchants from the West. The name Formosa continued to be in use for the island internationally during the Japanese colonial rule, 1895-1945. The Cairo conference of 1943 again named the island of Taiwan as Formosa; Truman's speech about the safety of the Taiwan Strait after the outbreak of the Korean War also used the name Formosa.[8] This European language was also used by Taiwanese intellectuals, who founded the "Taiwanese Art Society" in Tokyo in 1933 for promoting Taiwanese art and

[7] This naming story has become a common knowledge to people in Taiwan. For example it is told by Kuo Hung-pin (郭泓斌), "Ōu Zhōu rén chēn Taiwan Formosa [Europeans named Taiwan Formosa]," *Taiwan rén de Taiwan shǐ* [The Taiwan History of Taiwanese], ed. Kuo Hung-pin, accessed May 10, 2013, http://www.taiwanus.net/history/1/03.htm

[8] Mark Harrison, *Legitimacy, Meaning, and Knowledge in the Making of Taiwanese Identity* (New York: PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, 2006), 11.

literature. Their magazine was named *Formosa*.[9] I imagine that the name Formosa for this Taiwanese society was employed for a special political purpose: to draw international attention to the particularity of the island in spite of its being ruled by Japan.

No matter who named this place Tai-chiang or the island of Taiwan, the ways its inhabitants and visitors have identified this place have shaped knowledge of this island. The small place of Tai-chiang named "Teijouan" or "Taioan," which seemed to be the first gate taking in visitors and strangers, could be imagined as the whole island. The name Formosa, which has circulated in discursive practices on the international stage, has also politically created different knowledge about Taiwan and pedagogically opened up additional possibilities for knowing Taiwan. I draw on the examples and stories above to illustrate that what people know about the island was based on what had been talked and written about the place. The political or rhetorical practices of repeating or not repeating the names were also contingent on historical circumstances. The written records and linguistic practices, including the Qīng dynasty and Dutch historical documentations, and talking, sharing, and repeating serve as sources for us to know and think of Taiwan in different ways. The discursive practices, including writing history, also have political implications and pedagogical effects. My approach to writing this historical dissertation, based on the idea of discourse, is to investigate and ullistrate for critical and pedagogical effects, as will be elaborated in the second chapter, entitled "What Kind of Historian Am I?"

[9] "Fú ěr mó shā 福爾摩沙 Formosa," *Encyclopedia of Taiwan*, accessed May 14, 2013, http://taiwanpedia.culture.tw/web/content?ID=4552&Keyword=%E7%A6%8F%E7%88%BE%E6%91%A9%E6%B2%99

The International Character of Taiwan Created by New Histories

The naming practices for the island of Taiwan described above have shaped what is possible to think about Taiwan. Similarly, history as a linguistic and discursive practice has created knowledge of Taiwan. For example, histories that position Taiwan in the discourse of the 15th-century Great Age of Discovery and international competition can create an international character for Taiwan. Below I draw on various histories of Taiwan in the context of international competitions to re-tell the stories about Taiwan, including my responses to them. The histories are different from the conventional history told by the history textbook used in my formal education in Taiwan in the early 1990s. For me, these are new histories, which were not told in my history textbook, and in the following analysis I refer to them as new histories and cite them in the footnotes. The new histories have had a pedagogical effect on me: they have made me re-think Taiwan and myself in terms of who I am. My history textbooks did not mention much about the history of Taiwan, but mainly told the Chinese history and that we Taiwanese have the same origins as the *Hàn* Chinese. In my schooling, I learned that Chinese history was the history of Taiwan.

The new histories move Taiwan beyond the framework of Chinese history, in which Taiwan has been regarded as sharing Chinese ancient origins, and turned to center on Taiwan and the historical "traces" left in Taiwan. This turn focuses on historical events taking place in Taiwan and positions Taiwan in relation to its international visitors, including Western and Chinese empires. It created an international character for Taiwan, which is a new character different from the Chinese character constructed by the textbooks. The new character does not just disrupt the Chinese historical framework of writing about Taiwan, and at the same time constructs a tragic history of Taiwan, namely a history of colonization. In this history, the

colonization forces in Taiwan included both Western countries and Asian: Japanese and Chinese (Míng and Qīng). Even though it put Taiwan in a vulnerable position in relation to colonization forces, the new character disrupted Chinese writing about Taiwan and opened up possibilities of knowing and writing about Taiwan.

As told in the new histories, the fanaticism from the 15th-century Great Age of Discovery spread to Asia in the late 16th century, during which time Westerners, one after another, occupied ports and islands for building networks of trade. The island of Taiwan inevitably got involved in this network of international competition with the arrival of the Chinese, Dutch, and Spanish. The Dutch first landed in Penghu islands (Pescadores) and then moved to Taiwan in 1624, as a result of negotiation with the Chinese Míng. While Southwest Taiwan was resided in by the Dutch (the current An-ping area in Tainan) during 1624-1662, North Taiwan (Tan-shui area) was occupied by the Spanish during 1626-1642.[10] During the same time, the islands in the offshore of China and Japan were not tranquil either, where there were *Hàn* Chinese, such as Yán Sīqí (顏思齊) and Zhèng Zhīlóng (鄭芝龍), who did not submit to the Míng dynasty and were infamously known as pirates, wandering through the islands and competing with Japan, China, and Westerners for profits of trade. Taiwan was once one of their ports of call, and it finally was cultivated by *Hàn* Chinese following Yán Sīqí (顏思齊) and Zhèng Zhīlóng (鄭芝龍).

In the new histories, the *Hàn* Chinese were positioned with other foreigners relative to Taiwan in the international competition, and Taiwan was only one of their targets of exploitation. For the people in Taiwan, the *Hàn* Chinese were no longer their fellow Chinese, as if we shared

[10] See for example, Inō Kanori (伊能嘉矩), *Taiwan wénhuà zhì*, shàng juǎn [Taiwanese Culture Record, vol. 1], 78-82; the history textbook written for college history in Taiwan, see Huang Hsiu-cheng (黃秀政), Chang Sheng-yen (張勝彥), and Wu Wen-hsing (吳文星), *Taiwan shǐ* [Taiwan history] (Táiběi Shì: Wǔnán, 2002).

the same origins as told by my history textbooks. The new histories implied that the *Hàn* Chinese were greedy visitors like other foreigners. The new histories also demonstrated successive colonization of Taiwan by different imperial forces. As the new histories continued to tell, Zhèng Zhīlóng's (鄭芝龍) son, Cheng Cheng-kung (鄭成功), known as Koxinga, then drove out the Dutch and later submitted to the Chinese Míng. With the support of Japan, Cheng Cheng-kung started governing Taiwan after the Míng orthodoxy.[11] When the Chinese Míng dynasty was replaced by the Manchurian Qīng in 1644 on the mainland, the Míng loyalists in Taiwan resisted surrendering to the Qīng and became a hostile force to the Qīng. It is important to note that the Qīng were Manchurians, which were regarded as foreigners to the *Hàn* or Míng Chinese. Warfare on the Strait of Taiwan between Ming and Qīng forces did not stop until the Qīng ultimately defeated the Míng in 1683.[12] The new historical record usually indicates that during almost the entire 17th century, the island of Taiwan continued to be confronted by competing imperial forces.

The global imperial impact on Taiwan seemed never to cease, and the relation to the Qīng after 1683 continued to draw the attention of international forces to the island. Since the eighteenth century, when the Qīng dynasty was forced to open its door to the West, the island of Taiwan shared the same destiny and was forced to open two treaty ports due to treaties from the two Opium Wars (aka. the Anglo-Chinese Wars) between the Qīng and the British.[13] For

---

[11] Inō Kanori (伊能嘉矩), *Taiwan wénhuà zhì*, shàng juǎn [Taiwanese Culture Record, vol. 1], 78-82; Huang Hsiu-cheng (黃秀政), Chang Sheng-yen (張勝彥), and Wu Wen-hsing (吳文星), *Taiwan shǐ* [Taiwan history].

[12] Ibid.

[13] Inō Kanori (伊能嘉矩), *Taiwan wénhuà zhì*, shàng juǎn [Taiwanese Culture Record, vol. 1], 70-71.

another century, the island was frequented by foreigners, exporting rice, sugar, tea, camphor, and so on to the West, and importing opium in return! Its position in international competitions and its international character were accompanied by imperial colonization.

In terms of the relationship to the Qīng, the new histories also suggested that "Taiouan," inhabited by "fānrén" (the Austronesian-speaking indigenous people in Taiwan who came from various places in Southeast Asia and the Pacific Islands)[14] and a small number of *Hàn* Chinese, never received serious attention from the Manchurian Qīng. They tell stories about the Qīng's hesitant attitude toward taking over Taiwan. For example, after the Qīng eliminated the forces of the Míng loyalists from Taiwan in 1683, the Qīng did not seriously take Taiwan into consideration, not to mention not including it in the Qīng's territory. Qīng officials suggested abandoning Taiwan because Taiwan was regarded as an ordinary, undeveloped island, but Shi-lang, who was the leading general of the victory over the Míng forces, proposed to keep Taiwan for its strategic position and abundant natural resources. The Qīng Court finally accepted Shi-lang's proposal and included Taiwan under the administration of Fukien province, which was the closest place on the Chinese mainland to Taiwan.[15]

The new histories based on a different position create new ways of knowing Taiwan, particularly a different way of understanding its relationship to the Chinese empire, that is, the Manchurian Qīng (1689 to 1919). When I read these new histories as cited in the footnotes, I was

[14] The Qīng categorized non-*Hàn* people as "yí" (夷) or "fān (番)." Taiwan used to be called "dōngyí" or "dōngfān" (Eastern country) in the history of China. The language "fan" was created by a Sinocentric mentality and connotes derogatory meanings, such as barbarian or uncivilized. Also, the Qīng carried out an interdiction to ban *Hàn* Chinese to move to the "fan di" (indigenous people's areas, literally uncultivated land) because the savages (fānrén) were known to be head-hunters. See Inō Kanori (伊能嘉矩), *Taiwan wénhuà zhì*, shàng juǎn [Taiwanese Culture Record, vol. 1], 6-11.

[15] Inō Kanori (伊能嘉矩), *Taiwan wénhuà zhì*, shàng juǎn [Taiwanese Culture Record, vol. 1], 128-30.

challenged to question my own taken-for-granted assumptions about Taiwan's relationship to Chinese history; it broadened my understanding of the effects of competing histories and thereby the history of Taiwan. They have also evoked sympathy in me for my country, Taiwan, a place I ironically did not know very well before. The new histories have changed my way of thinking about this place and my identity. Taiwan is my country and I am Taiwanese. This is what I mean by the pedagogical effect of history.

The new histories suggest that Taiwan, an isolated island offshore of China, did not receive much attention from the Qīng Court. However, Taiwan's position in international competitions attracted continual international interests, for example, Japan's expedition to Taiwan in 1874, the French intrusion in Taiwan in 1884 due to the Sino-French War, in 1884-1885, and Japan's annexation of Taiwan due to the First Sino-Japanese War, in 1894-1895. In the late 19th century, Taiwan under the Qīng's rule involuntarily got involved in the Qīng's negotiations with other imperial forces. In an expedition to Taiwan, Japan wanted to exact justice from the Qīng empire for the murder of sailors from Ruykyu islands (mainly from Miyakojima 宮古島) committed by indigenous people in Eastern Taiwan in 1871.[16] However, the Qīng did not take Japan's request seriously, claiming that only the *Hàn* Chinese were under Qīng's authority, and the indigenous people in Taiwan were not included; therefore, there was no need

[16] Inō Kanori (伊能嘉矩), *Taiwan wénhuà zhì*, xià juǎn [Taiwanese Culture Record, vol. 2], 92-144. The murder was known as the Mǔdān shè shìjiàn [Mudan Incident] in 1871, and Japanese expedition to Taiwan was known as the Japanese invasion of Taiwan in 1874. For the history of Mǔdān shè shìjiàn, see for example, Lin Chen-jung (林呈蓉), *Mǔdānshè shìjiàn de zhēnxiàng* [The Truth of Mudan Incident] (Lu-chou Shì: Bóyáng wénhuà shìyè yǒuxiàn gōngsī, 2006).

to take responsibility. After negotiations with the Qīng, Japan successfully took over the Ruykyu islands from the hands of the Qīng.[17]

Lin Chen-jung's (林呈蓉) history tells a more complicated story about the Japanese expedition related to the murder, occurring three years before Japan wanted to contend for its authority over the Ruykyu islands and Taiwan.[18] I do not re-tell the whole story here, but for pedagogical purposes, I want to present the contrast between the Qīng's limited jurisdiction over Taiwan and Japan's interest in Taiwan.

Similarly, during the Sino-French War, 1884-1885, the French wanted to contest the authority of the Qīng over Northern Vietnam; they invaded Taiwan and blockaded the Keelung (基隆) port in Taiwan and the Ma-kong (媽公) port in the Peng-hu (澎湖) islands as a means to get the Qīng to loosen its control over Vietnam.[19] The French's invasion of Taiwan during the Sino-French War seemed finally to draw the Qīng's attention, because they decided to set up Taiwan as a province based on the proposal of Liú Míngchuán (劉銘傳), the then inspector-general of Fukien province.[20] The histories above show the interest of foreign forces in Taiwan and also the vulnerable position of Taiwan in international competitions. More unfortunately, the Qīng's enthusiasm about Taiwan did not last long: ten years later, the island was ceded by the Qīng to Japan due to the Qīng's defeat in the First Sino-Japanese War. Japan then had the island completely for itself for fifty years (1895-1945).

---

[17] Inō Kanori (伊能嘉矩), *Taiwan wénhuà zhì*, xià juǎn [Taiwanese Culture Record, vol. 2], 92-144.

[18] Lin Chen-jung (林呈蓉), *Mǔdānshè shìjiàn de zhēnxiàng* [The Truth of Mudan Incident].

[19] Inō Kanori (伊能嘉矩), *Taiwan wénhuà zhì*, xià juǎn [Taiwanese Culture Record, vol. 2], 145-52.

[20] Ibid., 145-53.

The Immigrant Character of Taiwan

Even though Taiwan was not taken seriously by the Manchurian Qīng, other historical writings show that the *Hàn* Chinese did take a serious interest in Taiwan, particularly those in Fukien and Guǎngdōng provinces in southeast China. Those *Hàn* Chinese gradually settled down in Taiwan and formed a large component of the Taiwanese population. In a similar way as above, below I re-tell the history of Taiwanese society, including its inhabitants and languages, to illustrate the immigrant character of Taiwan.

The history tells that Taiwan is an *immigrant* society, constituted by diverse ethnic and linguistic groups.[21] In fact, the language of "immigrant society" gives me a feeling different from what I learned in the past. It tells me that our ancestors migrated to this place from somewhere else, and we as descendants living in this island might be different in terms of ethnicity. It also implies that we are a diverse society, rather than a homogenous Chinese community. In this diverse society, mutual respect and understanding is important. In particular, it mentions the Austronesian-speaking (Malayo-Polynesian) peoples in Taiwan (i.e., the indigenous people in Taiwan), who were believed to be the first group of people migrating from

[21] Tai Pao-tsun (戴寶村), "Yímíng Taiwan: Taiwan yímíng lìshǐ kǎochá [Migration to Taiwan: A Survey of immigrant history of Taiwan], in *Taiwan shǐ shíyī jiǎng* [Eleven lectures on Taiwan history] (Táiběi Shì: Guólì lìshǐ bówùguǎn [National Museum of History], Mínguó 95 [2006]), 49-54; Wang Sung-shan (王嵩山), "Dì èr jiǎng: Taiwan yuánzhùmíng wénhuà yǔ lìshǐ [Lecture Two: Culture and history of the indigenous people of Taiwan]," *Taiwan shǐ shíyī jiǎng* [Eleven lectures on Taiwan history] (Táiběi Shì: Guólì lìshǐ bówùguǎn [National Museum of History], Mínguó 95 [2006]), 41-42; Tsai Yuen-chieh (蔡淵絜), *Qīng dài Taiwan de yíkěn shèhuì* [The settlers' society in Taiwan in Qīng Dynasty]. *Taiwan shèhuì yǔ wénhuà biànqiān* (shàng cè) [Social and Cultural Change in Taiwan, vol. 1], ed. Chiu Hei-yuan (瞿海源) and Chang Ying-hwa (章英華) (Táiběi Shì: Zhōngyāng yánjiù yuàn mínzú xué yánjiù suǒ [Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica], 1986), 45-67.

the larger Southeast Asia and Oceania area and setting foot on the small island.[22] They were composed of different tribes (roughly 10) and spoke different languages. Even though their languages shared the same language family, the exchanges among them were uncertain.[23] Mentioning of the indigenous people in Taiwan indeed has inspired me to imagine the ancient society of Taiwan as I imagined ancient China when I first learned "our Chinese origins" in my middle school history class. I can now directly relate to the indigenous people around me in Taiwan.

Since my childhood, I learned from my parents that there were different Chinese groups speaking different languages in Taiwan, including *Mǐnnán rén* (閩南人 *Hàn* Chinese from the Southern Fukien province who speak the Hoklo language), *Kèjiā rén* (客家人 *Hàn* Chinese from the Guǎngdōng province who speak the Hakka language), *Wàishěng rén* (外省人 mainlanders, Chinese who came to Taiwan since 1945), and *Shāndì rén* (山地人 literally people living in mountains, namely the current *Yuánzhù mín* 原住民, the indigenous people in Taiwan). I am *Kèjiā rén*, and I speak Hakka at home. I was told by my grandmother that I was different from other groups of people and was warned not to marry a man from a different provincial origin.

On the other hand, I developed a different view toward others from school. In school, we all were required to speak Mandarin Chinese. As I gradually got used to speaking Mandarin Chinese, I believed that I was the same as other students because we all spoke Mandarin Chinese and were all *Hàn* Chinese. I never thought of identifying other classmates by their origins or

---

[22] Wang Sung-shan (王嵩山), "Dì èr jiǎng: Taiwan yuánzhùmíng wénhuà yǔ lìshǐ [Lecture Two: Culture and history of the indigenous people of Taiwan]," *Taiwan shǐ shíyī jiǎng* [Eleven lectures on Taiwan history], 41-42.

[23] Chou Wan-yao (周婉窈), *Taiwan lìshǐ túshuō: Shǐqián zhì 1945 nián* [Taiwan History in Illustration: Prehistory to 1945], 2nd ed. (Táiběi Shì: Liánjīng chūbǎnshè yǒuxiàn gōngsī, 1998), 24-43.

native language, because I always thought that we were all the same. I now understand that the language unification in schools was an aspect of the cultural unification of society. However, I identified myself as only different from the indigenous people, because they spoke Mandarin Chinese with an accent. I actually met only a few indigenous students in school, and my knowledge of them was limited. Indigenous people and their history were hardly mentioned in school, and most of my curiosity was drawn to Mandarin Chinese and Chinese history. Therefore the possibility for me to think about indigenous people or to know them was small. However, the language of "immigrant society" and mentioning the indigenous people in Taiwan in the new histories opened up the possibility for me to imagine that Taiwan could be thought of as a diverse society.

Still, my view of other *Hàn* Chinese did not change much. I had seen them as no different from me, and interestingly I later married a *Mǐnnán rén* whose native language is Hoklo. My grandmother was already aged and forgot the warning that I should not marry a man from a different provincial origin. From my husband, I have learned the differences between us, particularly from the time when he speaks Hoklo with his family and I speak Hakka with my family, or from occasions with specific cultural meanings or practices. The following history of Chinese immigrants in Taiwan thus especially interests me and reminds me of the differences among us *Hàn* Chinese in Taiwan, as well as those between me and my husband.

The history of *Hàn* Chinese immigrants in Taiwan is also interesting to me. According to Inō Kanori (伊能嘉矩), the coming of *Hàn* Chinese pirates to Taiwan, such as Yán Sīqí (顏思齊) and Zhèng Zhīlóng (鄭芝龍) mentioned above, brought footprints of *Hàn* Chinese settlers to

Taiwan as well.[24] As newcomers, they had contact with the old-timer indigenous people living on the plains. Later the Qīng named the indigenous people living on the plains as Píngpǔ (literally plain) fān (番), and those in the high mountains as Gāoshān (literally high-mountain) fān (番).[25] These names are still in use today, but with the term *zú* (族 tribe) for naming them as a group, such as Píngpǔ zú (族 tribe) and Gāoshān zú (族 tribe). The conventional Chinese history in history textbooks tells that the indigenous people experienced "Chinesization" (Hànhuà 漢化) by the *Hàn* Chinese. The immigrant history tells that the indigenous people in fact formed a matriarchal society, into which male Chinese settlers were integrated. In other words, *Hàn* Chinese might be assimilated into Píngpǔ zú as well.[26] This saying actually disrupts the Sinocentric perspective of the assimilation of the Píngpǔ zú into *Hàn* Chinese in the Chinese version of history. Its pedagogical effect is also to soften the distinction between *Hàn* Chinese and *Yuánzhù mín* (原住民 aborigines) in Taiwan.

In addition, the history also tells that at the beginning of the Qīng period (after the Míng regime had been deposed on the Chinese mainland but survived in Taiwan), the Qīng enforced marine interdiction to prevent *Hàn* Chinese from sailing to Taiwan. The Qīng confined inhabitants along the coasts of Fukien provinces in southeast China to the inland by using trenches and enclosures of high walls for cutting off contacts between them and the Míng

---

[24] Inō Kanori (伊能嘉矩), *Taiwan wénhuà zhì*, shàng juǎn [Taiwanese Culture Record, vol. 1], 50-51.

[25] As I mentioned before, the language "fan" was created by a Sinocentric mentality in differentiating uncivilized peoples from *Hàn* Chinese. See "Rènshì Píngpǔ zú [To meet Píngpǔ tribes]," Zhōngyāng yánjiùyuàn mínzúxué yánjiùsuǒ shùwèi diǎncáng [Digital Archives at the Institute of Ethnology, Academic Sinica], accessed May 9, 2013, http://www.ianthro.tw/p/39.

[26] Tai Pao-tsun (戴寶村), "Yímíng Taiwan: Taiwan yímíng lìshǐ kǎochá [Migration to Taiwan: A Survey of immigrant history of Taiwan], in *Taiwan shǐ shíyī jiǎng* [Eleven lectures on Taiwan history], 49-54.

loyalists. Being deprived of access to important living resources such as farmlands and sea, those inhabitants continually snuck out to Taiwan.[27] Therefore, it was those from the Fukien province who were the earlier immigrants to Taiwan. It was not until the Qīng included this island into its jurisdiction in 1683 that *Hàn* Chinese from Fukien or Guǎngdōng (廣東) provinces were allowed to migrate to Taiwan legally.[28] Still, due to a restriction from the Qīng that family dependents were not allowed, Chinese immigrants were single men wanting to make their living in this new land.[29] They gradually settled down and married Píngpǔ women. *Hàn* Chinese males formed a close relationship with the Píngpǔ people in mutual integration (rather than in one-way Chinesization).[30] This history indeed blurred ethnic boundaries between *Hàn* Chinese and indigenous people and disrupted the image of the patriarchal *Hàn* Chinese society in Taiwan.

On the other hand, the following history about the linguistic difference among Taiwanese, including *Hàn* Chinese and the indigenous people, is surprising to me because it shows that I am from a minority group! According to Hsu Chi-tun (許極燉), the Fukien group of *Hàn* Chinese was mainly from two counties, Zhāngzhōu (漳州) and Quánzhōu (泉州), and represented the Zhāngzhōu speech and Quánzhōu speech. These two sub-groups are the extension of the Hoklo language in southern Fukien. These two languages formed a special Taiwanese language by a

---

[27] Inō Kanori (伊能嘉矩), *Taiwan wénhuà zhì*, shàng juǎn [Taiwanese Culture Record, vol. 1], 88-89.

[28] Chen Shao-hsing (陳紹馨), *Taiwan de rénkǒu biànqiān yǔ shèhuì biànqiān* [Demographic and Social Change in Taiwan] (Táiběi Shì: Liánjīng, Mínguó 68 [1979]), 14.

[29] See Shih Tien-fu (施添福), *Qīngdài zàitái hànrén de zǔjí fènbu hé yuánxiāng shēnghuó fāngshì* [Distribution of original domicile of *Hàn* Chinese in Taiwan in Qīng dynasty and their original hometown lifestyles] (Táiběi Shì: Shīdà dìlǐ xuéxì, Mínguó 76 [1987]), 35-65.

[30] Tai Pao-tsun (戴寶村), "Yímíng Taiwan: Taiwan yímíng lìshǐ kǎochá [Migration to Taiwan: A Survey of immigrant history of Taiwan], in *Taiwan shǐ shíyī jiǎng* [Eleven lectures on Taiwan history], 49-54.

mixture in addition to exchanges with the languages of Píngpǔ people.[31] On the other hand, the Guǎngdōng group of *Hàn* Chinese represented a relatively smaller number of populations on the island and spoke a language called "Hakka," but with different speech types, such as hǎifēng, lùfēng, and sìxiàn, and so on. Like the Píngpǔ people, some Hakka were also integrated into Hoklo communities.[32] Therefore the Hoklo-speaking people were the majority in Taiwan. Hsu Chi-tun also provided statistics conducted by the Japanese colonial government in 1903 to show the linguistic distribution: the Zhāngzhōu-speaking population was 1.2 million, the Quánzhōu-speaking population was 1.1 million, the Hakka-speaking population was 500 thousand, other *Hàn* Chinese language speakers were 50 thousand, indigenous language speakers were 110 thousand, and Japanese language speakers was 50 thousand. In other words, the Hoklo-speaking groups, Zhāngzhōu and Quánzhōu, were 2.3 million, which was almost 77 percent of the total population.[33]

This history suggests that the majority of Taiwanese is Hoklo speaking *Mǐnnán rén* and that the Hakka speaking people, *Kèjiā rén*, are surprisingly a minority group together with the indigenous people. The surprise demonstrates my previous ignorance of the ethnic and linguistic diversity of Taiwan, but at the same time wakes me up to notice the widespread Hoklo speaking population in Taiwan and the increasing numbers of TV programs in Hoklo in Taiwan. I have learned the Hoklo language from my husband and the Hoklo TV programs, and from speaking the Hoklo language with Hoklo-speaking Taiwanese. At the same time, I am worried that my

---

[31] Hsu Chi-tun (許極墩). *Taiwan yǔ gàilùn* [Introduction to Taiwanese Languages], 51.

[32] Tai Pao-tsun (戴寶村), "Yímíng Taiwan: Taiwan yímíng lìshǐ kǎochá [Migration to Taiwan: A Survey of immigrant history of Taiwan], in *Taiwan shǐ shíyī jiǎng* [Eleven lectures on Taiwan history], 52.

[33] Hsu Chi-tun (許極墩), *Taiwan yǔ gàilùn* [Introduction to Taiwanese Languages], 51.

native language, Hakka, will be in danger of extinction due to a smaller Hakka-speaking population in Taiwan, and to less and less practice of speaking Hakka in Taiwan. This was a similar worry of Taiwanese under Japanese rule, when multiple language reform movements were enacted concurrently, such as the amelioration of *Hànwén*, reform of the Taiwanese language, and the enforcement of the Japanese language.

History is among the discursive practices that shape our imaginations and actions. I re-tell a brief history of Taiwan above as a way to illustrate my particular understanding of Taiwan and Taiwanese as shaped by the discursive effect of histories. I argue that history is always pedagogical, whether we want it to be or not. If we are not aware of the discursive effects of history, then history teaches us by shaping our assumptions about ourselves and the world. The illustration above is an example of my becoming and being aware of the effect of the histories of Taiwan on me.

A Pedagogical Intervention of History

History impacts all features of education because the stories we tell ourselves shape who we are—educate us—and the stories we tell about our schools shape what we think is possible for schooling and education. What we have taken for granted and thought of as natural and normal in education is shaped by historically constructed rules and knowledge; what we can possibly think of for education is shaped by what we know and by what history has told us. The effect of history thus lies in the limitations and opportunities that history affords relative to what it is possible to think for schooling and education. All sorts of discourses have these pedagogical effects, including science, religion, and art. In this dissertation, I am mainly concerned about the pedagogical effects of history; that is, how history might limit and/or open up our understandings of the present, including who we think we are and what we think education should be. What I

pursue in doing history is the pedagogical effect of history; that is, to use history pedagogically to open up possibilities for re-imaginations of our present.

My historical approach has been mainly inspired and influenced by Michel Foucault's *genealogy*, which derives from Nietzsche's genealogy and "effective history" (*Wirkungsgeschichte*), and by the "linguistic turn" approach in the new cultural history advocated by White and Cohen.[34] I conceptualize their approaches to history as *effective history as pedagogy* by three interrelated, historiographical characteristics: a critical mode of inquiry, a history of the present, and a focus on language. I adopt this approach of *effective history as pedagogy* for this dissertation research with the goal to generate and call attention to the pedagogical effects of history.[35]

In Foucault's genealogy and *effective history*, the purpose of history is to critically challenge the effect of history in the present, particularly the limitations that history might have put on people in maintaining their understanding of their self and the world. I argue that what makes history *pedagogical* is such a critical ethos. Where mainstream histories assume continuity, genealogy looks for discontinuity. Similarly, where mainstream histories assume discontinuity, genealogy looks for continuity. The purpose of genealogy is to interrupt the effects of history on us, whether it is continuous or discontinuous history. The critical, genealogical approach does not create a coherent narrative, but introduces an unfamiliar way of thinking about

---

[34] See Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," in *The Essential Foucault: Selections from Essential Works of Foucault, 1954-1984*, eds. Paul Rabinow and Nikolas Rose (New York: The New Press, 2003 (1994)); Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974); Sol Cohen, *Challenging Orthodoxies: Toward a New Cultural History of Education* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999).

[35] The approach of the *effective history as pedagogy* is elaborated in Chapter Two, "What Kind of Historian Am I?"

history. My approach to this dissertation research follows such a critical mode of inquiry to pedagogically open up imagination of history.

In addition, Nietzsche's genealogy illustrates that what is found in history are messy fragments of accidents and meanderings in the state of dispersion.[36] Genealogy suggests that history is shaped by multiple dimensions of influences; therefore history has its historical specificity that cannot be reduced to an immobile essence in historical origins or to a linear development. The approach of *effective history as pedagogy* follows the genealogical approach that does not follow the path of traditional history in search of historical origins or truth in a teleological or linear movement. Instead, genealogy maintains the specificity of historical events and accidents and pays attention to multiple influences in their historical contingencies (e.g., meanderings, accidents, and differences among historical segments). In other words, this approach focuses on events on a small scale happening at the same time (i.e., archaeology) rather than looking for patterns and causality across a long time (i.e., continuity).

Finally, the approach of *effective history as pedagogy* draws from Hayden White's focus on the linguistic forms in historical writings. According to White, the poetic historian tells stories about what happened in the past by interpretation, in which three dimensions are involved: the mode of emplotment, mode of explanation, and the mode of ideological implication. In the interpretation process, the historian "emplots" a story with a plot structure based on the configuration of historical events. The plot structure gives a form to the historical narrative. What happened in the past is interpreted and "emplotted" as romance, tragedy, comedy, satire, or epic (e.g., tropes). Also, the historian chooses a paradigm of explanation (e.g., the idiographic, the contextualist, the organicist, and the mechanist) as the basis of his or her argument.

[36] Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History."

According to White, the mode of emplotment and the mode of explanation are based on the historian's ideological stance.[37] In White's conceptualization, history is thus more like literature than science.

Therefore, the figurative dimension and linguistic feature of historical narratives are part of the influences that shape history. History is thus constructed by language and the rhetorical devices of the historian. Such a view of history is implied by the "linguistic turn," as conceptualized by Sol Cohen.[38] In this view, history is understood by the linguistic features of written documents and by the language the historian uses. The historian's language shapes understanding of the material life in the past. *Effective history as pedagogy* influenced by the "linguistic turn" thus understands history from language, written documents, and discourse. In other words, in *effective history as pedagogy*, language and discourse are objects of analysis. *Effective history as pedagogy* pays special attention to language and discourse and critically examines the limitations they might have for putting people's ways of thinking and acting into the present.

For this dissertation, I studied the history of Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period, 1895-1945, and I focused on language policies in three historical events: the Taiwan New Culture Movement in the 1920s, the Taiwanese *Xiangtu* (placed-based) Literature Movement in the early 1930s, and the Japanization Movement during Wartime, 1937-1945. Through a genealogical lens, I do not look for the causal relationships of historical fragments and events and a linear development of historical events, but instead examine multiple influences (e.g.,

---

[37] Ibid, "Interpretation in History," in *Tropics of Discourse*, 51-80.

[38] Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism*. Sol Cohen, *Challenging Orthodoxies: Toward a New Cultural History of Education* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999).

multiple language movements at the same time) in each event that shaped a complex relationship of the three areas.

In the analysis, I specifically examined the discourses of language policies, and explored multiple influences surrounding language policies. The analysis suggests a complex relationship of language policies to Taiwanese culture and literature in colonial Taiwan which shaped possibilities for Taiwanese practices of the self. In particular, *Hànwén* (漢文), the classical, literary Chinese language, played a significant role in shaping Taiwanese subjectivities. The analysis of the complex relationship implies the significance of *Hànwén*, its durability, and its versatility. *Hànwén* was sustained in shaping possibilities for Taiwanese practices of the self during the entire colonial period in Taiwan. This genealogical analysis of Taiwanese subjectivities introduces a history different from the received continuous or discontinuous histories of colonial Taiwan under Japanese rule. With a major *pedagogical* goal, it aims to open up possibilities for thinking who we are in the present Taiwan, and for further re-imagining current pressing issues of language, identity, and education in Taiwan.[39]

The Structure of the Dissertation

Preliminary Notes

Before laying out the structure of the dissertation, I have to clarify potential confusions about language issues and usages in this study. First of all, the Taiwanese languages generally include all languages in the island, including Hoklo, Hakka, and the indigenous languages. In this dissertation, the Taiwanese languages refer to Hoklo and Hakka only. I respect the indigenous people in Taiwan and their languages, and I see their history as an essential part of the history of colonial Taiwan. In the discourse of the three events I have analyzed for this

[39] I elaborate the analytical framework of subjectivity in Chapter Two.

dissertation (the Taiwan New Culture Movement in the 1920s, the Taiwanese *Xiangtu* (placed-based) Literature Movement in the early 1930s, and the Japanization Movement during Wartime, 1937-1945), the "Taiwanese languages" were mainly referred to the spoken languages of *Hàn* Chinese in Taiwan, namely Hoklo and Hakka. The language issues and practices of the indigenous people in colonial Taiwan were beyond the scope of this dissertation.

More specifically, Hoklo was the most commonly used Taiwanese language in colonial Taiwan, so the Taiwanese language practiced in writings (literature or folksongs) in Taiwanese newspapers or literary magazines, for example *Taiwan minpao* (台灣民報 The people's newspaper of Taiwan), *Nányīn* (南音 The southern voice), *Sān liù jiǔ xiǎobào* (三六九小報 The three-six-nine tabloid), and *Fēngyuè bào* (風月報 The wind and moon taboid), was mainly Hoklo.

While Hoklo, Hakka, and the languages of the indigenous people were the spoken languages in colonial Taiwan, *Hànwén,* the Classical Chinese language, was the written language. *Hàn* poetry was the classical style of poetry written in *Hànwén.* In the Taiwan New Culture Movement in the 1920s, it was proposed to reform *Hànwén* based on everyday spoken language to be an easier *Hànwén.* The Chinese *Báihuàwén* (白話文 literally White Speech script), which was the written Chinese language based on everyday spoken language, was introduced from China to Taiwan as a model of an easier *Hànwén.* In the Chinese New Culture and Literature Movement in the mid-1910s, *Báihuàwén* was proposed to replace *Wényánwén* (文言文 literary script) or *Gǔwén* (古文 ancient script), which was the classical style of the written Chinese language. It was argued that while *Gǔwén* had been maintained as the official written language in Chinese history, *Báihuàwén* historically had also been used in poetry and popular literature and drama since the Táng Dynasty (唐朝 618-907 CE). In contemporary China, *Báihuàwén* was

supposed to be the orthodox Chinese language.[40] The argument suggested that *Gǔwén* and *Báihuàwén* are different forms of *Hànwén*. In the Chinese New Culture and Literature Movement, *Gǔwén* and *Báihuàwén* were the contrastive terms for two different forms of *Hànwén*, but the term *Hànwén* was not explicitly used.

It is important to note that *Hànwén*, which had been in practice in Taiwan before the Japanese colonial government came, was the literary Chinese language in classic Chinese literature and Chinese classics. The literary Chinese script (i.e., *Hànwén*) had been accessible only to intellectuals who had studied Chinese classics or classical Chinese literature for the Qīng imperial exams. *Hànwén* was the Chinese script used by Taiwanese writers in creating classical poetry (*Hàn* poetry) and literature. Taiwanese who wanted to read Chinese classics or classical Chinese literature, or to write, had to learn *Hànwén*. *Hànwén* was a classical, literary language, which was different from spoken languages, such as regional speech (or dialects) in China and the Taiwanese languages. In the history of colonial Taiwan, *Hànwén* was consistently used to refer to the literary, Classical Chinese language in contrast with the plain *Hànwén*, namely *Báihuàwén.*

In addition, Taiwanese writers practiced the easier *Hànwén* writing based on their daily spoken languages, including the Taiwanese languages (Hoklo mainly) and the Japanese language. I call their writing style in the easier *Hànwén* as the Taiwanese style of *Báihuàwén*, which was different from the Chinese *Báihuàwén*. Therefore, in colonial Taiwan, *Hànwén* referred to *Wényánwén* or *Gǔwén* (i.e., the classical, literary Chinese language); *Báihuàwén* referred to both the plain *Hànwén* and the Taiwanese style of *Báihuàwén*. Still, the Taiwanese *Xiāngtǔ* Literature

[40] See for example, Hu Shih (胡適), "Wénxué gǎiliáng chúyì [A humble opinion of literature improvement], *Xīnqīngnián* [The new youth] 2, no. 5 (1917): 26-36; "Lìshǐ de wénxué guānniàn lùn [A historical view of literature]," *Xīnqīngnián* [The new youth] 3, no. 3 (1917): 32-34.

Movement in the early 1930s proposed to develop a script for the Taiwanese spoken language (i.e., Hoklo), which was *Taiwanhuàwén* (台灣話文 Taiwanese vernacular script). *Taiwanhuàwén* can also be regarded as the Taiwanese style of *Báihuàwén*. To sum up, in China, *Wényánwén*/*Gǔwén* was the classical written Chinese language, and *Báihuàwén* was the colloquial written Chinese language. *Wényánwén*/*Gǔwén* and *Báihuàwén* were different forms of *Hànwén*. In colonial Taiwan, *Hànwén* was the classical written Chinese language, and *Báihuàwén* and *Taiwanhuàwén* were the colloquial written language mixed by the Chinese (*Hànwén*), the Taiwanese language (Hoklo), and Japanese language.[41]

The Structure

In Chapter Two, I describe what kind of historian I am, to illustrate my conceptual understanding of history that informed my approach to studying the history of Taiwan under Japanese rule, in 1895-1945, in this dissertation. As I mentioned above, my understanding of history has been influenced mainly by Foucault's *effective history* and genealogy, and by the "linguistic turn" in the new cultural history (e.g., the new cultural history of Sol Cohen and Hayden White). I conceptualized Foucault's critical approach to effective history and the "linguistic turn" approach to new cultural history as *effective history as pedagogy*. I see history as a discursive practice. History is constructed by language and imagination, and history (including language) shapes our ways of thinking and acting. This is the pedagogical effect of history. In the approach of *effective history as pedagogy*, the goal of this historical dissertation is

[41] For the historical transformation of *Hànwén* in Japan, Taiwan, and China, see Chen Pei-feng (陳培豐), "Rìzhì shíqí Taiwan Hànwén mài de piāoyóu yǔ xiǎngxiàng: Dìguó Hànwén, zhímíndì Hànwén, Zhōngguó Báihuàwén, Taiwan Hànwén [Multiple Imaginings and Transformations of *Hànwén* in Japanese Colonial Taiwan: Imperial *Hànwén*, Colonial *Hànwén*, Chinese Vernacular, and Taiwanese Vernacular]." *Taiwan shǐ yánjiù* [Taiwan Historical Research] 15, no. 4 (2008): 31-86.

pedagogically to raise awareness of the pedagogical effect of history. That is, I intend pedagogically to open up possibilities for different ways of thinking about Taiwan and current issues in education in Taiwan. In this chapter, I also introduce another dimension of Foucault's genealogy, which is subjectivity. Foucault's theory of subjectivity serves as a conceptual basis for my analysis of Taiwanese subjectivities.

In Chapter Three, I explore the historical context of language issues in colonial Taiwan, based on historical writings about language issues in the Japanese national language movement. The discourse of Japanese colonial education and language policies in Taiwan suggests that the Taiwanese spoken languages and *Hànwén*, the classical, written Chinese language of Taiwanese, complicated Japanese colonial governance of Taiwan and the Japanese assimilation movement. In particular, the relationship of *Hànwén* to the Japanese assimilation movement, including Japanese national language education and the Japanization agenda, played a significant role in shaping language and educational practices in Taiwan and Taiwanese cultural imagination.

The educational discourse indicated that at the early stage of colonization, common schools were founded under the regulation of the colonial government for transforming Taiwanese children to Japanese.[42] *Hànwén* was included in the common school curriculum as an expediency to promote the Japanization education of Taiwanese. At the same time, the Taiwanese private school, *shūfáng* (書房), was also included in colonial regulation and was reformed to support the common school education by including the Japanese national language and knowledge of the Japanese empire. The discourse suggested that *Hànwén* was an essential

[42] For example, *Taiwan jiàoyù yángé zhì* (zhōngyìběn) [The chronicle of Taiwan education (Chinese translation)], ed. Taiwan jiàoyù huì 台灣教育會 [Taiwan Kyōikukai in Japanese, Taiwan Education Society], trans. Hsu Hsi-ching (許錫慶) (Nántóu Shì: Guǒshǐguǎn Táiwān wénxiànguǎn, Mínguó 99 [2010]). More details about the history of colonial education in Taiwan and historical references are elaborated in Chapter Three.

element to Taiwanese life and constituted the cultural spirit of Taiwanese. Common schools and *shūfáng* teaching *Hànwén* opened up possibilities for Taiwanese children to learn *Hànwén.* On the other hand, the main goal of the common school was to transform Taiwanese children into Japanese through the Japanese national language. The Japanese national language was regarded as the mother language of the Japanese, whose role was to cultivate the Japanese national spirit among the Taiwanese. In this goal, Taiwanese children were expected to abandon their mother tongues, including *Hànwén* and the Taiwanese languages, so that the Japanese national spirit could be cultivated in them. *Hànwén* was considered as contradictory to that goal, and was completely excluded from the Taiwanese common school education in 1937 after the Second Sino-Japan War broke out. The inclusion or exclusion of *Hànwén* in the common school education shaped possibilities for Taiwanese practices of the self in relation to the Japanese national language movement.

On the other hand, while the Japanese national language was popularized to Taiwanese society, the *Hànwén* practice endured during the entire colonial period in spite of the Japanese national language imposition.[43] The *Hànwén* and *Hàn* poetry were shared by Taiwanese traditional intellectuals and Japanese officials, and were sustained by *Hàn* poetry exchanges and societies. The *Hàn* poetry society practice was at the same time complicated by the Japanization agenda.

---

[43] For example, *Hànwén* in the *Hàn* poetry societies, see Huang Mei-e (黃美娥), "Rìzhì shídài Taiwan shīshè línlì de shèhuì kǎochá [A social investigation of Taiwanese poetry societies during Japanese colonial period]," *Taiwan fēngwù* 臺灣風物 [*The Taiwan Folkways*] 47, no. 3 (1997): 43-88; Yang Yung-pin (楊永彬), "Rìběn lǐngTái chūchí Rì Tái guānshēn shīwén chànghè [Poetry singing along together by Japanese officials and Taiwanese elites at the early stage of Japanese colonization]," in *Taiwan chóngcéng jìndàihuà lùnwén ji* [Conference proceedings on multi-layered modernity of Taiwan], edited by Wakabayashi Masahiro (若林正丈) and Wu Mi-Cha (吳密察) (Táiběi Shì: Bōzhòngzhě wénhuà yǒuxiàn gōngsī, 2000), 105-81.

In Chapter Four, I focus on the discourse about the first event, the Taiwan New Culture Movement in the 1920s, and specifically analyze language policies and issues in this event that shaped Taiwanese subjectivities. The analysis suggests a crucial role of *Hànwén* in shaping Taiwanese cultural and linguistic practices of the self. The classical language and literary form of *Hànwén* confronted challenges from reforms in Taiwanese culture and literature. However, *Hànwén* endured due to its cultural importance to the Taiwanese, its versatility in different linguistic forms, and its accessibility to ancient Chinese civilized knowledge.

In the discourse of the Taiwan New Culture Movement in the 1920s, Taiwanese culture was problematized as "backward" and "uncivilized." A series of new cultural movements were initiated for enlightening the Taiwanese masses and promoting Taiwan to be a civilized nation. *Hànwén*, the classical, literary Chinese language, was regarded as too difficult to learn and as inaccessible to the majority of the Taiwanese masses, and therefore was considered as a hindrance to Taiwanese civilization and enlightenment. On the other hand, when the Japanese language movement was enthusiastically promoted to the Taiwanese, *Hànwén* was positioned in the discourses of Hàn cultural identity and daily life as a necessity. *Hànwén* was described as the essential part of Taiwanese culture and life, as opposed to the inconvenient Japanese language. In spite of its esoteric features, *Hànwén* was still regarded as indispensable to Taiwanese life and as valuable to Taiwanese culture. For promoting Taiwanese culture, *Hànwén* was suggested to be reformed into an easier *Hànwén* based on the colloquial language. The easier *Hànwén* was understood as *Báihuàwén*. For the goal of enlightenment and civilization, *Hànwén* was maintained in a colloquial style (i.e., *Báihuàwén*) due to its cultural importance. The reform of *Hànwén* into *Báihuàwén* suggested the versatility of *Hànwén*.

In addition, *Taiwan shīhuì* (台灣詩薈), a collection of *Hàn* poetry (i.e., classical poetry written in *Hànwén*), and *Hànwén* writings about ancient Chinese civilization indicated that the ancient Chinese culture was not less civilized than the ancient or contemporary Western culture. It suggested that the Taiwanese culture could be promoted to civilization by learning from the ancient Chinese civilization through *Hànwén*. *Hànwén*, which was viewed as access to the ancient Chinese civilization, was maintained during the Taiwan New Culture Movement.

In Chapter Five, I focus on the discourse of the second event, the Taiwanese *Xiāngtǔ* (鄉土 literally place-based) Literature Movement in the early 1930s, and explore possibilities created by language policies and issues for Taiwanese practices of the self. The discourse suggests particular attention to Taiwan, including Taiwanese languages, literature, and folklore. To create *Taiwaneseness* in Taiwanese *xiāngtǔ* literature, the Taiwanese languages were regarded as the main medium. However, there was no standard script for the Taiwanese languages. To create a script for the Taiwanese languages, *Hànwén*, particularly *Hànzì* (Chinese characters), was regarded as a valuable linguistic resource. *Hànwén* and *Hànzì* thus supported the creation of the Taiwanese script (i.e., *Taiwanhuàwén* 台灣話文) and Taiwanese *xiāngtǔ* literature.

The Taiwanese *Xiāngtǔ* Literature Movement, with a focus on Taiwan and the Taiwanese languages, also opened up possibilities for the practice of Taiwanese folklore. In particular, *Hànwén* supported Taiwanese traditional intellectuals in their practice of preserving Taiwanese folklore literature and folk culture (e.g., in the *Hànwén* tabloid, *Sān liù jiǔ xiǎobào* 三六九小報 the three-six-nine tabloid). The discourse of the Taiwanese *xiāngtǔ* Literature Movement in the early 1930s suggested a close relationship between *Hànwén* and Taiwan-based

culture, language, and literature. The versatility of *Hànwén* opened up possibilities for Taiwanese cultural, linguistic, and literary practices.

In Chapter Six, I focus on the discourse of the third event, the Japanization movement during wartime, 1937-1945, and I analyze possibilities created by the discourse of the Japanese national language movement for Taiwanese practices of the self. According to historical writings about Taiwan during this time, the intensive Japanization movement was called the *kōminka* (*huángmínhuà* 皇民化 literally making Emperor's people) movement, which was constituted by a series of intensive assimilation measure, and wartime policies and practices. The *kōminka* movement was intensified by the Japanese project of constructing the Greater East Asia, which further complicated Taiwanese linguistic, cultural, and literary practices of the self.

Linguistically, the Taiwanese languages were banned, and the Taiwanese were expected to learn and use the Japanese national language; however, the *Hànwén* practice was tolerated. The Japanese national language was promoted and popularized to every individual Taiwanese and every Taiwanese family. Taiwanese writers who were no longer allowed to write in *Taiwanhuàwén* (*Báihuàwén*) turned either to create *Hàn* poetry or to write in Japanese. The series of *Hànwén* newspaper, *Fēngyuè bào* (風月報 The wind and moon tabloid), allowed the *Hànwén* practice during the entire wartime period. The *Hànwén* practice, which continued to maintain the *Hàn* Chinese cultural and moral traditions, was also complicated by the Japanese wartime policy, such as the Greater East Asia project.

Culturally, Taiwanese folklore was maintained by the practice of the magazine *Minzoku Taiwan* (民俗台灣 Taiwanese folklore). The discourse on the *Minzoku Taiwan* positioned Taiwanese folklore within the Japanese project of creating the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Taiwanese folklore was regarded as an important cultural resource for Japanese

expansion to Southeast Asia. At this time, Taiwanese folklore was expected to serve as a knowledge source for the Japanese to understand the *Hàn* Chinese culture of the overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia.

In literature, Japanese writers joined and dominated the literary field in Taiwan. Taiwanese literature was mainly written in the Japanese language. During wartime, Taiwanese literature was placed in different positions. Taiwanese literature was understood as colonial culture that was expected to support the home nation, which was the Japanese empire. It was also regarded as a valuable "local culture" of the Japanese empire and as an important component of the Japanese culture. Still, Taiwanese literature was also expected to write about *Taiwanese-ness* and to present the *realistic* Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule. These different positions of Taiwanese literature confounded the Taiwanese imagination of the self.

In Chapter Seven, I illustrate my own subjectification practices in becoming a particular subject in Taiwan, that is, a Chinese, as a way to reflect on the process of doing the history of Taiwanese subjectivities during the Japanese colonial period. I also conclude with reflections on the findings of this historical research. The most significant historiographical finding is the durability and versatility of *Hànwén*, the classical, literary Chinese language. Throughout the colonial period, *Hànwén* persisted in spite of challenges from many directions. *Hànwén* was put into practice in different forms and with different cultural or practical reasoning, and it also facilitated Taiwanese cultural, linguistic, and literary practices of the self.

Chapter Two

What Kind of Historian Am I?

My historical approach has been mainly inspired by Michel Foucault's genealogy, which derives from Nietzsche's genealogy and "effective history" (*Wirkungsgeschichte*), and from the new cultural history, particularly the "linguistic turn" approach in history advocated by Sol Cohen and Hayden White.[44] I conceptualize their approaches to history as *effective history as pedagogy* by three interrelated, historiographical characteristics: a critical ethos, a history of the present, and a focus on language. For this dissertation on the history of Taiwanese subjectivities during the Japanese colonial period, 1895-1945, I adopted this approach of *effective history as pedagogy* with the pedagogical goal to raise awareness of the pedagogical effects of history on us, and to open up different ways of understanding our present in Taiwan. In the following sections, I analyze Foucault's critical, genealogical approach to history and the "linguistic turn" in the new cultural history of Sol Cohen and Hayden White, to illustrate what kind of historian I am in the approach of *effective history as* pedagogy.

A Genealogical Approach

> *What they [Nietzsche and Foucault] share [in genealogy and effective history] is the concern to disturb and trouble our conventions---whether of truth, of politics, or of ethics---through a gray and meticulous labor of detail on the paths that we took---and the paths that were not taken---in*

[44] See Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," in *The Essential Foucault: Selections from Essential Works of Foucault, 1954-1984*, eds. Paul Rabinow and Nikolas Rose (New York: The New Press, 2003 [1994]), 351-369. Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974). Sol Cohen, *Challenging Orthodoxies: Toward a New Cultural History of Education* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999).

putting together the objects, subjects, and values that seem so natural and precious to us—

Rabinow & Rose[45]

Foucault's critical historiography was influenced by Nietzsche's genealogy and "effective history" (*Wirkungsgeschichte*). In the essay, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," Foucault illustrated Nietzsche's genealogy and effective history as opposed to a history in search of origins.[46] Foucault stressed that Nietzsche's genealogy challenges such history in search of origins, which assumes a timeless, immobile essence in origins that lends continuity to history. In contrast, Nietzsche's genealogy pays attention to *descent (Herkunft)* and *emergence (Entstehung)*, in ways to disrupt such continuity in history.

Foucault reconstructed the proper use of the two terms, *Herkunft* and *Entstehung*, which were generally translated as "origin" in Nietzsche's *Genealogy*.[47] Foucault explained that *descent (Herkunft)* means a network of connections among different fragments and pieces that form a specific concept or tradition. What Nietzsche's genealogy found in *descent* is a complex relationship among many events and accidents rather than an exact essence in origins. On the other hand, *emergence* refers to "the entry of forces"[48] when historical events and accidents strive to dominate one another. Foucault described emergence as "a scene where forces are risked and confront one another where they emerge triumphant, where they can also be

---

[45] Paul Rabinow and Nikolas Rose, eds., "Introduction: Foucault Today," *The Essential Foucault: Selections from the Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984* (New York: The New Press, 2003), xiv.

[46] Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," in *The Essential Foucault: Selections from the Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984*, eds. Paul Rabinow and Nikolas Rose (New York: The New Press, 2003), 351-369.

[47] Ibid., 353.

[48] Ibid., 358.

confiscated … or the force contends against itself."[49] What genealogy finds in *emergence (Entstehung)* are interactions between forces and processes for sustaining their existence. Emergence can thus be seen as the historical battlefield in which numerous conflicts, struggles, victories, defeats, and so on have emerged to dominate one another in history.

Descent and *emergence* in genealogy thus demonstrate a more complex picture of history than a continuous history with an immobile essence in origins. As Foucault stated, genealogy certainly dismisses the "chimeras of the origin."[50] In Nietzsche's genealogical analyses of the concepts of liberty and reason, Foucault demonstrated that these two concepts did not come from an essential origin but from competitions of forces and accidents in specific times and places. The concept of liberty is an "invention of a ruling class," in Nietzsche's words, [51] and the concept of reason was born "from chance."[52] Foucault mentioned that these two concepts were born from historical contingent conditions in which people were competing for ideas in their "devotion to truth and the precision of scientific methods."[53] This is why Foucault advocated the inclusion of "chance" in history. What genealogy finds are the messy, contested forces of events and fragments in *emergence* and in complex relations, as in *descent*, rather than the essential origin. When chance is allowed, change is possible.

By implication, history is shaped by multiple dimensions of influences, that is, historical contingencies, rather than having an immobile essence in historical origins or moves in a linear development. As Foucault mentioned, the genealogist "must be able to recognize the events of

---

[49] Ibid., 364.
[50] Ibid., 354.
[51] Nietzsche, quoted in Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," 353.
[52] Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," 353.
[53] Ibid.

history, its jolts, its surprises, its unsteady victories and unpalatable defeats—the basis of all beginnings, atavisms, and heredities."[54] The genealogical approach thus does not follow the path of traditional history in search of historical origins or truth in a teleological or progressive movement. Instead, genealogy maintains the uniqueness and specificity of historical events and accidents and pays attention to multiple influences and their historical contingencies. In other words, this approach focuses on the critical potential of events on a small scale happening at the same time rather than looking for patterns and generalizability across a long time.

A Critical Approach into the Present

According to Foucault, historians search for origins and look for the principle of continuity in history as a way to explain how things grow and develop, whereas Nietzsche's genealogy not only challenges assumptions about origins, but also introduces discontinuity into history. By examining historical conditions surrounded by "passing events," "accidents," and "minute deviations," genealogy challenges continuous history. Foucault argued that it is discontinuity that makes history "effective" because it disturbs the continuity of foundations and traditions from origins and disrupts identity with the past. In Foucault's words,

> "Effective" history leaves nothing around the self, deprives the self of the reassuring stability of life and nature, and it will not permit itself to be transported by a voiceless obstinacy toward a millennial ending. It will uproot its traditional foundations and relentlessly disrupts its pretended continuity. This is because knowledge is not made for understanding; it is made for cutting.[55]

[54] Ibid, 354.
[55] Ibid., 360.

In other words, discontinuity in genealogy renders history *effective* in disrupting the foundations of our existence, including our identity.

Influenced by Nietzsche's genealogy and effective history, Foucault's approach to history embodied a similar critical ethos. His history is critical of both continuous and discontinuous accounts of history. The main purpose of history, in Foucault's thought, is to disrupt "unquestioned assumptions of history," whether they are continuous or discontinuous.[56] This is the critical ethos of Foucault's history. For Foucault, the use of history is constantly to examine and challenge our taken-for-granted assumptions as a way to open up possibilities for thought that has been bounded by foundations or traditions, and also for further imagination of the present. With the critical ethos, Foucault's effective history pedagogically challenges the limitations of history, and at the same time opens up possibilities for re-imaginations of the present. This is how I conceptualize what *effective history as pedagogy* does. My approach to this dissertation research thus follows a similar critical mode of inquiry that aims to generate a pedagogical effect by making existing dominant assumptions susceptible to critique for more possibilities.

Furthermore, history is a critical exercise of thought as a practice of freedom. Foucault stressed the importance of thought in both history and philosophy. As he stated,

> But, then, what is philosophy today---philosophical activity, I mean---if it is not the critical work that thought brings to bear on itself? In what does it consist, if not in the endeavor to know how and to what extent it might be possible to think differently, instead of legitimating what is already known? … [And] to learn to what extent the effort to think

[56] Lynn Fendler, *Michel Foucault* (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2010), 40.

> one's own history can free thought from what it silently thinks, and so enable it to think differently.[57]

In this sense, history is no longer accepting and legitimating existing knowledge. In addition, history is not just to provide knowledge for sustaining our identity with the past and reaffirming our assumptions about our present. This is the pedagogical effect of history that shapes our understanding of the present. On the other hand, history can also be a critical exercise of thought, which is a practice of freedom. Being aware of the pedagogical effect of history also pedagogically frees our self from being dictated by conventional assumptions.

I thus argue that both traditional history and Foucault's genealogy have pedagogical effects on us. History in search of origins or in a linear development (e.g., continuous history) shapes a particular understanding of history and of our world. This is the implicit pedagogical effect of history on our thought. By contrast, Foucault's genealogy deliberately interrupts the pedagogical effect of history, whether it is continuous or discontinuous history. The interruption of history also shapes our thought and has pedagogical effects on us. Therefore, genealogy (i.e., *effective history as pedagogy*) challenges our understanding of the world shaped by received histories, and it pedagogically opens up new ways of thinking about our present. What the approach of *effective history as pedagogy* pursues is the critical turning point of thought and the possibilities it opens up.

To illustrate the ways in which history can be pedagogically effective, I draw on Depaepe and Simon's metaphor of history, *mirror* and *lever*.[58] Depaepe and Simon used mirror and lever

---

[57] Michel Foucault, *The Use of Pleasure*, Volume 2 of *The History of Sexuality*, trans. R. Hurley (New York: Random House, 1984), 8-9.

[58] Marc Depaepe and Frank Simon, "Paedagogica Historica: Lever or Mirror in the Making of the History of Education?" *Paedagogica Historica* 32, no. 2 (1996): 421–450.

to contrast objective history with Foucault's effective history, and Fendler elaborated the pedagogical difference between these two types of history. According to Fendler, objective history operates like a *mirror* that reflects the past to us and tells stories to us; in contrast, effective history works like a *lever* that "disrupts our assumptions and understandings about who we think we are."[59] In other words, stories about the past reflected by the mirror are accepted as historical knowledge for developing our understanding of the past and at the same time shaping our present; on the other hand, stories told in effective history are critically used as a lever for "cutting" our existing knowledge about the past and the present. This is what Foucault meant by historical knowledge: "Knowledge is not made for understanding; it is made for cutting."[60]

Here is another example. In Sexias's historical teaching approaches,[61] the collective memory approach and the disciplinary approach are examples of using history as a *mirror* to build national identity, promote social cohesion and change, and maintain an objective attitude toward the past. These two approaches can be found easily in current history classrooms, and I argue that the pedagogical effect of such use of history as a *mirror* is socialization and normalization. That is, history as a *mirror* is used to shape and normalize our understanding of our past as well as our present. On the other hand, Foucault's effective history as a *lever* is a critical use of history to *disrupt* people's conventional assumptions that have been shaped by objective history. Effective history denaturalizes and defamiliarizes the connection with conventions and foundations that normalize people's ways of thinking and acting, and at the

---

[59] Lynn Fendler, *Michel Foucault*, 42.

[60] Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," 360.

[61] Peter Carr Seixas, "Schweigen! die Kinder. Or, Does Postmodern History Have a Place in Schools? In *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, eds. Paul N. Stearns, Peter Carr Seixas and Sam S. Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 19-37.

same time critically makes the normalization effects explicit for critique. It pedagogically opens up possibilities for thoughts that may have been foreclosed by objective histories, and for further transformation of thought about the present.

It is thus implied that *effective history as pedagogy* is closely related to the present. As Foucault stated explicitly in an interview, "I set out from a problem expressed in the terms current today and I try to work out its genealogy. Genealogy means that I begin my analysis from a question posed in the present."[62] *Effective history as pedagogy* is a critical and pedagogical intervention into the present and its pedagogical effects lie in the possibilities it opens up for the present.

A Focus on Language

Genealogy focusing on historical contingencies implies that history can never be objectively told by the historian. As Foucault said, "Truth, and its original reign, has had a history within history."[63] I argue that history is not only shaped by its historical specificity, but is also created by the historian and his or her perspective. History comes to life through the lens of the genealogist who looks for meanderings, accidents, and differences among historical segments; the effective historian weaves these historical segments into a story with a pre-figured plot structure.[64] Foucault wrote history in terms of genealogy, and in a related way, Hayden White wrote history in terms of dramatic plot structure. My approach to history draws on

---

[62] Foucault, "The Concern for Truth," in *Foucault Live: Collected Interviews, 1961-1984*, ed. Sylvère Lotringer (New York: Semiotext(e), 1984), 460.

[63] Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," 354.

[64] Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974).

Foucault's genealogy, White's focus on linguistic forms, and Cohen's notion of "linguistic turn," which is based on White's theory.

Language was also a critical and pedagogical element in *effective history as pedagogy*. The pedagogical effect of language is evident in Foucault's use of language and his conception of language in historical investigation. Foucault's language (e.g., literary device) is poetic, playful, parodic, and ironic. The purpose of Foucault's using such language is pedagogically to provoke, surprise, awaken, or horrify.[65] For example, his use of the term "history of the present" sounds ironic.[66] Our natural conception of history leads us to believe that history is about the past and memory; from that perspective, history and the present are two separate things. However, Foucault's "history of the present" provokes us to rethink the meaning of history in relation to the present, and awakens us from the stultifying effects of normalization. "History of the present" is an ironic use of language but is pedagogically effective for disrupting assumptions.

For a more elaborate illustration of Foucault's language, I draw on examples from the same essay, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," mentioned above. To highlight a genealogical view of history as opposed to the essentialist view of history, Foucault stated, "History is the concerted body of becoming; with its moments of intensity, its lapses, its extended periods of feverish agitation, its fainting spells; and only a metaphysician would seek its soul in the distant ideality of the origin."[67] Isn't this poetic description full of imagination? Such a notion of history, evoking an agitated state with uncertainties and surprises, overthrows the entire image of the absolute, immobile origin: pure, calm, silent, and venerable. Pedagogically the poetic

---

[65] Lynn Fendler, *Michel Foucault*.

[66] I am grateful for the discussion with Jeanne Meier about Foucault's ironic language of the *history of the present*.

[67] Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," 354.

language opens up possibilities of imagination and thought for history beyond the conventional image of history.

Another example is from Foucault's elaboration of the parodic use of Nietzsche's genealogy. He concluded that "Genealogy is history in the form of a concerted carnival."[68] In this essay he described that what genealogy finds in history are parodic masks that historians have imposed on the reality of European identity. As he described, "Historians supplied the Revolution with Roman prototypes, Romanticism with knight's armor, and the Wagnerian era was given the sword of a German hero --- ephemeral props whose unreality points to our own."[69] Foucault's poetic and playful language captivates our imaginations of the notion of the "reality" of the past. It pedagogically disrupts traditional assumptions about the immobile identity in history and opens up a space for imaginative thoughts. Also, Foucault's language itself becomes a source of imagination and possibilities: an ironic reality of multiple realities in a hilarious carnival disguised by masks.[70] Therefore, from the examples above, Foucault's use of language works for him as a *lever* in *effective history as pedagogy* in challenging the conventional view of history and opening up possibilities for imaging how education might be different.

In addition to the rhetorical use of language that contributes to the pedagogical effect, Foucault's conception of language offers pedagogical implications. He challenged the structuralist view of language, which assumes that language is the representation of the world. In

---

[68] Ibid., 365.

[69] Ibid.

[70] It should be noted that Foucault did not aim to provide a truer or more correct version of history, but to highlight the parodic use of genealogy and to challenge the metaphysician's search for origins.

a structuralist view, language is the medium for understanding the world, and it bridges the world the thought.[71] In a structuralist view, there is a two-tiered reality system: one tier is what language shows (i.e., what we say and do), and the other tier is the underlying meaning of what language represents (i.e., what we really know and mean). However, for Foucault, this two-tiered reality system is problematic. For Foucault, history is what we have written about history; language is all we have as a basis for knowledge. Foucault's histories, such as *The Order of the Things* and *The History of Madness,* critique such structuralist views of language.

For example, Hayden White pointed out that Foucault's histories reject this kind of history of representation, in which language represents the history of human sciences between the sixteenth century and twentieth century as progress and development. Foucault aimed to disrupt the progressive assumption of human sciences by revealing "the figurative language (and ultimately mythic) strategies that sanction the conceptualization rituals in which these sciences characteristically indulge themselves."[72]

According to White, Foucault's histories of human sciences show that human sciences have been captive of language and have seen language as natural and value-neutral in order to free thought from it.[73] In Foucault's estimation, as White said, the conception of life, labor, and language in the human sciences by the linguistic representation is "little more than reifications of

---

[71] This is from a personal communication with Lynn Fendler. I am grateful for her discussion about the distinction between the structural view of language and Foucault's view of language, which will be elaborated in the following paragraph. I also appreciate her insight about the pedagogical aspect of Foucault's language.

[72] Hayden White, "Foucault Decoded: Notes from the Underground," in *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 231-232.

[73] Hayden White, "Foucault Decoded: Notes from the Underground," 230-260.

the different linguistic protocols in which their 'phenomena' are constituted."[74] Foucault critiqued the structural relationship between words (i.e., language) and things that determines people's conception of the subjects in human science such as life (biology), labor (economics), and language, and shapes assumptions about human sciences as progress across history.

Instead, Foucault focused on language *per se* as constituting the world rather than the underlying meaning in language. For Foucault, what we say and do is what we know and think, so what we put into words (i.e., into language) is what we know and think. In this way, we have reality as discourse showing our thought and knowing of the world. What we know and think is in fact shaped by systems of thought (or games of truth). Therefore, in the history of the human sciences, Foucault saw language as a reality of the system of thought in different historical periods that produces sets of knowledge, modes of discourse, and truth for subjects such as life, labor, and language in human sciences. From this point of view, Foucault's histories instead posit ruptures in human sciences rather than assume progress. Foucault's view of language thus served for him as a critical lever to create a different history of human sciences that is pedagogically effective not only in disrupting assumptions about language and the development of human sciences history, but also in offering a new way of understanding issues related to biology, economics, and language in the present. Such a view of language thus creates possibilities for thinking differently about possibilities for educational transformation.

There is another pedagogical implication from Foucault's view of language. The way we put our thought and knowing into words in discourse is a pedagogical move that turns our thought into *reality*. That is, when we put our thoughts, feelings, beliefs, values, and so on, into words, we "realize" them. It is the pedagogical *practice* of "realizing" our thoughts, feelings,

[74] Ibid., 249.

beliefs, and values into language. The pedagogical effect thus lies in the dissolved boundaries between language and reality, between discourse and material reality. In addition, discourse, embodying thoughts, feelings, beliefs, and values, becomes knowledge that can function for different pedagogical and political purposes, such as for normalization and assimilation, communication, or "cutting" our knowledge foundations as effective history does. What I analyze in this dissertation is language and discourse that is, what languages were used in discourse, and thus what reality in the past was created by them.

The Linguistic Turn Approach

My approach also adopts Sol Cohen's idea of the "linguistic turn,"[75] similar to Foucault's conception of language. Cohen introduced the approach of the "linguistic turn" to challenge orthodoxies in the history of education and to offer new ways of reading and writing history in the historiography of education. Cohen referred to this approach as the new cultural history of education. Cohen is a historian in education who is especially critical of the use of history in traditional historiography as a solution to the problems in American education. Cohen argued that history is contingent and provisional rather than stable and certain, and it cannot hold promise for solving problems in education. He proposed the new cultural history as an alternative to the current historiography of education. He argued that the new cultural history of education can better reflect the nature of history and may be more useful to education. As he stated,

> The new cultural historiography provides a recognition that there are other ways to be relevant and useful to the profession: useful in challenging orthodoxies in education, raising questions about 'solutions' in education, providing historical contexts for critical

[75] See Cohen, *Challenging Orthodoxies: Toward a New Cultural History of Education* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), x.

> thinking about the present moment in education, and helping to make our colleagues, our students and the general public more sophisticated consumers of history.[76]

This statement suggests that the new cultural history of education, similar to Foucault's history, is a critical history and a history of the present that questions "orthodox" conceptions of history for the purpose of rethinking issues in current education.

Cohen proposed the "linguistic turn" as a primary method in the new cultural history of education. He argued that the linguistic aspects of history offer an alternative way of reading and writing history. As he humbly suggested, "The linguistic turn suggests an approach to doing history which, while obligating us to challenge (but not necessarily negate or reject) inherited orthodoxies, will make us more self-reflexive about our practices as we enlarge out repertoire of reading, writing, and teaching strategies."[77] In other words, Cohen proposed the new cultural history not just as a way to challenge the "orthodoxies" in education, but also to open up possibilities for reflection on the history of education.

On the other hand, Cohen argued that the new cultural history of education does not aim to replace the current historiography of American education, which has been dominated by social and intellectual history. Rather, the new cultural history aims to dissolve the boundaries among different histories, namely intellectual, social, and cultural history. He argued that the linguistic turn is an evitable element in historical work. As he stated,

> All social historians must deal with language, discourse, and textual sources. They must be concerned with the hermeneutics of texts, with problems of language, meaning and interpretation. And intellectual historians must be concerned with the performative

[76] Ibid., 27-28.
[77] Ibid., ix.

> function of language and texts. The cultural approach makes these concerns explicit and subject to scrutiny while expanding our repertoire of writing, reading, and interpretive methodologies. In this sense, the new cultural history deals with issues relevant to all historians of education.[78]

The "linguistic turn" thus plays a crucial role in Cohen's critical project and serves as a pedagogical *lever* in the new cultural history by opening up possibilities for rethinking the nature of history and problems in education.

There are two important features implied by the "linguistic turn": one is e attention to the literary aspect of history, such as the linguistic structures and rhetorical devices in creating historical narratives; the other is language as the object and method in historical study. The "linguistic turn" with the attention to the literary aspect of historical narratives offers new ways of reading and writing. Besides, the "linguistic turn" is not only a challenge to the orthodox in the history of education, but is also a *lever* that disrupts disciplinary boundaries between history and literature, and traditional boundaries among social, intellectual, and cultural history. Pedagogically it opens up possibilities for communication and connection with other disciplines. It thus also opens up possibilities of transformation for the history of education.

The literary aspect of the "linguistic turn" has been influenced by Hayden White's poetic history and by other scholars, such as J. L. Austin, Michel Foucault, and Thomas Kuhn. Cohen acknowledged the contribution of White's poetic history to the "linguistic turn" and said, "White enables us to read meaning into histories of education by reference to their predominant form, mode of emplotment, and rhetorical strategies, in addition to or as an alternative to our usual way

[78] Ibid., x.

of reading.[79] Drawing on the implications of White's poetic history, Cohen analyzed two histories of education as an "exercise" to demonstrate the role of rhetorical forms in historians' conveying of the content of history. One is Bryce E. Nelson's *Good Schools: The Seattle Public School System, 1901-1930*, and the other is David Labaree's *The Making of an American High School: The Credentials Market and the Central High School of Philadelphia, 1838-1939*.

According to Cohen, Nelson's history can be divided into two different stories: one is a romantic story of a progressive vision of good schools before 1920 in Seattle public education; the other is a "tragic" story of the "conservative, counterprogressive education movement and the subsequent 'triumph of efficiency,' the nadir"[80] after 1920. In spite of the fall of progressive "Good Schools" and a tragic ending of the Seattle public schools, Nelson maintained a romantic vision and concluded that the progressive education in Seattle public schools before 1920 is still a good solution to problems in American education. This conclusion is critiqued by Cohen as a rhetorical problem that is "absurdly inadequate and implausible."[81]

On the other hand, Cohen critiqued the rhetorical device that Nelson used in his historical writing: the photographs of "Good Schools." Cohen said that for Nelson, these photos are able to demonstrate the strengths of progressive schools; however, Cohen thought that these photos do nothing but represent a "melancholy depiction of a vanished world, paradise lost"[82] and do not cohere with his romantic genre of story. So Cohen finally concluded that Nelson "was trapped by

[79] Ibid., 70.
[80] Ibid., 72.
[81] Ibid., 73.
[82] Ibid., 75.

the form in which he prefigured his narrative. Thus, the meaning and significance of *Good Schools* goes far beyond Nelson's intention or control."[83]

In his critical review of Labaree's *The Making of an American High School: The Credentials Market and the Central High School of Philadelphia, 1838-1939,* Cohen identified the mode of satire in the emplotment[84] at the beginning of the story, in which there was conflict of purposes of education between egalitarian and market values and "the anger over the deterioration and fall of American public secondary education." However, Cohen found a progressive (romantic) mode similar to Nelson's narrative form in Labaree's ending, "a wish-fulfillment dream or a fairy tale… [that] democratic advocates had always envisioned."[85] Given the fact that there have been no changes in American secondary education from 1890 to the present, Cohen did not agree with Labaree that things would be different. as Labaree had envisioned. Similarly, Cohen critiqued Labaree's rhetorical devices, such as quantitative data and analyses, which are not strong enough to convince the readers of his argument and the meaning he wanted to convey.

By presenting this exercise, Cohen argued that the "linguistic turn" approach opens up possibilities for reading and writing history. I see Cohen's exercise as a pedagogical rendition. It offers alternative ways of understanding problems in education. It also interrupts the pedagogical effects of the histories written by Nelson and Labaree. His exercise illuminates the political implications of historians, which are embedded in the form (i.e., literary and rhetorical structures). It further shows that the form has content. Attention to the form of historical

---

[83] Ibid.

[84] See White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism*, 51-80.

[85] Cohen, *Challenging Orthodoxies: Toward a New Cultural History of Education*, 76.

narratives is a way to understand historians' political and ethical commitments by which history and educational problems can thus be written, read, and interpreted differently. Cohen particularly stressed the responsibility of readers in making choices for what they believe from different interpretations of history. Therefore, the pedagogical implication of the "linguistic turn" is not only in different ways of reading history, but also in ethical considerations of reading and interpreting history.

The pedagogical effect of the "linguistic turn" as a literary reading of history is similar to that in Foucault's history, especially in his use of language. The linguistic turn focused on literary and rhetorical structure becomes a source for understanding the political implications of historians and opens up possibilities for historians as well as readers to reflect on their ethical responsibilities. Similarly, Foucault's poetic language *per se* is a source not only for understanding the political implication of historians, but also for the ethical imagination of history.

The other feature of the "linguistic turn" is that language is the object of historical investigation, and this feature makes the linguistic turn relevant to historical methods. Cohen adopted the linguistic turn as a method to analyze the influence of the mental hygiene movement on change in American education. It is an analysis of the social history of an "idea," namely the mental hygiene point of view. Thus, it is an analysis of social and intellectual history through the linguistic turn. It is an integration of social, intellectual, and cultural history. Cohen found that, from the history of the mental hygiene movement during 1900s and 1930s, language plays an important role in shaping people's ways of talking and thinking about children. Cohen used the metaphor, "medicalization," to illustrate American schools' using psychiatric norms in "preventing, or detecting, treating, and curing…problems in children's personality

development."[86] Cohen found that language describing children and their personality development reflects the system of knowledge of the mental hygiene movement and prescribes the ways in which people view and treat the child. Cohen argued that the mental hygiene movement indeed provides "an orientation, a language of discourse, and a body of conceptions that have become part of our common sense about American education and which mediate all aspects of education."[87] Cohen offered a more detailed description of this mental hygiene language as a perspective on a system of knowledge:

> The term 'mental hygiene point of view' is a shorthand notation for a cohesive set of ideas that includes the following essential elements: personality is the most basic component of the self; psychological maladjustment is the cause of mental illness and social problems of all sorts; childhood is the critical period for the later emergence of psychological disorders; the family is the seedbed of neurosis; the school is the strategic agency for preventing or identifying and treating problems in children's psychological development; and finally, the psychological adjustment of children must take priority over any other educational objective.[88]

Cohen argued that the language of mental hygiene has transformed people's perception of the child and ways of thinking about school and education.

Cohen's analysis of language in the history of the mental hygiene movement demonstrates that language conveys a system of knowledge in shaping and regulating people's thought and behavior. The focus on language offers a different perspective in understanding

---

[86] Ibid., 229.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid., 249-250.

change in American education. More importantly, it opens up possibilities for different perspectives about the child, progressive education, and changes of purpose in education (e.g., from cultivating children's character to shaping their personality). Pedagogically, the linguistic turn approach disturbs our taken-for-granted assumptions about the child and the role of education, and also opens up possibilities for rethinking change in education.

The Poetic History Implied by Hayden White

According to Hayden White, the poetic historian tells stories about what happened in the past by interpretation, in which three dimensions are involved: the mode of emplotment, mode of explanation, and the mode of ideological implication. In the interpretation process, the historian "emplots" a story with a plot structure based on the configuration of historical events. The plot structure gives a form to the historical narrative. What happened in the past is interpreted and "emplotted" as romance, tragedy, comedy, satire, or epic (e.g., tropes). Also, the historian chooses a paradigm of explanation (e.g., the idiographic, the contextualist, the organicist, and the mechanist) as the basis of his or her argument. According to White, the mode of emplotment and mode of explanation is based on the historian's ideological stance.[89] Therefore, for a poetic historian, history is more like literature than science.

White followed the nineteenth-century historiography tradition, in which interpretation was recognized as an inevitable and important element in historical work. At the same time, White was critical of Ranke's scientific historiography during the period in which objectivity was maintained and interpretation should be suppressed by the historian in order to "truly" present the historical facts. White argued that the way the historian writes history is similar to the way a poet or a novelist creates a poem or fiction because they share a similar characteristic: the

[89] Ibid, "Interpretation in History," in *Tropics of Discourse*, 51-80.

fictive nature. The writing of both history and literature involves similar methods: the use of figurative language to render the strange and imaginative familiar, and the use of plot structures and tropes to organize historical or imaginative events. Thus, White argued that interpretation is an inevitable process in the construction of historical narratives, as in literature. He stated, "Theorists of historiography generally agree that all historical narratives contain an irreducible and inexpugnable element of interpretation. The historian has to interpret his materials in order to construct the moving pattern of images in which the form of the historical process is to be mirrored."[90]

Interpretation and similarities between history and literature in White's thought are a challenge to the traditional perspective of history as a professional discipline. In the traditional perspective, history is seen as objective history, as a *mirror* that should truly reflect and present the past. Interpretation should be avoided so that objectivity can be maintained. White's poetic history indeed pedagogically disrupts such assumptions and provides an aesthetic, poetic way of viewing history, and pedagogically opens up possibilities for thought about the poetic nature of history and for the aesthetic and poetic imagination of history.

In elaboration of his poetic history, White identified three components involved in his poetic history: first, a "pre-generic plot" for the story, through which the historian constructs meanings from fragmented historical events and facts; second, the mode of explanation, which gives the argument of the historian "a specific shape, thrust, and mode of articulation."[91] These two components contribute to the third one: a moral or ideological decision of the historian. White pointed out that these three components introduce interpretation into historiography in

[90] White, *Tropics of Discourse*, 51.
[91] Ibid., 67.

three ways: aesthetically, in the choice of a narrative strategy, namely the plot structure; epistemologically, in the choice of an explanatory paradigm; and ethically, in the choice of a strategy "by which the ideological implications of a given representation can be drawn for the comprehension of current social problems."[92]

The first component, a pre-generic plot, is based on Northrop Frye's four types of myth as a possible form or plot structure for a story: romantic, comic, tragic, and ironic. This operation of the plot structure is called "emplotment" by White, which is "the encodation of the facts contained in the chronicle as components of specific *kinds* of plot structure."[93] He argued that no historical event is "intrinsically" tragic, or romantic, or ironic, or comic, and the choice of plot structure is an "essentially literary operation"[94] that allows the historical events to be organized into stories. In addition, the types of plot structure also depend on the historian's culture in order to give the past a meaning in a culturally conventional manner. Therefore, White suggested that "the historian must draw upon a fund of culturally provided *mythoi* (stories) in order to constitute the facts as figuring a story of a particular kind."[95]

The second component in interpretation is the mode of explanation, which also includes four types: the idiographic, the contextualist, the organicist, and the mechanist. The idiographic explanation operates in a scientific mode, which aims for integration and generalizations of the historical phenomena as a whole. This mode of explanation usually inspires *Romantic* historiography. The contextualist mode also works to integrate the historical field by putting the "content" in the analysis, but focuses more on looking for the commonly shared *atmosphere* by

[92] Ibid., 69-70.
[93] Ibid., 83.
[94] Ibid., 85.
[95] Ibid., 60.

the dispersed historical fragments. White explained, "The entities inhabiting the field under analysis still remain *dispersed,* but they are now *provisionally integrated* with one another as occupants of a shared 'context' or, as it is sometimes said, are identified as objects bathed in a common 'atmosphere.'"[96]

Another mode is the organicist mode, which is related to the contextualist mode. The organicist mode requires the connection of various contexts as parts of the whole and a synthesis of parts in a history by "identify[ing] the 'principles' by which the different periods of history can be integrated into a single macrocosmic process of *development.*"[97] Therefore, the organicist mode operates by identifying the underlying structure or pattern that organizes the development of historical events. Finally, the mechanist mode looks for causal relationships among historical fragments. It is generally operated by laws of cause-effect in identifying the "impersonal causal agencies"[98] and the effects among the parts.

The third component in the interpretive operation of history is the moral or ideological stance of the historian, determined by the first component (pre-generic plot) and the second component (mode of explanation). It is the ethical, political position of the historian which is characterized as one of four types: anarchist, conservative, radical, or liberal. From White, ideological implications are implicitly or explicitly evident in every history. I argue that attention to the literary and linguistic dimensions of history pedagogically raise historians' awareness of the ethical and political implications of the history and of the pedagogical effect of history.

---

[96] Ibid., 65.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid., 66.

White stressed that language provides the ground for the prefiguration of the historical field. Also, language and rhetorical strategies are not only a historical method but also the object of historical study. The figurative dimension and linguistic feature of historical narratives are part of the influences that shape history. History is thus embodied by the language and rhetorical devices of the historian. In this view, history is understood by the linguistic features of the written documents and by the language the historian uses.

Besides, language and linguistic features (e.g., tropes) also reflect the historian's perspective and political implications. History is never objectively written but is created by language to be historical knowledge that is shaped by and also shapes people's view of their world. The historian's language depicts the material life in the past and shapes the material practice of people in the present. By implication, I do not make a distinction between "primary" or "secondary" sources of historical documentation. Whether it is primary or secondary in the sense of traditional history, the source about the past in the form of written documents or people's talk is all part of history.

Effective history as pedagogy influenced by the "linguistic turn" of history thus finds history in language, in written documents, and in discourse. In other words, in *effective history as pedagogy*, language and discourse are objects of analysis. *Effective history as pedagogy* pays special attention to language and discourse and critically examines the limitations they might have put on people's ways of thinking and acting in the present. Effective history moves as a pedagogical lever that opens up possibilities for thought that may have been foreclosed by language use and discourse conventions.

In the approach of *effective history as pedagogy*, this dissertation is a critical inquiry into received histories of colonial Taiwan, with the pedagogical purpose to raise awareness of the

pedagogical effect of history on shaping who we are and what we know about Taiwan. The analysis examines language and discourse about three historical events, the Taiwan New Culture Movement in the 1920s, the Taiwanese *Xiāngtǔ* (鄉土 place-based) Literature Movement in the early 1930s, and the Japanese Wartime Policies during 1937-1945. It explores complex relationships (multiple influences) among historical fragments, rather than searching for a causal relationship or a linear development. Most important of all, it is a pedagogical history that offers a different way of understanding history and knowing our present in Taiwan.

The Analytical Tool

This dissertation draws on Foucault's theory of subjectivity as a conceptual basis to analyze discourses about Taiwanese changes in reasoning, feelings, attitudes, and practices for becoming a particular subject at a specific time and situation. Foucault's theory of subjectivity was developed in his analysis of *ethics* in his *The History of Sexuality,* particularly in the second volume, *The Use of Pleasure* .[99] He analyzed ethical practices of the self in relation to sexuality in Greco-Roman times and in Christianity. He examined the ways in which people during these times constructed themselves to be an ethical subject; that is, their ways to respond to moral codes and sociocultural norms (i.e., moral principles that prescribe or guide human conduct) in relation to sexuality in the construction of the self. My study approaches subjectivity in a similar way, but instead of ethical practices of the self in relation to sexuality, I am studying cultural and linguistic practices of the self in relation to *Taiwaneseness*.

In *The Use of Pleasure,* Foucault elaborated his analysis of the Greco-Roman ethical relationship in their practice of the self, based on which he developed the four-part framework of

[99] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, translated by R. Hurley (New York: Random House, 1978); *The Use of Pleasure*, Volume 2 of *The History of Sexuality*, translated by R. Hurley (New York: Random House, 1990 [1984]); *The Care of the Self*, Volume 3 of *The History of Sexuality*, translated by R. Hurley (New York: Random House, 1988 [1984]).

the historical construction of the subject: *substance* of subjectivity, *mode of subjectification*, *regimen* of subjective practice, and *telos* of subjectification. *Substance* means what part of the self that one needs to work on or change. *Mode of subjectification* is the rationale or the reason for the change of the self. *Regimen* is the practice of self-construction. *Telos* means the ultimate goal of working on oneself.[100] In other words, in subjectification practices, we investigate the self's relationship to the self, and critically evaluate what part of the self we are supposed to work on (substance); why we are supposed to work on this part of the self (mode); what we are supposed to do in the work of that part of the self (regimen), and what the ultimate goal to achieve by this work on the self (telos) is.

In Foucault's conceptualization, ethics is the relationship between self, power, truth, and freedom, which shape possibilities for distinctive ethical subjects.[101] The practice of self is a critical and reflexive examination of the limits of moral codes, cultural scripts, or social norms. In this *subjectifying* process, one's identity is challenged; however, at the same time the possibility for one's subjectivity is opened up. That is, one has the possibility to see one's self in a new light. In this way, subjectification is not just following norms and prescriptions, but is also a productive way of self-construction. Such practice of the self in the formation of subjectivity is an act of freedom; it is the subjective freedom of taking care of the self. As Foucault said, the history of subjectivity is:

> a history of the way in which individuals are urged to constitute themselves as subjects of moral conduct [which] would be concerned with the models proposed for setting up and developing relationships with the self, for self-reflection, self-knowledge, self-

[100] Foucault, *The Use of Pleasure*, and see Lynn Fendler, *Michel Foucault*, *Vol. 22 of* Continuum Library of Educational Thought, ed. Richard Bailey (London: Continuum Press, 2010), 55-56.
[101] Lynn Fendler, *Michel Foucault,* 55-56.

examination, for the decipherment of the self by oneself, for the transformations that one seeks to accomplish with oneself as object.[102]

Therefore, subjectivities in this dissertation are understood as practices and processes that make it possible to work on the self toward becoming a unique, singular subject. Subjectivities are embodied in such *subjectification* practices and exercises (e.g., training and modification) on the self, including one's body, soul, conduct, thoughts, and ways of being, and so on.

In addition, subjectivity can be understood by another of Foucault's subjectivity-related terms, "technologies of the self."[103] According to Foucault, technologies of the self are techniques for working on the self which "permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality."[104] Foucault also added that the techniques are not only to acquire skills, but also attitudes.

By implication, in subjectification practices, one constitutes the self not only by strategies and disciplines, but also by modification or creation of thoughts or attitudes. It is an exercise, a practice of the self that demands strenuous and continuous efforts. It could be a short-term practice of modifying the self to be a better being; it could also be a life-long journey of working on the self toward a distinctive being. The ideal subject, or the ideal being, namely the telos, is not an immobile, universal being but serves as an ideal image for one's imagination and

---

[102] Foucault, *The Use of Pleasure*, 29.

[103] Michel Foucault, "Technologies of the Self," in In *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault*, eds. Luther H. Martin, Huck Gutman and Patrick H. Hutton (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), 16-49.

[104] Ibid., 18.

reflection of how one could be a better or different subject. What really matters in such practice of the self is the exercise of human freedom: one exercises freedom and power in setting a goal for oneself and in opening up ways of working on the self to reach that goal.

In this dissertation, in a genealogical approach, I focus on documents and discourses, particularly language use, and I examine how discourses and language use convey messages about certain types of subjectivity. That is, what subject positions are created by discourse (i.e., language)? It is important to note that in Foucault's theory of subject, the subject is not substance, but a form. The subject is constituted in different forms in the practices of the self.[105]

Therefore, in this study, I do not study people or an object, but discourse that allows or forecloses different forms of the subject, that is, different practices of the self. I mainly study how language and discourse of the three historical events, the Taiwanese New Culture Movement in the 1920s, the Taiwanese *Xiāngtǔ* Literature Movement in the early 1930s, and the Japanization Movement during Wartime, 1937-1945, make possible/impossible certain practices of the self toward a certain mode of being. That is, what certain forms of the subject are made possible/impossible. The subjectivities of the Taiwanese in the three events could be thought of as an ideal image of being; that is, "Who does this discourse think I am?" Subjectivity is fluid and constantly constructed by language and discourses. The purpose of my analysis is to illuminate the complexities in the discourse (e.g., history) about the three events that shaped particular practices in the construction of particular subjectivities.

In addition, I draw on Foucault's notion of "event" and "eventalization" in his archaeological method in analyzing the three events aforementioned. According to Foucault, in

---

[105] Michel Foucault, "The Ethics of the Concern of the Self as a Practice of Freedom," in *The Essential Foucault: Selections from the Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984*, eds. Paul Rabinow and Nikolas Rose (New York: The New Press, 2003), 33.

archaeology, *event* is a set of relations of multiple influences rather than a fact, and *event* is analyzed in discourses (i.e., discursive formations). "Eventalization" can be seen as the process of the discursive formation of an event, in which the archaeologist rediscovers "connections, encounters, supports, blockages, plays of forces, strategies, and so on, that at a given moment establish what subsequently counts as being self-evident, universal, and necessary."[106] In this dissertation, I practice positioning each of the three events in relationships among different forces at the same time under discursive practices (i.e., relationships created by imaginations, languages, and practices), rather than seeing each of them as a historical "fact."

Foucault's four-part framework of subjectivity served as a conceptual basis for my analysis of the three events. My analysis does not follow the four-part structure in analyzing each of the components; however, the four parts have guided me to ask the following four questions in the four areas of the framework when analyzing the discursive formation of subjectivities in the three events.

1. **The substance of subjectivity**: What languages were the people in Taiwan taught to use at the three different events? What languages and language practices were supposed to change, such as oral and written language? What cultural or literary practices were problematized?
2. **The mode of subjectification**: At different events, what were the reasons given for why they should learn to speak and use different languages, such as Japanese, *Hànwén* (Classical Chinese language), *Taiwanhuàwén* (Taiwanese colloquial language), or Chinese *Báihuàwén* (Chinese colloquial language), or why they should change certain cultural or literary practices?

---

[106] Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon, 1972); Michel Foucault, "Questions of Method," in *Power*, ed. James D. Faubion (New York: The New Press, 2000), 226-229.

3. **Regimen**: What language, cultural, and literary practices were proposed as effective for making a person be an ideal person in Taiwanese society?
4. **Telos**: What ideal subject positions were created in the discourse? If a person in Taiwan followed the discourses of language use very well, then what kind of person would that person become?

Chapter Three

Hànwén Practices the under Japanese National Language Movement

Language was a significant issue in colonial Taiwan. Taiwanese languages, particularly Hoklo, were the common spoken languages of the Taiwanese. *Hànwén* (漢文 the literary, classical Chinese) was the written language in use in Taiwanese society. A small group of Taiwanese intellectuals studied *Hànwén* and *Hànxué* (漢學 the study of Chinese Classics) for the exams of the Qīng imperial official positions; part of the general Taiwanese populace read and wrote basic *Hànwén* for communication. In addition, there were Hakka, another language spoken by a small group of Taiwanese (*Hàn* Chinese), and about nine indigenous Taiwanese languages.[107] When the Japanese colonial force came and promoted Japanese national language education for assimilating Taiwanese into Japan (i.e., Japanization), the Taiwanese language and *Hànwén* formed a particular relationship to the Japanization agenda.

Hànwén in particular was the biggest concern for both Taiwanese and Japanese. The discourse about *Hànwén* in colonial Taiwan suggested its persistent influence in Taiwan, which shaped Japanese educational policies and curriculum in Taiwan. In addition, *Hànwén*, the shared language between Taiwanese intellectuals and Japanese officials, facilitated *Hàn* poetry exchanges between them, which further opened up possibilities for *Hànwén* and *Hàn* poetry

---

[107] See for example, Hsu Pei-Hsien (許佩賢), *Tàiyángqí xià de mófǎ xuéxiào*: *Rìzhi Taiwan xīnshì jiàoyù de dànshēng* [The magic school under the flag of sun: The birth of modern schooling in colonial Taiwan] (Xīnbéi Shì: Dōngcūn, 2012), 62-75. Hsu Chi-tun (許極燉), *Taiwan yǔ gàilùn* [Introduction to Taiwanese Languages] (Kaohsiung Shì: Taiwan yǔwén yánjiù fāzhǎn jījīn huì, 1990), 51. Yang Yung-bin (楊永彬), "Rìběn lǐngTái chūchí Rì Tái guānshēn shīwén chànghè [Poetry singing along together by Japanese officials and Taiwanese elites at the early stage of Japanese colonization]," *Taiwan chóngcéng jìndàihuà lùnwén ji* [Conference proceedings on multi-layered modernity of Taiwan], eds. Wakabayashi Masahiro (若林正丈) and Wu Mi-Cha (吳密察) (Táiběi Shì: Bōzhòngzhě wénhuà yǒuxiàn gōngsī, 2000), 105-81.

practices. At the same time, the Japanese assimilation project complicated *Hànwén* and *Hàn* poetry practices in Taiwan.

Ang Uijin's (洪惟仁) story about the early encounter between Japanese officials and the Taiwanese people suggested that linguistic complexities in Taiwan were beyond the colonial government's imagination. Based on Ang Uijin (洪惟仁), when Izawa Shūji (伊澤修二), the head of the Ministry of Education under the Civil Affairs Bureau in the Taiwan Governor-General's Office (*Taiwan Sutokufu* 台灣總督府), arrived in Taiwan with his educational plan for the colony, he was embarrassed by the fact that the Taiwanese did not speak the Chinese official language. According to Ang Uijin, Izawa Shūji, before going to Taiwan, had planned an ambitious educational project for the new colony, and edited the Japanese-Chinese Pronouncing Dictionary, *Nisshin Jionka* (日清字音鑑).[108] Izawa thought that the "Qīng people" in Taiwan spoken the Qīng's official language, namely Peking Mandarin. When he arrived with a group of over one hundred army interpreters of Peking Mandarin, he realized that most of the Taiwanese in front of him did not understand the Chinese official language, but spoke their native languages, which were incomprehensible to the Japanese and were called *tǔyǔ* (土語) by the Japanese.[109]

---

[108] Ang Uijin (Hoklo name, 洪惟仁) "Rìjù shídài de táiyǔ jiàoyù [Taiwanese language education during Japanese colonial period]," *Táiwan Fengwù* [The Taiwan Folkways] 42, no. 3 (1992): 78. According to Ang, the Japanese-Chinese Pronouncing Dictionary, *Nisshin Jionka* (Rì Qīng zìyīn jiàn 日清字音鑑) was edited by Izawa Shuji and first published in June 1895. It is a collection of 4000 frequent words in the spoken language of Peking Mandarin, which was spoken by Chinese officials in the late nineteenth-century China (therefore called *guanhuà* 官話, literally official language). The general populace in China spoke their regional languages. Izawa notated Peking Mandarin with Japanese Kana (i.e., Japanese syllabic scripts), and compiled an index for Peking Mandarin in the order of the fifty Japanese Kana. Ang acknowledged the pioneering work of Izawa for his notation of the Chinese official language (官話 *guānhuà*) in Japanese Kana.

[109] Ibid., 52. "Tǔ" literally means indigenous or native, and in Chinese "tǔ" actually has a pejorative connotation close to "barbarian." *Tǔyǔ* literally means a native language. In Taiwan,

Language as an issue was evident in the educational discourse in *Taiwan jiàoyù yángé zhì* (台灣教育沿革誌 The chronicle of Taiwan education), which was edited by the Taiwan Education Society (台灣教育會 Taiwan Kyōikukai in Japanese); it was founded by the colonial Government-General of Taiwan, and it documented language education policies and curriculum in Taiwan designed by the Japanese colonial government.[110] Izawa's education plans and language education measures, documented in *Taiwan jiàoyù yángé zhì* as described, implied Izawa's concern about the language barrier between the Japanese and the Taiwanese and Izawa's goal for education.[111] His lecture in the Ministry of National Education in 1896 in Japan implied that Izawa treated the Taiwanese as Japan's people, and that he regarded education through the Japanese national language as the most important way to "conquer the Taiwanese spirit" and

---

native languages included *Hakka*, *Hoklo*, and nine different indigenous languages derived from the Malayo-Polynesian family. Japanese colonial government referred *tǔyǔ* or *Taiwan huà* (literally Taiwanese spoken language) to the languages spoken by *Hàn* Chinese in Taiwan (*Hakka* and *Hoklo* only), and *fanyǔ* 蕃語 to the language spoken by indigenous people in Taiwan. "Fan" or "Fan rén" literally mean barbarians. See the language uses in *Taiwan jiàoyù yángé zhì* (zhōng yì běn) [Chronicle of Taiwan education (Chinese translation)], ed. Taiwan jiàoyù huì 台灣教育會 [Taiwan Kyōikukai in Japanese, Taiwan Education Society], trans. Hsu Hsi-ching (許錫慶) (Nántóu Shì: Guǒ shǐ guǎn Taiwan wén xiàn guǎn, Mínguó 99 [2010]), 209, 224. In this dissertation, I use the term "Taiwanese" to include Hoklo- and Hakka-speaking Taiwanese in spite of the estimation that around 80% of Taiwanese population spoke *Hoklo* and most Taiwanese language learning materials during the Japanese colonial period were designed for learning Hoklo. The statistics conducted by the Japanese colonial government in 1903 showed that over three-fourth population in Taiwan spoke Hoklo. See Hsu Chi-tun (許極燉), *Taiwan yǔ gàilùn* [Introduction to Taiwanese Languages], 51. In the Taiwanese *xiāngtu* Literature Movement in the 1930s, the language reform for Taiwanese language, namely *Taiwan huàwén,* was also referred to the *Hoklo* language.

[110] *Taiwan jiàoyù yángé zhì* (zhōng yì běn) [The chronicle of Taiwan education (Chinese translation)]. The following references of *Taiwan jiàoyù yángé zhì* (zhōng yì běn) [The chronicle of Taiwan education (Chinese translation)] refer to the Chinese translation.

[111] Ibid., 72-74.

"Japanize Taiwanese."[112] He opened Japanese national language education centers and established teacher preparation programs. At the same time, the Taiwanese and Japanese languages were taught in both places.[113]

Japanese National Language Education

Also based on *Taiwan jiàoyù yángé zhì* (The chronicle of Taiwan education), the first Japanese national language school was opened at Chih-shan Yen (芝山岩 a small hill village north of *Taihoku*, namely Taipei) in June 1895, and it recruited Taiwanese students to learn Japanese in order to be interpreters. The linguistic practices in the first Japanese language school indicated the language barrier between the Taiwanese and the Japanese. Taiwanese students taught the Taiwanese language to Japanese teachers and worked with them in translating and editing bilingual language textbooks. An English interpreter worked between Taiwanese students and Izawa, as well as other Japanese teachers, in translating Izawa's English into Taiwanese for Taiwanese students, and translating names of authentic subjects into Taiwanese for Izawa. The first language school was to prepare language interpreters in order to facilitate future colonial governance, national language education, and language teacher preparation on a larger scale.[114]

Taiwan jiàoyù yángé zhì (The chronicle of Taiwan education) indicated that more Japanese language centers were opened all over the island in the following years by the Ministry of Education. The creation of island-wide Japanese national language centers implied Japanese

---

[112] Izawa's lecture in the Ministry of National Education in 1896 in Japan, quoted in Chen Pei-feng (陳培豐), *Tónghuà" de tóngchuáng yìmèng Rìjù shíqí Taiwan de yǔyán zhèngcè, jìndài huà yǔ renting* [Same bed, different dreams of assimilation: Taiwanese language policy, modernization, and identity under Japanese colonial rule] (Táiběi Shì: Màitián, 2006), 74.

[113] See *Taiwan jiàoyù yángé zhì* [The chronicle of Taiwan education].

[114] Ibid., 67-68. See also Ang Uijin (洪惟仁), "Rìjù shídài de táiyǔ jiàoyù [Taiwanese language education during Japanese colonial period]," *Táiwan Fengwù* [The Taiwan Folkways] 42, no. 3 (1992).

determination to overcome the language barrier as well as the importance of the Japanese national language in Japan's assimilation of the Taiwanese in the early stages of colonization.

The Japanese national language centers were named *guóyǔ chuánxí suǒ* (國語傳習所 literally national language instruction and learning center), and they mainly taught the Japanese language to Taiwanese people. Taiwanese language centers were also opened specifically for Japanese officials to learn the Taiwanese language.[115] *Guóyǔ chuánxí suǒ* recruited children mainly from the Taiwanese gentry-class, and was organized into two programs. The first program recruited educated youth and adults, between 15-30 years old and versed in *Hànwén*, to prepare them to be language interpreters, Japanese language teachers, or civil servants at the basic level. It also provided students with living allowances, and it stated that graduates from the first program would get hired by the colonial government. The second program provided elementary education in Japanese to students between 8-15 years old, but did not provide any allowances and job opportunities for those students and graduates.[116] The incentive provided by the first program suggested the urgency of language education in the early stages of colonial governance, and that educated Taiwanese were the target of recruitment.

Similarly, the Taiwanese language was incorporated into the teacher preparation program: *guóyǔ xuéxiào* (國語學校 national language school). This program was also open for both teaching the Taiwanese language to prospective Japanese teachers and officials and preparing Japanese language teachers.[117] The Ministry of Education, on the other hand, edited language learning and instructional materials for use in the different types of schools mentioned above,

---

[115] *Taiwan jiàoyù yángé zhì* [The chronicle of Taiwan education], 72-74.
[116] Ibid.
[117] *Taiwan jiàoyù yángé zhì* [The chronicle of Taiwan education], 245-256.

such as bilingual Japanese-Taiwanese dictionaries, Japanese language textbooks with Taiwanese translations, and Taiwanese language learning books (e.g., Taiwanese phonetics, Taiwanese marked by Kana phonetic symbols, or daily conversation materials).[118] The efforts of the Ministry of Education in editing bilingual language education materials again implied the linguistic complexities of Japanese language education in Taiwan.

Hànwén in Relation to Japanese Language Education Practices

While Taiwan's spoken languages challenged Japanese national language education, *Hànwén* also complicated the promotion of the Japanese national language and the Japanese national spirit. While the Japanese so keenly introduced Japanese national language schools (*guóyǔ chuánxí suǒ*) to the new territory, the low enrollment in the second program (targeted to 8-15 school-aged children) suggested that Taiwanese parents were not so excited about the new "school," even though the first program in the Japanese language school had relatively more students from the gentry-class enrolled.[119] The reports, based on Japanese officials' observations of *shūfáng*, described that Taiwanese families sent their children to a private Chinese school (i.e., *shūfáng* 書房 *shobō* in Japanese) to learn *Hànwén* (classical Chinese) and Confucian classics. Students at the beginning level learned to read Chinese Classics basal (e.g., *Three Character Classic* and *Classic Filial Piety*), write letters, and do basic bookkeeping. Students at an advanced level read Confucian Classics (e.g., the *Analects of Confucius, Greater*

---

[118] *Taiwan jiàoyù yángé zhì* [The chronicle of Taiwan education], 88. Ang Uijin (洪惟仁), "Ri ju shi dai de tai yu jiao yu [Taiwanese language education during Japanese colonial period]," 52-53, 60-61.

[119] Wu Wen-hsing (吳文星), "Rìjù shíqí Taiwan shèhuì lǐngdǎo jiēcéng yǔ 'guóyǔ pǔjí yùndòng' zhī yánjiù (shàng) [Study of Taiwanese Elites and National Language Popularization Movement during Japanese Colonial Period, Vol. 1]," *Jìndài Zhōngguó* [Contemporary China] 55 (1987): 268-269.

Learning, or the *Doctrine of the Mean*) and learned to compose classical poems.[120] It is important to note that *Hànwén* is the written form of the Chinese language, and Taiwanese students read and pronounce *Hànwén* (Chinese characters) in Taiwanese (in Hakka or Hoklo). The reports also implied that *Hànwén* complicated Japanese language education practices in Taiwan, and that there were ambivalent feelings among colonial officials because of *Hànwén*.

As the reports on *Taiwan jiàoyù yángé zhì* (The chronicle of Taiwan education) described, *shūfáng* was "teaching the Classic of Filial Piety [孝經] and the Four Books [四書] and Five Classics [五經] is not a problem, but others are all in the language of the Qīng [*Hànwén*]; it is not acceptable to let our people in the island learn it."[121] This description implied the Japanese concern about the practice of *Hànwén*, the language of the previous political regime in Taiwan. It also assumed that the people Taiwanese now under Japanese colonization were supposed to abandon their previous language but to learn the new language of the new regime.[122]

Hsu Pei-hsien's (許佩賢) history of colonial education in Taiwan suggests that for most Taiwanese, a basic level of *Hànwén* literacy was a fundamental skill in their daily life, such as in letter communication with officials and in bookkeeping. For the general Taiwanese populace, knowing *Hànwén* had made their life easier; for a few Taiwanese intellectuals, knowing *Hànwén* met the fundamental requirement of taking the imperial examination in the Qīng dynasty in order

---

120 *Taiwan jiàoyù yángé zhì* [The chronicle of Taiwan education], 439.

121 My translation, emphasis added. See *Taiwan jiàoyù yángé zhì* [The chronicle of Taiwan education], 439. *Taiwan jiàoyù yángé zhì* was edited by the Taiwan Education Society (Taiwan Kyōikukai 台灣教育會), which was affiliated with the colonial Government-General of Taiwan. The reference refers to the Chinese translation, edited and translated by Hsu Hsi-ching (許錫慶) (Nántóu Shì: Guǒ shǐ guǎn Taiwan wén xiàn guǎn, Mínguó 99 [2010]).

122 *Taiwan jiàoyù yángé zhì* [The chronicle of Taiwan education], 439.

to obtain official positions.[123] Generally speaking, as described in the Taiwanese newspaper *Taiwan min pao* (台灣民報 literally people's newspaper of Taiwan), for Taiwanese, "*Hànwén* is an essential culture in Taiwanese daily life… *Hànwén* is important to Taiwanese because their social life is centered on *Hànwén*. Without *Hànwén*, people languish."[124] The description suggested Taiwanese attachment to *Hànwén*. *Hànwén* supported Taiwanese cultural and social life, and could be regarded as the cultural spirit of the Taiwanese.

For the Japanese Ministry of Education in Taiwan, in consideration of developing the Japanese national spirit in Taiwanese, the Taiwanese attachment to *Hànwén* was regarded as a resource. *Hànwén* and *shūfáng* were considered as instruments in disseminating the Japanese national spirit. It was reasoned that since many Taiwanese children went to *shūfáng,* why not distribute materials on the Japanese national spirit in *Hànwén*, and require *shūfáng* to teach it to Taiwanese children? As it was argued,

> It (*shūfáng*) will benefit our national education if the introduction of the Japanese polity, and loyal and patriotic conducts and actions could be edited and translated into *Hànwén* and be issued to the whole island, and then require those who run a *shūfáng* and teach children to take the issued material so that children have the obligation to learn it.[125]

---

[123] Hsu Pei-hsien (許佩賢), *Tàiyáng qíxià de mófǎ xuéxiào*: *Rìzhì Taiwan xīnshì jiàoyù de dànshēng* [The magic school under the flag of sun: The birth of modern schooling in colonial Taiwan], 62-75. Discussions about *shobō* or *shūfáng*, also see E. Patricia Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895-1945*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1977), 30-32.

[124] My translation. "Hànwén zēngshè de yùndòng 漢文增設的運動 [The inclusion of Hànwén movement]," *Taiwan min pao* 台灣民報 [The people's newspaper of Taiwan]" 3, no. 1 (1925; repr., Táiběi: Dōngfāng wénhuà shūjú [The Oriental Cultural Service], 1973).

[125] My translation, emphasis added. Ibid., 440-441.

Due to the importance of *Hànwén* to the Taiwanese, the colonial government thus included *Hànwén* in the curriculum of Japanese language schools in order to attract more Taiwanese school-aged children. *Shūfáng* teachers were also hired to teach *Hànwén* at the Japanese national language education centers.[126] Japanese national language education centers reported encouraging news about the effectiveness of including *Hànwén* in the Japanese national language education centers:

> The Japanese national language education center was unable to make [Taiwanese] daily life easier. It was thus inferior to the Confucian values, which were instead beneficial to a nation and its people. Graduates [from Japanese national language education centers] were unable to get a job, so they preferred to learn previous knowledge which would make their life easier. This was the thought of islanders about *guóyǔ chuánxí suǒ*. Therefore, [we] included *Hànwén* lessons and hired a native *Jǔrén* [127] as the *Hànwén* teacher. [Our] worries finally got relieved. (Tai-nan)
>
> Adding *Hànwén* [to our school] to cater to islanders has increased branches of language school and enrollment of students. Everyone admired our government for its emphasis on education. (Taipei)

---

126 *Taiwan jiàoyù yángé zhi* [The chronicle of Taiwan education], 85.

127 *Jǔrén* (舉人), an official ranking conferred by the Qīng Emperor to intellectuals who passed imperial examinations. People who passed the county-level exam would be conferred the rank of *Xiùcái* (秀才); people who passed the province-level exam would be conferred the rank of *Ju Ren*; people who passed the exam conducted by the Emperor would be conferred as *Jìnshì* 進士. During the Japanese colonial period, Taiwanese intellectuals who obtained such rankings, such as *Xiùcái, Jǔrén, and Jìnshì* (from the lower to higher rank), were generally respected and favored by the Japanese colonial government, and then were invited to participate in local civil affairs. See for example, Wu Wen-hsing (吳文星), *Rìzhì shíqí Taiwan de shèhuì lǐngdǎo jiēcéng* [Social elites in Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule] (Táiběi shì: Wǔnán túshū TaiShi, 2008).

Adding *Hànwén* [to our school] could actually make natives pleased. (Ta-chia branch)[128]

The colonial discourse implied concerns of the Japanese colonial government about *Hànwén* in Taiwan, particularly Taiwanese attachment to *Hànwén.* The concern shaped practices in Japanese national language education in Taiwan, such as including Taiwanese language and *Hànwén* in the language education curriculum and material and language policies. The languages of the Taiwanese, including the spoken Taiwanese languages and *Hànwén,* had complicated Japanese national language education practices.

Japanese National Language as the New Mother Tongue for Taiwanese

The adoption of the Taiwanese language and *Hànwén* in Izawa's educational plan was just a temporary and transitional approach to his long-term "Japanization" (assimilation) agenda. According to Chen Pei-feng's (陳培豐) history of Japanese education in Taiwan, Izawa was a state-education advocate whose ideal goal of state-education was to prepare patriotic, loyal Japanese in support of the Emperor and the Japanese *kokutai* (in Japanese, i.e., the Japanese state or the Japan polity). He regarded people in the colony of Taiwan as the Japanese Emperor's people, and he thought that one way to "Japanize" the new people (i.e., Taiwanese) to Japan was education. As he said in a regular meeting at the Imperial Board of Education in Japan in 1896, "The implementation of education is to subdue the spirit of Taiwanese people. We will never cease until we reach the success of Japanization in Taiwan (my translation)."[129]

---

[128] My translation, emphasis added. *Taiwan jiàoyù yángé zhì* [The chronicle of Taiwan education], 85.

[129] Chen Pei-feng (陳培豐), "Zhímín di Taiwan guóyǔ tónghuà jiàoyù de dànshēng: Yīzé Xiūèr guānyú jiàohuà, wénmíng, yǔ guótǐ de sīkǎo [Izawashuji's views on education, civilization, the 'kokutai' and Christianity: The birth of the Japanese assimilationist education program in Taiwan]," *Xīn shǐxué* [New historiography] 12, no. 1 (2001): 121-22. Translation of the title in original.

Chen Pei-feng (陳培豐) indicated that Izawa's conceptualization of the Japanese national language was based on Ueda Kazutoshi's (上田萬年) proposal of the role of *kokugo* (in Japanese, i.e., Japanese national language) for the Japanese nation-building project. However, Izawa applied Ueda's idea in his education plan for the new colony.[130]

Ueda's proposal of *kokugo* as the Japanese national language was part of Meiji nation-building efforts among scholars in Japanese language studies in the 1890s. The discourse about the newly founded regime suggested Japan's concern about creating a national script, *kokuji* (in Japanese), in the late 1860s and 1870s. The Japanese national script project was particularly complicated by *Hànwén*, which had shaped Japanese ambivalent attitudes toward the Chinese language. Ueda's *kokugo* proposal emphasized the essential relationship between the Japanese language (*kokugo*) and Japanese polity (*kokutai*).

The history of the Japanese language[131] indicated that the Japanese language was influenced by classical Chinese (*Hànwén*), and it adopted Chinese characters (*kanbun* or *kanji* in Japanese) as phonetic symbols in Japanese written texts. The method to read "*kanbun* texts according to Japanese word order and pronunciation together with the aid of diacritics" is called *kanbun kundoku*."[132] Japan had relied on *kanbun kundoku* (in Japanese) to translate texts in

---

130 Ibid., 139.

131 Chen Pei-feng (陳培豐), "Rìzhì shíqí Taiwan Hànwén mài de piāoyóu yu xiǎngxiàng: Dìguó Hànwén, Zhímíndì Hànwén, Zhōngguó Báihuàwén, Taiwan Hànwén [Multiple Imaginings and Transformations of *Hànwén* in Japanese Colonial Taiwan: Imperial *Hànwén*, Colonial *Hànwén*, Chinese Vernacular, and Taiwanese Vernacular]," *Taiwan shǐ yánjiù* [Taiwan Historical Research] 15, no. 4 (2008): 31-86; Lee Yeounsuk, *The Ideology of Kokugo: Nationalizing Language in Modern Japan*, trans. Maki Hirano Hubbard (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010 [1996]).

132 Maki Hirano Hubbard, "Translator's Introduction," in Lee Yeounsuk, *The Ideology of Kokugo: Nationalizing Language in Modern Japan*, x.

classical Chinese from China as a way to absorb Chinese culture and civilization.[133] *Kanbun* had maintained its authority as an official language until the early Meiji. At the same time, there was *wabun* (in Japanese), a model of writing in classical native Japanese for personal use. The two styles of writing, or two written languages (i.e., *kanbun* and wanbun), were practiced only by educated classes.[134] On the other hand, the general populace spoke their regional languages, which were very different from one another. There was a common language, both spoken and written.[135] History suggests the historical influence of *Hànwén* in the Japanese language.

After the Meiji Restoration in 1868, there was an urge to break away from Chinese influence and instead turn to the West for civilization and modernization.[136] People considered creating a language that was both accessible to everyone in the new nation-state and instrumental in receiving new knowledge from the West. Scholars such as linguists and educators proposed different approaches to reform the Japanese languages, and they shared one common goal: to abolish the use of *kanji* (Chinese characters).[137] In the mid-1890s, around the same time that Taiwan was ceded to Japan as a colony, the Japanese linguist Ueda Kazutoshi (上田萬年) proposed creating the Japanese national language specifically for the Japanese nation-state. He was aware of the influence of *Hànwén* (i.e., *kanji* or *kanbun*) in the studies of Japanese language and literature and in education, and he stressed the importance of a *pure* Japanese national

---

[133] Chen Pei-feng (陳培豐), "Rìzhì shíqí Taiwan Hànwén mài de piāoyóu yu xiǎngxiàng: Dìguó Hànwén, Zhímíndì Hànwén, Zhōngguó Báihuàwén, Taiwan Hànwén [Multiple Imaginings and Transformations of Hànwén in Japanese Colonial Taiwan: Imperial Hànwén, Colonial Hànwén, Chinese Vernacular, and Taiwanese Vernacular]," 34-35.

[134] Maki Hirano Hubbard, "Translator's Introduction," x, xi.

[135] Ibid.

[136] Lee Yeounsuk, *The Ideology of Kokugo: Nationalizing Language in Modern Japan*.

[137] Lee Yeounsuk, *The Ideology of Kokugo: Nationalizing Language in Modern Japan*, 24-37.

language, free from contamination of foreign languages, in maintaining the unification and independence of the new nation.[138] This history indicates the desire of Japan to be an independent nation and the need of a new language for the new Japanese regime. Being linguistically independent of the Chinese language was regarded as an important way to independence.

As mentioned above, in Ueda's proposal, the Japanese national language (*kokugo*) was positioned in the constitution of the Japanese nation (*kokutai*). The Japanese national language was described by Ueda as the spiritual blood of the Japanese nation that was shared by all Japanese and that supported the unification of the whole Japanese nation. As Ueda said,

> A language for the people who speak it is the symbol of the spirit of the brethren, just like the blood shared by their bodies. Therefore, the language of the Japanese nation is the spiritual blood of the Japanese people. The *kokutai* of Japan is maintained by this spiritual blood, and the Japanese race is unified by this most strong and long-preserved tie. Therefore, even when visited by a crisis, as long as they can hear one's voice our forty-million brethren will listen to it, come to help wherever the voice it, and devote their lives to it. On learning good news of victory, the celebration song for the emperor (*kimi gay o*) echoes from Chishima through Okinawa. If one hears this language in a foreign country, it will sound like music, a blessed message from the sky.[139]

---

[138] Ibid., 94.

[139] Ueda Kazutoshi 上田萬年, quoted in Lee Yeounsuk, *The Ideology of Kokugo: Nationalizing Language in Modern Japan*, 89-90. Chishima, according to translator's note, is Kuril Islands today at the northernmost part of Japan. See *The Ideology of Kokugo*, 235.

The notion of "mother" was even drawn by Ueda as an analogy for the Japanese national language which would evoke Japanese feelings of attachment to the national language and the nation. In Ueda's words,

> Our language is not a mere sign of *kokutai*, but is an educator, like one's benevolent mother. From the time of our birth, our mother has cuddled us and has warmly taught us the ways we think and feel as a member of the nation…In Germany, there is a word, "Muttersprache," meaning language of the mother, or "sprachemutter" [*sic*], the mother of language.[140]

The Japanese language, the "spiritual blood" and the "symbol of *kokutai* (national body)," was thus regarded as the most important element in constituting the Japanese national spirit.

The conception of the Japanese national language in relation to the Japanese nation was stressed by Izawa and was applied in a different context, the *colony* of Taiwan. Izawa came to Taiwan with the goal of transforming the Taiwanese into Japanese by education in the Japanese mother language, namely the national language. As Izawa stated,

> It is the most important task for the moment to transmit the language we are speaking—the national language—to Taiwanese. Japanese have their own mothers to teach children the mother tongue, but the new territory is in a different situation. The mothers of the new territory speak foreign languages, so teaching the national language in Taiwan is undertaking the mission of a mother. Teaching Taiwanese the national language must start with a mother's work.[141]

---

[140] Emphasis in original. Ibid., 90-91.

[141] Izawa Shūji (伊澤修二), quoted in Chen, Pei-feng (陳培豐), *"Tónghuà de tóngchuáng yìmèng Rìjù shíqí Taiwan de yǔyán zhèngcè, jìndài huà yǔ rèntóng* [Same bed, different dreams

In Izawa's Japanese national language education plan, the Japanese national language was personified as a new mother in educating the Taiwanese in a new mother tongue. The Taiwanese were expected to abandon their original mother tongue and to learn the new mother tongue so that they would develop the Japanese national spirit and become Japanese.

Japanese language schools, *guóyǔ chuánxí suǒ* (國語傳習所), were opened all over the island in 1896 to deal with the most urgent language problem, and to pave the way for reaching the permanent goal, which was the Japanization of Taiwanese.[142] The first rule in *guóyǔ chuánxí suǒ* regulations stated, "The goal of *guóyǔ chuánxí suǒ* was to teach Japanese language to islanders in order to help make their daily life easier and cultivate the spirit of our nation in them."[143] For the *Japanization* purpose, *guóyǔ chuánxí suǒ* included instructional objectives for Taiwanese children's moral and intellectual development. As one goal stated, "The purpose of moral education was to cultivate our nation's spirit: reverence to the emperor and his family, patriotism, and respect for ethics of human relations; intellectual development was to equip knowledge and skills for career achievement and contribution to society."[144]

The discourse of the Japanese national language in the Japanization movement in Taiwan, in which the Japanese national language was the mother of Japanese for cultivating the national spirit of Japanese, suggested that the Taiwanese were regarded as Japan's people. In spite of the ethnic difference, the Taiwanese could cultivate the Japanese national spirit and ultimately become Japanese by building an intimate relationship with the mother of Japan, that is, by

---

of assimilation: Taiwanese language policy, modernization, and identity under Japanese colonial rule] (Táiběi Shì: Màitián, 2006), 82.

[142] *Taiwan jiàoyù yángé zhì* [The chronicle of Taiwan education], 3-4.

[143] My translation. Ibid., 72.

[144] My translation. Ibid., 73.

learning the Japanese national language. It also implied that the Taiwanese under Japanese language education were expected to become Japanese who were morally patriotic and loyal, and intellectually productive and competent.

Hànwén and the Japanese National Spirit

The educational record compiled by the Taiwan Government-General suggested the instrumental role of *Hànwén* in Japanization education.[145] To help Taiwanese children understand the Japanese spirit, the Japanese Ministry of Education translated The *Imperial Rescript on Education* (教育勅語 *kyōiku chokugo* in Japanese) and textbooks about the Japanese *kokutai* (national polity) and patriotism into *Hànwén*.[146] The *Imperial Rescript on Education*, which integrated Confucianism into the vision of the Japanese modern nation-state, was issued in 1890 as the supreme guideline for education in Japan, and was then applied to colonial education in Taiwan. The *Imperial Rescript on Education* and the Imperial Constitution were regarded as the two cornerstones of *kokutai* (the Japanese polity). For the whole nation, The *Imperial Rescript on Education* served as the moral and spiritual guideline, and the Imperial Constitution served as the behavioral guideline.[147] Here is the English translation of the *Imperial Rescript on Education*:

Know ye, Our Subjects:

---

[145] *Taiwan zǒngdū fǔ gōngwén lèizhuàn jiàoyù shǐliào huìbiān yǔ yánjiù* (shàng) [Compilation and study of historical materials of education from official records in the Taiwan Government-General, volume 1], ed. Taiwan shěn wénxiàn wěiyuán huì [The Historical Research Committee of Taiwan Province], trans. Lin Pin-tung (林品桐) (Nántóu Xian: Taiwan shěn wénxiàn wěiyuán huì, Mínguó 90 [2001]).

[146] Ibid., 198, 205.

[147] Chen Pei-feng (陳培豐), "Chóngxīn jiěxī zhímíndì Taiwan de guóyǔ tónghuà jiàoyù zhèngcè—yǐ Rìběn de jìndài sīxiǎngshǐ wéi zuòbiāo" [A Reanalysis of (Reanalyzing) *dōka* and Educational Policy in Colonial Taiwan in the Context of Modern Japanese Political Thought], *Taiwan shǐ yánjiù* (Taiwan Historical Research) 7, no. 2 (2001): 22-23.

Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and ever-lasting, and had deeply and firmly implanted virtue. Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein lies the source of Our education.

Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation, extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore, advance the public good and promote common interests; always respect the constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you. Our subjects, that we may all attain the same virtue.

October 30, 1890.[148]

In order to cultivate the Japanese national spirit in Taiwanese children, it was suggested that the *Imperial Rescript on Education* be translated into *Hànwén*, and that the *Hànwén* version

[148] English translation accessed from Benjamin Duke, *The History of Modern Japanese Education—Constructing the National School System, 1872-1890* (New Brunswick, USA: Rutgers University Press, 2009), 348. For Chinese translation, see *Taiwan zǒngdū fǔ gōngwén lèizhuàn jiàoyù shǐliào huìbiān yǔ yánjiù* (shàng) [Compilation and study of historical materials of education from official records in the Taiwan Government-General, volume 1], 207.

Rescript be distributed to Japanese language education centers. Reading out loud the *Rescript* in Japanese must be followed by reading the *Hànwén* version.[149] In 1896, in a report to the Governor-General of Taiwan regarding textbooks used in Japanese language schools, a Japanese official said, "Among most urgent matters… indoctrinating the Japanese *kokutai* and patriotism to Taiwanese is the most pressing…Issuing the *Hànwén* version of the Japanese *kokutai* and guidelines of patriotic conducts in *Hànwén* to educational centers all over the whole island will benefit future education."[150] The translation of the *Rescript* into *Hànwén* suggested the instrumental role of *Hànwén* in Japanization education in Taiwan. It also implied the ironic position of *Hànwén* in Japanese national language education because *Hànwén* was one of the mother languages of Taiwanese. As mentioned above, *Hànwén* had been the cultural spirit of Taiwanese. In this practice, the Taiwanese mother, *Hànwén,* was understood as a neutral instrument, and appropriated for cultivating the Japanese national spirit in the Taiwanese.

Hànwén and Japanese National Language Education in the Common School

In 1898, the Common School Regulation was issued by the colonial government[151] and served as the legal basis for "regulating" education in Taiwan, including Taiwanese private schools (e.g., *shūfáng*) and the teaching of *Hànwén*. Under the regulation, the Taiwanese *shūfáng* was restructured to be "qualified" for supporting common school education; however, those which continued teaching *Hànwén* were banned. This suggested that *Hànwén* was supposed to be removed in the Japanization education in the Taiwanese common school. *Hànwén* was initially included in the curriculum of the common school for recruitment purposes, and then was

[149] Ibid., 162-63.
[150] Ibid., 162-63.
[151] *Taiwan jiàoyù yángé zhì* [The chronicle of Taiwan education], 96-100.

gradually removed for Japanization purposes. The discourse about *Hànwén* implied the significant influence of *Hànwén* in Taiwanese, which posed problems to the common school.

According to the regulation, six-year elementary education was founded through common schools for Taiwanese children,[152] and was financially supported by Taiwanese parents. The regulation stated that in consideration of the financial limitations and educational needs in the island, common schools would be opened for Taiwanese but were supposed to be funded by the Taiwanese themselves. Common schools were meant to replace Japanese national language education centers, which were funded by the colonial government.[153] Common schools were expected to support Japanese language education and the Japanization project. As the purposes of the regulation were stated, "The goals of common schools were to deliver moral education and practical knowledge, cultivate a national character, and make [Taiwanese students] master in the national language. Depending on local circumstances, common schools could establish crash courses to teach the national language in evenings, holidays, or other times after school."[154]

The common school curriculum placed a great emphasis on Japanese national language education. National language lessons occupied over three-fourths of instructional hours and included basic speaking skills, writing Japanese characters with *kanji* (Chinese characters) as diacritics, learning the reading method *kanbun kundoku* (as mentioned above) to read Confucian Classics, practicing compositions, and learning to write the calligraphy of Japanese characters,

---

[152] Common schools (gōngxuéxiào 公學校) were established in 1898 for Taiwanese children, and primary schools (xiǎoxuéxiào 小學校) were opened in 1896 for Japanese children. See *Taiwan jiàoyù yángé zhì* [The chronicle of Taiwan education], 96-100, 187. In 1941, both schools were re-named as national school (guómín xuéxiào 國民學校). See Hsu Pei-hsien (許佩賢), *Tàiyángqíxià de mófǎ xuéxiào*: *Rìzhì Taiwan xīnshì jiàoyù de dànshēng* [The magic school under the flag of sun: The birth of modern schooling in colonial Taiwan], 54-55.

[153] *Taiwan jiàoyù yángé zhì* [The chronicle of Taiwan education], 96-100.

[154] My translation, emphasis added. Ibid., 100.

including the Chinese characters that had been imported into the Japanese written language. In addition, students were required to translate Japanese into Taiwanese for checking their understanding.[155] The national language lessons in the common school curriculum showed the inclusion of the Chinese language (*Hànwén*) and Confucian moral values. The inclusion implied the expedient strategy of the colonial government for recruiting Taiwanese children to the common school.

Based on the Taiwan Education Association Magazine (台灣教育會雜誌), founded by the colonial government, Wu Wen-hsing (吳文星) indicated that the colonial government worried that an abrupt eradication of Confucian Classics and *Hànwén* from the common school would hurt Taiwanese feelings. The strategy was to remove both of them in a gradual process.[156] At the same time, however, and ironically, Japanization also implied Chinesization because of the Chinese linguistic elements (i.e., *kanji*) that comprised the Japanese language.

In 1898, Taiwanese private schools, *shūfáng*, were also included in the Japanese national language education by the "Shūfáng and Yìshú Related Regulation" (書房義塾相關規程) in 1898, and were required to teach materials approved and distributed by the colonial government, including the Japanese national language, arithmetic, and the *Hànwén* translation of Japanese history, geography, the *Rescript on Education*, and so on.[157] The inclusion of *shūfáng* suggested more opportunities for Taiwanese children to receive Japanese education, and fewer

---

[155] Ibid., 101-03.

[156] Wu Wen-hsing (吳文星), "Rìjù shídài Taiwan shūfáng zhī yénjiù [The study of the Taiwanese *shūfáng* during Japanese occupation]," *Sī yǔ yén: Rénwén yǔ shèhuì kēxué zázhì* [Thought and Words: Journal of the Humanities and Social Science] 16, no. 3 (1978): 75.

[157] Ibid., 442-443. Yìshú 義塾, non-profit private schools funded by Taiwanese.

opportunities for them to focus on learning *Hànwén*. *Hànwén* was employed as an instrument for Taiwanese children to receive knowledge about Japan.

Hànwén and Common School Education

The revision of the Common School Regulation in 1903 included *Hànwén* as a subject in the curriculum. As the rule stated, "The goal of teaching *Hànwén* is to understand common Chinese characters and writings for developing the competency of dealing with daily life affairs… *Hànwén* articles are supposed to be simple and practical and be based on teaching moral education, national language, and other subjects."[158] The rule suggested the assistant role of *Hànwén* in common school education.

Also according to Wu Wen-hsing's (吳文星) history of Taiwanese *shūfáng* (Taiwanese private school), *Hànwén* education in the common school was criticized by Taiwanese as ineffective and useless. It was complained that Taiwanese children, after six to eight years of learning *Hànwén* in the common school, were still unable to write a simple letter for daily life communication.[159] Possible reasons for the ineffectiveness of *Hànwén* included errors in *Hànwén* materials, mediocre *Hànwén* teachers, a "ridiculous" instructional method of teaching *Hànwén* in Japanese, and interruption by other subjects, such as music, gymnastics, and agriculture. Wu Wen-hsing argued that "these reasons reflected ignorance of the *Hànwén* subject

---

158 *Taiwan jiàoyù yángé zhì* [The chronicle of Taiwan education], 114-17.

159 Wu Wen-hsing (吳文星), "Rìjù shídài Taiwan shūfáng zhī yénjiù [The study of the Taiwanese *shūfáng* during Japanese occupation]," *Sī yǔ yén: Rénwén yǔ shèhuì kēxué zázhì* [Thought and Words: Journal of the Humanities and Social Science] 16, no. 3 (1978): 76. Also see "Gōngxuéxiào de Hànwén jiāoshò hé jiòshì de Taiwan shūfáng [The teaching of Hànwén in common school and old style Taiwanese shūfáng]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan], no. 147 (1927 [1973]): 2.

in the common school." [160] His history also indicated that Taiwanese parents sent children to *shūfáng* to learn *Hànwén* after the common school was dismissed, and children learning three to four years of *Hànwén* could write simple letters. Wu Wen-hsing's history suggested the Taiwanese expectation of learning *Hànwén* and a more effective practice of teaching *Hànwén* in *shūfáng*. In spite of receiving Japanese education in the common school, Taiwanese children were still expected to learn *Hànwén*. When *effective Hànwén* education was not possible in the common school, Taiwanese turned to *shūfáng.*

Shūfáng, which mainly taught *Hànwén,* were banned at the same time by colonial government. It was reasoned by the colonial government that *shūfáng* resulted in decreases enrollment in the common school, and *shūfáng* teaching *Hànxué* (Study of Chinese Classics) hindered integration of Taiwanese and Japanese.[161] *Taiwan min pao*, by contrast, stressed "the necessity of *Hànwén* in Taiwanese society and the impact of the moral value of *Hànxué* on Japan" and argued that it was the ineffective *Hànwén* education in the common school that prohibited the development of *Hànxué* and thus hindered integration.[162] Wu Wen-hsing's (吳文星) history of Taiwanese *shūfáng* implied the influence of *Hàn* cultural and moral values in both Taiwanese and Japanese. *Hànwén* and *Hànxué* were the shared cultural and moral traditions between the Taiwanese and the Japanese.

---

[160] "Gōngxuéxiào de Hànwén jiāoshò hé jiòshì de Taiwan shūfáng [The teaching of Hànwén in common school and old style Taiwanese shūfáng]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan], no. 147 (1927 [1973): 3. Wu Wen-hsing (吳文星), "Rìjù shídài Taiwan shūfáng zhī yénjiù [The study of the Taiwanese *shūfáng* during Japanese occupation]," *Sī yǔ yén: Rénwén yǔ shèhuì kēxué zázhì* [Thought and Words: Journal of the Humanities and Social Science] 16, no. 3 (1978): 76.

[161] Ibid., 77.

[162] Ibid., 78.

It is important to note that while Japanese national language education seemed to compete with Taiwanese private schools, namely *shūfáng*, *shūfáng* was employed as an instrument facilitating common school education. On the other hand, *shūfáng* was also challenged by the Taiwanese civilization movement. *Shūfáng* was expected to be gradually "ameliorated" under a new regulation of private schools issued in 1922, from a Taiwanese traditional model of teaching *Hànwén* to a Japanese modern school following the common school curriculum and schedule.[163] Under the new regulation, to be a qualified *shūfáng*, teachers hired must know the Japanese language or be common school graduates, and they must teach textbooks edited by the Government-General of Taiwan. In remote areas where there was no common school, *shūfáng* became a complementary education to common school education. Those which taught *Hànwén* only were banned by the colonial government.[164]

In addition, under the Taiwanese new cultural movement (e.g., the Taiwan New Culture Movement in the 1920s, which is one of the objects of analysis in Chapter Four), *shūfáng* teaching the literary, Classical Chinese language (i.e., *Hànwén*) and Chinese Classics was regarded as an inappropriate place for teaching Taiwanese children daily *Hànwén* and was also advised for amelioration.[165] The Taiwanese new cultural movement proposed adopting an easier *Hànwén*, namely *Báihuàwén* (白話文 colloquial Chinese), which could facilitate Taiwanese

---

[163] Wu Wen-hsing (吳文星), "Rìjù shíqí Taiwan shūfáng jiàoyù zhī zài jiǎntǎo [Reexamination of the Taiwanese *shūfáng* during Japanese occupation]," *Sī yǔ yén: Rénwén yǔ shèhuì kēxué zázhì* [Thought and Words: Journal of the Humanities and Social Science] 26, no. 1 (1988): 102-104.

[164] Ibid., 104-05, 106-07.

[165] "Hànwén jiàoyù," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan], no. 121 (1926 [1973]: 3; "Gōngxuéxiào de Hànwén jiāoshò hé jiòshì de Taiwan shūfáng [The teaching of Hànwén in common school and old style Taiwanese shūfáng]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan], no. 147 (1927 [1973]): 3-4.

learning civilized knowledge. To popularize the easier *Hànwén*, *shūfáng* were advised to be reformed in teaching *Báihuàwén* and contemporary knowledge published in *Báihuàwén*.[166] The *Báihuàwén* proposal in the Taiwanese new cultural movement was to save and promote *Hànwén*, particularly when *Hànwén* was gradually abolished from common school education. The *Báihuàwén* movement and the Taiwanese new cultural movement are discussed in Chapter Four. The histories about *shūfáng* above suggest that the Taiwanese traditional school, *shūfáng*, was challenged by Japanese national language education and the Taiwanese new cultural movement for its relationship to *Hànwén*. It was either reformed to include Japanese education or advised to include an easier *Hànwén* (i.e., *Báihuàwén*)

Similarly, *Hànwén* was gradually removed from common school education. When the New Education Rescript was issued in 1922, the *Hànwén* subject was changed to be a "flexible" or responsive subject. That is, depending on the local circumstances of common schools, *Hànwén* could be flexibly added as an elective or removed.[167] On the other hand, the importance of *Hànwén* in Taiwanese culture was stressed by the Taiwanese as a way to call for restoring *Hànwén* to be a required subject in the common school. It was argued that *Hànwén* was the instrument for performing the national culture of Taiwan, and popularizing *Hànwén* was the urgent task of the Taiwanese.[168] Taiwanese parents appealed to colonial authorities and negotiated with them for resuming the *Hànwén* subject. They argued that *Hànwén* was a valuable innate culture in East Asian culture, and it was important for Taiwanese and Japanese to learn it.

---

166 "Hànwén jiàoyù," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan], no. 121 (1926 [1973]): 3.

167 *Taiwan jiàoyù yángé zhì* [The chronicle of Taiwan education], 162-64.

168 "Hànwén jiàoyù," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan], no. 121 (1926 [1973]): 3.

Moreover, *Hànwén* not only was practical to Taiwanese daily life, but also was an indispensable instrument in business with China.[169]

The policy excluding *Hànwén* from common school was also criticized by Taiwanese in *Taiwan min pao* (台灣民報). As it was stated,

> Common schools are not school but simply a place of race transformation. It is to transform Taiwanese children into Japanese children rather than teaching them knowledge and inspire their intellect… Therefore the reason of abolishing the *Hànwén* subject or changing the *Hànwén* subject to an elective was not to alleviate children's burden, but to destroy the national concept so as to Japanize children more easily.[170]
>
> The most serious defect of common school education was the ignorance of *Hànwén* education… *Hànwén* is the innate language of Taiwanese… and until now the necessity of *Hànwén* has been an indispensable element in Taiwanese life and society… However, the educational authority in Taiwan is in a rush to realize policies [national language movement and Japanization] by abolishing *Hànwén* education in order to destroy the innate culture of Taiwan. The authority does not know that *Hànwén* has been entrenched in Taiwanese society. It is not only difficult to destroy *Hànwén*; the result of abolishing *Hànwén* from school education will even make common school education defective in its

---

[169] See "Yāoqiù gōngxué fùjiāo Hànwén [Requesting common school to teach Hànwén again]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan], no. 232 (1928 [1973]): 4; "Quán Xīnzhú Zhōu xià gōngxuéxiào Hànwén fèizhǐ wèntí [The problem of abolishing Hànwén all over Hsin-chu prefecture]," *Taiwan hsin min pao* 台灣新民報 [The new people's newspaper of Taiwan], no. 364 (1931; repr., Táiběi: Dōngfāng wénhuà shūjú [The Oriental Cultural Service], 1973), 4.

[170] My translation. Wéi Hàn (維漢), "Bó Tái Rì shèshuō de miùlùn [To retort the fallacy in the editorial of Taiwan news]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan], no. 154 (1927 [1973]): 12.

> practical application to life, and make Taiwanese discontented and disappointed about common school education.[171]

Taiwanese appeals or complaints were not taken into consideration by the colonial government, and the *Hànwén* subject, under a revised educational regulation, was completely removed from common school education in 1937 after the Second Sino-Japanese War broke out. The colonial government explained that the *Hànwén* subject contradicted the goal of the popularization of its national language. On the basis of cultivating the Japanese national spirit, the subject of *Hànwén*, which had constantly "summoned" the Taiwanese mind, must be abolished. *Hànwén* was no longer necessary for daily communication and for trade with China.[172]

The response of the Taiwanese and the Japanese to the abolition of *Hànwén* implied the significance of *Hànwén* to Taiwanese. *Hànwén* was regarded as essential to the Taiwanese, including its practical and cultural/spiritual support for Taiwanese life. The common school offering the *Hànwén* subject was thus an opportunity for Taiwanese children to learn *Hànwén* and maintain their cultural spirit. On the other hand, the goal of common school education was to make the Taiwanese Japanese. Taiwanese children were expected to learn the Japanese national language, national spirit, and practical knowledge so that they could become a competent, royal subject of the Japanese Empire. *Hànwén*, in spite of its importance to the Taiwanese, was instead considered as useless and even contradicting the Japanization goal in the common school. Under the political imperative, learning *Hànwén* in the common school was no longer possible for Taiwanese children.

---

[171] My translation, emphasis added. Editorial, "Hànwén fùxīng yùndòng shí shēnhuó de bìyào shǐrán de [Hànwén revitalization movement is intrigued by the necessity of life]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan], no. 233 (1928 [1973]): 2.

[172] *Taiwan jiàoyù yángé zhì* [The chronicle of Taiwan education], 178.

The educational discourse in colonial Taiwan suggested that language was an important issue in language and educational policies. Taiwanese languages had posed problems to the Japanese colonial governance of Taiwan and to the Japanese assimilation movement. In particular, *Hànwén*, the classical, literary Chinese language of the Taiwanese, had complicated Japanese language and education policies and practices. At the early stage of colonization, *Hànwén* was included in the Japanese-oriented common school education for Taiwanese as a way of attracting Taiwanese children; on the other hand, *shūfáng* was preserved for "amelioration" by including the Japanese national language and knowledge. Practically and culturally speaking, *Hànwén* was essential to Taiwanese life. Both common schools and *shūfáng* teaching *Hànwén* provided an opportunity for Taiwanese children to learn *Hànwén.* At the same time, the goal of the common schools was to transform Taiwanese children into Japanese through the Japanese national language. The Japanese national language was personified as the mother of Japan who cultivated the Japanese national spirit in her children. In this assumption, the Taiwanese were regarded as Japan's children, and thus were expected to have an intimate relationship to the Japanese national language. Speaking and using the Japanese national language were thus regarded as an important way to build the relationship to the mother of Japan and to develop the Japanese national spirit. In this practice, *Hànwén*, which was believed to constitute the cultural spirit of Taiwanese, was supposed to be eradicated so that the Japanese national spirit could be cultivated in Taiwanese.

Hànwén and the Japanese National Language Movement in Taiwanese Society

In addition to common school education, the Japanese national language was also popularized in Taiwanese society since the mid-1910s. Taiwanese elites and their influence in Taiwanese society were appropriated to help promote the Japanese national language. On the

other hand, literary societies, including the *Hàn* poetry society, were formed by Taiwanese intellectuals, including Taiwanese elites, and they supported *Hànwén* and *Hàn* poetry practice. It is interesting to note that *Hànwén* and *Hàn* poetry practices were supported by Japanese officials and even by extension supported the Japanese assimilation project. *Hànwén* and *Hàn* poetry societies were maintained in practice by negotiation and compromise with the Japanization movement.

Based on a survey conducted by the Government-General of Taiwan in 1915, the number of Taiwanese who could speak and understand Japanese was 0.38 percent of the total Taiwanese population in 1905, and was 1.63 percent in 1915. The majority of Japanese-speaking Taiwanese were school-aged children.[173] The statistics suggest that the promotion of the Japanese national language through the common school was not effective.

On the other hand, the Japanese national language movement was promoted in Taiwanese society since 1914.[174] For example, evening classes teaching Japanese for vocational use were provided and targeted to Taiwanese men in all occupations (e.g., businessmen, carpenters, or rickshaw puller); and language practice meetings were organized to teach Taiwanese women or elderly people Japanese language and culture, such as Japanese etiquette.[175] Since the 1930s, the national language popularization movement accelerated and spread to all aspects of Taiwanese life. New regulations for national language education centers in local administrative units (e.g. local village) were issued to ensure the "effectiveness" of national language education. It was

---

[173] Wu Wen-hsing (吳文星), "Rìjù shíqí Taiwan zǒngdūfǔ tuēguǎng rìyǔ yùndòng chūtàn (shàng) [A preliminary exploration of the Japanese national movement promoted by the Government-General of Taiwan during Japanese occupation, 1]," *Taiwan fēngwù* [The Taiwan Folkways] 37, no. 1 (1987): 8-9.

[174] *Taiwan jiàoyù yángé zhì* [The chronicle of Taiwan education], 475-480.

[175] *Taiwan jiàoyù yángé zhì* [The chronicle of Taiwan education], 475-478.

pointed out that the effect of the previous national language education centers was not regarded as satisfactory, and that the goal of national language education centers was to practice the national language and cultivate the national spirit.[176] In addition, the "ten-year plan of national language popularization" was enacted in 1933 by the colonial Government-General's Office for making the Japanese speaking population of Taiwanese to be over fifty percent of the total Taiwanese population in ten years.[177] The national language education practices suggested the determination and efforts of the Japanese colonial government in popularizing the Japanese nation language to everyone in the workplace and at home, and in the city and village.

According to Wu Wen-hsing's (吳文星) study of the colonial government's promotion of the Japanese national language, the colonial government encouraged the social elites, including those worked for colonial local offices, to serve as Taiwanese models for learning the national language and for the Japanese popularization movement.[178] Taiwanese organizations for social education formed by Taiwanese elites, such as "Customs Amelioration Society" (風俗改良會), "Unifications of Customs Society" (同風會), "Youth Society" (青年會), or "Women's Society"

[176] Ibid., 477-479.

[177] Ibid., 480.

[178] Wu Wen-hsing (吳文星), "Rìjù shíqí Taiwan shèhuì lǐngdǎo jiēcéng yǔ 'guóyǔ pǔjí yùndòng' zhī yánjiù (shàng) [Study of Taiwanese social elites and national language popularization movement under Japanese colonial rule, 1]," *Jìndài Zhōngguó* [Contemporary China] 55 (1987): 273.

(婦女會), included "national language popularization" in their mission statements.[179] Teachers of *shūfáng* were also recruited to organize "national language study" meetings.[180]

However, the colonial government newspaper complained about the ineffectiveness of the national language popularization and the attitude of the Taiwanese toward learning the national language. It indicated that in 1924 over half of Taiwanese representatives (i.e., Taiwanese elites) in village assemblies could not understand the Japanese language, and such a situation would obstruct discussions of official affairs and local administration. In addition, local Taiwanese communities, including Taiwanese elites, were indifferent to Japanese language learning. Instead, they were more enthusiastic about *Hànwén* teaching. News in 1938 criticized that the Taiwanese were instrumental in learning the Japanese language, and indicated that some Japanese national language practice centers were dismissed due to an inconsistent enrollment.[181] The complaints about the Taiwanese response to the Japanese national language movement implied that even though the Japanese national language had been incessantly and widely popularized in Taiwanese schools and society, Taiwanese, including Taiwanese elites who held official positions, were not very interested in learning the Japanese language.

Meanwhile, the histories of the literary society in Taiwan[182] indicated that the practice of *Hànwén* seemed never to cease. Based on the histories, Taiwanese intellectuals, who used to

---

[179] Ibid., 274.

[180] Wu Wen-hsing (吳文星), "Rìjù shíqí Taiwan shūfáng jiàoyù zhī zàijiǎntǎo [Reexamination of the Taiwanese *shūfáng* during Japanese occupation]," *Sī yǔ yén: Rénwén yǔ shèhuì kēxué zázhì* [Thought and Words: Journal of the Humanities and Social Science] 26, no. 1 (1988): 104.

[181] Ibid., 275-276.

[182] See for example, Huang Mei-e (黃美娥), *Gǔdiǎn Taiwan*: *Wénxuéshǐ, shīshè, zuòjiālùn* [Classical Taiwan: History of literature, poetry society, and writers] (Táiběi Shì: Guólì biānyìguǎn, Mínguó 96 [2007]), 183-228; Yang Yung-pin (楊永彬), "Rìběn lǐngTái chūchí Rì

study and write *Hànwén* (the classical, literary Chinese) for the Qīng imperial exams, turned to writing poems after the political change. Generally speaking, they wrote poems for expressing their bitterness and grievances; they exchanged poems for comforting each other. They formed literary and *Hàn* poetry societies, and sang poems with their poet comrades.[183]

The histories also suggest that *Hàn* poetry and *Hànwén* practices in Taiwan were supported by the Japanese colonial government.[184] The first Japanese officials were also literary intellectuals cultivated by *Hànxué* (study of Chinese Classics) and classical Hànwén. They shared similar literary cultivation with Taiwanese intellectuals, and they communicated with them in the Běijīng official language or in *Hàn* Chinese characters (i.e., *Hànwén*). Given literary similarities, the two groups of intellectuals met frequently for exchanges in *Hàn* poetry.[185] As was described in a newspaper, "We Japanese and Chinese share the same language. We are different from the countries of the Great Britain, German, France, and the United States in languages and scripts. Since 1895 when the Empire owned Taiwan, we have communicated with each other without barrier due to Japan's familiarity with *Hànwén*."[186]

Tái guānshēn shīwén chànghè [Poetry singing along together by Japanese officials and Taiwanese elites at the early stage of Japanese colonization]," in *Taiwan chóngcéng jìndàihuà lùnwén ji* [Conference proceedings on multi-layered modernity of Taiwan], eds. Wakabayashi Masahiro (若林正丈) and Wu Mi-Cha (吳密察) (Táiběi Shì: Bōzhòngzhě wénhuà yǒuxiàn gōngsī, 2000), 105-81. Wu Wen-hsing (吳文星), *Rìzhì shíqí Taiwan de shèhuì lǐngdǎo jiēcéng* [Social elites in Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule] (Táiběi Shì: Wǔnán túshū, 2008).

183 Ibid.

184 Ibid.

185 Ibid.

186 My translation. *Taiwan xīnbào* (台灣新報), no. 131 (1897), quoted in Huang Mei-e (黃美娥), "Rìzhì shídài Taiwan shīshè línlì de shèhuì kǎochá [A social investigation of Taiwanese poetry societies during Japanese colonial period]," *Taiwan fēngwù* [*The Taiwan Folkways*] 47, no. 3 (1997): 68.

The description above indicated that *Hànwén*, the shared language, bridged Taiwanese intellectuals and Japanese officials. They created and sang poetry together at poetry banquets held by Japanese officials and at each other's poetry societies. The colonial government newspapers even called for poems from Taiwanese poets.[187] These activities implied a congenial culture of poetry exchange between Taiwanese elites and Japanese officials, and they promoted *Hàn* poetry practice in Taiwan.[188] Furthermore, an island-wide poetry conference was initiated in 1924 to gather Taiwanese poets from all over the island for poetry exchanges and competition. The yearly island-wide poetry conference continued until 1937.[189]

In particular, some Taiwanese intellectuals and elites who held colonial official positions also formed and participated in literary societies in the late 1910s that promoted *Hànwén* and *Hànxué* (漢學 Study of Chinese Classics), such as *Chóngwénshè* (崇文社 Society for Civil Values) and *Taiwan wénshè* (台灣文社 Taiwan Literature Society).[190] The history of literary

---

[187] Yang Yung-pin (楊永彬), "Rìběn lǐngTái chūchí Rì Tái guānshēn shīwén chànghè [Poetry singing along together by Japanese officials and Taiwanese elites at the early stage of Japanese colonization]," 105-181.

[188] During the colonial period of 50 years, there were about 290 poetry socieities. During 1921-1937, the number of newly established Hàn poetry societies was 159. See Huang Mei-e (黃美娥), *Gǔdiǎn Taiwan*: *Wénxuéshǐ, shīshè, zuòjiālùn* [Classical Taiwan: History of literature, poetry society, writers], 191.

[189] "Taiwan shīshè dàhuìjì [Taiwan poetry conference]," *Taiwan shīhuì* (shàng cè) [Anthology of Taiwanese Poetry, Volume 1], ed. Lián Héng 連橫 (1924; repr., Táiběi Shì: Chéngwén fāxíng, Mínguó 66 (1977), 267-268. Huang Mei-e (黃美娥), *Gǔdiǎn Taiwan*: *Wénxuéshǐ, shīshè, zuòjiālùn* [Classical Taiwan: History of literature, poetry society, and writers], 191.

[190] Taiwanese elites who held official positions but could not understand the Japanese language well were listed on the newspaper of *Taiwan shíbào* (Taiwan news) in 1918. Some of the Taiwanese elites were the founder of literary societies. *Taiwan shíbào*, quoted in Wu Wen-hsing (吳文星), "Rìjù shíqí Taiwan shèhuì lǐngdǎo jiēcéng yǔ 'guóyǔ pǔjí yùndòng' zhī yánjiù (shàng) [Study of Taiwanese social elites and national language popularization movement under Japanese colonial rule, 1]," 274. History of literary societies, see Li Shih-wei (李世偉), "Rìzhì shídài wénshè de yánjiù—yǐ 'Chóngwénshè' wéilì [A study on the literary society under Japanese rule

societies indicated a complicated relationship between *Hànwén* and the Japanese national spirit. The goals of *Chóngwénshè* were to "honor Confucian sages, revitalize Confucian codes of ethics, network with the upper class, and cultivate civil values"[191]; and the *Taiwan wénshè* was formed to work in tandem with *Hàn* poetry societies in maintaining *Hànxué* (Study of Chinese Classics).[192] The goal of "networking with the upper class" suggested that *Chóngwénshè* encouraged the participation of Japanese officials who shared similar *Hàn* moral values. It was described that at the opening ceremony of *Chóngwénshè* in 1917, local Japanese officials served as officiates, and in regular spring and autumn ceremonies, local Japanese officials attended or offered donations.[193] The call from *Chóngwénshè* for literary contributions also included responses to Japanese colonial policies, such as "promotion of assimilation," "cultivation of national quality," and "men's patriotic spirit," and so on.[194] The practices above suggested a friendly relationship between *Chóngwénshè* and the colonial government, and the support of *Chóngwénshè* for the Japanization project in Taiwan.

---

based on the Society for Civil Values]," *Taiwan fēngwù* [The Taiwan Folkways] 47, no. 3 (1997): 15-41; Shih Yi-lin (施懿琳), "Taiwan wénshè chūtàn—yǐ 1919~1923 de *Taiwan wényì cóngzhì* wéi duìxiàng [A preliminary exploration of the Taiwan Literature Society based on the Taiwan Literary Collection, 1919-1923]" (lecture, Lìshè bǎinián xuéshù yéntǎo huì [The centennial conference on the Oak Tree poetry society], Tai-chung xiàn wénhuàjú, Tai-chung, 2001).

[191] Li Shih-wei (李世偉), "Rìzhì shídài wénshè de yánjiù—yǐ 'Chóngwénshè' wéilì [A study on the literary society under Japanese rule based on the Society for Civil Values]," *Taiwan fēngwù* [*The Taiwan Folkways*] 47, no. 3 (1997): 17.

[192] Shih Yi-lin (施懿琳), "Taiwan wénshè chūtàn—yǐ 1919~1923 de *Taiwan wényì cóngzhì* wéi duìxiàng [A preliminary exploration of the Taiwan Literature Society based on the Taiwan Literary Collection, 1919-1923]."

[193] Li Shih-wei (李世偉), "Rìzhì shídài wénshè de yánjiù—yǐ 'Chóngwénshè' wéilì [A study on the literary society under Japanese rule based on the Society for Civil Values]," *Taiwan fēngwù* [*The Taiwan Folkways*] 47, no. 3 (1997): 17, 37.

[194] The literary contributions were compiled in *Chóngwénshè wénjí* (崇文社文集 The literary collection of the Society for Civil Values). Ibid., 19-20.

In the literary collection (i.e., *Chóngwénshè wénjí*), *Hànwén* and *Hànxué*, in which the core value was Confucian morality, were regarded as important constituents of the Japanese national spirit.[195] *Hànwén* and *Hànxué* were considered as the great knowledge in East Asia, which had particularly cultivated the Japanese spirit, for example, the Samurai spirit and the Japanese *Rescript on Education*.[196] This view highlighted the historical significance of *Hànwén* and *Hànxué* in the formation of the Japanese spirit. The discourse of the literary collection even positioned *Hànwén* and *Hànxué* in an equally important status to the *Rescript on Education*:

> The *Rescript on Education* is constituted by great oracles, which come from *Hànxué*… We as the new people [of Japan] follow the great oracles together [with Japanese]. If we do not devote ourselves to patriotism and loyalty, we discard *Hànxué* and the Rescript. Discarding *Hànxué* is forgivable, but defying the Rescript is a mortal sin.[197]

The statement firstly indicated the essential role of *Hànxué* in the constitution of the Japanese *Rescript on Education*, but then placed a greater emphasis on the *Rescript* than on *Hànxué*. It otherwise blurred the boundaries between the *Rescript* and *Hànxué*. It regarded the *Rescript* and *Hànxué* as equally important in their relation to Confucian morality, particularly in the cultivation of the most important constituent of the Japanese national spirit: patriotism and loyalty.

This review implied that for developing the Japanese national spirit, the practice of *Hànwén* and *Hànxué* was compatible with following the Japanese *Rescript on Education*, and

---

[195] Ibid., 38-39.
[196] Ibid.
[197] My translation, emphasis added. Ibid., 39.

thus could possibly support the Japanization project in Taiwan. In other words, in alignment with the Japanization project, the practice of *Hànwén* and *Hànxué* could possibly be maintained.

Similarly, *Taiwan wénshè* (台灣文社 Taiwan Literature Society) was a literary organization established in 1919 for maintaining *Hànxué* and *Hànwén.* As the first regulation stated, "The society is titled 'Taiwanese Literature Society' based on the goals of advancing literature, studying literary works and poetry, and networking with men of letters." Another regulation stated, "Our society will publish the *Taiwan Literature Collection*, but the publications on the Collection will be limited to literature only. That involves political issues will not be adopted."[198] The regulation implied a political stance of *Taiwan wénshè* different from that of *Chóngwénshè*. Unlike *Chóngwénshè*, with its explicit connection with Japanization, *Taiwan wénshè* wanted to pursue a "pure" literature creation in *Hànwén* and literary study of *Hànxué* without any political intention or involvement.

According to Shih Yi-lin's (施懿琳) rendition of the society's view of *Hànxué* and *Hànwén, Hànxué* and *Hànwén* were regarded as essential to East Asian culture. *Hànwén* was considered as the cultural origin of East Asia, and if *Hànwén* perished, the spirit of East Asians would wither. It also indicated that historically, Japan had been politically supported by *Hànxué*, and the Japanese national spirit had also been culturally nurtured by *Hànxué*. In addition, *Hànxué* and *Hànwén* were viewed as important media in maintaining the goodwill between Japan and China. Finally, it stressed that the task of revitalizing *Hànxué* and *Hànwén* relied on the small

198 My translation. Shih Yi-lin (施懿琳), "Taiwan wénshè chūtàn—yǐ 1919~1923 de *Taiwan wényì cóngzhì* wéi duìxiàng [A preliminary exploration of the Taiwan Literature Society based on the Taiwan Literary Collection, 1919-1923]."

number of literati in Taiwan, and therefore the literary society played a crucial role in revitalizing *Hànxué* and *Hànwén*.[199]

The society's view suggested both the historical significance of *Hànxué* and *Hànwén* to East Asia, including Japan, and their values in contemporary East Asia. This view also blurred the distinction between *Hànwén* and the Japanese national language, and invited the Japanese to engage in preserving and revitalizing *Hànxué* and *Hànwén*. For the betterment of all of East Asia, both the Japanese and the Taiwanese were expected to maintain the essential cultural and moral traditions, that is, *Hànxué* and *Hànwén.* This view, which included Japanese in preserving *Hànwén* and *Hànxué*, drew Japanese attention from developing the national spirit to fulfilling a greater mission for the Greater East Asia.

While the Japanese national language was widely popularized to the Taiwanese people, the revitalization of *Hànxué* and *Hànwén* was also regarded as an important cultural and moral imperative for both Taiwanese and Japanese. Learning the Japanese national language and following the *Rescript on Education* were considered as a sure way to become Japanese with the Japanese national spirit; on the other hand, *Hànxué* and *Hànwén,* which were believed to have nurtured the Japanese spirit, were also viewed as a compatible practice of developing the Japanese national spirit. *Taiwan wénshè* and its publication, *Taiwan wényì cóngzhì* (台灣文藝叢誌 Taiwan literature collection), lasted from 1919 to 1926; *Chóngwénshè*, with other poetry societies, continued the practice of *Hànwén* until the end of Japanese colonization.[200] The

---

[199] Ibid.

[200] Shih Yi-lin (施懿琳), "Taiwan wénshè chūtàn—yǐ 1919~1923 de *Taiwan wényì cóngzhì* wéi duìxiàng [A preliminary exploration of the Taiwan Literature Society based on the Taiwan Literary Collection, 1919-1923]"; Shih Yi-lin (施懿琳), "Cóng *Yìngshè shīhuì* kàn Rìjù zhōngwǎnqí Chang-hua shīrén de shídài guānhuái [Reading poets from Chang-hua from *Yìngshè*

history of Taiwanese literary society above suggests that the *Hànxué* and *Hànwén* practices of Taiwanese and Japanese intellectuals formed a complicated relationship with the Japanization project, including the Japanese national language movement, throughout the entire period of Japanese occupation. This relationship, which was shaped by the Japanese wartime agenda during 1937-1945, is elaborated in Chapter Six. The practice of *Hànwén* also shaped the culture and literature movements initiated by Taiwanese intellectuals in the 1920s and 1930s. The complexities of language issues in the culture and literature movements during these decades are illustrated in Chapter Four and Five.

---

poetry anthology: Their care of the epoch in the mid and late period of Japanese occupation],” *Zhōngguó xuéshù niánkān* [Studies in Sinology], no. 14 (1993): 365-397.

Chapter Four

Hànwén and Taiwanese Subjectivities in the Taiwan New Culture Movement in the 1920s

I would like to thank God for making me a Taiwanese because Taiwanese hold the key to world peace. The first gate to world peace is the peace of East Asia. Taiwanese, a Chinese nation and Japan's people, should be endowed with the mission of goodwill between Japan and China. Let Taiwanese carry out this mission. In this way, the peace of East Asia will be secured; the well-being of all human beings in the world will be attained—Jiǎng Wèishuǐ (蔣渭水)[201]

Taiwan in the 1920s was energized by a series of cultural movements that reformed Taiwanese culture, language, and literature. Taiwanese culture was problematized for lagging behind other contemporary cultures, mainly referred to Western cultures (aka. Western civilization), due to Japanese colonization. Based on the cultural discourse, to promote Taiwanese culture the Taiwanese were supposed to receive education with civilized knowledge in order to be enlightened and civilized. Language and culture were regarded as important instruments to facilitate the project of Taiwanese enlightenment and civilization. *Hànwén*, the classical, literary Chinese language in Taiwan, was confronted by challenges of the enlightenment and civilization project. It was argued that the esoteric form of *Hànwén* posed problems to the Taiwanese masses in receiving civilized knowledge. Literature written in *Hànwén* was criticized as outmoded and hindering the advancement of Taiwanese culture. The

[201] My translation. Jiǎng Wèishuǐ's allegation in response to accusation of his violating the "Security Police Law." See "Jiǎng Wèishuǐ's allegation," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan], 2, no. 16 (1924 [1973]). Reprinted in Yè Róngzhōng (葉榮鐘), *Rìjù xià Taiwan zhèngzhì shèhuì yùndòng shǐ*, shàng [History of political and social movement in Taiwan under Japanese rule, volume 1] (Tai-chung Shì: Chénxīng chūbǎn yǒuxiàn gōngsī, 2000), 266-269. All sources of the series of *Taiwan min pao*, including *Taiwan qīngnián* 台灣青年[The Taiwan youth], *Taiwan*, and *Taiwan hsin min pao* [Taiwan new minpao] used in this dissertation refer to the reprinted edition by Dōngfāng wénhuà shūjú [The Oriental Cultural Service] in Taipei in 1973.

criticism suggests that *Hànwén* was not thought of as a possible practice in the Taiwanese new culture movement.

Similarly, discourses in the *Taiwan qīngnián* (台灣青年 The Taiwan youth) magazine, which was the cultural initiative undertaken by Taiwanese intellectuals based in Tokyo, moved Taiwan away from the influence of *Hàn* Chinese culture and language (i.e., *Hànwén*). Most of them cut off the connection of Taiwan to *Hàn* culture and *Hànwén*, such as the discourse of Taiwanese national self-determination and Japanese cultural assimilation of Taiwanese culture. The discourses positioning Taiwan out of the framework of *Hàn* culture and *Hànwén* made possible particular Taiwanese practices of the self that were not possibly shaped by *Hàn* culture and *Hànwén*.

However, the Taiwanese new culture movement for the goals of civilization and enlightenment in the island clung to *Hàn* culture and *Hànwén*, even though *Hànwén* was regarded as a problem. As mentioned above, language and literature were considered as essential instruments to promote Taiwanese culture to civilization. An easy *Hànwén* (簡易漢文), which was based on Taiwanese colloquial languages and understood as *Báihuàwén* (白話文), was proposed to be an effective instrument for Taiwanese cultural enlightenment and civilization. *Báihuàwén* opened up possibilities for Taiwanese cultural and literary imaginations and practices. It facilitated the Taiwanese civilization project and the Taiwanese new literature movement; it also allowed Taiwanese writers to address the particularity of Taiwanese culture and society in literature.

On the other hand, *Hànwén* was still in practice in spite of critiques of its abstruse style and script. Since the beginning of the Japanese colonization, *Hànwén* had been sustained by wide-spread *Hàn* poetry societies, as mentioned in Chapter Three. In response to the new cultural

movement in Taiwan, *Hànwén* practices were also regarded as a way toward civilization, which was instead based on the ancient Chinese civilization. It was believed that by reviving *Hànwén* and *Hànxué* (study of Chinese classics), Taiwanese culture would be promoted to civilization as well. *Hànwén*, in spite of its incomprehensibility and difficulty, was versatile and endurable in creating possibilities for different Taiwanese practices of the self.

In this chapter, I focus on reform discourses in the Taiwan New Culture Movement in the 1920s, and I analyze the possibilities they created for Taiwanese subjectivities. The analysis shows that the public and intellectual discourse of the time allowed specific kinds of Taiwanese, a subject that was situated in relation to China, Japan, and Taiwan. In particular, *Hànwén* had opened up possibilities for particular Taiwanese subjectivities. *Hànwén*, confronted by most reform challenges, was suggested to be modified, appropriated, or even abandoned; however, it was sustained and it created possibilities for particular subject positions and subjectification practices. I imagine that the ideal subjects that were made available in cultural reform discourse were *civilized* Taiwanese who bore the responsibility for Taiwan. The versatility of *Hànwén* (both in its literary and colloquial form) shaped different Taiwanese subjectification practices in becoming *civilized* Taiwanese. In addition, even though the discourse of nation/country was not yet possible, the available understanding of cultural possibilities was not only *Hàn* Chinese, as part of the Chinese nation, but also Taiwanese as a distinctive cultural nation. The possibilities opened up by *Hànwén* were not limited to maintaining *Hàn* culture; they allowed practices in creating distinctive Taiwanese culture and literature.

The Problematization of Taiwanese Culture

The discourse in *Taiwan qīngnián* suggested that when Japanese colonial power came in 1895, Taiwan transitioned into a different political regime, and at the same time into the "modern"

age. The material life of the Taiwanese improved based on the "modern" standard,[202] for example the use of piped water, sewer systems, and electronic appliances; control of epidemics and improved public hygiene; public transportation; and so forth. Culturally, the Taiwanese made some changes to their bodies in order to look "modern." The Qīng (Qing) Dynasty's cultural symbol of men's queue was cut off and women's footbinding was released; and a Western suit replaced the Chinese long gown.[203] The "progress" of material life was usually recognized, but the "backwardness" of Taiwanese culture and degenerated morality was lamented.[204] Under the aegis of Japanese rule, the Taiwanese had limited educational opportunities and were deprived of civil and political rights.[205] Taiwanese knowledge and the scope of what they could know and think did not always match modern thinking. The discourses above expressed concerns about Taiwan and implied that something needed to change. In particular, culture and morality were regarded as the areas that needed to change.

---

[202] See for example, Lín Xiàntáng (林獻堂), "Zhù Taiwan qīngnián zázhì zhī fākān [Congratulate on the issue of *The Taiwan youth* magazine]," *Taiwan qīngnián* [The Taiwan youth] 1, no.1 (1920; repr., Taibei: Dong fang wen hua shu ju [The Oriental Cultural Service], 1973): 2-3; Izumi Akira (泉哲), "Jìnggào Taiwan dǎomín [To Taiwanese islanders]," trans. Wáng Mǐnchuān (王敏川), *Taiwan qīngnián* [The Taiwan youth] 1, no.1 (1973 [1920]): 13-16.

[203] See for example, Wu Wen-hsing (吳文星), *Rìzhì shíqí Taiwan de shèhuì lǐngdǎo jiēcéng* [Social elites in Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule] (Táiběi Shì: Wǔnán túshū, 2008), 209-256. Chen Jou-chin (陳柔縉), *Taiwan xīfāng wénmíng chūtǐyàn* [First experience of Western civilization] (Táiběi Shì: Màitián chūbǎn, 2005).

[204] See for example Lín Xiàntáng (林獻堂), "Zhù Taiwan qīngnián zázhì zhī fākān [Congratulate on the issue of *The Taiwan youth* magazine]," and Lián Bìróng (連碧榕), "Wén Taiwan qīngnián zázhì fākān xǐ ér yǒugǎn [Glad to hear the issuance of *The Taiwan youth* magazine], *Taiwan qīngnián* [The Taiwan youth] 1, no.1 (1973 [1920]): 9-12.

[205] Ibid. Also see Shimada Saburom (島田三郎), "NèiTái rónghé zhī gēnběn wèntí [The fundamental problem of integration of inland and Taiwan]," *Taiwan qīngnián* [The Taiwan youth] 1, no.4 (0973 [1920]): 20-22; Abe Isoo (安部磯雄), "Taiwan jiàoyù wèntí [Problems of Taiwan's education]," *Taiwan qīngnián* [The Taiwan youth] 1, no.4 (0973 [1920]): 23-26.

The Taiwanese intellectual, Yè Róngzhōng (葉榮鐘), indicated that during the 1910s and 1920s, the world was in turbulence with revolutions and reforms, and a series of political movements in other colonies and nations all over the world opened up new ways of thinking.[206] Discourses about ideas from the West, such as democracy, freedom, equality, human rights, rationality and science, national awareness, national self-determination, and autonomy, circulated around the world, including in China and Japan. The discourses made it possible for Taiwanese intellectuals who studied in China and Japan to re-rethink the situation of Taiwan as a colony, and they served as possible directions of change for Taiwan.

In particular, the discourses of "self-awareness" and "self-determination" shaped Taiwanese intellectuals' ways of thinking of themselves and the Taiwanese on the island. Taiwanese intellectuals were expected to awaken themselves first and then to be the enlighteners who then awakened their dormant Taiwanese fellows. Under circumstances of surveillance and restriction, they published the pioneering *Taiwan qīngnián* (The Taiwan youth) magazine, ironically in Tokyo in 1920, with the goal to "awaken everyone"[207] and to promote Taiwanese culture. The first volume of *Taiwan qīngnián* provoked discourses about expectations for

---

[206] Yè Róngzhōng (葉榮鐘), who was one of the intellectuals in Japan, described the impact of a series of world events on him, including the Chinese Revolution of 1911, the March First Independence Movement in Korea in 1919, Sakuzō Yoshino's (吉野作造) political thought of democracy during Japan's Taishō period, and world-wide national movements of self-determination, and autonomy, and so on. During the same period, there were also Russian Revolutions and World War I. Yè Róngzhōng (葉榮鐘), *Rìjù xià Taiwan zhèngzhì shèhuì yùndòng shǐ*, shàng [History of political and social movement in Taiwan under Japanese rule, volume 1] (Tai-chung Shì: Chénxīng chūbǎn yǒuxiàn gōngsī, 2000), 98-99. For Sakuzō Yoshino's political thought of democracy, see Li Yung-chih (李永熾), *Rìběn jìndài shǐ yánjiù* [A Study of Modern History of Japan] (Táiběi Xiàn: Dàohé chūbǎnshè, Mínguó 81 [1992]), 281-319.

[207] "Wénhuà yùndòng de mùbiāo [The goal of cultural movement]," Editorial statement in *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan], no.79 (1973 [1925]): 1.

Taiwanese intellectuals, namely Taiwanese youth.[208] Generally, Taiwanese youth were encouraged to raise awareness of the self and to believe that only they could improve themselves, and their improvement of the self was closely related to the improvement of Taiwan. As the encouragements said, "We are situated at this time of transition from barbarism to civilization and of competition for existence. To reach civilization, [we] have no choice but support ourselves by ourselves. In what ways can we support ourselves? We must train our body and mind, cultivate ourselves by knowledge, reform our society, and unite our fellows…to reach our goal."[209] The following excerpt presented the more comprehensive expectations for the Taiwanese youth:

> *It has been over twenty years since Taiwan was subordinated to the empire. The progress of civilization [of Taiwan] is not comparable to that in inland [Japan]. Why? There are many reasons, but the most obvious one is that Taiwanese have not been aware of this. The progress of civilization [of a group] relies on the ability of the group to develop. If one does not decide for oneself to advance, one could not resort to help from others. Our Taiwan's culture has not moved further due to Taiwanese's inability to develop. Under today's global current of reform, glory or humiliation of a nation is not determined by its*

---

[208] For example, Lín Xiàntáng (林獻堂), "Zhù Taiwan qīngnián zázhì zhī fākān [Congratulate on the issuance of *The Taiwan youth* magazine];" Sakatani Yoshiro (阪谷芳郎), "Zhù Taiwan qīngnián zázhì zhī fākān [Congratulate on the issuance of *The Taiwan youth* magazine];" Sakuzō Yoshino (吉野作造), "Zhu ci [A congratulatory address];" Lín Cízhōu (林慈舟), "Jìnggào wúxiāng qīngnián [To my fellow youth];" Wáng Mǐnchuān (王敏川), "Taiwan qīngnián fākān zhī qùzhǐ [The prospectus of *The Taiwan youth*];" Lín Zhòngshù (林仲澍), "Rénshēn jiùjīng zhī mùdì [The ultimate goal of life];" Cài Tiěshēng (蔡鐵生),"Wǒ zhī suǒwàng yú qīngnián: Píngděng yǔ zìjuéxīn [What I expect for youth: Equality and self-awareness]." See *Taiwan qīngnián* [The Taiwan youth] 1, no.1 (1920 [1973]).

[209] Lín Xiàntáng (林獻堂), "Zhù Taiwan qīngnián zázhì zhī fākān [Congratulate on the issue of *The Taiwan youth* magazine]," *Taiwan qīngnián* [The Taiwan youth] 1, no.1 (1920 [1973]): 3.

power but by the level of culture. Although we are attached to the great empire, we have nothing to be proud of. Our degenerated culture is a great humiliation to me. Alas! Could our youth not rouse up, then to awaken everyone?

However, in what way to raise everyone's awareness? There is no choice but education. Yet, it is a regret that school education in Taiwan has not yet universalized; social and family education is still not well established. No wonder our culture has moved backward. Therefore promoting education is my urgent duty. We still expect government to improve school education; but for family and social education, it is my responsibility to educate our people in order to flourish. To stimulate the civilization [culture] of society, one has to absorb culture of a higher level. Particularly one has to follow the global trend, so as to open our people's mind and eventually enter into the realm of civilization. One could not achieve this without bringing in external thoughts…

[The magazine is] Titled The Taiwan youth due to the fact that the mission of advancing the culture of Taiwan relies on our contemporary youth to carry out… I myself only, with my humble knowledge, am not competent to fulfill the mission of promoting our culture. I wish people with great insight will join to lead; thus, our culture of Taiwan will flourish… As Gù Tínglín (顧亭林) said, "Everyone bears responsibility to the rise and fall of a country." The responsibility for prosperity and decline of our culture of Taiwan is on our generation.[210]

---

[210] My translation, emphasis added. Wáng Mǐnchuān (王敏川), "Taiwan qīngnián fākān zhī qùzhǐ [The prospectus of *The Taiwan youth*]," *Taiwan qīngnián* [The Taiwan youth] 1, no.1 (1920 [1973]): 40-41. Gù Tínglín (顧亭林) was a Confucian intellectual in the Chinese Míng Dynasty and experienced the overthrow of the Míng by the Manchurian Qīng. As a Confucian intellectual, he regarded himself as bearing the responsibility for the rise and fall of the *Hàn* Chinese nation.

This excerpt indicated a concern about Taiwan's progress of culture, and it assumed that culture determines a nation's civilization. The concern was that Taiwan's culture had not moved forward, and thus Taiwan's civilization fell behind Japan's. The main problem was attributed to the Taiwanese, who had not been aware of this cultural retardation. It put the Taiwanese in a close relationship to the civilization of Taiwan. It expected that the Taiwanese be aware of their nation's development of culture and civilization because the nation's civilization in return determined their glory or humiliation.

In addition, this excerpt implied that the nation was referred to as Taiwan, as an independent nation, and the Taiwanese civilization was the responsibility of the Taiwanese. Especially because this excerpt suggested that Taiwan, in spite of its "advantaged" position attached to a great empire, seemed not to share the civilization of its colonizer, the Taiwanese were advised to resort to themselves and lift up to promote their own culture, which was the culture of Taiwan. The excerpt also suggested that education was considered to be the way of improving Taiwan's culture, and the content of education was civilized cultures and contemporary world trends. Therefore, the Taiwanese were expected to learn from the civilized cultures of other countries and to follow contemporary trends. In such practices, Taiwan would be shaped into a civilized nation. It is important to note that this excerpt viewed Taiwan as an independent entity without determination by any political or cultural forces, such as Taiwan's cultural traditions, which was the *Hàn* Chinese culture, or the Japanese culture. Such a view opened up possibilities for the Taiwanese to think of Taiwan and themselves differently.

***Hànwén* and the Taiwan New Culture Movement**

The discourses on the cultural advancement of Taiwan in the *Taiwan qīngnián* (The Taiwan youth) magazine based in Tokyo included four lines of reasoning: national self-

determination, Japanese cultural assimilation, world peace, and Western civilization. In each of them, Taiwan and Taiwanese culture were put in different positions in relation to *Hàn* Chinese culture and Japanese culture. Each position implied different cultural and linguistic practices, which would shape particular Taiwanese subjectivities; however, most of the discourses did not include *Hàn* culture and *Hànwén*, which were the cultural traditions in Taiwan, in their imaginations of promoting the Taiwanese culture. In spite of the exclusion in the discourses in the *Taiwan qīngnián* magazine, the cultural movements in Taiwan sustained *Hàn* culture and *Hànwén* practices.

In the discourses on the Taiwanese cultural movement in the *Taiwan qīngnián* magazine, the assumption of national self-determination allowed Taiwan to be a nation with an independent culture. This assumption claimed that the Taiwanese were a distinctive ethnicity different from the Japanese. They had distinctive language, customs, and religion, and it was impossible to assimilate the Taiwanese into the Japanese by imposing Japanese culture on it.[211] In addition, it was assumed that "Taiwan is not Government-General's Taiwan but Taiwanese's Taiwan,"[212] and therefore the betterment of Taiwan, including the advancement of the culture, was in the hands of the Taiwanese themselves. For Taiwan's cultural movement to be successful, it was understood that Taiwan must determine for itself what culture could be developed. In addition, culturally Taiwan must be an independent nation, rather than a subordinated nation to the Japanese. On this equal basis, Taiwan was able to collaborate with Japanese inlanders in Taiwan, and even with other nations in the world. As Sakuzō Yoshino (吉野作造) said,

---

[211] Kinoshita Yuzaburo (木下友三郎), "Duìyú Taiwanrén jí nèidìrén zhī xīwàng [Expectation for Taiwanese and inlanders]," trans. Wáng Mǐnchuān (王敏川), *Taiwan qīngnián* [The Taiwan youth] 1, no.1 (1920 [1973]): 18-23.

[212] Izumi Akira (泉哲), "Jìnggào Taiwan dǎomín [To Taiwanese islanders]," trans. Wáng Mǐnchuān (王敏川), *Taiwan qīngnián* [The Taiwan youth] 1, no.1 (1920 [1973]): 13-16

> The success of a cultural movement [of a nation] comes from [this nation's] history and national characteristic…The other nation could not make it successful but only could facilitate or help promote that nation's culture. The rest of work relies on efforts of this nation…We Japanese together expect the Taiwanese to develop your culture…We have overstepped the authority in guiding [the Taiwanese]. It is absurd to transplant the developed culture in Japan to Taiwan just because Taiwan is Japan's colony and the Taiwanese are Japan's people. The Taiwanese know what culture Taiwan should develop and it is the Taiwanese who decide. For the Taiwanese to be Japanese by law, I request that the Taiwanese be an independent cultural nation. Being independent does not mean to defy law and order but means an independent human dignity.[213]

The excerpt was based on national self-determinism and considered Taiwan as an independent nation that was culturally equal to other nations. Taiwan, in spite of being colonized, was understood—even by the Japanese—to have the right and capacity to determine for itself its fortune. The Taiwanese were made to believe that Taiwan as an independent nation was equal to other nations in the world. The assumption also implied that its cultural root, namely the Chinese culture, could not determine Taiwan's culture either. This inspiration ironically aligned Taiwanese intellectuals with Japanese intellectuals and against the Chinese. In this assumption, *Hànwén,* the Chinese language familiar to the Taiwanese, was no longer regarded as a necessary cultural attachment of the Taiwanese. The Taiwanese were encouraged to loosen the grip on *Hànwén* and *Hàn* culture so that they could create an independent Taiwanese culture. This assumption allowed the possibility for Taiwan to become an independent Taiwanese nation as a whole and shaped the Taiwanese into a particular subject.

---

[213] My translation, emphasis added. Sakuzō Yoshino (吉野作造), "Zhùcí [A congratulatory address], *Taiwan qīngnián* [The Taiwan youth] 1, no. 1 (1920 [1973]): 17-18.

The second type of Taiwanese subjectivity was made possible by the discourse of Japanese cultural assimilation. This discourse demonstrated a colonization concern of Japan as a colonizer, as opposed to Taiwan as a colony. In consideration of many factors involved in the establishment of a nation, such as political, military, economic, or cultural, it was proposed by the Japanese that Taiwan would benefit more from being attached to Japan than from being independent. As Japan had developed into a civilized nation by imitating Western civilizations (e.g., science and democracy), Taiwan was thought to benefit from Japan's civilization so that Taiwan's culture would be promoted as well.[214] Assimilation was proposed to be the approach to integrate the Taiwanese culture into Japanese culture, and improving education for the Taiwanese would be the most urgent approach.[215]

In this assumption, Japan was the mother nation which could provide Taiwan with the source of cultural nutrient. As long as people in Taiwan became Japanese, they would thrive. Even though maintaining a subordinate position to Japan, Taiwan as a colony was to move forward toward civilization. The discourse above created another possibility for Taiwanese subjectivity, in which the Taiwanese were positioned in relation to Japan. The Taiwanese would become a *civilized* subject whose cultural substance was constituted by the Japanese culture. In this assumption, Taiwanese *Hàn* cultural traditions and language, namely *Hànwén*, would be replaced by the Japanese culture and language through cultural assimilation.

---

[214] Takahiko Tomoeda (友枝高彦), "Duì wénhuà wèntí lùn nèiTái zhī guānxì [On cultural problem the relationship between inland and Taiwan]," *Taiwan qīngnián* [The Taiwan youth] 2, no. 1 (1921 [1973]): 10-18.

[215] See for example, Goto Asataro (後藤朝太郎), "Wèi Taiwan wénhuà éryén [Speech on Taiwan culture]," *Taiwan qīngnián* [The Taiwan youth] 1, no. 2 (1920 [1973])" 12-15; Hiranuma Yoshiro (平沼淑郎談), "Taiwanrén jí shīzhèng fānzhēn [Taiwanese and administration guideline]," *Taiwan qīngnián* [The Taiwan youth] 2, no. 1 (1921 [1973]): 19-22.

The third type of Taiwanese subjectivity was created by the discourse of world peace. This discourse concerned the role of Taiwan in world peace; there was the assumption that the Japanese and Chinese were from the same origins in terms of ethnicity and language. The Taiwanese, who were culturally Chinese and politically Japanese, were regarded as the best middleman to unify the Chinese and Japanese nations in resisting the "white dictatorship" in the world.[216] In this assumption, the Taiwanese were believed to bear the responsibility for realizing world peace. Chinese and Japanese cultures were viewed as the main resources for cultivating the Taiwanese culture for the goal of fighting against Western imperial dictatorship for the sake of world peace. The Taiwanese were expected to play the role as a world peace ambassador, whose first mission was to build an amicable relationship between Japan and China.

This assumption moved Taiwan out of the discourses of national self-determination and cultural assimilation by positioning Taiwan in the world peace discourse. For the prosperity of the world, Taiwan was expected to sacrifice itself as a nation for accomplishing the great mission of the world. On this basis, the Taiwanese were expected to take advantage of resources shared with China and Japan, and to strengthen the alliance between the two nations. It was assumed that as long as the alliance was sustained and was able to contend with Western dictatorships, Taiwan would share the benefits of world peace. The discourse of world peace opened up another possibility for the Taiwanese to become a particular type of subject, which was to be a *global* ambassador of world peace supported by two Asian civilizations, namely the Chinese and the Japanese. Practices of *Hàn* Chinese culture and Japanese culture, including *Hànwén* and the

---

[216] Ryutaro Nagai (永久井太郎), "Shíjiè de wénhuà yǔ Taiwanrén zhī zhǐmìng [World culture and the mission of Taiwanese], *Taiwan qīngnián* [The Taiwan youth] 1, no. 3 (1920 [1973]): 28-31. Also see Lín Xióngzhēng (林熊徵), "Wǔ sǒwàng yú liúxuéshēng: Rì Huá qīnshàn zhī méijiè [My expectation for students abroad: Medium of goodwill between China and Japan]," *Taiwan qīngnián* [The Taiwan youth] 1, no. 1 (1920 [1973]): 3-4.

Japanese language, would thus be an important way of shaping the Taiwanese into the global ambassador based in Taiwan.

Finally, the fourth line of reasoning also created possibilities for particular subjectification practices. Some Japanese with a similar intention of advancing Taiwan's culture even proposed that Romanized characters were a useful tool to develop the Taiwanese script.[217] They argued that as a way to promote Taiwan's culture and civilization, Taiwan was expected to take Japan as an example of learning from leaders of world civilization, which were Western countries. One way was to abandon Taiwan's cultural connection to China, which was *Hàn* Chinese characters, and at the same time to adopt Romanized characters as a way to develop Taiwan's culture. They argued that in comparison with the Roman script, the *Hàn* Chinese script was more difficult for the new Taiwanese generation to learn, and it would hinder their learning of Western knowledge and thought. By contrast, the Roman script was used in the writings in the world and would facilitate Taiwanese youth to learn the civilized knowledge of the world.[218]

The reasoning above positioned Taiwan in relation to world civilization. It encouraged Taiwan to move with Japan in following Western civilization, and to adopt the Roman script as a better access to Western civilized knowledge. The Chinese script based on *Hànwén* was supposed to be abandoned because it was regarded as an obstacle to the Taiwanese learning Western civilization. Similarly, in this reasoning, Taiwan was disconnected from its *Hàn* cultural and linguistic traditions. For promoting Taiwan to world civilization, the *Hàn* tradition of

---

[217] Tagawa Daikichiro (田川大吉郎), "Ōuměi zhī sīcháo yǔ luómǎzì [European and American thought and Romanizaed characters]," *Taiwan qīngnián* [The Taiwan youth] 1, no. 3 (1920 [1973]): 32-34; Ebina Danjo Kisaburo (海老名彈正), "Chǐfā Taiwan wénhuà zhī fāngzhēn [Guidelines of enlightening Taiwanese culture]," *Taiwan qīngnián* [The Taiwan youth] 1, no. 4 (1920 [1973]): 1-3.

[218] Ibid.

Taiwan must be discarded. This reasoning could also shape Taiwanese thinking of themselves in relation to their cultural and linguistic traditions and their position in the world.

The discourses above about reforming Taiwanese culture available at that time constituted particular types of Taiwanese subjects. With different rationales, they shaped the ways in which Taiwanese could think of themselves in relation to the goal of civilization. In particular, they provided different views of moving Taiwan away from *Hàn* culture and *Hànwén*, which shaped Taiwanese imaginations of what they could do to become a civilized subject and what Taiwan as a nation would become under such particular historical circumstances.

Hànwén and the Taiwan Cultural Association

In the Taiwan New Culture Movement, the Taiwan Cultural Association, founded in 1921, was the first large-scale initiative of cultural movement taken *by* the Taiwanese and enacted *in* the island. The discourses made by this cultural organization as shown in the following paragraphs indicated Taiwanese "self-awareness" of the disadvantaged situation of Taiwan, and they motivated other Taiwanese to join the cultural movement of Taiwan. The cultural movements promoted by the Taiwan Cultural Association could be regarded as a Taiwanese national self-determination movement, which was based on the self-awareness of the Taiwanese and was undertaken by the Taiwanese themselves. In the cultural movements under the Taiwan Cultural Association, Taiwanese culture was the target of change, and knowledge from world civilizations (mainly from Western civilization) was believed to be the panacea for improving Taiwanese culture. While receiving new, civilized knowledge from the West, and under the Japanese language and cultural assimilation, the Taiwanese also proposed to preserve *Hàn* culture and *Hànwén*. In the Taiwanese culture movement, Western civilized knowledge was

viewed as the content of civilization, and *Hànwén* was the preferred form in presenting the civilized knowledge to the Taiwanese.

Below, the diagnosis report on Taiwan written by the founder of the Taiwan Cultural Association, Dr. Jiǎng Wèishuǐ (蔣渭水), was a compelling warning to the Taiwanese. It illustrated the problem of Taiwan and prescribed solutions.

- *Name: Taiwan Island*
- *Sex: Male*
- *Native place: OOOOOOOOOO (Taiwan Dao, Fukien Province, Republic of China)*
- *Age: 27 years old since moving to the present address*
- *Present address: Taiwan Governor's Office, Great Japanese Empire*
- *Location: 120-122 degrees of east longitude, 22-25 degrees of north altitude*
- *Occupation: Guard of the first gate to world peace*
- *Heritage: Obviously has the blood lineage of Emperor Huang, Duke Chou, Confucius and Mencius, etc.*
- *Quality: Being descended from the aforesaid saints, has strong quality and smart gift*
- *Past symptoms: In his childhood (the era of Cheng Cheng-kung or Koxinga), he was well-built, with a clear mind, strong will, noble character and agile limbs. Since Qīng Dynasty, poisoned by policy, he became weaker and weaker, in both his body and mind, with mean character and low morale. After being transferred to Japan Empire, he received an incomplete treatment, and became a little recovered. However, due to chronic poisoning for two hundred years, it is not easy to be cured at once.*
- *Present symptoms: Decadency in morals and baseness in minds. Overflow in material desires and scantiness in spirituals. With ugly custom and deep superstition, he is*

stubborn and unhygienic. With shallow wisdom, he sees only small profits in front without plans in future. He is lazy and sloppy, corrupted and rotten. Without shame and dignity, he is humble yet vain. Always tired and sunken, he makes no move. Sans will, sans wits, sans wish, sans everything.

- *Chief complaints: Headache, dizziness, hunger felt inside stomach*
- *Diagnosis: Retarded in world culture*

When first checked, the patient has a big head out of proportion to his body and is thought to be good at thinking. When asked with two or three questions of commonsense, however, he failed to answer to the point. It is imaginable that the patient is in retard. The head is big in size without contents. Lacking in brain, he would get a headache whenever listening to something a little deep in philosophy, mathematics, sciences and world trends.

Besides, he has long and well-developed limbs, due to overlabor. Then the abdomen is checked. It is found that the abdomen is in cave and creased with white lines like a woman who just gave birth. This is probably because that since the war in European continent in 1916, he has been lucky and well fed, resulting in a big and fat abdomen. Since the trend of negotiation last summer, however, he suffers from pneumonia in the bowls and severe diarrhea, resulting in a sudden shrinking in the belly which has been very much swollen.

- *Cause: Malnutrition of knowledge*
- *Prognosis: Because of his good quality, he could be cured soon with an appropriate therapy. On the contrary, if treated wrong and postponed, he could get worse and die.*
- *Therapy: Cause therapy, i.e. a radical treatment*
- *Prescription:*

  Regular school education: Maximum dose

Supplementary education: Maximum dose

Kindergarten: Maximum dose

Libraries: Maximum dose

Newspaper reading clubs: Maximum dose

With the mixture of medicines above taken immediately, he can be cured radically in twenty years.

There are other specifics, which are omitted here.

Attending physician: Jiăng Wèishuĭ November 30th, 1921[219]

This report assumed Taiwan's problem as a serious illness for being "retarded in world culture," and it suggested that Taiwan needed treatment. It also regarded Taiwan as the heir to the Hàn national tradition, which was supposed to have "strong quality and smart gift." Taiwan was also viewed as the guardian of world peace, and this view was supported by the Confucian morality, in which world peace is the Confucian political ideal, "shih chieh ta tung 世界大同": every human being and every nation share an equal status. This report attributed Taiwan's illness, being morally and culturally depraved and retarded in world culture, to the deleterious effect of colonization for over two hundred years. It implied that Taiwan's illness resulted from colonization and could be cured by culture education.

---

[219] This diagnosis report was originally written in Japanese and published in the first issue of the Taiwan Cultural Association Bulletin. Translations retrieved from "Clinical Diagnosis: Written for a Patient Named Taiwan," Diagnosing Taiwan— Doctor Jiăng Wèishuĭ blog, accessed October 20, 2012, http://library.taiwanschoolnet.org/gsh2007/gsh5054/homepage.htm. See Jiăng Wèishuĭ, "Lin chuang jiang yi", *Jiăng Wèishuĭ yi ji* [Jiăng Wèishuĭ: A posthumous collection] (Taibei: Jiang xian lie yi ji kan xing wei yuan hui, 1950), 93-95; "Lin chuang jiang yi," Encyclopedia of Taiwan, accessed October 20, 2012, http://taiwanpedia.culture.tw/web/content?ID=7773. A special note to the native place on this report: in the version written in Japanese and published in *Jiăng Wèishuĭ yi ji*, the native place was unknown and marked by circles. In translations, the native place was shown as *Taiwan Dao, Fukien Province, Republic of China*. I leave both ways for imaginations.

Based on the prescription of the report, the Taiwanese were expected to receive a maximum amount of knowledge related to world culture. It assumed an ideal state of the Taiwanese after being cured: the healthy peace-loving guardian of the world with the *Hàn* heritage of "strong quality and smart gift" restored. Through cultural education, the Taiwanese would become an ideal subject of world peace.

In the meantime, the founding of the Taiwan Cultural Association evoked reverberations of other Taiwanese intellectuals from abroad and in the island whose work served as "enlighteners" to illuminate their Taiwanese fellows' minds by the "cultural, enlightening" education all over the island and throughout the year. This national movement of cultural "enlightenment" of education aimed to cultivate the Taiwanese masses to be "civilized," "modern," and "progressive" subjects. It was expected that when the Taiwanese became more civilized, modern, and progressive, the whole nation would move further toward civilization.

The discourse in *Taiwan min pao* (台灣民報 The people's newspaper of Taiwan) encouraged participation in the cultural movement as self-cure practices, and also reminded the Taiwanese about their responsibilities for themselves and their nation. As it was said,

> Let's exert ourselves to engage in reform… For those who are Taiwanese, no matter who you are, student, businessman, farmer, artisan…; poor, rich, noble, lowly; all must lift up to undertake the task of being Taiwanese… All must buy and read *Taiwan min pao* because *Taiwan min pao* is the newspaper of the Taiwanese, the only speech mechanism of 3.6 million of Taiwanese, the soul of the Taiwanese, the guide of Taiwanese thought, a tool of reform, a drug of awakening the self and others! Those hoping to be Taiwanese must have one copy [of *Taiwan min pao*]…. Let's join the cultural association because its task is to promote Taiwan to be in an extremely free, extremely equal, extremely civilized

> status. The cultural association does not belong to the association, but belongs to the Taiwanese. So it is required for the Taiwanese to join the association.[220]

The discourse about Taiwan's "uncivilized" culture and illness shaped Taiwanese self-cure practices. The Taiwanese were invited to participate in a variety of cultural activities, such as public lectures, newspaper reading clubs, and cultural plays. They were exposed to a lot of knowledge, and expected to learn all of them by listening, reading, and watching practices. They listened to their Taiwanese fellows reading out loud *Taiwan min pao* and newspapers from Japan and China.[221] Because they were regarded as lacking knowledge of world culture, they were expected to consume new knowledge from the world, such as world literature; global political events such as the liberation of women, nations, and colonies; issues in international relations; and the new subjects of science, economy, and political science.[222]

---

[220] My translation, emphasis added. Jiǎng Wèishuǐ (蔣渭水), "Striking morning bell and evening drum," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan] 3, no. 1 (1973 [1925]): 24-25. In 1927, *Taiwan min pao* finally received permission of publication from the colonial Government-General. Before 1927, *Taiwan min pao* magazines were "smuggled" from Tokyo to the island. In addition, people who possessed or subscribed the series of *Taiwan min pao* were the target of special attention or surveillance of the Government-General. See Yè Róngzhōng (葉榮鐘), *Rìjù xià Taiwan zhèngzhì shèhuì yùndòng shǐ*, xià [History of political and social movement in Taiwan under Japanese rule, volume 2], 613; Wú, Zhuóliú (吳濁流), *Límíng qián de Taiwan* [Taiwan before dawn], ed. Zhāng Liángzé (張良澤) (Táiběi Shì: Yuǎnxíng chūbǎnshè, Mínguó 66 [1977]), 1.

[221] "Taiwan Cultural Association Bulletin," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan] 2, no. 19 (1924 [1973]): 12-13.

[222] Updates of activities, such as schedules of lectures, islanders' response to cultural education, and even all kinds of measures of prohibitions by the colonial Government-General could be found in *Taiwan min pao*. Because publications of the Taiwan Cultural Association were banned by the Taiwan Government-General, the *Taiwan min pao* in Tokyo served as the main medium of communications for the cultural movement in Taiwan. See for example, "Wen xie xiao xi [News of cultural association]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan] 2, no. 12 (1924 [1973]): 3-4.

Most important of all, the Taiwanese were presented with new ideas about human beings, such as freedom and equality, and they were expected to change their ways of thinking, particularly their attitudes toward themselves as human beings. They were presented with the belief that they are free, independent human beings and not determined by others, that all human beings are equal, that the dignity of every human being must be respected, and that every human being deserves human rights and bore responsibilities. This belief opened up a *new* possibility for the self-cultivation of a new age. It prescribed a way of reconstructing human characters and human dignity. As it was said, "The purpose of cultivation is to develop individual human character, which is the qualification of being part of society."[223] This belief conveyed to the Taiwanese that the individual human character enabled one to think and act independently and freely without being dictated by others; when one thought and acted independently, one was supposed to be responsible for one's actions. In this sense, human beings were morally valuable. The belief in human dignity also suggested the individual's relationship to society. As was said in *Taiwan min pao*, "Humans are social being and could not realize their individual ideals without the support of society… Being part of society, one must consider the well-being of society in the realization of individual ideals."[224]

In addition, based on the assumption that all men are equal, the Taiwanese were expected to treat others in different ways: Taiwanese men were expected to respect women (i.e., their wives) and children, who were independent individuals, and not subordinated to their husbands and fathers. At the same time, women were also encouraged to be "women of a new era": to be free, independent individuals. Because of the assumption of equality, it became possible for the

[223] My translation. "Xīn shídài de xiūyǎng [Cultivation of a new era]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan] 2, no. 5 (1924 [1973]): 11-12.
[224] My translation. Ibid.

Taiwanese to rethink and challenge the paternalism of Confucianism that had shaped Taiwanese family structure, marriage system, and gender relations. The changes of thought were conceptualized as making "progress," and new thoughts were regarded as "progressive" perspectives.[225]

While learning to be a new being (e.g., being free, independent, progressive, and modern) under Japanese assimilation, the Taiwanese were also reminded of their own cultural values, namely their *Hàn* moral and cultural traditions based on Confucianism, and of their national responsibility for Taiwan. In order to maintain the national identity of the Taiwanese and confidence in their traditional culture, the Taiwan Cultural Association revived *Hànxué* (漢學), the studies of Classical Chinese, including Confucian morality; *Hànwén* (Classical Chinese language); Taiwan history; and Chinese classical literature.[226] It was described that "*Hànxué* is the essence of East Asian civilization and has been valued by descendants of Emperor Huang."[227] Particularly when *Hànwén* was gradually abolished from the colonial common school curriculum, the decline of *Hànwén* became an issue for the Taiwanese. It was thus proposed that *Hànwén* be revived. For the Taiwanese, "*Hànwén* is an essential culture in Taiwanese daily life."[228] In this way, the discourse of cultural movement and civilization began

---

[225] See for example, "Hūnyīn zhìdù de jìnhuàguān [A progressive perspective of marriage system]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan] 2, no. 3 (1924 [1973]): 2-3; "Liànài de jìnhuàguān" [A progressive perspective of love]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan] 2, no. 11 (1924 [1973]): 11; "Jiātíng zhìdù de jiāngláí [The future of family system]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan] 2, no. 7 (1924 [1973]): 3-5.

[226] "Hànxué fùxīng zhi qiánqū [The pioneer of restoring Classical Chinese]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan] 2, no. 1 (1924 [1973]): 12-13.

[227] My translation. Ibid.

[228] My translation. See for example, "Hànwén zēnshè de yùndòng [The addition of Classical Chinese language]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan] 3, no. 1 (1925 [1973]):

to be complicated with efforts to revitalize Chinese (specifically *Hàn*) cultural practices, especially the *Hàn* language (i.e., *Hànwén*).

The effect of the discourse about revitalizing *Hànxué* and *Hànwén* persisted and shaped the ways the Taiwanese cultivated themselves to be a new cultural being. As the discourse continued, "the most emergent task for the Taiwanese is to develop the instrument of performing our national culture: language… we need to popularize *Hànwén* to the Taiwanese masses as a way to enrich their knowledge… *Hànwén* was a useful instrument in our daily life and we need to strive to popularize *Hànwén*."[229] *Hànwén* was also regarded as an important instrument for Taiwanese's world peace mission and Taiwan's future developments in Southeast Asia.[230] The discourses implied that popularizing *Hànwén*, the Chinese language in the *Hàn* culture in Taiwan, was a common concern. *Hànwén* was understood as a useful instrument for achieving a variety purposes. It was convenient for the Taiwanese and could make their life easier; it could support the Taiwanese cultural spirit; and it could facilitate Taiwan's world peace mission and expansion into Southeast Asia. The discourse above suggested that *Hànwén* could serve in different ways for Taiwanese subjectification practices. Because of the confluence of historical factors, *Hànwén* was sustained.

Reform of *Hànwén* in the Taiwan New Culture Movement

The discourses above suggested that preserving *Hànxué* and *Hànwén* was an urgent task in the Taiwanese new culture movement. However, there were more and more requests of

---

4; "Gōngxuéxiào de Hànwén jiāoshòu hé jiùshì de Taiwan shūfáng [The teaching of Hànwén in common schools and traditional Taiwanese private schools]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan] no. 147 (1927 [1973]): 3-4.

[229] My translation, emphasis added. "Hànwén jiàoyù [Classical Chinese education]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan] 2, no. 1 (1924 [1973]): 12-13.

[230] Xízhōu (錫舟), "Jiǎnglì Hànwén de pǔjí [Urge to popularize Classical Chinese]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan] 2, no. 25 (1924 [1973]): 1.

reforming *Hànwén* to be easier to read and understand. Taiwanese intellectuals who visited China and witnessed social and cultural progress made by the Chinese new cultural movement and by the popularization of *Báihuàwén* since the mid-1910s promoted reforming *Hànwén* to be in a more simple style, written directly from the spoken language.[231]

The Chinese *Báihuàwén* shaped the reform of *Hànwén* in Taiwan and Taiwanese *Báihuàwén* practices, namely the *Báihuàwén* movement. Taiwanese intellectuals maintained that Taiwan fell behind other *civilized* nations in the West due to lack of a plain, daily script.[232] They attributed the progress of those civilized nations to the use of a daily language that facilitated dissemination of knowledge and information and thus furthered the progress of civilization. They argued that Taiwan's falling behind other nations resulted from an abstruse script, namely *Hànwén*. This script was constituted by a classical style of writing handed down from ancient times, and thus was loaded with allusions or archaic usages. *Hànwén* had been accessible only to a small group of intellectuals who used to study Chinese classics and practice writing *Hànwén* for imperial exams. The general Taiwanese populace could not read and understand their writings. It thus usually took the learner over a decade to master *Hànwén*. Therefore, those Taiwanese intellectuals argued that for the whole nation of Taiwan to grow through learning and

---

[231] See Chén Duānmín (陳端民), "Rìyòngwén gǔchuīlùn [On promotion of a daily language]," *Taiwan qīngnián* [The Taiwan youth] 3, no.6 (1921 [1973]); Huang Chéngcōng (黃呈聰), "Lùn pǔjí Báihuàwén de xīnshǐmìng [On the new mission of popularizing the colloquial Chinese]," *Taiwan* 4th year, no.1 (1923 [1973]): 12-24; Huáng Cháoqín (黃朝琴), "Hànwén gǎigélùn (shàng) [On the reform of Classical Chinese]," *Taiwan* 4th year, no. 1 (1923 [1973]): 25-31; Huáng Cháoqín (黃朝琴), "Xù Hànwén gǎigélùn: Chàngshè Báihuàwén jiǎngxíhuì [Revisiting the reform of Classical Chinese: Promotion of the colloquial Chinese education]," *Taiwan* 4th year, no. 2 (1923 [1973]): 25-31. The sources above were reprinted in Li Nan-heng (李南衡), ed., *Wénxiàn zīliào xuǎnjí* [Anthology of archival sources]. Rìjùxià Taiwan xīnwénxué shǐ, míngjí 5 [History of Taiwan New Literature under Japanese rule, míng collection 5] (Táiběi Shì: Míngtán chūbǎnshè, Mínguó 68 [1979]).

[232] Ibid.

transmitting new knowledge and information, *Hànwén* in the traditional form would be an obstacle. It was argued that an easier *Hànwén* was required.[233] It was believed that an easier *Hànwén* script would allow the Taiwanese to put their spoken languages into a written form. Writings based on the Taiwanese daily, spoken languages were assumed to be easier and more accessible to Taiwanese readers. *Hànwén* was regarded as the linguistic basis for the Taiwanese to develop a script for Taiwanese spoken languages toward the new culture goal.

With the same concern about the Taiwanese languages in promoting Taiwanese culture, the Taiwanese intellectual, Chhoa Poe-hoe (蔡培火), proposed using Roman letters to develop the Taiwanese script. His proposal would not only open up possibilities for developing an easier script for the Taiwanese spoken languages, but also shape Taiwanese cultural and linguistic practices, and particularly the practices of *Hànwén* and *Hàn* cultural traditions. In 1927, he argued in *Taiwan min pao* that given the fact that the Taiwanese language did not have a written form, which would hinder the new cultural movement, the Roman letters could help establish the written form of the Taiwanese language.[234] In consideration of the unequal status of Taiwanese to Japanese, he maintained that most Taiwanese who were illiterate and uncivilized due to lack of education could not compete with the Japanese. To integrate with the Japanese on the basis of mutual respect and the same level of knowledge, he suggested promoting the *Taiwan Báihuàzì* (台灣白話字 Romanized Taiwanese letters), constituted by Roman letters, to help Taiwanese read and receive knowledge. As he stated,

---

[233] Ibid.

[234] Chhoa Poe-hoe (in Hoklo, 蔡培火 Cai Peihuo in pinyin) "Wǒ zài wénhuà yùndòng suǒ dìng de mùbiāo [The goal I set for cultural movement]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan] no. 138 (1927 [1973]): 8-11.

> Civilized people in the world have languages and scripts. Barbarians only have languages without scripts, and therefore could not transmit their thoughts to later generations; they themselves could not understand thoughts from previous generations either… The Taiwanese languages are going to become a language without a script, and this is really a humiliation… Thanks to the Romanized letters, which will help us learn the national language [Japanese] and *Hànwén* … or gain much knowledge.[235]

Chhoa Poe-hoe also stressed the importance of *Taiwan Báihuàzì* in facilitating learning different languages, such as the Japanese national language, *Hànwén*, and the Taiwanese language. He also mentioned that *Taiwan Báihuàzì* could be used in editing books and Japanese learning materials, or even in promoting the Japanese national language through correspondence instruction. In addition, as he suggested, *Taiwan Báihuàzì* could also facilitate Japanese learning the Taiwanese languages."[236]

Chhoa Poe-hoe provided the approach of using Roman letters to develop a script for the Taiwanese spoken languages. In this approach, *Taiwan Báihuàzì* would allow Taiwanese to put their spoken languages into written form. The Taiwanese who learned *Taiwan Báihuàzì* could read and write, and therefore could receive or disseminate civilized knowledge. In addition, Chhoa Poe-hoe proposed that *Taiwan Báihuàzì* could also be used in *Romanizing* other

---

[235] My translation**.** Chhoa Poe-hoe (蔡培火), "Dièrxiàn: Xīn Taiwan yǔ luómǎzì de guānxì [Second: The relationship between new Taiwan and Romanized characters]," *Taiwan yǔyán xiāngguān zīliào* (shàng) [Materials relevant to the Taiwanese language, volume I], *Chhoa Poe-hoe quánjí* [A corpus on Cai Peihuo] 6, ed. Chang Han-yu (張漢裕) (Táiběi Shì: Wú Sānlián Taiwan shǐliào jījīnhuì chūbǎn, Mínguó 89 [2000]), 189-99. Originally published in 1925.

[236] Chhoa Poe-hoe (蔡培火), "Tuīguǎng Taiwan Báihuàzì zhī zhǔzhǐ jì qí jìhuà [The purpose and plan of promoting Taiwanese *Báihuà* characters]," *Taiwan yǔyán xiāngguān zīliào* (xià) [Materials relevant to the Taiwanese language, volume II], *Chhoa Poe-hoe quánjí* [A corpus on Cai Peihuo] vol. 6, ed. Chang Han-yu (張漢裕) (Táiběi Shì: Wú Sānlián Taiwan shǐliào jījīnhuì chūbǎn, Mínguó [2000]), 223-25. Originally published in 1929.

languages, such as the Japanese language and *Hànwén.* In this sense, *Taiwan Báihuàzì* was a script that could be applied to the other two predominant languages in Taiwan: Japanese and *Hànwén.*

Chhoa Poe-hoe's proposal implied the practicality of *Taiwan Báihuàzì* in the Taiwanese new culture movement. It assumed that *Taiwan Báihuàzì* would allow Taiwanese and Japanese in the island to learn different languages in the island, including the Japanese language and *Hànwén,* for promoting Taiwanese culture and mutual understanding between the Taiwanese and Japanese. It also suggested that in addition to *Hànwén*, *Taiwan Báihuàzì* was a possibility for serving as a script for the Taiwanese spoken languages in the Taiwanese *Báihuàwén* movement, and for educating the Taiwanese in the new knowledge of the Taiwanese new culture movement. Chhoa Poe-hoe's *Taiwan Báihuàzì* proposal would shape Taiwanese imaginations of their languages and practices of the self in becoming a civilized subject.

Hànwén in the Taiwanese *Báihuàwén* Movement

Taiwan Báihuàzì based on Roman letters was a possibility for the Taiwanese *Báihuàwén* Movement in the new culture movement. However, the discourse of the *Báihuàwén* movement in Taiwan, discussed in the following sub-sections, suggested a more significant role for the Chinese *Báihuàwén*. China, in its progress toward modernization, was regarded as a promising model for the Taiwanese in developing an easy language (i.e., *Báihuàwén*) and promoting Taiwanese culture. The New Culture Movement in China, which was initiated in 1915, enacted a series of social, political, and cultural reforms. The discourse about the Chinese New Culture Movement suggested that the reforms of the Chinese literature and Classical Chinese language (i.e. *Hànwén,* or *Gǔwén*/*Wényánwén* 古文/文言文) were among those that had great impact on

China's modernization.[237] It also described the prosperous literary development and linguistic change in China in the late 1910s and early 1920s. As the Chinese new cultural movement was described,

> The national language [the Chinese *Báihuàwén*] as the medium of cultural popularization currently prevailed the whole nation [China]. New translations of books from abroad, newly published books, or newspapers and magazines published every day, all of them are written in *Báihuàwén*. Most people of all ages like this easy language. Therefore the current Chinese culture is progressing at a tremendous pace; the dynamics of popular spirit is like the Great Ming [dynasty] momentum, [the whole China is] gradually joining civilized nations.[238]

In addition, it was reasoned that, given the fact that China used to be the motherland of Taiwan, China had been making progress toward civilization, and therefore Taiwan as a branch of the

---

[237] See for example, Chén Xīn (陳炘), "Wénxué yǔ zhíwù [Literature and duty]," *Taiwan qīngnián* [The Taiwan youth] 1, no. 1 (1920 [1973]): 41-43; Chén Duānmín (陳端明), "Rìyòngwén gǔchuīlùn [On promotion of a daily language]," *Taiwan qīngnián* [The Taiwan youth]; Huang Chéngcōng (黃呈聰), "Lùn pǔjí Báihuàwén de xīnshǐmìng [On the new mission of popularizing the colloquial Chinese]"; Huáng Cháoqín (黃朝琴), "Hànwén gǎigélùn (shàng) [On the reform of Classical Chinese]"; Huáng Cháoqín (黃朝琴), "Xù Hànwén gǎigélùn: Chàngshè Báihuàwén jiǎngxíhuì [Revisiting the reform of Classical Chinese: Promotion of the colloquial Chinese education]."

[238] My translation, emphasis added. Huang Chéngcōng (黃呈聰), "Lùn pǔjí Báihuàwén de xīnshǐmìng [On the new mission of popularizing the colloquial Chinese]." It is important to note that at that time, there was no standard *Báihuàwén* or Chinese national language. The national language movement in China was still in progress. It was a concerted effort of the whole nation spanning for over thirty years before the Second World War. All provinces worked together in unifying pronunciations, syllables, and characters, and selecting phonetic symbols (注音符號 *Chuyin Fuhao*). Multiple revisions were made before the national language was promoted all over the mainland by 1937. See Shìjiè Huáyǔwén jiàoyùhuì 世界華語文教育會 [World Chinese Language Education Association], ed., *Guóyǔ yùndòng bǎinián shǐluè: Zūnzhòng zúqún fāngyán chuàngzào guóyǔ qíjī* [A concise history of national language movement of 100 years: Respect for ethnic languages and creation of a miracle of the national language] (Táiběi Shì: Guóyǔ rìbào, 2012).

Chinese culture was supposed to follow the same path by learning *Báihuàwén*. In addition, it was argued that culturally and geographically, Taiwan was close to China; therefore learning from China would benefit Taiwan's cultural advancement.[239]

Approaches suggested for learning *Báihuàwén* included learning China's national language in *Báihuàwén*; reading books and newspapers in *Báihuàwén* from China; improving the *Hànwén* subject in common schools in Taiwan and teaching *Báihuàwén* to Taiwanese children; and opening *Báihuàwén* education centers for the general Taiwanese populace.[240] The Taiwanese intellectual, Huáng Chéngcōng (黃朝琴), also set a goal for himself in promoting and practicing *Báihuàwén* in these ways: "(1) refuse to write Japanese to Taiwanese fellows during the stay in Tokyo; (2) write letters in *Báihuàwén* from now on; (3) publish comments in *Báihuàwén* more frequently; (4) be a teacher of *Báihuàwén* at *Báihuàwén* education centers in Taiwan."[241]

The discourse about the Chinese *Báihuàwén* also promoted practices of *Báihuàwén* in Taiwan. *Taiwan min pao* took the initiative of adopting an "easy *Hànwén*" for its Taiwanese

---

[239] Chén Duānmín (陳端明), "Rìyòngwén gǔchuīlùn [On promotion of a daily language]," *Taiwan qīngnián* [The Taiwan youth]; Huang Chéngcōng (黃呈聰), "Lùn pǔjí Báihuàwén de xīnshǐmìng [On the new mission of popularizing the colloquial Chinese]"; Huáng Cháoqín (黃朝琴), "Hànwén gǎigélùn (shàng) [On the reform of Classical Chinese]"; Huáng Cháoqín (黃朝琴), "Xù Hànwén gǎigélùn: Chàngshè Báihuàwén jiǎngxíhuì [Revisiting the reform of Classical Chinese: Promotion of the colloquial Chinese education]."

[240] See Chén Duānmín (陳端明), "Rìyòngwén gǔchuīlùn [On promotion of a daily language]," *Taiwan qīngnián* [The Taiwan youth]; Huang Chéngcōng (黃呈聰), "Lùn pǔjí Báihuàwén de xīnshǐmìng [On the new mission of popularizing the colloquial Chinese]"; Huáng Cháoqín (黃朝琴), "Hànwén gǎigélùn (shàng) [On the reform of Classical Chinese]"; Huáng Cháoqín (黃朝琴), "Xù Hànwén gǎigélùn: Chàngshè Báihuàwén jiǎngxíhuì [Revisiting the reform of Classical Chinese: Promotion of the colloquial Chinese education]."

[241] Huáng Cháoqín (黃朝琴), "Xù Hànwén gǎigélùn: Chàngshè Báihuàwén jiǎngxíhuì [Revisiting the reform of Classical Chinese: Promotion of the colloquial Chinese education]," *Taiwan* 4th year, no. 2 (1923 [1973]): 28.

readers and writers. As it stated, "This time the new publication will use plain *Hànwén* and be filled with knowledge for the masses. The goal is to inspire the culture of our island and enliven the vigor of our fellows, so as for the betterment of Taiwan and the peace of East Asia."[242] It formed a study group of "*Báihuàwén*" that invited Taiwanese to learn *Báihuàwén*. As the announcement said,

> *Báihuàwén* is written directly from words spoken. *Wényánwén* [Classical Chinese or *Hànwén*] is written, modified, and polished from spoken words. However, after modification and polish, it becomes incomprehensible to readers. *Báihuàwén* does not have this problem. Anyone who can speak and recognize characters will be able to read, write, and compose [in *Báihuàwén*]. Nowadays public schools in China have adopted *Báihuàwén* for this reason.[243]

The statements above suggested that the Chinese *Báihuàwén* opened up possibilities for the Taiwanese to develop an easy *Hànwén* in the Taiwanese new culture movement. The model of the Chinese *Báihuàwén* implied that *Báihuàwén* was more direct and easier for Taiwanese to learn and understand than *Hànwén*, and was a more effective language in accelerating the Taiwanese in learning civilized knowledge and the progress of Taiwanese culture. The Chinese *Báihuàwén* allowed the Taiwanese to reform *Hànwén* based on their spoken languages, and at the same time to maintain *Hànwén*.

---

[242] My translation. Cízhōu (慈舟), "Chuàngkāncí [Statement for the first issue]," *Taiwan min pao* [The Taiwan Min pao] 1, no. 1 (1923 [1973]): 1. The *Taiwan qīngnián* magazine was published during 1920 and March, 1922 and then was re-named as *Taiwan* in April, 1922. Taiwan continued the same mission until June, 1924. *Taiwan min pao* was expanded from *Taiwan* and *Taiwan qīngnián* and was first published in April 15, 1923.

[243] My translation, emphasis added. "Chàng shè Báihuàwén yánjiù huì," *Taiwan min pao* [The Taiwan Min pao] 1, no. 1 (1923 [1973]): 29.

Hànwén* versus *Báihuàwén

The Chinese *Báihuàwén* movement encouraged the *Báihuàwén* practices in Taiwan (e.g., in Taiwan min pao). *Taiwan min pao* published literary works in *Báihuàwén* from China, including translations of Western literature and novels written by "pushing hands" of the new cultural movement in China.[244] They all served as models of *Báihuàwén* writings for Taiwanese readers and writers. At the same time, the history of the Chinese New Culture Movement was re-told, including its intentions, reasoning, purposes, and principles. The vigorous development of *Báihuàwén* (e.g., *báihuà* poetry, literature, and publications) in the literary field was also illustrated as an encouraging example for Taiwan.[245] The New Culture Movement in China could be a guiding predecessor for the Taiwanese, who just set off on cultural and linguistic change. It gave the Taiwanese a picture of what *Báihuàwén* was supposed to be and how it was practiced in China.

In addition, the Chinese *Báihuàwén* movement shaped Taiwanese attitudes toward "new" things and change. As Xiùhú (秀湖) stated,

> Our *Hàn* nation has a bad disposition. What is it? It is "conservativeness." Because of the deeply entrenched "conservativeness," whatever it is, [we] prefer the old; [it's] almost like we do not have any idea of evolution. The *Hàn* nation, with a culture of over five thousand years, has been very often mocked by others; this could be a reward for this

[244] For example, Lǔ Xùn (魯迅), *A Q zhèngzhuàn* (阿 Q 正傳) [The True Story of Ah Q], which was a well-known sarcastic novel that criticized Chinese national characteristics and traditional Chinese society. See *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan] no. 81-85 (1925 [1973]), 87 & 91 (1926 [1973]). Hu Shih (胡適) imitated Henry Johan Ibsen and wrote the one-act play comedy in *Báihuàwén*, *Zhōngshēn dàshì* [Marriage]. See *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan] 1, no. 1 & 2 (1923 [1973]).

[245] Xiùhú (秀湖), "Zhōngguó xīnwénxué yùndòng de guòqù xiànzài hé jiānglái [China's new culture movement: Past, present, and future]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan] 1, no. 4 (1923 [1973]): 3-4.

> "conservativeness." Yet, the new world of the twentieth century no longer allows us permanently to stay in the delusive dream. Therefore the head of the *Hàn* nation—China, its cultural progress in recent years, like *Zǒumǎ dēng* (走馬燈), is significantly surpassing.[246]

Xiùhú's statement implied that the Taiwanese, from the same ethnicity as the Chinese, were conservative and preferred the "old" and the traditional. This preference was believed to hinder China's progress and similarly to obstruct Taiwan. By looking at China, which moved forward by changing this conservative habit and accepting new things, Taiwan should first change this habit as well. His statement, which raised Taiwanese awareness of this *Hàn* national habit of conservativeness, would shape Taiwanese attitudes toward change. More importantly, the Chinese model served as a hopeful vision for Taiwanese cultural and linguistic change.

The Chinese model and resources from China could encourage the Taiwanese to make change, and in particular to smooth the transition of Taiwanese intellectuals' change of language use from *Wényánwén* (文言文 i.e., *Hànwén*) to *Báihuàwén*. Nevertheless, *Wényánwén* advocates were uncomfortable with *báihuà* writings.[247] Their complaints had the potential to complicate

---

[246] My translation, emphasis added. Ibid., 3. *Zǒumǎ dēng* (走馬燈), literally walking horse lantern, was a traditional lantern played on Lantern Festival (January 15 on lunar calendar). The lantern was made by paper with an axle at the center hung by papers cut in different shapes (e.g. horse). When it was lightened by a candle, the axle hung by papers was rotated by the heat of candle. The rotating papers of horses reflect their shape on lantern like running horses. It is a metaphor of vicissitudes of life. In Xiùhú's use, it was a metaphor for changes in China.

[247] See for example, Lín Xióngxiáng (林熊祥), "Wǒ duì Hànwén de gǎnxiǎng [My reflection on Hànwén]," *Taiwan shīhuì* (shàng cè) [Anthology of Taiwanese Poetry, volume 1], ed. Lián Héng (連橫) (1924; repr., Táiběi Shì: Chéngwén fāxíng, Mínguó 66 (1977), 781-786; Táng, "Yúmò [Remnant ink]," *Taiwan shīhuì* (xià cè) [Anthology of Taiwanese Poetry, volume 2], 297. Comments on *bāihuà* writings in Qiánfēi (前非), "Taiwan min pao zěmeyàng búyòng Wényánwén ne? [Why *Taiwan min pao* does not use Classical Chinese?]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan] 2, no. 22 (1924 [1973]): 14-16.

Taiwanese cultural and linguistic practices and to shape Taiwanese attitudes toward the new language, namely *Báihuàwén.* In particular, they complicated the relationship between *Báihuàwén* and *Hànwén,* and challenged the meaning of civilization.

The *Wényánwén* advocates complained that *Báihuà* writings with colloquial terms in *Taiwan min pao* were "unrefined" and "rough," and they wondered why *Taiwan min pao* did not use *Wényánwén*.[248] Instead of adopting a new language (i.e., *Báihuàwén* or Romanized letters) in place of *Hànwén* (i.e., *Wényánwén*), it was suggested that *Hànwén* be ameliorated, and that more effective approaches to studying *Hànwén* be adopted.[249] In addition, *Hànwén* was believed to benefit writers from its abundance of characters.[250]

The complaints above indicated complexities in adopting a new language for promoting the Taiwanese culture. They indicated that *Báihuàwén,* based on the spoken languages, was rough and vulgar, and *Wényánwén,* which was *Hànwén,* was elegant and refined. The distinction between *Báihuàwén* and *Wényánwén* was based on a literary evaluation of writings in *Báihuàwén* and *Wényánwén*. The literary form of *Hànwén* was evaluated to be more elegant than *Báihuàwén,* which was based on Taiwanese spoken languages. Such a literary/aesthetic perspective on Taiwanese culture and literature was different from the enlightenment/civilization

---

[248] The complaints were described by Qiánfēi (前非), "Taiwan min pao zěmeyàng búyòng Wényánwén ne? [Why *Taiwan min pao* does not use Classical Chinese?]."

[249] Lín Xióngxiáng (林熊祥) explained that *Hànwén per se* was not a problem. He pointed out one of the problems was that Taiwanese had not learned and written Hànwén in a right approach. See Lín Xióngxiáng, "Wǒ duì Hànwén de gǎnxiǎng [My reflection on Hànwén]," *Taiwan shīhuì* (shàng cè) [Anthology of Taiwanese Poetry, volume 1], 781-786. Lin Hui-chen advocated the study of Hànwén and suggested more effective approaches to learn Hànwén. See Lin Hui-chen, "Yánjiù Hànwén zhī xīndé [Reflection on studying Hànwén]," *Taiwan minpao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan] no. 92 (1926 [1973]): 100-11.

[250] Táng (棠), "Yúmò [Remnant ink]," *Taiwan shīhuì* (xià cè) [Anthology of Taiwanese Poetry, volume 2], 297.

perspective. It offered a different understanding of civilization, which was defined by elegant literature and language. Such understanding of civilization might complicate Taiwanese linguistic and literary practices toward civilization. In addition, it suggested the elegance and richness of *Hànwén*.

By contrast, *Báihuàwén* and *Hànwén* were perceived differently by *Báihuàwén* advocates. For example, Qiánfēi (前非), drawing on his own experience of making a similar change, consoled those who could not adapt easily to the new form of language by saying that it was just a change of "habit." He continued to explain that language was not determined by its "elegance" and "vulgarness" but by its state of being "dead" or "alive." He provided examples of colloquial words in both ancient and contemporary usages to show that the colloquial language was just used differently in ancient and contemporary times. Those terms in classical writings had been "dead" and were not appropriate for contemporary writings. By contrast, the colloquial terms drawn from contemporary spoken languages were a "live" language, which was the language used in *Báihuàwén*. Finally, he stressed that the goal of *Taiwan min pao* was "to awaken people, popularize education, and enlighten youth, and the use of *Báihuàwén* will make it [*Taiwan min pao*] comprehensible to every family and accessible to everyone." [251]

Clearly, based on Qiánfēi's assumption, for the advancement of Taiwanese culture language was a critical instrument, because it might hinder or accelerate the transmission of knowledge and information to Taiwanese masses. In this enlightenment/civilization perspective, *Hànwén* with a literary form and classical language was outmoded and incompatible with the contemporary Taiwan. By contrast, *Báihuàwén*, written in a colloquial style and a

[251] My translation. Qiánfēi (前非), "Taiwan min pao zěmeyàng búyòng Wényánwén ne? [Why *Taiwan min pao* does not use Classical Chinese?]."

straightforward language, was considered as the right tool of cultural movement. In Qiánfēi's assumption, civilization was not determined by the elegance of language and literature, but by the "liveness" and "newness" of language and knowledge. Even though *Hànwén* was not considered as an effective language instrument in the Taiwanese new culture movement, it was maintained in the form of *Báihuàwén*.

The Problem of the Taiwanese Style of *Báihuàwén*

Taiwan min pao, serving as a writing platform for *Báihuàwén*, helped promote the *Báihuàwén* movement in the reform of *Hànwén*. Taiwanese intellectuals, who used to contribute their writings to *Taiwan min pao* and wrote in the classical style, began to practice the new style, *Báihuàwén*. Their practices were indeed complicated by the Chinese *Báihuàwén,* their spoken languages, including Taiwanese languages, Japanese languages, and even by *Hànwén.* Their writings in *Taiwan min pao* were criticized as "abnormal" *Báihuàwén.*[252] According to the criticism, first of all, the "Taiwanese" style of *Báihuàwén* used words, such as particles, in the wrong way. Also, Taiwanese colloquial words and terms borrowed from the Japanese language were confusing to people who did not understand Taiwanese and Japanese. Second, that both literary and colloquial terms were used was seen as not a conventional practice of *Báihuàwén*. The suggestion was that literary terms should be used in *Wényánwén* (literary style), and colloquial terms should be used in *Báihuàwén*. In addition, terms from Taiwanese "dialects" used in *Báihuàwén* were regarded as vulgar and must be modified into common *Báihuàwén*. Finally, Taiwanese writers of *Báihuàwén* were advised to read more books in *Báihuàwén* from

[252] Shī Wénqǐ (施文杞), "Duìyú Taiwanrén zuòde Báihuàwén de wǒjiàn— Taiwanrén de yánjiù Báihuàwén zhě zhùyì — Taiwanrén de tóu mínbào zhě zhùyì —[My opinion on the Báihuàwén written by Taiwanese: Attention, Taiwanese who study Báihuàwén and Taiwanese contributors to *Taiwan min pao*]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan] 2, no. 4 (1924 [1973]): 8. Also in Li Nan-heng (李南衡), ed., *Wénxiàn zīliào xuǎnjí* [Anthology of archival sources], 52-54.

China, and were cautioned not to "make a fool of themselves" by writing *Báihuàwén* in Taiwanese dialects. A table of words of different meanings but pronounced similarly was provided for Taiwanese writers to learn their correct usage.[253]

This criticism assumed that Chinese *Báihuàwén* was the "normal," "standard" form, and Taiwanese as learners of *Báihuàwén* must learn and follow this standard language. The Taiwanese style of *Báihuàwén,* which did not conform to the standard form, was regarded as abnormal, and must be corrected based on the standard form of Chinese *Báihuàwén.* In addition, it was a hierarchical assumption about language, in which the Taiwanese languages were regarded as vulgar *dialects*, while the Chinese *Báihuàwén,* which was more refined and elegant, was the standard form. They were thus advised to modify their Taiwanese style, which was constituted by their daily spoken languages, namely their native Taiwanese languages, such as Hoklo or Hakka, and the Japanese language. The word table provided also assumed that Taiwanese writers needed instruction in the standard *Báihuàwén*.

The criticism indeed reflected the linguistic context of Taiwan and a particular practice of Taiwanese *Báihuàwén,* which was the Taiwanese style of *Báihuàwén*. It showed that the Taiwanese style of *Báihuàwén* was mixed with the multiple languages used in Taiwan, such as literary Chinese (*Hànwén*), Taiwanese languages, and Japanese. The advice above, however, did not allow the possibility for the Taiwanese to practice *Hànwén* and their spoken languages, including Taiwanese languages as their native languages, and Japanese. It shaped the Taiwanese practice of *Báihuàwén* into a particular style, that is, the Chinese *Báihuàwén*. The Chinese style of *Báihuàwén* was the model promoted by Taiwanese intellectuals mentioned above, which would maintain Taiwan in connection with Chinese literature and culture. However, at the same

[253] Ibid.

time, the possibility for developing the Taiwanese style of *Báihuàwén* was foreclosed, and *Hànwén* was sustained in practice, but in a different style, which was the Chinese *Báihuàwén.*

Hànwén in the Taiwan New Literature Movement

In the Taiwanese civilization project, literature was expected to enlighten the Taiwanese masses and disseminate knowledge. In the new literature discourse, the traditional practice of literature in *Hànwén* was criticized as "old" literature and was supposed to be abandoned, and new literature was supposed to connect with the contemporary world and to be written in a more comprehensible language (i.e., *Báihuàwén*).[254] In particular, the Taiwanese new literature was expected to express sincere feelings and real emotions, and to describe Taiwanese culture. The Taiwanese new literature was to inspire the Taiwanese. Taiwanese traditional literature written in *Hànwén* was also criticized as an obstacle to Taiwanese civilization for its abstruse, outmoded language and restrictive forms.[255]

The new literature discourse indicated the problem of traditional literature in *Hànwén* and advocated the use of *Báihuàwén* in writing Taiwanese new literature. However, *Hànwén* and *Hàn* poetry practices persisted and complicated Taiwanese imaginations and practices of the Taiwanese new literature. *Hànwén* was instead regarded by Taiwanese traditional intellectuals as an access to ancient Chinese civilization and could also promote Taiwanese culture to

---

[254] For example, Zhāng Wǒjūn (張我軍) "Zāogāo de Taiwan wénxuéjiè [The deplorable literature field in Taiwan]," *Taiwan minpao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan] 2, no. 24 (1925 [1973]), also in Li Nan-heng (李南衡), ed., *Wénxiàn zīliào xuǎnjí* [Anthology of archival sources], 63-66. Zhāng Wǒjūn (張我軍), "Juéwújǐnyǒu de jīpoyíng de yìyì [The one and only meaning of Jíbōy poetry], *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan] 3, no. 2 (1925 [1973]), also in Li Nan-heng (李南衡), ed., *Wénxiàn zīliào xuǎnjí* [Anthology of archival sources], 89-92; Lǎn Yún (懶雲, i.e., Lài Hé 賴和), "Duì TáiRì bàozhǐ xīnjiù wénxué zhī bǐjiào [Comparison between new and old literature from reading newspaper]," *Taiwan min pao* no. 89 (1973 [1926], 11-12.

[255] Ibid.

civilization. The practice of *Hàn* poetry and *Hànwén* in *Taiwan shīhuì* suggested that for Taiwanese traditional intellectuals as Confucian intellectuals, the ancient Chinese civilization was the resource for developing Taiwanese culture.[256] It implied that instead of learning from Western civilization, the Taiwanese could gain civilized knowledge from the ancient Chinese civilization through *Hànwén. Hànwén*, connected with *Hàn* cultural traditions, was highly regarded by Taiwanese traditional intellectuals, and was maintained by their writings of literature and poetry in *Hànwén.* In return, the faith in *Hànwén* and the Chinese civilization as well as practices of *Hànwén* shaped the Taiwanese into a particular *Hàn* Chinese subject in Taiwan.

While *Hànwén* and *Hàn* poetry tolerated the challenges from the new literature movement, the Taiwanese style of *Báihuàwén* was problematized. The Taiwanese style *Báihuàwén* was not regarded as elegant enough to create Taiwanese new literature.[257] The Taiwanese style of *Báihuàwén* was mainly constituted by Taiwanese spoken languages, which were considered as a Chinese "dialect" (regional speech) rather than a language. Based on the standard of the Chinese *Báihuàwén*, the Taiwanese language was evaluated as vulgar and thus could not be used in writing elegant Taiwanese literature. In the new literature discourse, the Chinese *Báihuàwén* again was advocated to be the "standard" *báihuà* language for promoting Taiwanese culture and literature. To solve the problem of the "vulgarness" of Taiwanese languages, it was proposed that Taiwanese languages be standardized according to the "standard"

---

[256] Lián Héng (連橫), ed., *Taiwan shīhuì* [Anthology of Taiwanese Poetry] (1924; repr., Táiběi Shì: Cheng wen faxing, Mínguó 66 [1977]).

[257] Zhāng Wǒjūn (張我軍), "Xīnwénxué yùndòng de yìyì [The meaning of new literature]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan] no. 67 (1925 [1973]); also in Li Nan-heng (李南衡), ed., *Wénxiàn zīliào xuǎnjí* [Anthology of archival sources], 98-103.

Chinese *Báihuàwén*.[258] It was believed that when Taiwanese languages were standardized, the Taiwanese culture could be connected with the Chinese culture, the Taiwanese new literature in *Báihuàwén* could be established, and finally the "vulgar" Taiwanese languages could be integrated into the Chinese language and could become a "standard" language.

The problematization assumed that maintaining the Taiwanese culture in connection with the Chinese culture would benefit the Taiwanese culture because the Taiwanese culture would be cultivated and promoted by the Chinese culture. This assumption shaped the possibilities for writing the Taiwanese new literature. The Taiwanese new literature would be the same as the Chinese literature; the Taiwanese culture would not be included in the Taiwanese literature; the Taiwanese languages would not be possibly put in the written form, namely in Taiwanese literature. In other words, the possibility for the expressing the particularity of the Taiwanese culture and languages in the Taiwanese new literature was foreclosed.

Literature in the New Culture Movement

The role of literature in the cultural reform of a nation was particularly emphasized by Chén Xīn (陳炘). As he said,

> *A great nation must have great literature. Literature is the vanguard of culture. Literature falls, a nation falls; literature rises, a nation rises. The duty of literature is therefore to illuminate culture and revive a nation. In the past, our nation's relics were abundant; our literature was thriving; then why in the present does our nation not rise, and does our culture not advance? It was because of the abuse of the imperial examination system, in which the spirit and function of literature were sacrificed for a rigid literary structure, ornate style, and abstruse language (characters).*

[258] Ibid.

Since emotion is the soul of literature, thought is the heart of literature…that which is called literature, but without these two (emotion and thought), is like a well-adorned puppet. That which has gorgeous appearance, but is empty of soul, is dead literature and could not fulfill its duty. Similarly, indulgence in emotion and inspiring thought ignores the duty of literature. Literature is not limited to inspiring life; literature is supposed to disseminate civilized thinking, awaken ignorant ones, agitate for humanitarian emotion, and help promote social innovation. Adherence to a fixed literary structure and flowery language poses problems to writer and reader…The promotion of using a colloquial language in the new literature in China resulted from a similar concern. I heard that there had been literary societies in Taiwan flourishing for years. I supposed they must have great contributions to this regard.

In our native languages, there are more sounds than characters; in spite of this, writers are advised to write freely for thought and emotion in ordinary words. This way, it is comprehensible to general readers; this literature fulfills its duty. In today's Taiwan, under current circumstances, it is urgent to be aware of the duty of literature and to fulfill it by breaking outmoded conventions and awakening those in sleep. [That is,] adopting today's civilized thinking as the pioneer to every innovation.[259]

Chén Xīn's (陳炘) statement again highlighted the importance of an easier language in civilization. Taiwanese traditional literature written in a difficult language and form was criticized as not being useful for the Taiwanese new cultural movement. He suggested that new literature was needed and was supposed to be written in an easier language (i.e., *Báihuàwén*). In

[259] My translation, emphasis added. Chén Xīn (陳炘), "Wénxué yǔ zhíwù [Literature and duty]," *Taiwan qīngnián* [The Taiwan youth] 1, no. 1 (1920 [1973]): 41-43.

other words, the Taiwanese literary field under the civilization agenda was expected to create new literature in *Báihuàwén*.

In the Taiwanese new cultural movement, cultural education activities for the Taiwanese masses had been active and popular.[260] In *Taiwan min pao*, *báihuà* articles gradually became a predominant style in spite of a mixed usage of languages of the Taiwanese, Japanese, and *Hànwén*. This suggested that the *Báihuàwén* movement had restored the vigor of Taiwan. However, in some Taiwanese intellectuals' eyes, the field of literature in the Taiwan New Culture Movement did not move at a satisfactory speed. Drawing on the history of Western literature development and recent reforms of Japanese and Chinese literature, Zhāng Wǒjūn (張我軍) explained that the whole world was developing to be a "new" realm. Only Taiwanese literature was still dreaming in sound sleep. As he reprimanded,

> The contemporary era was orientated toward the world, such as politics, foreign languages, and economy; literature is without exception. Therefore, the contemporary literatures have gradually reached unanimity, and the formation of world literature is around the corner…. Taiwanese literary men in general are obsessed with skulls underneath and prefer to be a grave guardian like a dog, guarding the grave of classicism hundreds of years ago…Clinging to their old dreams, they are reluctant to rouse up to reform. As a result, the field of literature is under darkness, covered by distressing clouds

[260] The new cultural movement in Taiwan was a national self-determination practice, and the Japanese colonial Government-General did whatever they could to thwart, dismiss, and even ban their cultural activities. See for example, "Taiwan tong xin [Taiwan communication]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan] 2, no. 6 (1924 [1973]): 11; "Taiwan wénhuà xiéjuì huìbào [Taiwan Cultural Association Bulletin]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan] 2, no. 19 (1924 [1973]): 12-13.

and grieving crying, without any vigor. It is like a different world isolated from the modern literature world. This is such a deplorable matter![261]

In Zhāng Wǒjūn's assumption, the world was the "compass" that guided Taiwan's direction. Taiwan was supposed to follow the world. Literature around the world had moved into a "new" age, and Taiwanese literature should also develop a new form. Zhāng Wǒjūn offered a sharp contrast between the Taiwanese literature and the world literature, in which the world literature was a new world, and the Taiwanese literature was a dark old world. Taiwanese writers were regarded as miserable and isolated from world civilization. Zhāng Wǒjūn wanted to save them from darkness by awakening them.

Hàn Poetry in the New Culture Movement

However, Zhāng Wǒjūn's (張我軍) harsh reproach seemed not to shake the perseverant practice of *Hàn* poetry in Taiwan. The history of *Hàn* poetry society and *Hàn* poetry publications suggested that poetry had been the predominant practice in the Taiwanese literature field since early Japanese colonization, and had even flourished in a steady pace before the breakout of the Second World War in 1937.[262]

---

[261] My translation. Zhāng Wǒjūn (張我軍) "Zāogāo de Taiwan wénxuéjiè [The deplorable literature field in Taiwan]," *Taiwan minpao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan] 2, no. 24 (1925 [1973]); also in Li Nan-heng (李南衡), ed., *Wénxiàn zīliào xuǎnjí* [Anthology of archival sources], 63-66.

[262] See for example, Yang Yung-pin (楊永彬), "Rìběn lǐngTái chūchí Rì Tái guānshēn shīwén chànghè [Poetry singing along together by Japanese officials and Taiwanese elites at the early stage of Japanese colonization]," in *Taiwan chóngcéng jìndàihuà lùnwén ji* [Conference proceedings on multi-layered modernity of Taiwan], eds. Wakabayashi Masahiro (若林正丈) and Wu Mi-Cha (吳密察) (Táiběi Shì: Bōzhòngzhě wénhuà yǒuxiàn gōngsī, 2000), 110-13; Huang Mei-e (黃美娥), *Gǔdiǎn Taiwan*: *Wénxuéshǐ, shīshè, zuòjiālùn* [Classical Taiwan: History of literature, poetry society, and writers] (Táiběi Shì: Guólì biānyìguǎn, Mínguó 96 [2007]), 183-228; *Taiwan shīhuì* [Anthology of Taiwanese Poetry], ed. Lián Héng (連橫) (1924; repr., Táiběi Shì: Chéngwén fāxíng, Mínguó 66 [1977]).

In *Hàn* poetry society, Taiwanese poets favored a game of poetry competition in which they created poems within a limited time on a given theme, rhyme, or style. They burned a stick of incense, attached by a string tying a copper coin, and placed a copper basin under the copper coin. When the incense burned the string, the copper coin fell, beat the copper basin, sounded loud, and time was up. Every poet must stop and hand in their poem for evaluation. This game was called "Jíbō Yíng" (Jíbō poetry, literally beating copper plate poetry).[263] It was a practice in a *Hàn* poetry society that allowed beginners to learn making poems with a given theme, rhyme, or style. It was also a practice of exchanges among poetry societies, or a competitive practice among poets in congratulating or praising each other in important events or festivals.[264] Taiwanese poets and Japanese officials created and sang poetry together at poetry banquets held by Japanese officials and at each other's poetry societies. The history of *Hàn* poetry society indicated a congenial culture of poetry exchange between Taiwanese elites and Japanese officials. In addition, colonial government newspapers' calls for poems from Taiwanese poets suggested increased establishment of poetry societies and promotion of poetry practice.[265]

---

[263] See for example, "'Chánggē yín sōngfēng: Jīlúng chuántǒng shīshè de huódòng," accessed June 19, 2013, http://library.taiwanschoolnet.org/cyberfair2005/anlo2/4/index.htm; Zhāng Wǒjūn (張我軍), "Juéwújǐnyǒu de jīpoyíng de yìyì [The one and only meaning of Jíbō Ying], *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan] 3, no. 2 (1925 [1973]), also in Li Nan-heng (李南衡), ed., *Wénxiàn zīliào xuǎnjí* [Anthology of archival sources], 89-92.

[264] Táng, "Yúmò [Remnant ink]," *Taiwan shīhuì* (xià cè) [Anthology of Taiwanese Poetry, volume 2], 83; "Keelung chuan tong shi she de huo dong, [Activities of traditional poetry societies in Keelung]" accessed June 19, 2013, http://library.taiwanschoolnet.org/cyberfair2005/anlo2/4/index.htm.

[265] During the colonial period of 50 years, there were about 290 poetry socieities. During 1921-1937, the number of newly established *Hàn* poetry societies was 159. See Huang Mei-e (黃美娥), *Gǔdiǎn Taiwan*: *Wénxuéshǐ, shīshè, zuòjiālùn* [Classical Taiwan: History of literature, poetry society, and writers], 191.

Also implied by the history above, for Taiwanese intellectuals such as poets, poetry was a practice of self-healing.[266] Singing and creating poetry with friends, including Japanese officials, was a way of relieving all kinds of bitter feelings under colonization. At the same time, even though under a different political regime, by making *Hàn* poems, even with Japanese officials, they maintained *Hàn* cultural and intellectual practices. For example, during the new cultural movement when preserving *Hànwén* and *Hànxué* was a common language shared by Taiwanese intellectuals, the Taiwanese traditional intellectual, Lián Yǎtáng (連雅堂), joined the cultural movement in promoting Taiwanese culture and taught advanced *Hànwén* and Taiwan history at public lectures held by the Taiwan Cultural Association. The publication of *Taiwan shīhuì* (台灣詩薈 Anthology of Taiwanese Poetry) magazine in 1924 could be regarded as a concerted effort of Taiwanese poets to promote Taiwanese culture through *Hàn* poetry and *Hànwén.* As the editor Lián Yǎtáng (連雅堂) stated in the forward to the first issue,

> Taiwanese poetics is currently a widespread practice. The continuation of Taiwanese culture depends on Taiwanese poetics… particularly at this critical point when the Western current increases its influence…and *Hànxué* is declining…Poets could no longer create poems from personal inspirations or for personal cultivation…but for the betterment of the nation and world… I edit this for mutual encouragement. I am responsible for the decline of Taiwan's culture. As Confucius said, "Poetry could inspire,

[266] Also see Wu Wen-hsing (吳文星), *Rìzhì shíqí Taiwan de shèhuì lǐngdǎo jiēcéng* [Social elites in Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule] (Táiběi Shì: Wǔnán túshū, 2008).

perceive, communicate, and express." In the light of these words, I wish to move forward with my fellow poets in promoting Taiwanese poetry.[267]

The forward positioned Taiwanese poetry in a close relationship with Taiwanese culture. Taiwanese poetry was expected to promote Taiwanese culture. It reminded Taiwanese poets of their responsibility for Taiwanese culture. That is, they were regarded as the heir to Confucian and *Hàn* orthodoxy who bore the responsibility for preserving and transmitting *Hànwén* and *Hànxué*. It also implied an awareness of change at that time and a concern about the decline of Taiwan's culture, namely *Hàn* cultural traditions, in confronting the changes of the time. It advised that Taiwanese poets no longer be able to indulge themselves in poetic imaginations, but bear the responsibility for Taiwan as a *Hàn* nation. The forward also suggested the role of the Confucian intellectual in a nation. Taiwanese poets as traditional intellectuals were regarded as Confucian intellectuals who bore the responsibility for the rise or fall of their nation. Confucius's sayings about poetry served as the guideline for them in writing poetry for promoting Taiwanese culture.

The collection of poems not only "inspired, perceived, communicated, and expressed," but also provided advice on examples and materials of poetry for learners to write poetry. For example, the advice was that learning to make poems would take about three to five years. Learners must first learn to read Chinese characters, and then study ten Chinese classics. This advice suggested that learning to write poetry took time, patience, and efforts. It also indicated dedication of this anthology to poetry as a practice of revitalizing Taiwanese culture and literature.

---

[267] My translation. Lián Yǎtáng (連雅堂), "Taiwan shīhuì fākānxù [Foreword to the issue of Anthology of Taiwanese Poetry]," *Taiwan shīhuì* (shàng cè) [Anthology of Taiwanese Poetry, Volume 1], 1-2.

This anthology also implied an expectation for learners to know Taiwan and to read and understand literary Chinese (i.e., *Hànwén*). Instead of resorting to Western civilization for knowledge, it focused on Taiwan. It paid attention to all the resources in Taiwan, including the *Hàn* cultural traditions in Taiwan. For example, a variety of knowledge about Taiwan was presented, including archaeology, history, geography, and biology, such as animals, inhabitants, and plants that are native to Taiwan. A comparison between ancient Eastern and Western "civilizations" was illustrated, such as ancient Greek philosophy and Confucian and Taoist morality; ancient conceptions of human origins (e.g. astronomy, human evolution, and creation myths, etc.); science; and the philosophy of education. The comparison suggested a spirit of primitivism. Ancient sages' words and deeds were extolled in poetry; the history of the ancient civilization was retold in comparison with "modern" civilization; the history of Chinese technology was compared with "modern" Western technology; the history and poetry of ancient Chinese conceptions of human origins were also presented.[268] They indicated the value of ancient wisdom in *Hàn* traditions and the abundant cultural resources in Taiwan.

The practices of *Taiwan shīhuì* assumed civilization in ancient orthodoxies, especially in *Hàn* Chinese traditions, and also suggested that Taiwan as the descendant of the ancient Chinese civilization had been rich in cultural resources. The assumption implied that instead of pursuing modern civilizations in the world, the ancient Chinese civilization and Taiwanese cultural resources were possibilities for the Taiwanese new culture movement.

In particular, this anthology was written completely in *Hànwén*, including poetry and writings about Taiwan and ancient Chinese knowledge. The writing practice of *Taiwan shīhuì* not only implied the enduring practice of *Hànwén*, given the zealous reform movement of

[268] *Taiwan shīhuì* (shàng, xià cè) [Anthology of Taiwanese Poetry, volume 1 & 2].

Hànwén at that time, but also indicated Taiwanese attachment to *Hànwén* and faith in the *Hàn* traditional civilization. With the attachment and faith, *Hànwén* sustained challenges from the Taiwanese new cultural and literature movements. The writing practice also suggested that learning and practicing *Hànwén* would help Taiwan reach civilization based on *Hàn* civilized traditions. Such practice implied by *Taiwan shīhuì* could shape particular Taiwanese cultural and literary practices of the self.

Which Language for Taiwanese New Literature? *Hànwén* or *Báihuàwén*?

As mentioned above, some Taiwanese writers adopted *Báihuàwén* in their writing of prose or novels in spite of the critique on their *Taiwanese* style of writing.[269] *Wényánwén* (i.e., *Hànwén*) was still practiced by other Taiwanese writers and poets, for example, *Hàn* poetry and *Hànwén* writings on *Taiwan shīhuì*, mentioned above. The difference between literature written in colloquial *Hànwén* and *Hànwén* (i.e., *Báihuàwén* and *Wényánwén*) gradually became obvious, particularly in the ways of expressing the writer's self and connecting literature to readers. Based on the discourse of the new literature movement, Taiwanese new literature was expected to express genuine feelings and emotions of writers and to describe Taiwanese culture and society. The purpose of the new literature was to inspire and connect Taiwanese readers. Existing literature or poetry in *Wényánwén* was criticized for its restrictive form and language, which did not allow writers freely to express feelings and inspire readers. Instead, *Báihuàwén*, which was an easier language to write and read, was considered to be the right language for writing new literature for expressing true feelings and describing realistic Taiwanese culture and society. However, *Hàn* poetry (in *Hànwén*) was defended by *Taiwan shīhuì* as being able to "express and

[269] For example, Lài Hé (賴和), "Dòunàorè 鬥鬧熱 [Bustling]," and "Yìgǎnchènzi 一桿稱子 [A steelyard]," *Taiwan minpao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan] no. 86 and 92-93 (1926 [1973]). Lài Hé sarcastically illustrated lives of ordinary Taiwanese under Japanese colonization and modernization. More discussions on Taiwanese literature in *Báihuàwén* are in next chapter.

inspire," in spite of its literary structure and language. The debate on the different forms of *Hànwén* for writing Taiwanese new literature in fact demonstrated the malleability and versatility of *Hànwén*. Both literary and colloquial forms of *Hànwén* were used in creating literature and poetry that could express Taiwanese culture and touch Taiwanese. Still, the two different linguistic forms created different possibilities for subjectification practices.

Lăn Yún (懶雲) contrasted the difference between literature in *Hànwén* and in colloquial *Hànwén*. He maintained that the traditional literature (the so-called old literature) was created to communicate with intellectuals (i.e., the gentry's class), rather than with the masses, and therefore the writing style was succinct and concise. It had its value in its time, but its language was not intelligible to contemporary Taiwanese. On the other hand, in the contemporary era, literature was meant to express the self and connect with the masses. The contemporary writing style was expository, with explanations and elaborations, and thus was redundant in traditional writers' eyes. He stressed that the "subject" of contemporary literature was supposed to be urgent issues and problems in society, rather than pleasant natural scenes for self-gratification as pursued by traditional writers.[270] ForLăn Yún, the new literature in Taiwan should write about the contemporary Taiwan, including its culture and society, and the contemporary writing style, namely *Báihuàwén*, was able to present Taiwanese culture and society. In this sense, *Báihuàwén* allowed Taiwanese writers to express their particular Taiwanese-ness.

Lăn Yún's view of Taiwanese new literature was shared by the critique of the *Hàn* practice. Zhāng Wŏjūn (張我軍), the new literature torchbearer, maintained that the quality of literary work, including poetry, was determined by "sound worldviews and sincere emotions."

[270] Lăn Yún (懶雲, i.e., Lài Hé 賴和), "Duì TáiRì bàozhĭ xīnjiù wénxué zhī bĭjiào [Comparison between new and old literature from reading newspaper]," *Taiwan min pao* no. 89 (1973 [1926], 11-12.

Literary work was created by a spontaneous response to inspirations and emotions. Based on the eight principles elaborated by Hou Shi (胡適), the pioneer of the Chinese new literature movement, Zhāng Wǒjūn criticized that Taiwanese poets were not creative and sincere enough. The eight principles of the Chinese new literature rejected the traditional practice of the Chinese traditional literature and poetry, such as following restricted structures of poems, borrowing allusions from the ancients, and repeating platitudes, and they especially stressed writers' creativity and true sentiments.[271] Zhāng Wǒjūn especially castigated the then common practice of Jíbō poetry in Taiwan. As he said,

> I've been waiting for so long but still could not get someone to do the cleaning job. Despite my tiny strength, I take out an unprepared pen broom and act as a street cleaner on the literature path … Nowadays in Taiwan's literary field, a practice prevailed, which is the so-called Jíbō poetry. I don't need to explain what Jíbō poetry is because the sound of their beating the copper bowl was so stentorian that anyone living in Taiwan would not be ignorant of it. If I have to say a word about it, then [I would say] it is the devil of the poetry field… There are many restrictions [in Jíbō poetry, coming from]: (1) topic; (2) rhyme; (3) poetry form; and (4) time… We oppose making old poetry, especially the Jíbō

[271] The eight principles were elaborated by Hou Shih for guiding the New Literature Movement in China. See Zhāng Wǒjūn , "Chǐn hélì chāixià zhèzuò bàicǎocóng zhōng de pòjiù diàntáng [Please collaborate to tear down the shabby sanctuary in the scrappy bushes]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan] 3, no. 1 (1925 [1973]): 5-7; Zhāng Wǒjūn, "Juéwújǐnyǒu de jīpoyíng de yìyì [The one and only meaning of Jíbō Ying], *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan] 3, no. 2 (1925 [1973]). Also in Li Nan-heng (李南衡), ed., *Wénxiàn zīliào xuǎnjí* [Anthology of archival sources], 81-88, 89-92.

poetry. We oppose old poetry because it has many restrictions, rules, and constraints. It violates the theory of literature. [272]

What Zhāng Wǒjūn was concerned about was whether poetry and literature could express sincere sentiments or inspire readers. He thought that the traditional *Hàn* poetry, particularly Jíbō poetry, with its multiple restrictions would prevent writers from freely and truly expressing their thoughts and feelings in literature or poetry. He regarded Jíbō poetry as harmful to the literary field and urged people to end such a practice.

Discourse about the problem of Jíbō poetry also appeared in *Taiwan min pao*. The editorial statement also criticized the restrictions of Jíbōetry and even questioned its role in Taiwan's new cultural movement.[273] It acknowledged only the benefit of *Hàn* poetry, which was popularizing *Hànwén*, but it did not recommend learning the old *Hàn* poetry because it consumed too much energy of youth and time. It instead suggested writers turn their attention to Taiwan, the "local color" of Taiwan.[274] As it said, "In Taiwan, what poets would describe Taiwan's scenery, air, forest, customs, humanity, and Taiwanese people's desire? We have no choice but to expect future writers of *báihuà* literature to draw on Taiwan's scenery as stage, Taiwanese humanity as materials, and to construct Taiwan's new literature. In this way, Taiwan culture would move to the stage of illumination."[275]

---

[272] My translation, emphasis added. Zhāng Wǒjūn (張我軍), "Juéwújǐnyǒu de jīpoyíng de yìyì [The one and only meaning of Jíbō Ying], *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan]. Also in Li Nan-heng (李南衡), ed., *Wénxiàn zīliào xuǎnjí* [Anthology of archival sources], 89-92.

[273] "Shèshuō: Shīxué liúxín de jiàzhí rúhé [Editorial statement: What is the value of poetry fashion]," *Taiwan minpao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan] no. 73 (1925 [1973]), 1.

[274] Ibid.

[275] My translation. Ibid.

The discourse about Jíbō poetry in *Taiwan min pao* expressed a concern about the essential role of poetry and literature in conveying genuine feelings and thoughts. It strengthened the view that Jíbō poetry was a problematic *Hànwén* practice. It also resonated with Lǎn Yún's conception of the Taiwanese new literature, in which Taiwan in the contemporary era was the subject of literature. More importantly, it pointed out that the *Báihuàwén* literature in Taiwan was to focus on Taiwan. In other words, *Báihuàwén* was regarded as an important linguistic style for writing about Taiwan.

Similarly, Jíbō poetry practice also was not encouraged by *Taiwan shīhuì*. The advice was that Jíbō poetry could only be played occasionally because it was just a literary game for amusement. "If it was played too often, the quality of poems must decline."[276] Instead of playing Jíbō poetry, it was recommended that Taiwanese poets take advantage of the natural landscape of Taiwan, which was a good resource to stimulate "poetic" feelings and inspirations. Places near Taipei, such as Yuen-shan (圓山), Pi-pan (碧潭), Pei-tou (北投), and Tan-shui (淡水), were regarded as good "poetic locations."[277]

In response to the Taiwanese new literature advocates, Táng (棠) in *Taiwan shīhuì* maintained that poetry could also express and critique. Táng encouraged learners of poetry to establish a "correct" attitude toward poetry. He stressed that poetry is the highest art, and that "which talks about wealth and positions, counts gains and loss, and eulogize virtues and achievements"[278] is not poetry. He believed that "Poets' mind is the mind of heaven and earth,

---

[276] Táng (棠 i.e., Lián Yǎtáng and Lián Héng), "Yúmò [Remnant ink]," *Taiwan shīhuì* (shàng cè) [Anthology of Taiwanese Poetry, volume 1], 49.
[277] Táng, "Yúmò [Remnant ink]," *Taiwan shīhuì* (shàng cè) [Anthology of Taiwanese Poetry, volume 1], 235.
[278] Ibid., 500.

so poets' eyes [visions] were wide, thoughts were uncommon, and emotions were honest. Those who labor over wealth and positions and wail over hunger and cold are not poets."[279]

Like Taiwanese new literature advocates, Táng also emphasized genuine feelings and thoughts of poets expressed in poetry, and focused on Taiwan as a theme for Taiwanese new literature. It is important to note that the poetry meant by Táng was the *Hàn* poetry in *Hànwén.* Táng's suggestions for poetry practice were to maintain the practice of *Hànwén*, and defend the value of *Hàn* poetry. As he expected himself to be a sincere writer, he said that he "read and interpreted classics with a contemporary lens and theory; when holding a pen to write, [I] dared not to use a new language for flaunting novelty [of new knowledge]. I truly conserve the old."[280] In spite of the critique of the "inefficiency" of poetry in accelerating Taiwan's cultural movement, Tang believed that *Hàn* poetry created by authentic inspirations was also valuable in enriching Taiwan's culture. Tang's view again demonstrated the faith in *Hàn* cultural traditions, namely *Hànwén* and *Hàn* poetry, which sustained the practice of *Hànwén.* Even though the discourse of *Báihuàwén* foreclosed the possibility for *Hànwén* to promote Taiwanese culture and literature, *Hànwén* maintained its influence in the *Hàn* poetry practice within the *báihuà* literature movement. Tang's view of *Hàn* poetry and the then popular practice of *Hàn* poetry shaped possibilities for the Taiwanese new literature.

Taiwanese Language as a Problem in the New Literature Movement

As *Taiwan min pao* was the major knowledge source of guiding the new culture and literature movement in Taiwan, publications about the new literature movement in China continued to supply essential nutrients for the aged, feeble body of Taiwan's literature. Principles

[279] Ibid., 290.
[280] Ibid., 235.

of the Chinese new literature were reiterated;[281] new poems (i.e., *Báihuà* poetry) and new novels (i.e., *Báihuà* novel) written in Chinese *Báihuàwén* were provided as models.[282]

Zhāng Wǒjūn enthusiastically offered guidance for Taiwan to construct a new sanctuary of Taiwanese literature. He drew on the ideas of Hu Shi (胡適) about the relationship between national literature and national language, and he proposed two steps: first, use the Chinese national language, which was the Chinese *Báihuàwén*, to write literature; second, reform Taiwanese languages. He asked and then explained,

> Do Taiwanese languages have characters? Do Taiwanese languages have value of literature? Do Taiwanese languages make sense? In fact, ninety-percent of our daily speech does not have correspondent characters. That is because our speech is "tu hua" (vernacular), a vulgar speech, and most of it is constituted by unreasonable words. There is no doubt that it does not have the value of literature. Therefore, our new literature movement has the mission of reforming Taiwanese languages. We want to reform our "tu hua" (vernacular) to be a reasonable language according to scripts. We want to depend on China's national language to reform Taiwan's "tu yu." In other words, we want to

---

[281] Zhāng Wǒjūn (張我軍), "Chǐn hélì chāixià zhèzuò bàicǎocóng zhōng de pòjiù diàntáng [Please collaborate to tear down the shabby sanctuary in the scrappy bushes];" Cài Xiàoqián (蔡孝乾) , "Zhongguo xin wen xue gai guan (yi) [An overview of Chinese new literature, I]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan] 3, no. 12 (1925 [1973]), 12-14; Zhāng Wǒjūn (張我軍), "Xīnwénxué yùndòng de yìyì [The meaning of new literature]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan] no. 67 (1925 [1973]); also in Li Nan-heng (李南衡), ed., *Wénxiàn zīliào xuǎnjí* [Anthology of archival sources], 98-103.

[282] For example, Cài Xiàoqián (蔡孝乾) gave an overview of the Chinese new literature and introduced new poems and new novels on several issues of *Taiwan min pao*. See,"Zhongguo xin wen xue gai guan (er, san, ci, wu) [An overview of Chinese new literature, II-V]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan] 3, no. 13-16 (1925 [1973]). Zhāng Wǒjūn also published his own *Báihuà* literature in Taiwan min pao, including *Báihuà* poems, novels and proses, which were reprinted in *Zhāng Wǒjūn quan ji*. See Zhāng Guāngzhèng (張光正), ed., *Zhāng Wǒjūn quánjí* [A corpus on Zhāng Wǒjūn] (Táiběi Shì: Rénjiān chūbǎnshè, 2002).

> integrate Taiwanese languages into the Chinese language. We want to modify our current speech to be the same as the Chinese language… In this way, our culture will not disconnect from Chinese culture, the basis of *báihuà* literature will be established, and Taiwanese languages will be reformed to be reasonable. Couldn't this reach multiple goals at the same time?[283]

Zhāng Wǒjūn offered a direction for the Taiwanese new literature: to subsume the Taiwanese languages and literature into the so-called Taiwanese "cultural root," namely China. In the blueprint he drew for Taiwan's new literature, he assumed that Taiwan lacked a "language" for writing new literature. He did not consider the native Taiwanese languages (i.e., Hoklo and Hakka) as "languages," but as speech, vulgar "vernacular," which did not have "reasonable" scripts to be put into literature. Therefore, Taiwan needed a "new" language in order to create the Taiwanese "new" literature. He thus suggested modifying the Taiwanese language according to the Chinese *national* language, namely the standard Chinese *Báihuàwén*. The goal was to make the Taiwanese language identical to the Chinese *Báihuàwén*. He assumed that in this way, the Taiwanese languages would be reasonable, the Taiwanese new literature would become a *báihuà* literature, and Taiwanese culture would retain the connection with Chinese culture.

Zhāng Wǒjūn's view of the Chinese *Báihuàwén* and the Taiwanese languages demonstrated a hierarchical relationship between them. It assumed that the Chinese *Báihuàwén* had a prestigious status and the Taiwanese languages had an inferior position. The reform of Taiwanese languages and literature was supposed to follow the "standard" *Báihuàwén* (i.e., the

---

[283] My translation, emphasis added. Zhāng Wǒjūn (張我軍), "Xīnwénxué yùndòng de yìyì [The meaning of new literature]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan] no. 67 (1925 [1973]); also in Li Nan-heng (李南衡), ed., *Wénxiàn zīliào xuǎnjí* [Anthology of archival sources], 98-103.

Chinese *Báihuàwén*). This assumption would promote the Taiwanese new literature by assimilating it into the Chinese literature, and at the same time would maintain the hierarchical relationship between the Chinese and the Taiwanese languages. However, it ironically excluded the Taiwanese languages and culture from the Taiwanese new literature.

Conclusion

The New Culture Movement in the 1920s awakened the Taiwanese to movements toward civilization and opened up possibilities for Taiwanese re-imaginations of their language, culture, and literature. Under the civilization agenda, Taiwanese culture, language, and literature got entangled by one another. The entanglement stimulated imaginations of Taiwan as a *civilized* nation, and complicated Taiwanese cultural, linguistic, and literary practices in shaping the Taiwanese into particular *civilized* subjects.

In particular, the traditional linguistic and literary practice of *Hànwén* in Taiwan persisted despite challenges from the Taiwanese new culture and literature movement. In response to the new cultural agenda, *Hànwén* was performed in a more straightforward, colloquial form, namely *Báihuàwén*. The colloquial *Hànwén* facilitated writings of new knowledge and new literature. This shows the malleability of *Hànwén.*

At the same time, *Hànwén* was viewed as an essential *Hàn* cultural resource for the ancient Chinese civilization. In this view, learning and practicing *Hànwén* could maintain *Hàn* cultural traditions and further promote Taiwanese culture to be as civilized as the ancient Chinese civilization. In other words, *Hànwén* could lead Taiwan to civilization as well. The firm belief in the relationship of *Hànwén* to the ancient Chinese civilization was evident in the persistent literary practices of Taiwanese traditional intellectuals, who created poetry and literature in *Hànwén.*

On the other hand, *Báihuàwén* facilitated the civilization project in Taiwan. It allowed Taiwanese writers to write about Taiwan specifically for Taiwanese. *Báihuàwén* in Taiwan was created based on languages used in Taiwan, including *Hànwén*, the Taiwanese languages, and Japanese. It was the Taiwanese style of *Báihuàwén* which would be more approachable to Taiwanese writers and comprehensible to Taiwanese readers. However, it was criticized as not the standard *Báihuàwén*. The standard *Báihuàwén* was the Chinese *Báihuàwén*, which had been popularized in China as an effective instrument for promoting the Chinese new culture and literature. Taiwanese writers were suggested to learn the standard Chinese *Báihuàwén* and stop the practice of the Taiwanese style *Báihuàwén*.

In addition, in the new literature movement, Taiwanese languages were also seen as a problem. They were considered as Chinese dialects rather than "languages." Taiwanese languages were positioned in the hierarchical relationship to the Chinese language. Because Taiwanese languages were Chinese dialects, which were not developed and refined, they could not be used in writing elegant literature. The Chinese *Báihuàwén* served as a "standard" model of *Báihuàwén* for Taiwanese learning the new language of *Báihuàwén* and writing Taiwanese new literature. However, it foreclosed possibilities of including Taiwanese languages and culture in the Taiwanese new literature.

Chapter Five

Hànwén and Taiwanese Subjectivities in the Taiwanese *Xiāngtǔ* Literature Movement in the Early 1930s

In the discourse of the Taiwanese new cultural movement in the 1920s, Taiwanese culture was regarded as "backward" due to the lack of education of the Taiwanese masses. The goal in the change of Taiwanese culture was to promote Taiwan to civilization. The Taiwanese masses were regarded as the target of "reform" and thus were given enlightening education. It was believed that Taiwan would be promoted to an equal position with other civilized nations when the Taiwanese masses received civilized knowledge and became civilized. The new culture discourse opened up possibilities for the Taiwanese to re-imagine themselves as human beings and their close relationship to Taiwan as a nation. At the same time, the discourse about colonial exploitation and surveillance also created a specific political and social atmosphere in Taiwan.

From the late 1920s to the mid-1930s, the discourse about the colonial Taiwan suggested a different political and social atmosphere, and a particular focus on Taiwan and the Taiwanese masses. Taiwanese political and social movements for requesting from the Japanese just treatment of the Taiwanese were published in *Taiwan min pao*. On the other hand, Taiwanese literary magazines and newspapers were created specifically for reforming Taiwanese culture, literature, and language.[284] Even though the Chinese language and literature were still regarded

[284] In the early 1930s, new literary newspapers and magazines were created one after another for language and literary practices. Under strict supervision from the colonial government, some lasted for only a few months, and others sustained, with interruptions, for no more than five years. For example, *Wǔrénbào* [伍人報 Five people news], *Hóngshuǐ* 洪水 [Deluge], *Ming ri* 明日 [Tomorrow], *Xiàndài shēnhuó* 現代生活 [Modern life], and *Chìdào* 赤道 [Equator] only short lived for several numbers in the early 1930s, see Jièzhōu (芥舟), "Taiwan xīnwénxuē de chūlù [The outlet of Taiwan new literature]," Juàntóuyán, *Xiānfā bùduì* 先發部隊 [Foreword to The vanguard] (1934), reprinted in Li Nan-heng (李南衡), ed., *Wénxiàn zīliào xuǎnjí* [Anthology of

as an important model for developing Taiwanese language and literature, Taiwan as a subject was persistently maintained in the discourse on Taiwanese language reform and Taiwanese *xiāngtǔ* literature (鄉土文學 place-based literature). The desire of creating a particular language and literature for Taiwan and the Taiwanese, that is, creating *Taiwaneseness* in language and literature, was implied by the discourse. *Hànwén*, particularly *Hànzì* (Chinese characters), was regarded as an innate linguistic source of the Taiwanese for reforming the Taiwanese language. While contemporary Chinese writings were available for serving as a model for Taiwanese language reform, classical *Hànwén* and *Hànzì* facilitated Taiwanese writings in creating a Taiwanese language and literature with *Taiwaneseness*. In addition, the focus on Taiwan shaped the practice of Taiwanese folklore. *Hànwén* also supported Taiwanese traditional intellectuals in their practice of preserving Taiwanese folklore literature and folk culture. The discourse of the Taiwanese literature and language reform movements in the 1930s suggested a close relationship between *Hànwén* and Taiwanese culture, language, and literature. *Hànwén* opened up possibilities for Taiwanese cultural, linguistic, and literary practices.

---

archival sources]. Rìjùxià Taiwan xīnwénxué shǐ, míngjí 5 [History of Taiwan New Literature under Japanese rule, Míng collection 5] (Táiběi Shì: Míngtán chūbǎnshè, Mínguó 68 [1979]), 148-151. Other literary magazines also did not last long, such as *Nányīn* 南音 [Southern Voice] was first issued in 1932 and lasted for nine month; *Xiānfa bùdui* 先發部隊 [The vanguard] was first issued in 1934, re-titled as*, Dìyīxiàn* 第一線 [The frontline] in 1935, and lasted for two numbers only; *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* 三六九小報 [Three-Six-Nine tabloid] was first issued in 1930 and lasted for five year, during which it was banned for two times; *Taiwan wényì* 台灣文藝 [Taiwan literature and art] was first issued in 1934 and *Taiwan xīnwénxué* 台灣新文學 [Taiwan new literature] was first issued in 1935, both of which lasted less than two years. In spite of interruptions, the publications suggested intensive literary movements during 1930-1937. The literary magazines above, except *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào*, were reprinted in *Taiwan xīnwénxué zázhì cóngkān* 台灣新文學雜誌叢刊 [Taiwan new literature monograph], eds.Toshio Ikeda (池田敏雄) and Chuang Yang-lin (莊楊林) (Táiběi Shì: Dōngfāng wénhuà shūjú, Mínguó 70 [1981]). The references of these magazines refer to the reprinted edition.

When the *Taiwan min pao* gained permission from the colonial government to publish on the island, discussions on Taiwan were stimulated and expanded to a larger scope, such as to the economic, social, and political aspects of Taiwanese life.[285] The discussions included issues regarding colonial governance, such as the unjust treatment of the Taiwanese by the colonial police, and discrimination against Taiwanese children in education; agricultural economics issues, such as rice, sugar, pineapple, and banana businesses and market control; economic crisis resulting in Taiwanese unemployment problems; intense social movements, such as farmers' and labors' movements and unions; and new political organizations and movements, such as the Taiwanese People's Party, the reform of local autonomy, proletariat and laws, and international proletariat movements, and so forth.[286] The mixture of negotiations, complaints, and enthusiasm in political and social discourse shaped the Taiwanese imagination of what Taiwan could become.

In addition, the discourse about China was also available at that time for Taiwanese intellectuals and activists to imagine possible ways of negotiating with the Japanese colonial force for the betterment of Taiwan. News about political and social changes in China, including

---

[285] *Taiwan min pao* moved back to Taiwan on August 1, 1927, and included publications in and by Japanese. See *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan], no. 167 (1927; repr., Táiběi Shì: Dōngfāng wénhuà shūjú [The Oriental Cultural Service], Mínguó 62 [1973].

[286] See *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan], for issues of the colonial police, for example, number 172, 175 (1927), 204 (1928), 255, 259-261(1929); for issues of education, for example, number 175, 176, 178, 184 (1927), 195, 197, 203-204 (1928), 249, 255, 257-258, 265, 293 (1929), 304 (1930); for economic issues, labor and unemployment problems, for example, number 179,181, 186 (1927), 196, 197, 199 (1928), 200, 212, 223, 241-243 (1929), 247, 253, 272, 287, 294 (1930); for political issues and movements, for example, number 167 (1927), 189, 192, 193, 224-226, 231 (1928), 240-242, 248 (1929), 270 (1929); social organizations and issues, for example, number, 167-168, 172, 174, 176-180, 186 (1927), 189-192 (1928).

lectures by Chinese political activists and political activities of different parties, were published regularly in Taiwan min pao.

Toward the late 1920s, the discourse in *Taiwan min pao* implied the continuation of the Taiwanese new cultural movement toward the goal of the enlightenment of the masses. Knowledge of the world was provided by *Taiwan min pao*; for example, the travel notes of Lín Xiàntáng (林獻堂) served as a world travel novel that not only shaped Taiwanese understanding of the West, but also opened up Taiwanese imaginations and reflections on Western civilization and modernity.[287] The *Báihuà* literature in *Taiwan min pao* also suggested a clear focus on the masses. The majority of *Báihuà* literature described Chinese and Taiwanese masses as well as their social life in both Chinese and Taiwanese *Báihuàwén* (colloquial *Hànwén*).[288] In addition, the reform of the Taiwanese language continued, such as creating a script for the Taiwanese language. The *Taiwan Báihuàzì* (Romanized Taiwanese characters) movement still tried to gain permission from the colonial authority to teach *Taiwan Báihuàzì* to the illiterate Taiwanese

[287] Lín Xiàntáng (林獻堂), "Huánqiú yóujì [Global travels]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan], no. 171-176, 178-185, 191-207, 241-243, 245, 247-254, 262-268, 270-282, 285-293, 295-355 (1973 [1927-1930]), and *Taiwan hsin min pao* [The new people's newspaper of Taiwan], no. 306-384 (1930-1931; repr., Taibei: Dōngfāng wénhuà shūjú [The Oriental Cultural Service], 1973). The following references of *Taiwan xin min pao* refer to this reprinted edition. Lín Xiàntáng spent a year (1927-1928) visiting the West, including the United States and European countries, and described his trips and wrote down his views about the West.

[288] Chinese *Báihuà* novels, for example, Zhāng Wǒjūn (張我軍), "Yòuhuò [Temptation]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan], no. 255-258 (1929 [1973]); Shǒuyú (守愚), "Liètù [Hunting rabbits]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan], no. 241-242 (1929 [1973]); Taiwanese *Báihuà* novels, for example, Qiūshēng (秋生), "Sǐma? [Died?]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan], no. 279-283 (1929 [1973]). *Taiwan min pao* was renamed as *Taiwan hsin min pao* [literally new people's newspaper of Taiwan, The new people's newspaper of Taiwan] starting no. 306 (March 29, 1930).

masses.[289] It was reasoned that *Taiwan Báihuàzì* could facilitate popularization of education in Taiwan and educate the Taiwanese masses to read. However, the *Taiwan Báihuàzì* movement was not permitted by the Japanese colonial government. It was reasoned that the *Taiwan Báihuàzì* movement would hinder the Japanese national language movement.[290]

Issues in the Taiwanese Languages

However, the discourse regarding the Romanized characters raised attention to the problem of Taiwanese languages and to the particularity of Taiwanese language use in Taiwan. For example, Yè Róngzhōng (葉榮鐘) argued that after thirty years of change in Taiwan, new words were created in Japanese or Chinese translations for new concepts and new things in the new era, but not in the Taiwanese languages. Therefore he suggested that new words must be created in the Taiwanese languages. In addition, he pointed out that the Taiwanese languages were composed of different regional languages from the Fukien (福建) and Guǎngdōng (廣東) provinces in China, and thus it was proposed that the Taiwanese languages be standardized. In this way, he reasoned, it would be possible to use Romanized characters to create a script for the Taiwanese language.[291]

He then turned to focus on standardizing the Taiwanese languages, and he suggested the way of using the Taiwanese languages in writing and creating literary works, such as literature,

---

[289] See "Báihuàzì jiǎngxíhuè [*Báihuà* character education]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan], no. 260 (1929 [1973]), 2; "Luómǎ Báihuàzī pǔjí yúndòng: Càishì yǐ zuòchén xuānchuángē [Popularization movement of Romanized Báihuà characters: Mr. Cai has created an advertising song]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan], no. 243 (1929 [1973]): 3.

[290] "Luómǎ Báihuàzì de jiǎngxíhuè juédìng búrènkě [The rejection of Romanized characters education]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan], no. 271 (1929 [1973]): 5.

[291] See Yè Róngzhōng (葉榮鐘), "Guānyú Luómǎzì yùndòng (yi), (er) [Regarding Romanized characters movement, I & II]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan], no. 260, 261 (1929 [1973]).

novels, poems, and plays, and so on. He argued that the standard of a language could be developed from the most common languages used in literary writings. Give the uncultivated literary field of Taiwan, he recommended that Chinese writings would be nutritional sources to develop a standard for Taiwanese languages; however, he suggested making adaptations of Chinese language usages to the specific context in Taiwan. As he argued, "Chinese have their own customs and Taiwanese have their own as well. Even though they are regarded as from the same language and root, each of them has distinct characteristics."[292] Finally, he maintained that practicing writing in the Taiwanese languages would not only help standardize the Taiwanese languages, but also "moisturize the desert of Taiwan." All in all, he stressed that mass education and a standard Taiwanese language were equally important problems in Taiwan at that time.[293]

Yè Róngzhōng's proposal opened up possibilities for considering Taiwan as a particularly entity in spite of its cultural and linguistic connection with China. In this particular entity, Taiwanese languages were expected to be the major language in promoting mass education in Taiwan. Given the complicated linguistic situation of Taiwan, Yè Róngzhōng proposed standardizing Taiwanese languages. Chinese writings were thought of as a good model for standardizing Taiwanese languages; however, he suggested that the contextual and customary language use in Taiwan be taken into account in adopting Chinese writings.

Yè Róngzhōng's suggestion implied that Romanized Taiwanese *Báihuàzì* and the Chinese language were the available models for standardizing the Taiwanese languages, but the Chinese language was the preferred one. This preference positioned the Taiwanese languages in

---

[292] Yè Róngzhōng (葉榮鐘), "Guānyú Luómǎzì yùndòng (san) [Regarding Romanized characters movement, III]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan], no. 262 (1929 [1973]), 8.
[293] Ibid.

relation to the Chinese language. In this position, however, the Taiwanese languages were considered as a "language" rather than a regional dialect. In addition, the Taiwanese languages in this position were allowed flexibility in drawing on the Chinese language for developing a particular *Taiwanese* language for Taiwan.

On the other hand, Yè Róngzhōng's proposal of Taiwanese language standardization suggested that all Taiwanese languages were supposed to be subsumed into a standard form. Even though his assumption considered contextual and customary usages of Taiwanese languages, the linguistic diversity within Taiwanese languages was not taken into consideration, and the particularity of each Taiwanese language was ignored. However, his proposal encouraged the practice of writing in Taiwanese languages, and opened up possibilities for developing a language specifically for Taiwan.

A similar concern about the Taiwanese languages was shared by Yătáng (雅堂), the Taiwanese traditional intellectual. It is important to note that for Yătáng, the Taiwanese language referred to the Hoklo language (the widely spoken Taiwanese language in colonial Taiwan). While Yè Róngzhōng's concern was about promoting Taiwanese mass education in a standardized Taiwanese language, Yătáng was worried about the extinction of the Taiwanese language (Hoklo) due to the changes of the era, and so he compiled a dictionary of the Taiwanese language with etymological meanings.[294] Yătáng's work in Taiwanese language compilation suggested a linguistic connection between *Hànwén* and the Hoklo language. He argued that the Taiwanese language (in Hoklo) was actually an elegant language, and its usages

[294] Yătáng (雅堂 i.e., Lián Yătáng 連雅堂, or Lián Héng 連橫), "Táiyŭ zhènglĭ zhī tóuxù [The thread for compiling the Taiwanese language]," *Taiwan min pao* [The people's newspaper of Taiwan], no. 288 (1929 [1973]), 8.

could be found in Chinese classics. Yǎtáng regarded the Taiwanese language as an important element that constituted the *Hàn nation*al spirit, and he stated,

> I am Taiwanese and speak Taiwanese, but could not write Taiwanese characters and understand their meanings. I feel ashamed. The Taiwanese language originated from Zhāng (漳) and Quán (泉) languages, which came from China. The source is distant and long… I fear that the Taiwanese language will gradually die, and the national spirit will thus decline. My responsibility is so heavy.[295]

He lamented that current Taiwanese children could not learn the Taiwanese language because it was prohibited in school; Taiwanese youth forgot the Taiwanese language after further study in Japan for years; and Taiwanese elites and officials curried favor with Japanese officials by disdaining speaking the Taiwanese language. In such an unfavorable situation, he worried that the Taiwanese language would die.[296]

Yǎtáng assumed that the Taiwanese language (i.e., Hoklo) was valuable because it originated from the *Hàn cultural* traditions. He saw himself as the guard of the *Hàn nation*al culture and spirit, so he undertook the work of compiling the etymological origins of the Taiwanese language from Chinese classics. He believed that his work would help prevent the Taiwanese language from extinction.

Yǎtáng's work could have possibly encouraged readings and writings in the Taiwanese language because the Taiwanese language dictionary could serve as a reference tool for understanding the written form of the Taiwanese language. However, it was not sure if the old usages of the Taiwanese language found in etymological sources in the dictionary would fit the

---

[295] My translation, emphasis added. Ibid.
[296] Ibid.

then contemporary Taiwan, especially the contextual and customary usages of the Taiwanese language in contemporary Taiwan as considered by Yè Róngzhōng.

On the other hand, his work, like Yè Róngzhōng's (葉榮鐘) proposal, challenged the view of the Taiwanese language as a vulgar regional speech, as opposed to the standard Chinese language, and instead regarded the Taiwanese language as a "language." In both works, the Chinese language (i.e., *Hànwén*), in contemporary or classical form, was regarded as a valuable resource for reforming the Taiwanese languages. The contemporary Chinese writings were a good model for the practice of Taiwanese writings in standardizing the Taiwanese languages; the classic Chinese language provided meanings and written forms to the Taiwanese languages.

Hànwén and Taiwanese *Xiāngtǔ* Literature Movement

> *I love Chinese Báihuàwén very much. I have never alienated myself from Chinese Báihuàwén for a day. However, I am not satisfied with Chinese Báihuàwén. In fact, it is the current situation that does not allow me to use Chinese Báihuàwén.*[297]

In the late 1920s, the political and social discourse in *Taiwan min pao,* as mentioned above, implied a concern about the wellbeing of the Taiwanese masses. In particular, the miserable, unjust situation of the Taiwanese laboring masses under colonial exploitation was presented in the discourses of Taiwanese political and social movements. The concern about the real life of Taiwanese masses was also implied by the discourse on the Taiwanese literature and language movement, namely *xiāngtǔ* literature (鄉土文學 place-based literature) and

---

[297] Guō Qiūshēng (郭秋生), "Jiànshè Taiwanhuàwén yì tiàn [A proposal of constructing the Taiwanese script], originally published in *Taiwan hsin min pao* [The new people's newspaper of Taiwan] in 1931, and reprinted in Toshiro Nakajima 中島利郎 [Zhōngdǎo Lìláng], ed., *Yījiǔ sānlíng niándài Taiwan xiāngtǔ wénxué lùnzhàn zīliào huìbiān* [Compilation of materials on the Taiwan xiāngtǔ literature debates in the 1930s] (Kaohsiung Shì: Chun-hui, Mínguó 92 [2003]), 97. This reference refers to the reprinted version.

Taiwanhuàwén (台灣話文).[298] The discourse of *xiāngtǔ* literature and *Taiwanhuàwén* opened up possibilities for the Taiwanese to imagine relationships among the Taiwanese languages, Taiwanese literature, the Taiwanese masses, and the position of colonial Taiwan. It suggested particular attention to Taiwan and the Taiwanese, and their emotions, feelings, sweat and toil, struggles, hopes, and ambivalence.

Huáng Shíhuī (黃石輝) called Taiwanese writers' attention to Taiwan and the Taiwanese masses in writing Taiwanese literature:

> You are Taiwanese. Over your head is the Taiwanese sky. Your feet walk on Taiwanese soil. All you see are the conditions of Taiwan. Everything your ears hear is Taiwanese news. What you undergo is Taiwanese experience. That which you speak is also a Taiwanese language. Therefore, that powerful, gifted pen of yours, that productive, brilliant pen should also write Taiwanese literature.[299]

---

[298] *Xiāngtǔ* 鄉土 literally means homeland and soil. *Xiāngtǔ* literature could be regarded as regional or placed-based literature that focuses on particular characteristics of a place, including its people, nature, or culture cultivated by natural and cultural conditions of the place. *Taiwanhuàwén* (台灣話文) means the Taiwanese language in unification of the Taiwanese written and spoken languages.

[299] Huáng Shíhuī (黃石輝), "Zěyàng bù tíchàng xiāngtǔ wénxué [Why not promote *xiāngtǔ* Literature?], originally published in *Wǔrén bào* [Five people news], no. 9-11 (1930), reprinted in Toshiro Nakajima 中島利郎 [Zhōngdǎo Lìláng], ed. *Yījiǔ sānlíng niándài Taiwan xiāngtǔ wénxué lùnzhàn zīliào huìbiān* [Compilation of materials on the Taiwan xiāngtǔ literature debates in the 1930s], 1-6. This reference refers to the reprinted version. Translation was based on Douglas L Fix, "Advancing on Tokyo: The New Literature Movement, 1930-37," in *Rìjù shíchí Taiwan shǐ guójì xuéshù yántǎohuì lùnwénjí* [Symposium of the International Colloquium on the Taiwanese History in the Period of the Japanese Rule] (Táiběi Shì: Department of History, National Taiwan University, 1993), and was accessed from Hsiau A-chin (蕭阿勤), *Contemporary Taiwanese cultural nationalism* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 40.

> Then how to write Taiwanese literature? It is using the Taiwanese language (*Taiwanhuàwén*) to write, make poems, create novels and songs, and describe Taiwan.[300] Do you want to create literature that will touch and excite the masses? Do you want the masses to feel your emotions in their hearts? If you don't, nothing more needs to be said. If you do, then whether you are a defender of the ruling class or a leader of the laboring masses, you must create literature whose readers are the laboring masses. Thus you should also stand up for *xiāngtǔ* literature and create *xiāngtǔ* literature.[301]

This call provoked Taiwanese writers' awareness of "Taiwan," and particularly their intimate relationship to the place of Taiwan, and it encouraged Taiwanese writers' to write about Taiwan and connect with the Taiwanese masses, most of whom were laborers of Japanese colonization. It also regarded the role of the Taiwanese languages as essential tools to write Taiwanese literature for the Taiwanese laboring masses, based on the assumption that the Taiwanese languages were the languages of the Taiwanese masses. This call constructed the close relationship among Taiwan, the Taiwanese languages, and Taiwanese masses, which constituted what he meant by *xiāngtǔ* literature.

In defending the Taiwanese languages in writing *xiāngtǔ* literature, Huáng Shíhuī refuted Zhāng Wǒjūn's argument that the Taiwanese languages did not have value as literature, and he instead argued that all languages have literary value. He claimed that there was no such issue of being "vulgar" in the Taiwanese languages because the definitions of being "elegant" and "vulgar" are determined by historical situations. He stressed that what he was mainly concerned about was popularizing literature and art to the Taiwanese masses, and the Taiwanese languages

---

[300] My translation, emphasis added. Ibid.

[301] Ibid. Translations based on Douglas L Fix and accessed from Hsiao A-chin (蕭阿勤), *Contemporary Taiwanese cultural nationalism*.

were the appropriate languages for writing Taiwanese literature for the Taiwanese laboring masses in particular.[302]

He also criticized the common practices of "gǔdǒng xuézhě" (古董學者 literally antique scholars, i.e., traditional Taiwanese intellectuals) and the *Báihuà* literature of the time as inaccessible to the Taiwanese masses. He stated that those antique scholars sought to get along with ancient people and disdained the masses, and that *Báihuà* lilterature was elite literature because it was only accessible to *Báihuà* writers. He stressed that the goal of promoting *xiāngtǔ* literature, namely the Taiwanese literature, was to popularize literature and art to the Taiwanese masses.

In Huáng Shíhuī's assumptions, the Taiwanese languages were regarded as the languages closest to the Taiwanese masses. The then common languages in practice, such as Hànwén and *Báihuàwén*, were used by and for specific groups of people, and they mostly excluded the Taiwanese masses. The Taiwanese languages were assumed to be able to touch the Taiwanese masses and thus were recommended as the writing tool for the Taiwanese mass literature, namely *xiāngtǔ* literature.

Taiwanhuàwén and *Xiāngtǔ* Literature

Huáng Shíhuī's (黃石輝) proposal of *xiāngtǔ* literature stimulated fervent discussions about Taiwan, the Taiwanese masses, Taiwanese literature, and the Taiwanese languages. First of all, Guō Qiūshēng (郭秋生) pointed out that illiteracy was the main problem of Taiwan.[303] He reasoned that due to all kinds of linguistic restrictions imposed by the colonial government,

---

[302] Ibid.

[303] Guō Qiūshēng (郭秋生), "Jiànshè Taiwanhuàwén yì tíàn [A proposal of constructing the Taiwanese script]," 7-52.

and the distinctive circumstances of Taiwan, the Taiwanese languages and their major diacritic marks, which were *Hànwén*, were in danger of extinction, and the Taiwanese thus would become illiterate. According to him, linguistic restrictions preventing the Taiwanese from developing literacy and modern knowledge included limited educational opportunities for the Taiwanese masses, in which secondary education was only available to a small number of Taiwanese; useless colonial common school education focused on basic Japanese language learning only prohibited use of the Taiwanese language in school; and *shūfáng* was becoming extinct, which used to be the only place that was teaching Hànwén literacy, and so on.

Guō Qiūshēng assumed that the unification of Taiwanese spoken and written languages, which was named as *Taiwanhuàwén*, could address the illiteracy problem of Taiwan because it would be an easier language for the Taiwanese masses to learn and read. As he said,

> If the spoken words are identical with the written words, the learner will understand more easily the meaning, and will not have to labor to figure out the meaning of each written word. Learned written words will also be expressed directly in the spoken language. It does not have to be like learning *Wényánwén*, in which the learner must first learn to recognize characters and understand their meanings, and then learn their usages, so as to know how to write and compose.[304]

In terms of the Taiwanese language, Guō Qiūshēng argued that there were no diacritical marks available to put the Taiwanese language into a written form. The Japanese language and the Chinese *Báihuàwén* were regarded as not being able to supply appropriate diacritical marks for Taiwanese speech due to the particular Taiwanese context and tone system, and therefore could not help solve the illiteracy problem of the Taiwanese masses. Specifically, he maintained

[304] My translation. Ibid., 47.

that the Chinese *Báihuàwén* was not an appropriate script for the Taiwanese language because it was developed from the Chinese national language, which was based on regional languages in China. Its usages, which had been accommodated to local uses in China, were not suitable for uses in Taiwan. He further argued that politically Taiwan was not a region of China, and the Taiwanese language could not be regarded as a regional language (dialect) of the Chinese language.[305]

Guō Qiūshēng's (郭秋生) assumption above paid attention to the cultural and linguistic particularity of Taiwan, and did not consider other languages, such as Japanese and Chinese *Báihuàwén*, which were not native to Taiwan, as being able to address the specific feature of Taiwanese language use. It also assumed that the Taiwanese languages were distinctive *languages*, different from other regional languages (i.e., dialects) in China. This assumption positioned the Taiwanese languages in an independent status for the Chinese *Báihuàwén*.

Therefore, he proposed to *construct* a new script for the Taiwanese languages, which was *Taiwanhuàwén* (Taiwanese speech script), rather than borrowing the script of Japanese or Chinese *baihua wên*. He also doubted the possibility of adopting existing *Luoma zi* (i.e., *Taiwan baihua zi*, the Romanized Taiwanese characters) in popularizing the new Taiwanese script. He instead suggested using *Hànzì* (Chinese characters). As he argued, "Since Taiwan has its indigenous *Hànzì*..., which is the form of the *Hàn* nation and the symbol of Hàn national languages… Therefore, I contend that Taiwanese must not abandon the indigenous *Hànzì*, and instead must use the indigenous *Hànzì* to mark the Taiwanese language and write *Taiwanhuàwén*."[306]

---

[305] Ibid.

[306] My translation, emphasis added. Ibid., 48.

He then referred to Lián Yǎtáng's etymological compilation of the Taiwanese language (Hoklo mainly) and argued that the Taiwanese languages had *Hànzì* origins, which would be available sources for constructing the Taiwanese script. Even though he doubted the possibility of immediate applications of the ancient Taiwanese languages (etymological sources) to the then customary usages, he suggested that modifications made to available *Hànzì* would be a way of constructing the new script. In this way, he maintained, "Even though it [Taiwanese language] is not positioned as a regional language as opposed to *Wényánwén* and *Báihuàwén* (Chinese national language), it is a script with a strong placed-based characteristic within the *Hànzì* system… At least it could express the unique *xiāngtǔ* characteristic of Taiwan."[307] For maintaining the "strong placed-based characteristics" of the Taiwanese script, he insisted on constructing a new script based on *Hànzì* rather than adopting the *Chinese Báihuàwén* as the script for the Taiwanese languages.

It is clear that Guō Qiūshēng viewed *Hànzì*, namely *Hànwén*, as a valuable resource for constructing the Taiwanese script. This view kept Taiwanese literature and the Taiwanese languages within the Hàn cultural tradition, free from colonial determination, and at the same time maintained an equal position to the contemporary Chinese language (i.e., *Báihuàwén*) within the same cultural tradition. It made possible a view of the Taiwanese languages, as well as Taiwanese literature, as an independent, unique cultural subject that could not be replaced by other languages and literature.

Problems of *Xiāngtǔ* Literature and *Taiwanhuàwén*

At the same time, the proposal for Taiwanese *xiāngtǔ* literature and constructing *Taiwanhuàwén* was challenged. The meaning of *xiāngtǔ* literature was questioned, and the

[307] My translation, emphasis added. Ibid., 51-52.

possibility of constructing *Taiwanhuàwén* to create Taiwanese literature was doubted.[308] First of all, based on the literary theory of the pastoral literature in Germany in the nineteenth century, for example, "Heimatkunst" (literally home art), or *Holzknecht haus* (literally "woodcutter's house"),[309] which were categorized and translated as *xiāngtǔ* literature, the type of Taiwanese *xiāngtǔ* literature was questioned. For example, Yùwén argued that all literature did describe the *xiāngtǔ* of a certain place, and "if a place requires a place-based literature, then how many place-based literatures would the five prefectures in Taiwan and eighteen provinces in China require?"[310] Diǎnrén (點人) also pointed out the linguistic diversity in Taiwan and wondered if it was economically valuable to promote the Taiwanese place-based literature and *Taiwanhuàwén*.[311] As to solving the illiteracy problem, it was suggested that learning another language, such as *Hànwén* or *Héwén* (和文 Japanese), could also solve this problem, and therefore there was no need to create a new language, namely *Taiwanhuàwén*.

---

[308] See Yùwén (毓文), "Gěi Huáng Shíhuī xiānshēn—xiāngtǔ wénxué de yínwèi [To Mr. Huáng Shíhuī —Perusal of xiāngtǔ literature]," originally published in *Zhāohé xīnbào* [昭和新報 Showa news] (1931), no. 140-141, reprinted in Toshiro Nakajima 中島利郎 [Zhōngdǎo Lìláng], ed., *Yījiǔ sānlíng niándài Taiwan xiāngtǔ wénxué lùnzhàn zīliào huìbiān* [Compilation of materials on the Taiwan xiāngtǔ literature debates in the 1930s], 65-66; Diǎnrén (點人), "Jiǎnyìjiǎn xiāngtǔ wénxué [Examining *xiāngtǔ* literature]," originally published in *Zhāohé xīnbào* [Showa news] (1931), reprinted in Toshiro Nakajima 中島利郎[Zhōngdǎo Lìláng], ed., *Yījiǔ sānlíng niándài Taiwan xiāngtǔ wénxué lùnzhàn zīliào huìbiān* [Compilation of materials on the Taiwan xiāngtǔ literature debates in the 1930s, 85. Both references refer to the reprinted version.

[309] Yùwén (毓文), "Gěi Huáng Shíhuī xiānshēn——xiāngtǔ wénxué de yínwèi [To Mr. Huáng Shíhuī —Perusal of xiāngtǔ literature]," originally published in *Zhāohé xīnbào* [Showa news] (1931), no. 140-141, reprinted in Toshiro Nakajima 中島利郎 [Zhōngdǎo Lìláng], ed., *Yījiǔ sānlíng niándài Taiwan xiāngtǔ wénxué lùnzhàn zīliào huìbiān* [Compilation of materials on the Taiwan xiāngtǔ literature debates in the 1930s], 65-66.

[310] My translation. Ibid.

[311] Diǎnrén (點人), "Jiǎnyìjiǎn xiāngtǔ wénxué [Examining xiāngtǔ literature]," 82.

Instead, from the perspective of world literature, it was suggested that since Taiwanese *xiāngtǔ* literature was created for the Taiwanese masses, why not promote it to the world and have it be accessible to the proletarian class all over the world? It was further proposed that the mission of Taiwanese literature was "to introduce the nature, society, humanity, and customs of Taiwan to the world and to create Taiwanese literature as a world literature."[312] One approach proposed was adopting the Chinese *Báihuàwén* to writing Taiwanese literature. It was reasoned that Taiwan had a close relationship to China, and that language, the *Chinese Báihuàwén*, was a language of China, which was apprehensible to Taiwanese. Adopting the Chinese *Báihuàwén* was thought of as more economical than creating the *Taiwanhuàwén***,** and at the same time as it would be accessible to Chinese readers.[313] In addition, it was argued that the Taiwanese language was immature and incapable of creating great literature. Instead, the standard *Chinese Báihuàwén* was recommended, which had been universalized in China, to be directly used in writing literature and describing characteristics of a place without causing confusion to readers.[314]

---

[312] Yùwén (毓文), "Gěi Huáng Shíhuī xiānshēn——xiāngtǔ wénxué de yínwèi [To Mr. Huáng Shíhuī —Perusal of xiāngtǔ literature]," 67; Diǎnrén, "Jiǎnyìjiǎn xiāngtǔ wénxué [Examining xiāngtǔ literature]," 87.

[313] See for example, Kèfū (克夫), "'Xiāngtǔ wénxué de jiǎntǎo dú Huáng Shíhuī jūn de gāolùn [Examining "xiāngtǔ literature—Reading Mr. Huáng Shíhuī's brilliant opinions], originally published in *Taiwan xin min pao* [The new people's newspaper of Taiwan] (1931), reprinted in Toshiro Nakajima 中島利郎 [Zhōngdǎo Lìláng], ed., *Yījiǔ sānlíng niándài Taiwan xiāngtǔ wénxué lùnzhàn zīliào huìbiān* [Compilation of materials on the Taiwan xiāngtǔ literature debates in the 1930s], 77. The reference refers to the reprinted edition.

[314] Yùwén (毓文), "Gěi Huáng Shíhuī xiānshēn——xiāngtǔ wénxué de yínwèi [To Mr. Huáng Shíhuī —Perusal of xiāngtǔ literature]," 68; Diǎnrén (點人), "Jiǎnyìjiǎn xiāngtǔ wénxué [Examining xiāngtǔ literature]," 89.

The assumptions in the suggestions and proposals above implied that the audience of Taiwanese literature included not just the Taiwanese masses but also Chinese in the mainland, and even the proletarian class around the world. For such a wide range of audience, a more *standard*, common language (i.e., Chinese *Báihuàwén*) was required. The assumptions positioned the Taiwanese language and literature as part of the Chinese literature, and indeed they subsumed the Taiwanese masses into the *great, general* world masses. The assumptions still maintained Taiwan in connection with contemporary China, but in a periphery position. Also, the assumptions suggested that Taiwan, as well as the Taiwanese languages and literature, were underdeveloped and thus needed help from its cultural relative and predecessor, China and the Chinese language, to get promoted to the world. They also indicated an ignorance of the necessity and possibility of constructing a new Taiwanese script for the Taiwanese language and of using the new script to write Taiwanese literature. The assumptions above did not even allow the possibility of seeing Taiwanese literature as a particular *xiāngtǔ* literature based in Taiwan, because Taiwan was regarded as an area similar to many other regions in China rather than as a distinctive cultural place.

Re-positioning *Xiāngtǔ* Literature and Taiwan

In response to the questions mentioned above, Huáng Shíhuī (黃石輝) made these statements:

> Taiwan was a distinctive entity. Politically, it [*Taiwanhuàwén*] could not be dominated by the *Chinese Pǔtōnghuà*; ethnically (historical experience) it [*Taiwanhuàwén*] could

> not be dominated by the *Japanese Pǔtōnghuà* (national language). This is a truth without question.[315]
>
> I regard Taiwan as a *xiāngtǔ*, so I propose *xiāngtǔ* literature. Japan could standardize the Tokyo language, China could standardize the lánqīng (藍青) official language, and then why cannot Taiwan standardize languages? Based on the Chang Ch'üan languages, we include other languages in commonalities in order to create the *Pǔtōnghuà* of Taiwan (Taiwanese common language); why is this a problem?[316]

In addition, he responded that the view of *Taiwanhuàwén* as an immature language did not make sense, and he asked "if Taiwanese literature were to be world literature, then which language should be in use in place of *Taiwanhuàwén*? Esperanto, English, or Chinese?"[317] He reasoned that since the proletarian literature was written for the laboring masses around us, it should help develop their literacy. In this sense, *xiāngtǔ* literature written by *Taiwanhuàwén*, which unified

---

[315] My translation, emphasis of *Taiwanhuàwén* and italics were added, other emphases are from the original. *Pǔtōnghuà* 普通話 means the common language. Chinese *Pǔtōnghuà* is the Mandarin Chinese. Huáng Shíhuī (黃石輝), "Wǒde jǐjù dábiàn [My reply in several sentences]," originally published in *Zhāohé xīnbào* [Showa news] (1931), no. 142-44, reprinted in Toshiro Nakajima 中島利郎 [Zhōngdǎo Lìláng], ed., *Yījiǔ sānlíng niándài Taiwan xiāngtǔ wénxué lùnzhàn zīliào huìbiān* [Compilation of materials on the Taiwan xiāngtǔ literature debates in the 1930s], 70. The reference refers to the reprinted version.

[316] My translation. Huáng Shíhuī (黃石輝), "Xiāngtǔ wénxué de jiǎntǎo—Zàidá Yùwén xiānshēn [Examining xiāngtǔ literature—Responding again to Mr. Yùwén]," original publication unknown, reprinted in Toshiro Nakajima 中島利郎 [Zhōngdǎo Lìláng], ed., *Yījiǔ sānlíng niándài Taiwan xiāngtǔ wénxué lùnzhàn zīliào huìbiān* [Compilation of materials on the Taiwan xiāngtǔ literature debates in the 1930s], 110-11. As to the lánqīng official language, lán means blue, qīng means green, asnd the lánqīng official language means the Chinese official language mixed by regional languages.

[317] Huáng Shíhuī (黃石輝), "Wǒde jǐjù dábiàn [My reply in several sentences]," 73.

speech and script, would develop the Taiwanese laboring masses to be literate.[318] He believed that *Taiwanhuàwén* could make Taiwanese literature world literature, and the priority was to create good Taiwanese literature in *Taiwanhuàwén*.

Furthermore, in addressing the illiteracy problem of the Taiwanese masses, Huáng Shíhuī criticized the suggestion of learning *Wényánwén* (Classical Chinese) or *Héwén* (Japanese) as ridiculous. He maintained that learning either *Wényánwén* or *Héwén* could only solve the illiteracy problem of the elites, because they could afford to learn either of these languages. He argued that Wényánwén learned in private school and Japanese learned in common school for six years no longer could satisfy the practical needs of the Taiwanese.[319] Finally, he stressed that *xiāngtǔ* literature was a serious issue, and he re-claimed three points:

> First, *Taiwanhuàwén* could not perish and be replaced by any language. On the basis of the unified spoken and written languages, *xiāngtǔ* literature is absolutely needed. Second, *xiāngtǔ* literature is able to reform (organize) *Taiwanhuàwén* and promote the standardization of *Taiwanhuàwén*. Third, on the basis of the unified spoken and written languages, *xiāngtǔ* literature could possibly get rid of (at least decrease) the illiterate symptom.[320]

---

[318] Huáng Shíhuī (黃石輝), "Xiāngtǔ wénxué de jiǎntǎo—Zàidá Yùwén xiānshēn [Examining xiāngtǔ literature—Responding again to Mr. Yùwén]," 110.

[319] Huáng Shíhuī (黃石輝), "Hé Diǎnrén xiānshēn tán zhīyè [Talk with Mr. Diǎnrén about minor details]," originally published in *Taiwan xīnwén* [Taiwan news] (1931), reprinted in Toshiro Nakajima 中島利郎 [Zhōngdǎo Lìláng], ed., *Yījiǔ sānlíng niándài Taiwan xiāngtǔ wénxué lùnzhàn zīliào huìbiān* [Compilation of materials on the Taiwan xiāngtǔ literature debates in the 1930s], 113-17. The reference refers to the reprinted edition.

[320] Huáng Shíhuī (黃石輝), "Gěi Diǎnrén xiānshēn—Wèi xiāngtǔ wénxué [To Mr.Diǎnrén—For the problem of xiāngtǔ literature]," originally published in *Zhāohé xīnbào* [Showa news] (1931), reprinted in Toshiro Nakajima 中島利郎 [Zhōngdǎo Lìláng], ed., *Yījiǔ sānlíng niándài Taiwan xiāngtǔ wénxué lùnzhàn zīliào huìbiān* [Compilation of materials on the Taiwan xiāngtǔ

In spite of opposition to *xiāngtǔ* literature and *Taiwanhuàwén*, Huáng Shíhuī's statements identified these tasks of *xiāngtǔ* literature: construction of a Taiwanese script that unified Taiwanese spoken and written languages through practices of writing *xiāngtǔ* literature, standardization of the *Taiwanhuàwén*, and popularization of *xiāngtǔ* literature written in *Taiwanhuàwén* among the Taiwanese masses. Huáng Shíhuī's responses re-positioned Taiwanese literature based in Taiwan and focused on the Taiwanese masses.

Reform of the Taiwanese Languages

The discourse about the proposal of constructing *Taiwanhuàwén* stimulated the practice of writing in *Taiwanhuàwén*. For example, Huáng Chúnqīng (黃純青) wrote about his views of reforming the Taiwanese languages in *Taiwanhuàwén* based on the Amoy speech.[321] He claimed that his writing was an "attempt" at writing *Báihuàwén* that was mixed with colloquial and literary languages and with Ch'üan and Chang tones (sub-languages of Hoklo). He suggested that the reform of the Taiwanese languages could cure the illiteracy problem of Taiwan, and save the Taiwanese languages and *Hànwén* from extinction. His writing not only offered a picture of what *Taiwanhuàwén* looked like and the possible confusions that readers might have, but also shaped Taiwanese writers' understandings and practices of *Taiwanhuàwén* writings.

In this article, Huáng Chúnqīng explained that Ch'üan and Chang speeches were the common languages in Taiwan, and Amoy was the center of convergence of Ch'üan and Chang Chinese, including the oversea Ch'üan and Chang Chinese in South Asia, and he thus selected

---

literature debates in the 1930s] (Mínguó 92 [2003]), 119-20. The reference refers to the reprinted edition.

321 Huáng Chúnqīng (黃純青), "Taiwanhuàwén gǎizàolùn [Paper on the reform of Taiwanese languages]," originally published in *Taiwan xīnwén* 台灣新聞 [Taiwan news] (1931), reprinted in Toshiro Nakajima 中島利郎 [Zhōngdǎo Lìláng], ed., *Yījiǔ sānlíng niándài Taiwan xiāngtǔ wénxué lùnzhàn zīliào huìbiān* [Compilation of materials on the Taiwan xiāngtǔ literature debates in the 1930s], 121-43. This reference refers to the reprinted version.

the Amoy speech as the standard linguistic basis for creating *Taiwanhuàwén*. Following the principle of unifying Taiwanese spoken and written languages, he proposed that *Taiwanhuàwén* be reformed to be an independent language under the condition of being consistent with the Amoy speech and sharing commonalities with the Chinese language.

His article pointed out the complexities in standardizing the pronunciation and script of Taiwanese languages, especially by drawing on *Hànwén* (i.e., *Hànzì*) and the Chinese languages. Within the *Hànwén* system, rich variations of *Hànzì* complicated the selections of appropriate words for *Taiwanhuàwén*; within the Chinese language system, differences between the Míng (閩 Fukien) and Yuè (粵 Guǎngdōng) language systems, and the Chinese *Pǔtōnghuà* (普通話 common speech), posed problems to connecting *Taiwanhuàwén* to Chinese *Pǔtōnghuà*. Even within the Taiwanese languages, as he demonstrated, the *Hàn* Chinese languages included the languages of *Zhāng* (漳), *Quán* (泉) *Fúzhōu* (福州), *Kèjiā* (客家), and *Guǎngdōng* (廣東).[322] In addition, he proposed ways of compiling and editing Taiwanese words that could make *Taiwanhuàwén* consistent with the Amoy language and Chinese *Pǔtōnghuà*. Huáng Chúnqīng's article provided a direction for reforming the Taiwanese languages and also opened up more discussions on views about the unification of spoken and written languages, and on ways of modifying and adjusting Taiwanese languages in negotiation between *Hànzì* and Chinese *Báihuàwén*.[323]

---

[322] *Zhāng*, *Quán*, and *Fúzhōu* were languages from the Fukien province in China.

[323] See for example, Huáng Shíhuī (黃石輝), "Duì Taiwanhuàwén gǎizàolùn de yì shāngquè [Discussion on "Paper on the reform of Taiwanese languages"]," original publication unknown; Guō Qiūshēng (郭秋生), "Dú Huáng Chúnqīn xiānshēn de 'Taiwanhuàwén gǎizàolùn' [Reading Mr. Huáng Chúnqīng's "Paper on the reform of Taiwanese languages"]," originally published in *Taiwan xin min pao* [The new people's newspaper of Taiwan] (1931); the above references were reprinted in Toshiro Nakajima 中島利郎 [Zhōngdǎo Lìláng], ed., *Yījiǔ sānlíng niándài Taiwan*

Approaches to Constructing the Taiwanese Script

Huáng Shíhuī (黃石輝) stressed the importance of the Taiwanese language to the literature in Taiwan. As he maintained, "Literature represented speech, and in any place, there was a speech. Therefore, we need *xiāngtǔ* literature."[324] In other words, the literature of Taiwan expressed the speech of Taiwan, and, by extension, only the speech of Taiwan could create the literature of Taiwan. He shared with Guō Qiūshēng (郭秋生) the idea of constructing a Taiwanese script, namely *Taiwanhuàwén*, for writing *xiāngtǔ* literature. He suggested editing *Taiwanhuàwén* readers, such as common knowledge readers and letter writing and composition textbooks, for teaching children in shūfáng (Taiwanese private schools teaching Hànwén only). He also suggested editing the *Taiwanese Báihuà* dictionary to include more words.[325] For compiling the Taiwanese words, he proposed that the words from folksongs, which mostly only served phonetic functions without semantic meaning, could not be included. He explained that these function words would not be comprehensible to Chinese readers. He hoped to maintain

---

xiāngtǔ wénxué lùnzhàn zīliào huìbiān [Compilation of materials on the Taiwan xiāngtǔ literature debates in the 1930s]; Ono Irizima (小野西洲), "Dú Taiwan yǔ gǎizàolùn [Reading the paper on the reform of Taiwanese languages]," originally published in Yǔyuàn 語苑 [Literary forum] (1931), translated by Peng Hsuan (彭萱) and reprinted in Toshiro Nakajima 中島利郎 [Zhōngdǎo Lìláng], ed., *Yījiǔ sānlíng niándài Taiwan xiāngtǔ wénxué lùnzhàn zīliào huìbiān* [Compilation of materials on the Taiwan xiāngtǔ literature debates in the 1930s], 169-176. The references above refer to the reprinted version.

[324] Huáng Shíhuī (黃石輝), "Zàitán xiāngtǔ wénxué [Re-visiting *xiāngtǔ* literature]," originally published in *Taiwan xīnwén* [Taiwan news] in 1931, and reprinted in Toshiro Nakajima 中島利郎 [Zhōngdǎo Lìláng], ed., *Yījiǔ sānlíng niándài Taiwan xiāngtǔ wénxué lùnzhàn zīliào huìbiān* [Compilation of materials on the Taiwan xiāngtǔ literature debates in the 1930s], 53-64. This reference refers to the reprinted version.

[325] Huáng Shíhuī (黃石輝), "Zàitán xiāngtǔ wénxué [Re-visiting xiāngtǔ literature]," 53-64.

exchanges with China through literature and suggested adopting common words shared by *Chinese Báihuàwén* and *Taiwanhuàwén*.[326]

Guō Qiūshēng agreed with Huáng Shíhuī's approaches, which he thought would help construct *Taiwanhuàwén*, but he figured that they would be the long-term plan because it took time to collect Taiwanese words and edit textbooks. He proposed an immediate, practical approach to popularizing *Taiwanhuàwén*, which was resorting to the illiterate Taiwanese masses and their folksongs, particularly the then popular folksongs. He regarded them as the most effective, direct, convenient resources for organizing the Taiwanese script because folksongs "were expressions of the life of a place through the language of this place."[327] According to him, these folksongs were composed completely in the Taiwanese language, but the words functioned as diacritical marks that were not used consistently. He suggested collecting those folksongs from the Taiwanese masses, looking for common words and usages, re-organizing and compiling these words, re-editing and modifying the usages, and finally returning the edited songs to the Taiwanese masses. In this way, he imagined that all Taiwanese masses would learn to read *Taiwanhuàwén* in folksongs.[328]

The *Nányīn* (Southern voice) magazine was created in 1932 as a forum for discussing the *Taiwanhuàwén* and as a platform for practices of *xiāngtǔ* literature.[329] In particular, the

---

[326] Ibid.

[327] Guō Qiūshēng (郭秋生), "Jiànshè Taiwanhuàwén yì tíàn [A proposal of constructing the Taiwanese script], originally published in *Taiwan xin min pao* [The new people's newspaper of Taiwan] (1931), and reprinted in Toshiro Nakajima 中島利郎 [Zhōngdǎo Lìláng], ed., *Yījiǔ sānlíng niándài Taiwan xiāngtǔ wénxué lùnzhàn zīliào huìbiān* [Compilation of materials on the Taiwan xiāngtǔ literature debates in the 1930s], 94. This reference refers to the reprinted version.

[328] Ibid., 93-94.

[329] The *Nányīn* 南音 (Southern voice) magazine was issued for nine months in 1932. It was reprinted in *Taiwan xīnwénxué zázhì cóngkān* (yī) [A collection of Taiwanese new literature

"Taiwanhuàwén tǎolùnlán" (台灣話文討論欄 *Taiwanhuàwén* discussion column) and "Taiwanhuàwén chángshìlán" (台灣話文嘗試欄 *Taiwanhuàwén* practice column) were created as practice spaces specifically for realizing *Taiwanhuàwén*. Continuing to confront different views and suggestions about *xiāngtǔ* literature and *Taiwanhuàwén*, the "*Taiwanhuàwén* discussion column" served as a spokesperson for answering questions and defending the stance and practice of *xiāngtǔ* literature. The discourse about *xiāngtǔ* literature and the Taiwanese masses was reiterated; a new language about *xiāngtǔ* literature was even created to distinguish it from other types of literature. For example, for the concern about the Taiwanese laboring masses, *xiāngtǔ* literature was claimed to be mass literature in distinction from class literature (i.e., proletarian literature). *Xiāngtǔ* literature was also given a new name: "the third literature," which was not class literature, nor elite literature nor proletarian literature.[330]

The "*Taiwanhuàwén* practice column" published collected or edited Taiwanese folklore, such as folksongs, children's ballads, and riddles. The value of folksongs and folksongs created in different historical and geographical contexts was also introduced in *Nányīn*. Folksongs from different places and ethnic groups, such as from Su-chou, Liang Kuang (Kuang-tung and Kwang-hsi), and Miao, Yao ethnic groups in China, and Taiwan, were presented with

---

magazines, vol. 1], eds. Toshio Ikeda (池田敏雄) and Chuang Yang-lin (莊楊林) (Táiběi: Dōngfāng wénhuà shūjú, Mínguó 70 [1981]). The references of *Nányīn* in this dissertation refer to the reprinted edition.

[330] Huáng Shíhuī (黃石輝), "Dá Fùrén [Responding to Fùrén]," *Nányīn* [Southern voice] 1, no. 8 (1932); Chí (奇), "Juàntóuyán: Zàilùn dìsān wénxué tíchàng [Foreword: Promoting the third literature]," *Nányīn* [Southern Voice] 1, no. 8 (1932); Chí (奇), "Juàntóuyán: Dìsān wénxué tíchàng [Foreword: Revisiting the third literature]," *Nányīn* [Southern voice] 1, no. 9 & 10 (1932).

annotations.[331] In addition, the *Nányīn* magazine also allowed the practice of creating *xiāngtǔ* novels written in *Taiwanhuàwén*.

For example, Lǎnyún's (懶雲) novel *Guījiā* (歸家 Returning home) was written in *Taiwanhuàwén*m mixed together with Chinese *Báihuàwén*.[332] It could be regarded as an exemplar of *xiāngtǔ* literature that described the Taiwanese masses, their feelings, thoughts, and surroundings. The story described the changes of a small town in Taiwan in the eyes of a Taiwanese intellectual, who returned to his hometown after leaving home for study for over a decade. Being a new graduate, the Taiwanese intellectual, fearing that he would be like the new product in the market, being abandoned due to not being appreciated by customers, returned home with anxiety and uncertainty. Being home, his anxiety increased because he no longer felt familiar with the hometown. There were no children playing on the street; people said that they all went to common school. Seeing the fresh, tall buildings beside the straightened streets, in contrast with several worn, shabby houses, he felt it was like class opposition. The faith center of the town, the Taoist temple, was torn down; the Confucian temple was discarded for a long time.

There used to be street vendors, whose voices of peddling, laughter with playful kids, and smells of the food, were gone, as the vendors aged and passed away. Only two remained there, one was selling rice ball soup, and the other as selling malt sugar. No customer approached, so they were having a talk. The intellectual knew them and joined their conversation. The street vendors discontentedly talked about the difficulty in maintaining their business due to inflation and taxes. Then they nostalgically recalled those good old times. They further complained about the worthlessness of education in common school. They said that for those who frequented banks

---

[331] Míngtáng (明塘), "Mínggē (shāngē) yóulái de gàilùn [Overview of folksong origins]," *Nányīn* [Southern Voice] 1, no. 2 (1932).

[332] Lǎnyún (懶雲), "*Guījiā* [Returning home]," *Nányīn* [Southern voice] 1, no 1 (1932).

or government offices, the Japanese language was practical; for them as a general populace, it was useless, except when Japanese officials came for household checks. They told the intellectual that they did not send their children to common school, because common school graduates could not get a job. They wanted to prove to the intellectual with more examples how impractical common school education was and how terrible the current situation was, but someone shouted, "Police," and the street vendors immediately carried their shoulder poles and dissipated...

Taiwanese Folksongs and *Xiāngtǔ* Literature Practices

In the *xiāngtǔ* discourse mentioned above, approaching the Taiwanese masses and collecting their folksongs was regarded as a practical and effective way of constructing *Taiwanhuàwén*. This approach was based on the assumption that the linguistic and cultural practices of the Taiwanese masses in folksongs would be a good *linguistic* resource for constructing *Taiwanhuàwén*. The attention to folksongs was to re-construct a more accessible language for the Taiwanese masses. On the other hand, folksongs were regarded as a valuable *cultural* resource as well. As Xǐngmín (醒民) called for folklore, such as folksongs, legends, and myths in *Taiwan xin min pao* (The new people's newspaper of Taiwan), the purpose was to preserve the folk culture of the Taiwanese, which was regarded as part of Taiwanese cultural traditions.

Xǐngmín took children's ballads and rhymes as an example to illustrate the importance of Taiwanese folksongs to Taiwanese cultural life.[333] He recalled that when he was a child, he learned Taiwanese rhymes after dinner or in plays from his mother or other children. Then he

[333] Xǐngmín (醒民), "Zhěnglǐ gēyáo de yīge tíyì [A proposal of compiling folksongs]," *Taiwan hsin min pao* [The new people's newspaper of Taiwan], no. 354 (1931 [1973]): 18.

talked about his observation of his own children learning both Taiwanese and Japanese children's ballads: they showed more interest and enjoyment when they sang Taiwanese rhymes than when they sang Japanese rhymes. Xǐngmín reasoned that Taiwanese was their native language, and they understood the meaning of the Taiwanese rhymes. He also talked about other Taiwanese children singing Japanese rhymes like a parrot imitating sounds and rhythm, and wondered if they really enjoyed Japanese rhymes. He mentioned that Taiwanese folksongs would make their life more interesting and pleasurable if those Taiwanese children could be taught Taiwanese rhymes and their meanings.[334]

Xǐngmín's argument was based on his observation of Taiwanese rhymes in relation to Taiwanese children's life. He regarded rhymes as an important part in Taiwanese children's cultural and linguistic life. He believed that Taiwanese rhymes written in Taiwanese children's language would be more approachable and interesting to Taiwanese children than Japanese rhymes, which were made in a foreign language. He then argued that folksongs, like rhymes, were also important to Taiwanese cultural life, and he proposed compiling folksongs. From the perspective of folklorics and literature, he explained the value of folksongs. Folksongs were regarded as valuable sources for the study of folklore, and as having literary value that might stimulate creation of great national songs.

More importantly, he stressed that in Taiwan, "under current particular circumstances, there is one more important goal [of compiling folksongs], which is to preserve the fundamental culture that has gradually been declining."[335] He drew on Lǎnyún's response to his proposal of compiling folksongs to demonstrate the urgency of this folksong project. Lǎnyún (懶雲) said, "In

[334] Ibid.

[335] Ibid. My translation, emphasis added.

a few years, there will be nowhere to survey [folksongs] after the aged pass away. Are what children are singing now not Japanese folksongs? [We] had better figure out how to approach it as soon as possible."[336]

The call for folksongs received a good reverberation. In *Taiwan xin min pao*, folksongs and folk stories were a new literary creation as opposed to other literary works, such as classical poetry, *Báihuà* poetry, and *Báihuà* novels. They were also a different *xiāngtǔ* literature practice, as opposed to *xiāngtǔ* novels that described the bitter social life of the Taiwanese masses.

Xǐngmín's proposal of folksongs assumed that folksongs have value in these aspects: folksongs are an object of *study* (i.e., the field of folklorics), folksongs are *literature*, and folksongs are particularly a *cultural* resource. His assumptions offered different perspectives on folksongs, and included folksongs which were the practice and production of the Taiwanese masses in their cultural traditions. For traditional Taiwanese intellectuals, *Hànwén*, *Hàn* poetry, Confucian morality, and ancient Chinese civilization were regarded as valuable cultural traditions. Xǐngmín's assumption opened up the possibility for Taiwanese folksongs to be valued, preserved, and practiced, and for the Taiwanese masses to be regarded as distinctive cultural beings. It also encouraged different practices of *xiāngtǔ* literature, which allowed creation of different types of *xiāngtǔ* literature and Taiwanese *xiāngtǔ* subjectivities.

For example, a group of Taiwanese intellectuals in Tokyo organized the Taiwanese Art Studies Association and issued the representative magazine, *Formosa*. The forward to the first issue talked about the specific situation of Taiwan and urged that Taiwanese literature and art be re-constructed so that distinctive Taiwanese culture could be created. Legends and folksongs

[336] Ibid. My translation, emphasis added.

were regarded as literary resources for studying Taiwanese traditional culture and for further *creating* new Taiwanese literature. As stated in the forward,

> Although Taiwan has cultural legacies of thousands of years, always under such particular circumstances, Taiwan has not created its own culture so far. This could be described as a great humiliation. Taiwan has withered? No, no. Taiwanese are absolutely not without talent; they could only be described lacking courage.
>
> Therefore, Taiwanese fellows must exert themselves to promote such literary improvement and to be audacious enough to be the vanguard. In a conservative manner, [we] want to re-organize weak literary works of the past and study the then popular *xiāngtǔ* art, such as folksongs and legends. In an active manner, based on the vitality nurtured by the particular ambiance mentioned above [specific social, political, economic, and cultural conditions], and the new thought and emotion springing up from our mind, we create the new literary work that the Taiwanese need.[337]

In this view, Taiwanese folklore was regarded as *xiāngtǔ* art, which was native to Taiwan, and as a distinctive Taiwanese cultural resource that could help create *real* Taiwanese literature. In this assumption, collecting and studying folklore was to further creation of a new Taiwanese literature rather than to develop a new Taiwanese script for helping Taiwanese masses develop literary or preserve cultural traditions. This assumption integrated Xǐngmín's academic and literary views of folklore, and presented a different practice of folklore that created more possibilities for Taiwanese subjectivities.

---

[337] My translation, emphasis added. The Foreword was retrieved from Huáng Déshí (黃得時), "Taiwan xīnwénxué yùndòng de gàiguān [An outline of Taiwan New Literature Movement]," *Taiwan xīnwénxué zázhì cóngkān* (yī) [Taiwan new literature monograph, vol. 1] (Mínguó 43-44 [1954-1955]); repr., Táiběi Shì: Dōngfāng wénhuà shūjú, Mínguó 70 [1981]); also reprinted in Li Nan-heng (李南衡), ed., *Wénxiàn zīliào xuǎnjí* [Anthology of archival sources], 269-324.

The discourse of the *xiāngtǔ* literature movement and folklore, such as Xǐngmín's conceptualization of folklore based on three aspects: academic study of folklore, literature, and culture, generated more views and practices of folkloric literature. As Déshí (得時) described,

> Folksongs are primitive people's praises to nature; legends and myths are primitive people's explanations of nature. The former belongs to the emotional life; the latter belongs to the rational life. The Japanese *Kojiki* (Record of Ancient Matters), the Chinese *Book of Odes*, and the Greek Myths are all primitive people's views of the art, philosophy, life, and world. They have greatly influenced later literature.
>
> In Taiwan, knowledge of the folkloric literature is absolutely not thorough. Even some people say that Taiwan is an isolated island, and nothing about folklore is worth our attention. This is nothing but an excuse for contempt… Originally the literature of the folklore was not written in documents. Everyone transmitted it by word of mouth. Therefore if it were not collected as soon as possible, it would disappear in the near future, not to mention at this time of Taiwan being in transition between traditional and modern thoughts.
>
> Most important of all, we should know that the collection and study of the legacy of the folkloric literature inherited from ancestors are one of the obligations of us descendants.[338]

This view included the three aspects of folklore in Xǐngmín's proposal. In this view, folklore, such as myth and legends, was regarded as literature and as valuable cultural production. It

---

[338] My translation. Déshí (得時), "Mínjiāng wénxué de rènshì [Knowledge of folkloric literature]," *Xiānfā bùduì* 先發部隊 [The Vanguard], no. 1 (1934), reprinted in *Taiwan xīnwénxué zázhì cóngkān* (èr) [Taiwan new literature monograph, vol. 2] (Táiběi Shì: Dōngfāng wénhuà shūjú, Mínguó 70 [1981]), and in Li Nan-heng (李南衡), ed., *Wénxiàn zīliào xuǎnjí* [Anthology of archival sources], 170-72.

shared the similar concern about vanishing Taiwanese cultural traditions. It suggested a similar approach, collecting and studying folklore, as a way of preserving culture.

The publication of the "Special Issue on Taiwanese Folk Stories"[339] in the magazine *Dìyīxiàn* (第一線 The frontline) could be regarded as a practice of folkloric literature. It was constituted by ten folk stories, including fairy tales about Taoist gods and temples, legends about historical heroes and customs, and historical anecdotes. Along with this special issue, approaches to writing folk stories were discussed as well. One approach discussed was a modern scientific and archaeological method based on historical materialism.[340] In this approach, it was suggested that "excavated" and "discovered" folk stories and legends must be examined by a positivistic lens. It was argued that those which could not be proved by objective truths could not be regarded as literary sources, such as fairy tales and legends of gods. They were described as "a religious policy of fooling ignorant masses."[341] On the other hand, folk songs, without the contamination of religion, were regarded as "a pure and true episteme of ancient Chinese cultural life."[342] In this scientific approach, historical anecdotes about heroes or events that were not included in "official" histories were viewed as valuable resources as well.[343] It was also argued

---

339 "Taiwan mínjiān gùshì tèjí [Special issue on Taiwanese folk stories]," *Dìyīxiàn* 第一線 [The frontline], no. 1 (1935), reprinted in *Taiwan xīnwénxué zázhì cóngkān* (èr) [Taiwan new literature monograph, vol. 2] (Táiběi Shì: Dōngfāng wénhuà shūjú, Mínguó 70 [1981]). This reference refers to the reprinted edition. The title of *Xiānfā bùduì* [The Vanguard] was changed to *Dìyīxiàn*, so this publication was actually the second number of *Xiānfā bùduì*.

340 H T shēng (H T 生), "Chuánshuō de qǔcái jí qí miáoxiě de zhū wèntí [Data collection for legends and problems of description]," *Dìyīxiàn* [The frontline], no. 1 (1935), reprinted in *Taiwan xīnwénxué zázhì cóngkān* (èr) [Taiwan new literature monograph, vol. 2] (Táiběi Shì: Dōngfāng wénhuà shūjú, Mínguó 70 [1981]). This reference refers to the reprinted edition.

341 Ibid., 38.

342 Ibid.

343 Ibid.

that this approach was different from writing history. In this claim, "history was written based on description and lacked artistic value; historical truths were contaminated by concepts or imaginations, so they were not real anymore." By contrast, it was argued that the writing of legends was based on an "artistic conceptualization" and "objective examination" to create a new literary form.[344]

In comparing the assumptions of the discourse of folklore and *xiāngtǔ* literature, this approach demonstrated a different view about folklore. In this view, folklore was regarded as real things happening in the past; myth and fairy tales, which could not be proved as true, were not folklore. This approach suggested that the writing of folklore was based on an objective examination of folk stories, and was composed in a literary form. It assumed objective truth in folk stories and did not permit figurative imagination of folk stories in pursuit of a true representation of folk materials. This approach would also shape understandings of folklore that made possible certain practices of collecting, studying, and writing folklore.

It is important to note that the discourse of folklore and *xiāngtǔ* literature also generated a product of folkloric literature, which was the *Taiwan mínjiān wénxuéjí* [台灣民間文學集 Anthology of Taiwanese Folkloric Literature].[345] This collection was compiled by Li Hsien-chang, who spent about three years collecting almost a thousand folk songs and rhymes from the

---

[344] Ibid., 39.

[345] Lǐ Xiànzhāng (李獻璋), ed., *Taiwan mínjiān wénxuéjí* 台灣民間文學集 [The collection of Taiwanese folk literature] (Wénguāng chūbǎnshè, 1936). For ideas and practices of the Taiwanese folkloric literature, see Tsai Hui-ju (蔡蕙如), "Rìzhì shíqí Taiwan mínjiān wénxué guānniàn yǔ gōngzuò zhī yánjiù [The study on the idea and practice of Taiwanese folkloric literature during Japanese colonial period] (PhD Diss., Department of Chinese Literature, National Cheng-kung University, 2008). http://ndltd.ncl.edu.tw/cgi-bin/gs32/gsweb.cgi?o=dnclcdr&s=id=%22096NCKU5045022%22.&searchmode=basic

Taiwanese masses, and editing 23 folk stories. His efforts in the practice of folklore literature were motivated by the goal of preserving Taiwanese culture and literature.

Sānliùjiǔ Xiǎobào: The Eccentric *Hànwén* Practice and Taiwanese *Xiāngtǔ Literature*

While the discourse of the *xiāngtǔ* literature movement shaped practices of *Taiwanhuàwén* and Taiwanese folkloric literature, and the view of traditional poetry,[346] *Hànwén* and *Hàn* poetry were still a common practice in poetry societies. The Taiwanese *xiāngtǔ* literature movement also shaped *Hànwén* practice. The writings in the popular *Hànwén* newspaper, *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* [347](三六九小報 The three-six-nine tabloid), responded to the Taiwanese *xiāngtǔ* discourse and supported the Taiwanese folkloric literature practice and preservation of Taiwanese folklore. The writings in *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* also suggested attention to Taiwan and to the Taiwanese masses, in particular, the writing style of *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* was eccentric, which intervened in the "normal" role of the press in colonial Taiwan. It aimed to be popular, humorous, and playful in order to reach the general Taiwanese masses. It also admonished, warned, and criticized in sarcasm and jokes. The eccentric style could be described as "queer" in the way of disrupting a conventional political stance, which was a direct

---

[346] See for example, "Duìyú Taiwan jiùshītán tóuxià yī jùdà de zhàdàn [Throwing a big bomb to the Taiwanese traditional poetry circles]," *Nányīn* [Southern voice] 1, no. 2 (1932), 237-246.

[347] The first number was issued on September 9, 1930, and was banned by the colonial government on August 13, 1933. It was reissued on February 23, 1934, and since then, discourses had included Japan, for example, poems were created to celebrate the birth of the Japanese prince. See *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* [The three-six-nine tabloid], no. 321 (1934; repr., Táiběi Shì: Chéngwén chūbǎnshè, 1982]: 4; the dictionary and etymology of *Hànwén* included *Héwén* (the Japanese language), but the main source of most words was from China. See for example "Sānliùjiǔ HéHàn xiáocíyuán [Three-six-nine small etymology of *Héwén* and *Hànwén*]," *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* [The three-six-nine tabloid] (1982 [1930-1931]), no. 374-445 (1982 [1934-1935]). The small section, "Sānliùjiǔ *xiǎo* zhìnáng" [Three-six-nine small think tank] included news about Japan and the language of "our country," which meant Japan. See for example, no. 459, 460 (1935 [1982]). The last number of *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* was published on September 6, 1935. The references of *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* in this dissertation refer to the reprinted edition.

confrontation with colonization forces. This popular tabloid lasted for the longest period among Taiwanese literary magazines in the 1930s. The long duration suggested that *Hànwén* and *Hàn* poetry practices were maintained by the eccentric, queer style.

In addition, the variety of writings of *Hànwén* in terms of linguistic forms and genres suggested the versatility of *Hànwén*. *Hàn* poetry was written in *Hànwén*; long novels were written in either a traditional style of *Báihuàwén* from the Míng dynasty or in *Hànwén* mixed with *Báihuàwén*; Taiwanese folk songs were written in *Taiwanhuàwén*, and Chinese folklores was written in *Hànwén* mixed with *Báihuàwén* as well. Furthermore, while other Taiwanese literary magazines were banned, *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* was allowed as a possibility to maintain Taiwanese-ness and *xiāngtǔ* literature (e.g., Taiwanese folklore).

> The first number of this tabloid clearly claims its political stance as follows:
>
> Not calling "big" news but small news. Why? In our current press in Taiwan, except for three-day news, monthly, ten-days, or weekly news in big newspaper offices could be found everywhere. Look at their content with grand statements in elegant forms, our newspaper, among them is still a neophyte developing the shape and language, pales in comparison with them, and thus dares not bear too much pride. Therefore we specifically advertise ourselves as small in an effort to convey meanings in a facetious language and satirize in absurd words. The word small literally means tiny, and means eccentric in Taiwanese pronunciation. Readers, it [small] could be regarded as an insignificant skill, or as trivial words.
>
> The number *sān* (three), *liù* (six), and *jiǔ* (nine) are dates of publication; it is published on the third, sixth, and ninth date of the month, and has nine issues in total per month. Chiu (nine) is the end number, and adding *sān* (three) to *liù* (six) makes *jiǔ* (nine) as well.

> Ancient people preferred using this number, for example, *jiǔ* xí (九錫, nine rewards), *jiǔ* guǎn (九官, nine officials), *jiǔ* jīng (九經, nine classics), *jiǔ* chóu (九疇, nine methods), *jiǔ* sī (九思, nine thoughts), and *jiǔ* chóng (九重, nine levels), and so forth…
>
> *Jiǔ* (nine) and *sān* (three) are yáng numbers (陽 active), *liù* (six) is an yīng number 陰 passive); yīng and yáng are mutually assisting and integrated. Joined by all comrades in incessant efforts will probably render the newspaper a good ending. Clarifying the use of the numbers three, six, and nine, and continuing using the number *jiǔ* (nine) will save us from associating with those canine brothers. [348]

This tabloid was named based on an auspicious combination of numbers defined by *I Ching* (易經 *Classic of Changes* or *Book of Changes*), one of the Five Classics of Confucianism, and was published on the third, sixth, and ninth date of a month (i.e., 3rd, 6th, 9th, 13th, 16th, 19th, 23rd, 26th, and 29th). It assumed that with the support of the auspicious numbers, it would be supported by positive, active energy, and was disassociated from negative, degenerative forces (e.g. canine brothers), and thus was a good newspaper for readers. Drawing on *I Ching* also implied that this tabloid followed the *Hàn* orthodoxy as a way to maintain the *Hàn* culture. In addition, the major language and style of writing was the classical Chinese (i.e., *Wényánwén* and *Hànwén*).

Preserving *Hànwén* was one of the major tasks of the *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào*. When it was banned by the colonial government in August 1933, and was re-issued in February, 1934, it was stressed that "If [we] want to maintain our national character, *Hànwén* was the key. Kāng Nánhǎi

[348] My translation, emphasis added. Xìnān 幸盦 "Shì Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào [Explaining the Sānliùjiǔ tabloid]," *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* [The three-six-nine tabloid], no. 1 (September 9, 1930 [1982]): 1.

(康南海) mentioned that *Hànwé*n was the spiritual support of our nation. If *Hànwén* deceases, therefore our nation will decease."[349] However, this so-called "poetry newspaper" (i.e., *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào*) was criticized as "anachronistic" for its use of *Hànwé*n and the practice of *Hàn* poetry. *Hànwén* and poetry were regarded by other new literature advocates as old and outmoded, and thus were not compatible with the contemporary era. It was responded that traditional forms of poetry did not go out of date due to their values. In addition, as it was playfully argued, "The anachronism of the poetry newspaper was the trick of 'taking the uselessness for use' that has sustained it [the tabloid]."[350] This response demonstrated the ironic attitude of *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* toward its task of preserving *Hànwé*n. Such an attitude was a strategy of sustaining itself under Japanese colonial pressure.

Hànwén, Taiwanese Masses, *Xiāngtǔ* Literature

Hàn poetry was an important practice of *Hànwén* in *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào*, and different forms of poetry were called for, such as eulogies on the Taiwan culture of three-hundred years, and ludicrous and romantic poems.[351] In addition to various forms of poems, Jíbō poetry was

---

[349] See "Zhu Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào chong kan [Congratulation on the reissue of Sānliùjiǔ tabloid]," *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* [The three-six-nine tabloid], no. 322 (1934 [1982]): 2. Kāng Nánhǎi 康南海 (Kāng Yǒuwéi 康有為) was a Chinese intellectual and official who suggested to the Ching Emperor, Kuang-Hsu, the reform of the Ching's political system. This reform failed and was known as the Hundred-Days Reform in 1898. See "Zhu Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào chong kan [Congratulation on the reissue of Sānliùjiǔ tabloid]," *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* [The three-six-nine tabloid], no. 322 (1934 [1982]): 2.

[350] Hsin-chu Wángù shēng 新竹頑固生 [A Stubborn man from Hsin-Chu], "Huáng Déshí de yījiǔsānèr nián Taiwan wényì jiǎntǎo de jiǎntào (èr) [Review of Huáng Déshí's review of Taiwan literature in 1932, II]," *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* [The three-six-nine tabloid], no. 259 (1933 [1982]): 2. For the full response, see no. 258-260 on *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào*.

[351] For example, eulogy in no. 3, 4, 15; ludicrous poems in no. 9 and 16; romantic poems in no. 24, 38, 47. See *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* [The three-six-nine tabloid] (1930-1931 [1982]).

still a popular practice, and the collections of Jíbō poetry were shared on this tabloid.[352] It is important to note that the commemoration of three-hundred years of Taiwan culture was based on the assumption that Taiwan inherited the Han legacy from the Míng Dynasty. This tabloid also facilitated *Hàn* poetry learning and Hànwén writing. In every publication, words that could be used in the creation of duality (e.g., synonyms and antonyms; or relative words, such as mountain and sea, sky and earth, folding and opening, falling rain and whistling wind, and so on) or of even tones were provided; samples of duality were demonstrated for beginners;[353] characters in similar forms were juxtaposed with their respective meaning for beginners to differentiate them;[354] and editing services for poems were also provided.[355]

Novels as another form of Han literature were written in the preservation of *Hàn* culture. This tabloid edited and published the then famous *zhānghuí* novel (章回小說, popular long novel organized by chapters), *Jīnkuíxīng* (金魁星 literally the golden stars of the Big Dipper), passed on from the Míng Dynasty.[356] The Míng *zhānghuí* novel was a genre of popular novel in the Míng dynasty, in which chapters that started with a couplet as an outline constituted a long novel. This type of novel generally told stories of gods, spirits, or ghosts and demonstrated absurdity, grotesqueness, chivalry, or romanticism as a way to educate, admonish, touch, or provoke. They

---

[352] For example, *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* [The three-six-nine tabloid], no. 10, 22, 31, 35, 50 (1930-1931 [1982]), or no. 283-290 (1933 [1982]).

[353] See the column of "xīn shēnglǜ qǐméng" 新聲律啟蒙 (New rhymed couplet sentences for beginners) in every number of *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* [The three-six-nine tabloid].

[354] "Zìxíng biànshì [Differentiation of similar forms]," *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* [The three-six-nine tabloid], no. 420-479 (1934 [1982]).

[355] See for example, "Shègào" [Announcement], no. 325 and 326 (1934 [1982]) in *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* [The three-six-nine tabloid].

[356] The *Kuíxīng* (kuí stars) 魁星 were regarded as the God of literary fortune in Taoism. About this novel, see Hóng Tiětāo(洪鐵濤), "Biànyán [Foreword to Jīnkuíxīng]," *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* [The three-six-nine tabloid], no. 28 (1930 [1982]): 2.

were folklore stories written in *Báihuàwén*. The *Báihuàwén* from the Míng dynasty still contained *Wényánwén* elements and the language use of the time. Editing and publishing the Míng novel, *Jīnkuíxīng*, in a series was viewed as a significant practice of Hàn cultural transmission. As the forward to *Jīnkuíxīng* said,

> We in Taiwan have the two great novels, *Zhēn Jjiáozhǐ* (征交趾 expedition to Jiáozhǐ, south of China) and *Jīnkuíxīng*. *Zhēng Jiáozhǐ* specifically focused on gods and spirits… and the writing style did not produce enough grotesqueness and nihility… the *Jīnkuíxīng* contained both… This autumn, all comrades established the *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* as a mechanism of literary study… thanks to a bibliophile who kindly sent the whole copy [of *Jīnkuíxīng*]. *Jīnkuíxīng*, the long years of despair turned out to be like a comet striking the sky, shining its splendor in the natural field of Taiwan literature. All comrades are delighted and could not wait to make it known to the public. [357]

In concurrent efforts to preserve traditional Han literature, contemporary novels were also created as a practice of *Báihuà* Hànwén, including *zhānghuí* (long) and short novels, and published in series. Long novels were written in the form of the Míng *zhānghuí* novel and were organized by chapters with couplets, but the story lines were positioned in the contemporary era and illustrated the social and cultural life of Taiwanese.[358] Short novels included romantic fictions, ludicrous novels, novels about gods, and spirit novels, or warning fictions. They were written for the general Taiwanese masses because contemporary languages and the *Báihuà* style were incorporated into the stories. They were popular fictions targeting the general Taiwanese

[357] My translation. Ibid.

[358] For example, "Diémènghén 蝶夢痕 [Image of butterfly in dream]," no. 3-47; "Shèhuìjìng 社會鏡 [Mirror of society]," no. 48-204. See *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* [The three-six-nine tabloid].

masses as readers, including children and adults.[359] For example, the ludicrous fairy tale was modified based on the well-known *Fēngshénbǎng* (封神榜 Investiture of the Gods), and was published in series.[360]

The novels, including the *Jīnkuíxīng* and *zhānghuí* novels, and the ludicrous fairy tales mentioned above were created based on Chinese folklore (myths, legends, and folk stories). They could be regarded as a type of *xiāngtǔ* literature, drawing on stories and legends in Chinese folklore for the Taiwanese masses. They were *xiāngtǔ* literature meant to preserve, transmit, and practice Chinese folklore. The inclusion of Chinese folklore implied that the Chinese folklore was an important part of Taiwanese *xiāngtǔ* literature. It shaped the Taiwanese imagination of *Taiwanese-ness* and practices of the self in creating Taiwanese-based literature.

The Modern World and the Taiwanese Masses

Information and knowledge published in this tabloid suggested that the tabloid was shaped by the *xiāngtǔ* literature discourse in educating and connecting with the Taiwanese masses. One approach was to connect to their everyday life. It provided practical knowledge of every life, such as knowledge of soap and instructions on using soap; cleaning tips (rice bran for cleaning, salt for removing stains); knowledge of pencil (graphite), camphor, tobacco, tea, and animal (e.g., chipmunk); must-know knowledge of nursing; scientific knowledge of earthquakes,

[359] It should be noted that this tabloid was male-centered. It was written mainly by males and the writings about women were based on a male perspective. A large portion of novels, fictions, and comments focused on prostitutes (their body, feelings, love, and life situation), or women's changes (new styles of appearance and attitudes toward gender relations) in the modern era.

[360] "Xiǎo fēngshéng 小封神 [Little investiture of the Gods]," *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* [The three-six-nine tabloid], no. 52, 55-61, 63-88, 96-103, 107, 110-111, and ended in no. 202 (1931-1932 [1982]).

heat, tips of maintaining health, recipes, and so on.[361] The world vision was also evident in the knowledge delivered. For example, Western and traditional Chinese knowledge of air were tested and verified to explain how contagious diseases were spread by air; the air movement from the East to the West created a fear in the West of the "Yellow Peril," but also promoted exchanges between East and West at the same time. The history of newspaper and printing in Europe was also introduced in comparison with the development of printing in China.[362]

It also conveyed a free and easy attitude toward life to the Taiwanese masses. It reported news of novelty from the world to open up the views of the Taiwanese masses, for example, the news about the fiercest fish in the world, Piranha; a British farmer named V. N. Well, who did a successful experiment on raising pigs by quartz lamps (ultraviolet rays); the Abrahamman's News established by and for vagabonds in Birmingham, England; the dog club organized by ladies of dog fanciers and breeders in England.[363] In addition, the popular pastime mahjong was satirized by poetic writings in a joking language.[364]

---

[361] See for example, no. 3-7, 17, 23-25 (1982 [1930]), no. 120, 166, 237 (1982 [1931]), no. 230-232 (1932 [1982]), and no. 446, 448 (1935 [1982]) in *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* [The three-six-nine tabloid].

[362] See *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* [The three-six-nine tabloid] for "Kong qi xue shuo [The study of air]," no. 58-59 (1931 [1982]); "Pao zhi zuo tan [Discussion on newspaper]," no. 46-48 (1931 [1982]).

[363] See number 220-224 in *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* [The three-six-nine tabloid] (1932 [1982]).

[364] See for example, "Yǒng Máquè [Chant on mahjong]," *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* [The three-six-nine tabloid] (1932 [1982]), no. 5 (1930 [1982]): 4; "Máquè míng 麻雀銘 (fǎng Lòushì míng) [Mahjong inscription (Imitate the crude hut inscription]," *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* [The three-six-nine tabloid] (1932 [1982]), no. 99 (1931 [1982]). Míng 銘 was an ancient form of writing inscribed on metal or stele like an epigraph. "Lòushì míng" (陋室銘) was written by Liú Yǔxí (劉禹錫), an official in Táng Dynasty. In this writing, he praised his crude hut in an implicit way to demonstrate his noble morality. His crude hut was a moral contrast to other officials owning wealth and high positions. The "Máquè míng" adopted the form of "Lòushì míng" to criticize the play of majhong. In the Japanese period, majhong was called máquè (pronounced as sparrow).

The Eccentric (Queer) Style of *Sānliùjiǔ Xiǎobào*

The writings in *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* were playful, whimsical, and joking; the language used was humorous, sarcastic, and incisive. They played with languages, terms, or concepts of the contemporary time as a way to criticize, mock, stimulate, or just joke. For example, the criticism of different ways of being and acting of the contemporary people was put in a form of *equation* in a fun way by the author named "Taiwan made Einstein":

1. Right-wing activist + stimulation – deliberation = left-wing activists

2. Left-wing activist + money – doctrine = slackened activists

3. Extreme leftist + (money + honorable position + power) – doctrine = right-wing emasculated activist

4. Men with property – fame + egoism + parsimony = object of general indignation

5. Commoner + money +activism + kowtow = unnatural gentleman

6. Social activist + emotion – doctrine – knowledge = fame-seller of vanity

7. Capitalist + (egoism + greed +vanity + pleasure) – (humanism +public-spiritedness) = criminal who causes misery to the nation and people

8. Politician + power – nationalism = traitor to the nation

9. Official + money + menace – justice – people = traitor to people

10. *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* (The three-six-nine tabloid) + managing with an effort + enthusiasm + full of substance + polish + support = best seller[365]

The above equations imitated the then well-known Einstein ideas and formulas and played with new, contemporary languages to create different types of being at that specific time. The ludicrous imitation and playful creation mocked various types of Taiwanese subjects that

[365] My translation. "Zuìxīn fāngchéngshì [The newest equation]," *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* [The three-six-nine tabloid], no. 4 (1930 [1982]: 3.

were constituted by various combinations of elements (qualities, ways, acts, and dispositions). The last equation of *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* served as a distinction from other beings.

Contemporary inventions in the world stimulated inspirations and fantasy as well. Chinese folklore stories were incorporated into a different interpretation of new inventions. For example, the new organizational structure of the cabinet was used for a playful re-arrangement of famous ancient figures according to their talent and specialty. Historical figures in the Three Kingdoms (220-228), such as Zhū Gěliàng (諸葛亮), was assigned to be the Prime Minister, and Guān Yǔ (關羽) was assigned to be the Chief of the Army; the patriotic general Yuè Fēi (岳飛 1103-1142) in the Southern Song Dynasty was assigned to be the Associate Chief of the Army; Mencius (孟子 371-289 B.C.) was assigned to be the Minister of Education; and the Lord Bāo (包公 999-1062), the honest and just official in Northern Song, was assigned to be the head of the Administration of Justice, and so on.[366] This anachronistic style of writing was humorous and pedagogical. It was a strange fit of ancient people to the contemporary political system of the cabinet. However, the match of historical figures to positions in the cabinet illustrated the new political structure of the cabinet and the responsibilities and qualifications associated with each position. It was a comparison between ancient and contemporary official positions as well. It also assumed that readers would have had enough historical knowledge to understand the humor and intended meaning.

Another example was that the invention of aircraft and the operation of airlines were incorporated into imaginations of Chinese legendary gods, who also invested in airlines for different reasons. Aircraft would serve as the protective shield for the Queen Mother of the West

366 "Gǔrén zǔgé zhíyuán biǎo [Members of ancient people in formation of cabinet]," *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* [The three-six-nine tabloid], no. 11-12 (1930 [1982]).

(the Taoist Goddess) and Chángé (嫦娥 the Goddess of the moon in the legend of the Moon Festival); the weaving maid Zhīnǔ (織女) would benefit from aircraft in flying to meet her lover, the cowherd Niúláng (牛郎 from the Chinese Legend of the Cowherd and the Weaver Girl); the Goddess of Electricity would benefit as well from the use of electricity by aircraft; Ā Xiāng, who was responsible for transportation in the Thunder Department, also took advantage of aircraft, which would help cover her job; God the matchmaker did not invest because he thought it was not convenient to take off and land; and the Aunty Wind, who relied on herself, did not find it necessary to join.[367] This example was also an anachronistic arrangement. It drew on characters in Chinese folklore stories, which would engage Taiwanese masses more easily in humor and in the imaginations of the modern invention of aircraft.

The stories in an eccentric style above suggested a fun way for Taiwanese to learn both new knowledge and traditional Chinese folklore. They would inspire Taiwanese imaginations of contemporary Taiwan in the Taiwanese *xiāngtǔ* literature movement. Moreover, the folklore stories and historical figures included in the writings mentioned above assumed the importance of Chinese folklore to the Taiwanese masses and regarded Chinese folklore as important elements of Taiwanese *xiāngtǔ* literature. By including Chinese folklore in Taiwanese *xiāngtǔ* literature, Chinese folklore as well as *Hànwén* and *Hàn* culture traditions were sustained.

The Taiwanese Languages in *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào*

In response to the *xiāngtǔ literature* movement and reform of the Taiwanese language, Lián Yǎtáng (連雅堂)[368] stressed the important relationship between the *xiāngtǔ* literature and

[367] "Hángkōng gōngsī zhī nǚgǔdōng yīlánbiǎo [A list of female shareholders of airlines]," *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* [The three-six-nine tabloid], no. 225 (1932 [1982]): 2.
[368] Lián Yǎtáng (連雅堂) was also the co-founder and editor of the *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào.*

the Taiwanese language. He argued that Taiwanese *xiāngtǔ* literature was supposed to be written in the Taiwanese language, and to revive *xiāngtǔ* literature, the Taiwanese language must be compiled. He edited words in the Taiwanese language with etymological meanings and compiled the Taiwanese language dictionary. The Taiwanese words were published in every number of *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào*. He emphasized the importance of the Taiwanese language compilation and stated,

> In recent years, we Taiwanese promoted *xiāngtǔ literature* and proposed to reform the Taiwanese language (i.e., Hoklo). These have been my plans. Easier said than done! Why? Those who know what to say might not do; those who know what to do might not want to do. That is why the Taiwan literature has been declining. Organizing *Xiāngtǔ* languages would precede promoting *xiāngtǔ* literature. But the organization task is very complicated… I am a Taiwanese who knows the difficulty but dares not consider it difficult. Therefore I edited the Taiwanese language dictionary with unremitting efforts. I am concerned about Taiwan and the future of Taiwan. My obligation is this [the future of Taiwan]. If this book is done and handed down, it will not only preserve the Taiwanese language but also help promote the *xiāngtǔ* literature.
>
> The existence of a nation must rely on its independent culture. Language, characters, arts, and customs are essential components of culture. If culture is sustained, the national spirit will not vanish… The Taiwan culture originated from China, and the Taiwanese language came from Zhāng and Quán (two prefectures in Fukien province, southeast China). Most of it [the Taiwanese language] has etymological meanings; it contains ancient, standard, altered, and transformed pronunciations. Those ignorant ones have assumed that the Taiwanese language only has sounds but no characters. This is a superficial assumption.

> Those with sounds but without characters, or transitional words, or loanwords, are only one to two percent. Based on the one to two percent, the claim that the Taiwanese language only has sounds but no characters is wrong.[369]

As a Taiwanese, Lián Yătáng held the expectation for himself to preserve the Taiwanese culture, including the Taiwanese language and Taiwanese *xiāngtŭ* literature. His assumption showed that Taiwanese *xiāngtŭ* literature must be written in the Taiwanese language. Therefore, to promote the *xiāngtŭ literature*, the Taiwanese language must be edited and organized. That was the rationale for his work in editing the Taiwanese language dictionary (*Taiwan Yŭdiăn*). He also assumed that the Taiwanese language, which came from China, had etymological roots that had shaped the script of the Taiwanese language. He thus refuted the assumption that the Taiwanese language did not have a script. His assumption and the work of compiling the dictionary created the possibility for the Taiwanese to re-examine their native language, namely its script, and to practice writing literature using their own language.

Lián Yătáng continued to argue that in the Taiwanese language, no word did not have a character, and no word did not have an etymological meaning. He drew on Chinese classics, such as the *Book of Odes*, the *Analects*, *Erya* (the first dictionary and encyclopedia in Chinese), the *Songs of Zhōu* (Chinese poetry), and *Book of the Later Hàn* as examples to show that classics were written in regional languages. He maintained that the use of regional languages could express the nature of *xiāngtŭ* literature.[370] He also paid attention to local Taiwanese folklore, such as indigenous songs and Taiwanese mountain songs. He reasoned that "in human evolution,

---

[369] My translation, emphasis added. Lián Yătáng (連雅堂), "Yăyán [Valued advice]," *Sānliùjiŭ xiăobào* [The three-six-nine tabloid], the new year number (1932 [1982]): 1.

[370] Lián Yătáng (連雅堂), "Yăyán [Valued advice]," *Sānliùjiŭ xiăobào* [The three-six-nine tabloid], no 143, 144, 145 (1932 [1982]).

graphs preceded characters, and songs preceded literature. Therefore anthropologists, historians, and folklorists regarded them as important sources."[371] He pointed out that the tea-picking songs from Taipei were comparable with the bamboo poetry of Taiwan.[372] The tea-picking songs, which were sung together by males and females picking tea with sweet tones and rich sentiments, were regarded by Lián Yătáng as romantic literature.[373]

Based on Lián Yătáng's assumption, *xiāngtŭ* literature could only be created by the native language of a place. It could be regarded as regional literature, or place-based literature, created by the people native to the place. The place-based *xiāngtŭ* literature included paintings, songs, and Taiwanese folksongs. The overall assumption of Lián Yătáng allowed the possibility of presenting and creating the "local air" and "local color" of Taiwan in *xiāngtŭ* literature.

Taiwanese Folklore Practice in *Sānliùjiŭ xiăobào*

Sānliùjiŭ xiăobào also paid attention to the Taiwanese folklore and called for submissions of Taiwan love songs, children's ballads, legends, and folk stories. As the announcement said,

> Human beings, including literate men and male and female peasants, are natural in appetite and lust, and therefore express their feelings in mountain folksongs. The beauty [of mountain folksongs] is not less than that of poetry… Children's ballads are related to folklore; legends are involved with customs; stories are missing or abandoned sources in official histories. I could not bear to let these materials perish by themselves, and thus

---

371 Lián Yătáng (連雅堂), "Yăyán [Valued advice]," *Sānliùjiŭ xiăobào* [The three-six-nine tabloid], no 145 (1932 [1982]): 3.

372 The bamboo poetry of Taiwan adopted the verse form of seven-character-quatrain from the Táng poetry (Táng Dynasty, 618-907), and praised local natural and cultural conditions of Taiwan. See Taiwan zhūzhīcí, Bamboo Poetry of Taiwan, on the website Encyclopedia of Taiwan, http://taiwanpedia.culture.tw/web/content?ID=4525, accessed on June 30, 2013.

373 Lián Yătáng (連雅堂), "Yăyán [Valued advice]," *Sānliùjiŭ xiăobào* [The three-six-nine tabloid], no 146 (1932 [1982]): 3.

> call for all comrades not to be sparing of sharing… By collecting and publishing [folksongs], folksongs will be transmitted, and restore pride to those brothers and sisters who have been neglected.[374]

In this announcement, Taiwanese folksongs were also regarded as valuable Taiwanese culture and literature. This view supported the practice of folklore by ordinary Taiwanese. In *Sānliùjiŭ xiăobào*, folksongs, particularly mountain songs (*shāngē* 山歌), were collected and created in *Taiwanhuàwén* based on *Hànzì*. Seasonal folksongs were created to express feelings for nature, place, lover, or events.[375] Taiwanese folksongs were composed in the form of poetry, with seven characters in a verse, four verses in a stanza, and three stanzas in total. This form was modified for a different style and amusement. For example, in a stanza, each of the three verses was shortened to five characters, and the last verse was shortened to a word that concluded the whole stanza. This was called a "three and a half verse mountain song."[376] Furthermore, Taiwanese folk songs were created in *Taiwanhuàwén* and maintained by *Hànzì* in *Sānliùjiŭ xiăobào*.

The practice of *Sānliùjiŭ xiăobào* suggested the versatility and durability of *Hànwén*, which opened up possibilities for Taiwanese practices of *xiāngtŭ* literature. In a popular and eccentric style, *Sānliùjiŭ xiăobào* maintained *Hànwén* practices in different literary forms, such

---

[374] My translation. "Zhēngqiú Taiwan qínggē, tóngyáo, chuánshuó, gùshì qíshì [Notice: Call for Taiwanese love songs, children's ballads, legends, and stories]," *Sānliùjiŭ xiăobào* [The three-six-nine tabloid], no. 28 (1930 [1982]): 4.

[375] For mountain songs, see for example, "Dàishān qiáochàng [Dai mountain songs]" written by Chànhóng (懺紅), no. 4-6 (1930 [1982]), 68-74, 77-80, 90-92 (1931 [1982]); or by Yĭhóngshēng (倚紅生), no. 103, 1027, 132 (1932 [1982]) on *Sānliùjiŭ xiăobào* [The three-six-nine tabloid]. For seasonal folksongs, Gŭyuán (古圓), "Xiāoxià xiăochàng [Summer pastime songs]," no.104-107, 111, 113 (1931 [1982]), or no. 369-371 (1934 [1982]); Gŭyuán (古圓), "Yíngqiū xiăochàng [Welcoming Autumn songs]," no. 114-117, 119, 121, 125 (1931 [1982]).

[376] Gāngshān Qiáo (岡山樵), "Sānjùbàn shāngē [Three and a half verse mountain song]," *Sānliùjiŭ xiăobào* [The three-six-nine tabloid], no. 155-156 (1932 [1982]).

as poetry, folksongs, novels, and information news, and *Hàn* culture traditions (e.g., the Chinese folklore). The writings of *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* were also shaped by Taiwanese *xiāngtǔ* literature discourse and supported the practice of the Taiwanese written language (i.e., *Taiwanhuàwén*) and Taiwanese folklore.

Chapter Six

Hànwén and Taiwanese Subjectivities in the Japanization Movement during Wartime 1937-1945

The Government-General authorities made every effort to destroy or make the Taiwanese forget those that would galvanize Taiwanese national awareness and nostalgic sentiment, such as folk religion, customs, and familial ceremonial practices. Matsu (Chinese Sea Goddess) was replaced by Amaterasu Ōmikami (Japanese Sun Goddess), Taiwanese clothing was changed to Japanese garments, the flat wooden bed was replaced by tatami, and proper names of Chen and Huang were changed to Japanese names, such as Shitou, Kobayashi, or Hanako. Under the air attack of B24 and B25, such enforcement of Japanization based on formalism hurried to impose instant Japanization—Toshio Ikeda (池田敏雄)[377]

According to the history of colonial Taiwan during wartime, when the colony moved into wartime in 1937, the Japanese assimilation movement (*Japanization*) intensified, and a series of "remolding" movements upon the Taiwanese were enacted.[378] At this time, the *Japanization* campaign was the so-called *kōminka* (*huángmínhuà* 皇民化) movement, which literally means

[377] My translation, emphasis added. B24 was the American B24 Liberator, and B25 was the North American B-25 *Mitchell* bomber., "Zhímíndì shíqí de mínsú zázhì [The folk magazine during the colonization period]" (1982), as quoted in Wu Mi-cha (吳密察), "Mínsú Taiwan fākān de shídài bèijǐng jí qí xìngzhí [*Minzoku Taiwan*: The background of issuance and its nature]," in *Dìguólǐ de "dìfāng wénhuà": Huángmínhuà shíqí Taiwan wénhuà zhuàngkuàng* ["Local culture" within the empire: The cultural condition of Taiwan during the kōminka movement], eds. Shih Wan-shun (石婉舜), Liu Shu-chin (柳書琴), and Hsu Pei-hsien (許佩賢) (Táiběi Shì: Bōzhòngzhě wénhuà yǒuxiàn gōngsī), 58.

[378] See for example Chou Wan-yao (周婉窈), "The 'kōminka' Movement: Taiwan under Wartime Japan, 1937-1945" (PhD Diss., Department of History, Yale University 1991); Lin Chen-jung (林呈蓉), *Huángmínhuà shèhuì de shídài* [The age of imperial society] (Táiběi Shì: Taiwan shūfáng, 2010); Tsai Chin-tang (蔡錦堂), *Zhànzhēng tǐzhìxià de Taiwan* [Taiwan under war system] (Táibèi Shì: Rìchuàngshè wénhuà, Mínguó 95 [2006]).

"making Emperor's people" and connotes making Taiwanese (the colonized) into imperial subjects. According to Chou Wan-yao's (周婉窈) study of the *kōminka* movement, "*kōmin* meant the imperial subjects of His Majesty. The Japanization under the banner of *kōminka* stressed the political duties of the converted Japanese. It demanded that the 'imperial subjects' have absolute loyalty toward the Emperor of Japan and fulfill the obligations that came with this loyalty."[379] This description demonstrated the goal of the *kōminka* movement: to convert Taiwanese to be *real* Japanese, who were expected to hold "absolute loyalty" toward the Japanese Emperor and to carry out "political duties." It also implied that the Taiwanese were expected to be transformed in soul (to be loyal) and form (political duty practice) under the *kōminka* movement. The opening paragraph of this chapter above thus serves for the imagination of Taiwan under such intensified Japanization movement.

Before wartime, the social and political circumstances were described as "being rebuffed in all aspects."[380] The discourses (i.e., *Taiwan hsin min pao*) about concerns and practices in the Taiwanese language, literature, and culture had shaped Taiwanese literary and linguistic practices, which allowed for particular subjectivities. Toward the mid-1930s, an island-wide Taiwanese Literary Alliance was formed in 1934 by Taiwanese intellectuals returning from

[379] See Chou Wan-yao (周婉窈), "The 'kōminka' Movement: Taiwan under Wartime Japan, 1937-1945," 36.

[380] The situation described also included Taiwanese social and political movements being repressed or rejected. See for example, "Xuānyán [Statement]," *Xiānfā bùduì* 先發部隊 [The Vanguard], no. 1 (1934), reprinted in *Taiwan xīnwénxué zázhì cóngkān* (èr) [Taiwan new literature monograph, vol. 2] (Táiběi Shì: Dōngfāng wénhuà shūjú, Mínguó 70 [1981]); also in Li Nan-heng (李南衡), ed., *Wénxiàn zīliào xuǎnjí* [Anthology of archival sources], 269-324.

Japan, and by local Taiwanese writers, for "realizing literary popularization and striving for literature."[381] As the opening statement of the Alliance mentioned,

> The literary field in the past and present has been an entirely uncultivated land; only those classical forest arts that are not related to our life are inundating there, including dramas and poetry. They could never express our emotional life. What I expect for the [literary] conference is to create an orderly plan to settle those literary works that are trite, bland, monotonous, aging, and deteriorative, so as to create brand new, bright works of the new era.[382]

As the statement above indicated, the founding of the Alliance aimed at promoting new literary practices in the cultivation of the Taiwanese literary field that had been spoiled by traditional literature and poetry. To reach this aim, the Alliance issued a new literary magazine, *Taiwan wényì* (台灣文藝 Taiwan literature and art), for gathering efforts of all Taiwanese writers and artists in creating new Taiwanese literature and art that were accessible to the Taiwanese masses.[383]

It was claimed that literary and art works published in the *Taiwan wényì* magazine pursued a *realistic* capture of Taiwanese society without any "political preferences." In a scientific method, these works were created based on "everything that is true and real (in

---

[381] Lài Mínghóng (賴明弘), Lín Yuèfēng (林越峰), and Jiāng Cìjīn (江賜金), "Dìyīhuí Taiwan quándǎo wényì dàhuì jìlù [Proceedings of the first meeting of Taiwan island-wide literary conference]," *Taiwan wényì* [Taiwan Literature and Art] (1934), reprinted in Li Nan-heng (李南衡), ed., *Wénxiàn zīliào xuǎnjí* [Anthology of archival sources], 152-63. The reference refers to the reprinted edition.

[382] My translation, emphasis added. Huáng Déshí (黃得時), "Taiwan xīnwénxué yùndòng de gàiguān [An outline of Taiwan New Literature Movement]," in *Wénxiàn zīliào xuǎnjí* [Anthology of archival sources], 312-16.

[383] Ibid., 317.

scientific analysis) in Taiwan, follow[ing] closely Taiwan's social circumstances and following its history."[384] However, the newly created literature and dramas were regarded as having too much "artistic" quality and too little "political color" by some Taiwanese writers. The literary magazine *Taiwan xīnwénxué* [台灣新文學 Taiwan new literature] was then created in 1935 for more *active* creations of *realistic* literature in "disclosing" injustice and inequalities in Taiwanese society.[385]

At this time, the literary practices supported by both of the literary magazines included Japanese creations in addition to writings in Chinese *Báihuàwén* and *Taiwanhuàwén*. Novels and poems in Japanese occupied about half of a complete issue, and were written by the younger generation of Taiwanese writers and artists who had studied in Japan previously and had a good command of the Japanese language in literary creation, and also by Japanese writers. The practices of different languages in constructing *realistic* representations of Taiwan created possibilities for particular Taiwanese subjectivities.

While practices of Chinese *Báihuàwén* and *Taiwanhuàwén* gradually became familiar to Taiwanese writers and readers, the Japanese national language learning was vigorously popularized to the Taiwanese. According to *Taiwan jiàoyù yángé zhì* (*Chronicle of Taiwan education*), which was edited by the Taiwan Education Society founded by the colonial government, national language (i.e., Japanese) education and popularization was a major project

---

[384] My translation, emphasis in original. Zhāng Shēnqiè (張深切), "Duì Taiwan xīnwénxué lùxiàn de tíàn [A proposal for the new path of Taiwan new literature—draft"], *Taiwan wényì* [Taiwan Literature and Art] 2, no. 2 (1935), reprinted in Li Nan-heng (李南衡), ed., *Wénxiàn zīliào xuǎnjí* [Anthology of archival sources], 173-85.

[385] Huáng Déshí (黃得時), "Taiwan xīnwénxué yùndòng de gàiguān [An outline of Taiwan New Literature Movement]," 322.

in the colonial education agenda.[386] As mentioned in Chapter Three, the Japanese national language had been promoted by the colonial government more widely to the general Taiwanese populace since the mid-1910s. Since the 1930s, the national language popularization movement had accelerated and tried to spread to all aspects of Taiwanese life, including the "ten-year plan of national language popularization," which was enacted in 1933 by the colonial Government-General's Office for making the Japanese speaking population of Taiwan to be over fifty percent of the total Taiwanese population in ten years.[387] It indicated that in April, 1937, "across the island, there had been 2,812 national language centers with 185,590 students, and 1,555 easy national language centers with 7,781 students, and the total population of 'knowing' Japanese reached thirty-seven percent."[388] The statistics suggested the incessant determination of the colonial government in popularizing the Japanese national language in Taiwan.

The Japanese national language movement, which became an omnipresent force under the *kōminka* movement in the late 1930s, complicated Taiwanese literary and language practices, particularly when the use of the Taiwanese language was prohibited, and a large-scale *Japanization* campaign (i.e., *kōminka* movement) was enacted after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident of July 7, 1937. In the discourse of the *kōminka* movement, the national language movement was essential to the *Japanization* agenda. The Japanese national language was regarded as the essential "blood" of the Japanese national spirit that formed and connected the entire Japanese nation. The Japanese national language was believed to be a crucial way toward

386 *Taiwan jiàoyù yángé zhì* (zhōng yì běn) [Chronicle of Taiwan education (Chinese translation)], ed. Taiwan jiàoyù huì 台灣教育會 [Taiwan Kyōikukai in Japanese, Taiwan Education Society], trans. Hsu Hsi-ching (許錫慶) (Nántóu Shì: Guǒ shǐ guǎn Taiwan wén xiàn guǎn, Mínguó 99 [2010]).

387 Ibid., 480.

388 Ibid.

the conversion of the Taiwanese people to being Japanese. In this belief, Taiwanese could develop the national sprit in order to become *real* Japanese by learning the Japanese national language. In the *kōminka* movement, Taiwanese were expected to learn the Japanese national language in order to become a "loyal and patriotic" Japanese subject.

The discourse of the *kōminka* movement since 1941 focused on the Japanese expansion to the Greater East Asia, the Japanese goal of creating the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, and more intensive *kōminka* movements in support of that goal. For example, the formation of Kōmin Hōkōkai (皇民奉公會 The Public/Patriotic Service Association of Imperial Subjects), which mobilized the Taiwanese to support Japan's war with Great Britain and the United States in the Greater East Asia for the co-prosperity of the Greater East Asia. The discourse suggested that during this time, Taiwanese linguistic, literary, and folkloric practices were complicated by the Kōmin Hōkōkai mobilization. Taiwanese literature and folklore were written and documented in Japanese. At the same time, practices of *Hàn* poetry (漢詩) and *Wényánwén* (文言文 Classical Chinese language) were sustained since the *kōminka* movement began in 1937. These practices, which included the goal of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity, shaped particular Taiwanese subjectivities.

Japanese National Language Enforcement

On March 1, 1937, the colonial government newspaper, *Taiwan rìrì xīnbào* [台灣日日新報 Taiwan daily news], published an announcement regarding the abolishment of the *Hànwén* columns in four newspapers. The news said,

> Given the situational change, this time the four newspapers below reached an agreement of eliminating the Hànwén respectively. Having Taiwan for over 40 years, and *huánghuà* (皇化, imperialization) has been widely popularized, for Taiwan, whose literary

development was rising abruptly, the complete abolishment of *Hànwén* today should not cause any obstacle... Hopefully, when the Japanese columns are expanded in place of *Hànwén* columns, [we] expect that the content will be full of more substance, and [all of us] will make more efforts to fulfill the mission of a communication mechanism. We request understanding from our readers.

Táinán xīnbào (Tai-nan news), *Taiwan xīnwén* (Taiwan news), *Taiwan hsin min pao* [The new people's newspaper of Taiwan], and *Taiwan rìrì xīnbào* [Taiwan daily news], March 1, Showa 12 [1937].[389]

The news of the abolishment of *Hànwén* columns in newspapers raised questions about assimilation and colonial governance. The then Taiwan Governor-General, Kobayashi Seizō (小林躋造), expressed the colonial government's position in this agreement, in which the elimination of *Hànwén* aligned with the governance policy.[390] In this expression, Taiwan was regarded as Japan's territory, and therefore the Taiwanese were Japan's people and were

---

[389] My translation, emphasis added. "Yǒuguān Hànwénlán de fèizhǐ dǎonèi sìrìkān de xiédìng [Regarding the abolishment of the *Hànwén* column—the argeement by the four newspapers in the island]," originally published in *Taiwan rìrì xīnbào* [Taiwan daily news], (March 1, 1937), quoted in Hé Yuángōng [河原功 Isao Kawahara], "1937 nián Taiwan wénhuà, Taiwan xīnwénxué zhuàngkuàng—wéirào zhe fèizhǐ Hànwénlán yǔ jìngzhǐ zhōngwén chuàngzuò de zhū wèntí [Taiwan culture and Taiwan new literature in 1937—Issues surrounding the abolishment of Hànwén columns in newspapers and prohibition of Chinese creation]," trans. Sōngwěi zhítài [松尾直太 Matsuo Naota], *Taiwan wénxuéshǐ shūxiě guójì xuéshù yántǎohuì lùnwénjí, dìèrjí* [Proceedings of the international conference on the writing of Taiwan literature history, vol. 2], ed. Guólì Cheng-kung dàxué Taiwan wénxuéxì [Department of Taiwan Literature at National Cheng-kung University] (Kaohsiung Shì: Chun-hui, 2008), 57-58.

[390] "Guānyú rìkān bàozhǐ Hànwénlán fèizhǐ zhī zǒngdū tán [Governor-general's talk regarding the abolishment of Hànwén columns in daily newspapers]," *Taiwan shíbào* [Taiwan times], no. 210 (May 1, 1937), 16, quoted in Chiu Ya-ping (邱雅萍), "Cóng rìkān bàozhǐ 'Hànwénlán fèizhǐ tànjiù Taiwan shì báihuàwén de miànmào [A language inquiry of Taiwanese vernacular from the abrogation of *Hànwén* column on the dailies]" (translation of the title in the original) (master's thesis, Department of Taiwan Literature, National Cheng-kung University, 2007), 2, http://etds.lib.ncku.edu.tw/etdservice/view_metadata?etdun=U0026-0812200913491922

supposed to speak the national language of Japan like other Japanese. Furthermore, at that particular moment, the Japanese national language movement was supposed to be intensified in order to accelerate the cultural assimilation of the Taiwanese. As the Governor-General stated,

> So far, for the convenience of current readers, newspapers could not completely eliminate *Taiwan huà* and *Taiwan wén*. However, it is unquestionable that the elimination will be completed sooner or later. This is a question of timing… All in all, popularization of the national language has always been the policy of the Taiwan Government-General's Office. It is believed that this will attain real assimilation, which is certainly believed to be realized. [Assimilation] in mentality or materiality will be for the wellbeing of islanders. This time, newspapers abolishing *Hànwén* columns will speed up the promotion of the national language; the Government-General's Office has also decided to take this opportunity to stress a frequent use of the national language within administrative organizations.[391]

It is important to note that based on the language use of the Government-General's Office, the language to be eliminated included *Taiwanhuà* (literally Taiwanese spoken language) and *Taiwanwén* (literally Taiwanese written language). As the history of the Taiwanese new culture movement and *xiāngtǔ* literature movement mentioned in Chapter Four and Five indicated, the Taiwanese language, namely *Taiwanhuàwén*, had been put into a more popular practice since mid-1920s. For example, in *Taiwan hsin min pao*, there had been Taiwanese literature written in *Taiwanhuàwén*. Therefore, the policy of removing *Hànwén* columns included the abolition of the

---

[391] My translation, emphasis added. Quoted in Hé Yuángōng [河原功 Isao Kawahara], "1937 1937 nián Taiwan wénhuà, Taiwan xīnwénxué zhuàngkuàng—wéirào zhe fèizhǐ Hànwénlán yǔ jìngzhǐ zhōngwén chuàngzuò de zhū wèntí [Taiwan culture and Taiwan new literature in 1937—Issues surrounding the abolishment of Hànwén columns in newspapers and prohibition of Chinese creation]," 73.

Taiwanese language (i.e., *Taiwanhuàwén*). The statement above re-emphasized the importance of the popularization of the Japanese national language in the assimilation policy, and implied that the elimination of the Taiwanese language and *Hànwén* would help accelerate the popularization of the Japanese national language for assimilation. In addition, assimilation would further benefit the Taiwanese.

However, the statement about the elimination of *Hànwén* columns was challenged. Within the Japanese Diet, the issue of the elimination of *Hànwén* was discussed and was believed to possibly cause resentment among Taiwanese people.[392] It was also argued that abolishing the Taiwanese language by eliminating the *Hànwén* columns in Taiwanese newspapers simply could not get the majority of Taiwanese who were *Hàn* people to understand the Japanese national spirit.[393]

Taiwanese intellectuals also complained about the decision of eliminating *Hànwén*. It was argued that taking *Hànwén* away from the Taiwanese would not only make them blind, but also would hinder their assimilation and the goodwill between Japan and China.[394] As this decision was criticized, "Based on this [decision], the Taiwanese, who only understand Hànwén, whose eyes wanting to learn about society were covered. Then, it was reported that the admiring

---

[392] Hé Yuángōng [河原功 Isao Kawahara], "1937 nián Taiwan wénhuà, Taiwan xīnwénxué zhuàngkuàng—wéirào zhe fèizhǐ Hànwénlán yǔ jìngzhǐ zhōngwén chuàngzuò de zhū wèntí [Taiwan culture and Taiwan new literature in 1937—Issues surrounding the abolishment of Hànwén columns in newspapers and prohibition of Chinese creation]," 59-63.

[393] Ibid., 62.

[394] See "Xīnwén Hànwénlán fèizhǐ [Abolishment of Hànwén columns in newspapers]," originally published in *Rìběn xuéyì xīnwén* [Japanese literary news], no. 82 (April 20, 1937); Chhoa Poe-hoe (蔡培火), *Dōngyǎ zhī zǐ rúcǐ sī* [The thinking of the son of East Asia] (1937). Both references were quoted in Hé Yuángōng [河原功 Isao Kawahara], "1937 nián Taiwan wénhuà, Taiwan xīnwénxué zhuàngkuàng—wéirào zhe fèizhǐ Hànwénlán yǔ jìngzhǐ zhōngwén chuàngzuò de zhū wèntí [Taiwan culture and Taiwan new literature in 1937—Issues surrounding the abolishment of Hànwén columns in newspapers and prohibition of Chinese creation]," 75-76.

aged in their sixties and seventies started to learn the national language. The sharp ironist stated, 'probably they learn アイウエオ(a i u e o) until in sixties or seventies, and then read newspapers in the tomb. However, the current newspaper, which only reports distortive news, eventually is supposed to be read by those in the tomb.'"[395]

The complaints above held different views of *Hànwén*, the literary, classical Chinese, in relation to Japanese assimilation. It was regarded as a *tool* for the Taiwanese to keep updated with news and knowledge, and it could also facilitate Taiwanese assimilation into Japanese and their understanding of the Japanese national spirit. In other words, *Hànwén* was believed to be able to support the Japanese assimilation agenda. This view allowed the *Hànwén* practices of Taiwanese in assimilation into Japanese, and opened up possibilities for different subjectivities.

On the other hand, in response to the questioning, the colonial government official maintained that removing the native language of the Taiwanese was not an easy job, but when considering some of the Taiwanese who still regarded China as their mother land, removing their language was regarded as an important way to dissipate that Chinese mentality so as to make the Taiwanese believe that Japan was their "real" mother land.[396] It is clear that the argument of the Government-General's Office did not take into consideration the *practical* effect of *Hànwén* on Japanese cultural assimilation. It implied a major concern in assimilation policy: the *spiritual* effect of *Hànwén* on Taiwanese "loyalty" to the Japanese empire. *Hànwén* was believed to

---

[395] My translation. アイウエオ(a i u e o) are the first five sounds in the fifty sounds of the Japanese language. "Xīnwén Hànwénlán fèizhǐ [Abolishment of Hànwén columns in newspapers]," originally published in *Rìběn xuéyì xīnwén* [Japanese literary news], no. 82 (April 20, 1937), quoted in Hé Yuángōng [河原功 Isao Kawahara], "1937 nián Taiwan wénhuà, Taiwan xīnwénxué zhuàngkuàng—wéirào zhe fèizhǐ Hànwénlán yǔ jìngzhǐ zhōngwén chuàngzuò de zhū wèntí [Taiwan culture and Taiwan new literature in 1937—Issues surrounding the abolishment of Hànwén columns in newspapers and prohibition of Chinese creation]," 75.

[396] Ibid., 62-63.

maintain the Taiwanese loyalty to China, and in this belief, when *Hànwén* was removed, their loyalty to China would be removed as well. In this way, the Taiwanese would possibly develop loyalty to Japan. Furthermore, when the Taiwanese learned to speak the Japanese language, they would be able to see Japan as their mother land, and increase their loyalty to Japan. Therefore, in the Japanese assimilation of Taiwanese, the argument of the colonial government did not allow the possibility for Taiwanese to practice *Hànwén*.

The Japanese National Language and Spirit

In the discourse of the *Kōminka* movement, the importance of the Japanese national language in the constitution of the Japanese national spirit was stressed again. For example, "The national language is the innate blood of the national spirit. The one and only spirit of our Empire in the world is cultivated by the power of the national language, which has been practiced by our whole nation for three thousand years."[397] In addition, the Japanese language is "the common property of people of the same nation, and is the native cultural wealth of the nation."[398] "When

[397] My translation. Bái Xièbǎo (白瀉保) "Guóyǔ jiànxísuǒ de jīngyīng [The operation of national language education center]," originally published in *Taiwan jiàoyù* [Taiwan education] (September, 1934), quoted in Chen Pei-feng (陳培豐), "Zǒuxiàng yīshìtóngrén de mínzú zhī dào —'Tónghuà' zhèngcè màiluò zhōng yīshìtóngrén de jièxiàn [Moving toward the 'way' equal to all Japanese nation—boundaries of imperial literature in the discourse of assimilation policies], in *Taiwan wénxuéshǐ shūxiě guójì xuéshù yántǎohuì lùnwénjí, dìèrjí* [Proceedings of the international conference on the writing of Taiwan literature history, vol. 2], ed. Guólì Cheng-kung dàxué Taiwan wénxuéxì [Department of Taiwan Literature at National Cheng-kung University] (Kaohsiung Shì: Ch'un-hui, 2008), 151-52.

[398] My translation. Chen Pei-feng (陳培豐), "Zǒuxiàng yīshìtóngrén de mínzú zhī dào —'Tónghuà' zhèngcè màiluò zhōng yīshìtóngrén de jièxiàn [Moving toward the 'way' equal to all Japanese nation—boundaries of imperial literature in the discourse of assimilation policies]," 152.

getting used to using it [national language], it becomes the blood and flesh of the nation's people. Until now it has become the symbol of the national spirit."[399]

In the statements above, the Japanese national language was regarded as the essential element in the formation of the Japanese national spirit and the great Japanese nation. The Japanese national language, which had been practiced by ancestors, was viewed as a valuable heritage that could continually cultivate the Japanese national spirit in later generations. This view implied that the Japanese national language could also cultivate the Japanese national spirit in Japan's new people, namely the Taiwanese. Through Japanese language practices, the Taiwanese were believed to develop the Japanese national spirit and become a Japanese subject. As the statement in the national language subject guidelines in a national school[400] indicated, "It is not because you are Japanese, that you use Japanese, but because you use Japanese, you become Japanese."[401] This statement assumed that the Taiwanese could become Japanese by

---

[399] My translation, emphasis added. Quoted in Chen Pei-feng (陳培豐), "Zǒuxiàng yīshìtóngrén de mínzú zhī dào —'Tónghuà' zhèngcè màiluò zhōng yīshìtóngrén de jièxiàn [Moving toward the 'way' equal to all Japanese nation—boundaries of imperial literature in the discourse of assimilation policies]," 152.

[400] In 1941, all common schools (mainly for Taiwanese children) and primary schools (mainly for Japanese children) were re-named as national school (guómín xuéxiào 國民學校). See Hsu Pei-hsien (許佩賢), *Tàiyángqíxià de mófǎ xuéxiào*: *Rìzhì Taiwan xīnshì jiàoyù de dànshēng* [The magic school under the flag of sun: The birth of modern schooling in colonial Taiwan] (Xīnběi Shì: Dōngcūn, 2012), 54-55.

[401] *Guómín kē guóyǔ* 國民科國語 in Tai-nan shīfàn fùshǔ guómín xuéxiào 台南師範附屬國民學校 [*national language in the subject area of National/imperial People* in Tai-nan Normal School's affiliated national school], Tai-nan shīfàn xuéxiào guómín guómín xuéxiào yánjiùhuì 台南師範學校國民學校研究會 [Association for national school study in Tai-nan Normal School], originally published in 1941, quoted in Chen Pei-feng (陳培豐), "Zǒuxiàng yīshìtóngrén de mínzú zhī dào —'Tónghuà' zhèngcè màiluò zhōng yīshìtóngrén de jièxiàn [Moving toward the 'way' equal to the whole Japanese nation—boundaries of imperial literature in the discourse of assimilation policies]," 152.

learning the Japanese national language, and they could shape Taiwanese linguistic practices of the self.

With a strong belief in the role of the Japanese national language in assimilating Taiwanese, a large scale of Japanese language education had been popularized among the Taiwanese since the mid-1910s, for example, by radio broadcasting; island-wide national language practice meetings; awarding contributors to national language popularization on *Jìyuán jié* (紀元節, Imperial Day) on February 21 every year; awarding attendants at national language practice meetings; radio broadcasters' good performance in teaching the national language with the medal of honor for language loving; and publication of national language readers, such as the three magazines, *Guóguāng* (國光, national honor), *Límíng* (黎明, dawn), and *Xūnfēng* (薰風, warm breeze).[402]

These practices promoted national language learning, and they assumed that national language learning was an honorable practice. In addition to the practices mentioned above, the use of the Japanese language at home or in a local community was also awarded with the token of *guóyǔ jiātíng* (國語家庭, national language family) or *guóyǔ bùluò* (國語部落, national language tribe). The promotion of the national language expanded from individual learning to a whole family and community practice. Similarly, the award of *guóyǔ jiātíng* or *guóyǔ bùluò* encouraged *collective* Taiwanese practices of national language production.[403] The national language popularization practices suggested a more extensive network of Japanese national language in the island that would shape Taiwanese cultural imagination of the self.

---

[402] My translation, emphasis added**.** *Taiwan jiàoyù yángé zhì* [The chronicle of Taiwan education], 480.

[403] Wu Wen-hsingg (吳文星), *Rìzhì shíqí Taiwan de shèhuì lǐngdǎo jiēcéng* [Social elites in Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule] (Táiběi Shì: Wǔnán túshū, 2008), 299.

Taiwanese Culture under the Greater East Asia Framework

The New Culture Policy in Japan

The *Kōminka* movement accelerated after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident of July 7, 1937, in China (i.e., the Second Sino-Japanese War). In preparation for the war with China, the Cabinet of Japan organized the "National Spiritual Mobilization Movement" (國民精神總動員運動) to gather the whole nation's efforts in reforming national life.[404] Generally speaking, it aimed to cultivate the Japanese people's attitude toward the public wealth by the everyday practices of being grateful, diligent, thrifty, and willing to contribute to public affairs.[405]

The Taiwan Government-General's Office followed the "National Spiritual Mobilization Movement" and organized the "Taiwanese version" of the island-wide spiritual mobilization movement, targeted to the Taiwanese.[406] The colonial Governor-General talked about the "National Spiritual Mobilization Movement" in Taiwan as follows:

> This National Spiritual Mobilization Movement should be our Taiwan's groundwork, but [the one in Taiwan] its significance is different from that in the inland. This movement is the so-called "Huángmínhuà Movement" (Kōminka Movement) which will make islanders become real Japanese, and also is the movement which will promote Taiwan to be a base for south development. Because this is a significantly meaningful national

---

[404] Lin Chen-jung (林呈蓉), *Huángmínhuà shèhuì de shídài* [The age of imperial society], 38-42.

[405] Ibid., 40. Also see Tsai Chin-tang (蔡錦堂), *Zhànzhēng tǐzhìxià de Taiwan* [Taiwan under war system].

[406] Ibid., 46.

movement, hopefully all officials and people in the whole island will unite in moving forward with great efforts for reaching the goal.[407]

The statement above not only demonstrated the goal of the Taiwanese spiritual mobilization movement, which was to transform the Taiwanese to be real Japanese, but also foretold the ultimate goal of transforming the Taiwanese: to make Taiwanese willing to support and contribute to Japan's imperial expansion in Southeast Asia. This statement could be regarded as the prelude to the intensive Taiwanese "mentality" or "soul" reconstruction movement in the island, for example, the regulation of Taiwanese religious practice.[408]

In 1940, in the Japanese inland the Japanese traditional culture was a hot topic within the Cabinet of Japan. Cultures and folklores in local places in Japan were promoted because they were regarded as important bases of the Japanese cultural tradition and as essential resources for enriching contemporary *kōmin* spiritual life.[409] The new culture policy formulated by the Cultural Department in the Taisei Yokusankai (大正翼贊會 Imperial Rule Assistance Association)[410] stressed the importance of "local cultures" in the political construction of a new form for the nation. The new policy suggested these ways: "Respecting *xiāngtǔ* traditions and

---

[407] My translation, emphasis added. Tsai Chin-tang (蔡錦堂), "Zàilùn 'huángmínhuà yùndòng' [Revisiting the "Kōminka Movement"]," *Dànjiāng shǐxué* [*Tamkang History Review*] 18 (2007): 239.

[408] See Chou Wan-yao (周婉窈), "The 'kōminka' Movement: Taiwan under Wartime Japan, 1937-1945"; Lin Chen-jung (林呈蓉), *Huángmínhuà shèhuì de shídài* [The age of imperial society]; Tsai Chin-tang (蔡錦堂), *Zhànzhēng tǐzhìxià de Taiwan* [Taiwan under war system].

[409] Wu Mi-cha (吳密察), "*Mínsú Taiwan* fākān de shídài bèijǐng jí qí xìngzhí [*Minzoku Taiwan*: The background of issuance and its nature]," 64-67.

[410] The Taisei Yokusankai (in Japanese, Imperial Rule Assistance Association) was one of the think tanks for the Japanese Cabinet and supported the Cabinet's national mobilization policies. See Wu Mi-cha (吳密察), "*Mínsú Taiwan* fākān de shídài bèijǐng jí qí xìngzhí [*Minzoku Taiwan*: The background of issuance and its nature]," 65.

local particularity" for renewing the whole nation; "promoting love for *xiāngtǔ* and public spirit, and strengthening and maintaining close interrelationships among social groups in rural villages, developing a collectivism culture" for establishing local cooperative communities as the basic units of the family-state system; and balancing cultural, economic, and political developments between central and local areas, and promoting balanced cultural exchanges between the two areas.[411] These ways implied that the new cultural system, which was supported by cultures from local communities, was meant to promote national collectivism.

The promotion of "local cultures" by the Cabinet brought about local cultural activities in Japan, including surveying and collecting Japanese *xiāngtǔ* arts and folklores, holding exhibitions and performances of *xiāngtǔ* arts and documents, editing *xiāngtǔ* history, and so on.[412] This series of activities could be described as a new cultural movement in revitalizing local traditional cultures. The new cultural movement in Japan was a national, political movement that specifically focused on culture as the target of political reform.

In the discourse regarding the revival of traditional Japanese culture, the National Spiritual Mobilization Movement, which had been put into practice in 1937, was criticized as lacking *cultural* character. It was suggested that it pay attention to the *cultural* character of politics, because culture was believed to exist in everyday life and in society. In other words, the new policy should take "life culture" into consideration.[413] Therefore, for reviving the Japanese culture, everyday life as "life culture" was regarded as a good source of inspiration, including the everyday life of people in *local* places.

---

411 Wu Mi-cha (吳密察), "*Mínsú Taiwan* fākān de shídài bèijǐng jí qí xìngzhí [*Minzoku Taiwan*: The background of issuance and its nature]," 66.
412 Ibid., 67.
413 Ibid., 66.

The New Culture Policy in Colonial Taiwan

> *Every day after work we take off suit and leather shoes, put on kimono and wooden clogs, and live half-day life of kimono; take preserved radish, miso soup, sashimi, and shabu shabu; being proud of setting up a tatami bedroom at home. Afterwards, talk in Japanese, write in Japanese and eventually think in Japanese way. All is for convenience. "Convenience" and "necessity" become indispensable components of assimilation. We are Taiwanese, assimilated and dictated by convenience and necessity. Everyone regards us as Japanese. Perhaps the Yamato Race became Japanese in the same way—*
>
> Wú Xīnróng (吳新榮)[414]

In the special issue "Guiding Principles for the *kōminka* movement," published in *Taiwan shíbào* [Taiwan Times], the newspaper sponsored by the Government-General's Office, the intensive Taiwanese version of the national spiritual mobilization movement was re-examined, and new guidelines for the future *kōminka* movement were proposed.[415] The statement below about the new *kōminka* policy demonstrates the new perspective on assimilating the Taiwanese people into being Japanese.

> A culture policy does not mean that politics will guide culture, but does mean one culture will guide another culture toward politics. The politics that could guide culture is not the politics itself, but that which has a cultural ethos and cultural substance.

---

[414] My translation, emphasis in the original. *Kimono* was traditional Japanese clothing. Wú Xīnróng (吳新榮), "Yīyuè shíjiǔrì [January nineteenth]," *Wú Xīnróng rìjì* **(***zhànqián***)** [Wú Xīnróng diary (before war)], ed., Zhāng Liángzé (張良澤) (Táiběi Shì: Yuǎnjǐng chūbǎn shìyè gōngsī, Mínguó 70 [1981]), 62-63.

[415] Wu Mi-cha (吳密察), "*Mínsú Taiwan* fākān de shídài bèijǐng jí qí xìngzhí [*Minzoku Taiwan*: The background of issuance and its nature]," 68-70. Wu Mi-cha analyzed the historical context and arguments of *Minzoku Taiwan* in responding to a critique of *Minzoku Taiwan* supporting the racist ethnology for the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity.

> The question of *kōminka* in Taiwan is a question of culture policy. It is a question of how one culture through politics guides a different culture (i.e., the other culture). …The issue of *kōminka* is to recognize the fact that *Hàn* culture exists in part of the Japanese territory, and is how to integrate it. Therefore, there is no other way but through a long history of progression to attain assimilation of a nation (people). A nation's character is constituted by its dispositions and will, and by styles of actions, thinking, and emotions, and it is therefore difficult to change it immediately. …even if it [assimilation policy] could change a nation's cultural substance, it is difficult to change its cultural ways of thinking and feeling. …Reasonably preserving the distinctive dance and music of the island is necessary to comforting and assuring islanders' life.
>
> The frequent use of the national language will be realized when there is a need to use the national language in daily life; if there is no need to use the national language in daily life, and then it will be inconvenient to put the national language in frequent use. Therefore, the first problem to solve is to make them feel the necessity of the national language. If it is necessary and convenient, they will naturally move toward that direction [frequent use of the national language]. …That which is convenient will naturally be in use. … *Kōminka* as the culture policy is to popularize the Japanese styles of kōmin [imperial subject] life, which are supposed to be at least more convenient than the conventional styles of the islanders.[416]

The culture policy, shaped by the discourse of the Japanese new cultural movement, incorporated a cultural perspective into the political movement of *kōminka*. From the perspective of culture,

---

[416] My translation, emphasis added. This statement was translated into Chinese by Wu Mi-cha (吳密察) and quoted in his "*Mínsú Taiwan* fākān de shídài bèijǐng jí qí xìngzhí [*Minzoku Taiwan*: The background of issuance and its nature]," 69-70.

assimilation of a nation takes a long time because of the nation's character. The policy indicated that the nation's character, constituted by dispositions and ways of being, was the nation's culture. To change a nation's culture means to change the people, including their dispositions and ways of thinking, acting, and feeling. The people's thinking and feeling thus become extremely important in assimilation, as in the case of the national language popularization and Japanese life styles in Taiwan. That is, to shape Taiwanese feelings and thoughts about the Japanese culture, it suggested that immersing the Taiwanese in the Japanese culture (i.e., life styles) would possibly change their feelings and thoughts. As stated above, the national language was put in use only when it was "felt" necessary by the Taiwanese. Also, the Japanese style of clothing was put on only when it was thought of as convenient by the Taiwanese.

The new culture policy suggested milder and more *natural* ways of making the Taiwanese people Japanese. These ways were supposed to *shape* Taiwanese feelings and thoughts, and thus assimilate them into the Japanese culture. In such ways, the Taiwanese would possibly become Japanese *naturally* and *unconsciously*. The perspective of culture in the new policy and the attention to local cultures in the discourse of the new cultural movement in the Japanese inland also inspired the cultural activity of promoting Taiwanese folklore in the island.

The Cultural Activity in Taiwan after 1941

At the moment when the goal of creating the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere was enthusiastically promulgated, the *Minzoku Taiwan* (民俗台灣 Taiwanese Folklore) magazine was initiated by a small group of Japanese and Taiwanese scholars in 1941 for "preserving the perishing Taiwanese traditional cultures." Taiwanese folklores were collected and documented in the Japanese language in *Minzoku Taiwan*. The cultural activity of *Minzoku*

Taiwan was shaped by both the "life culture" and "local culture" discourse from the Japanese inland and the Greater East Asia discourse. In the prospectus, it was stated,

> The kōminka movement of the islanders must be actively promoted. Compared to previous laissez-faire policies, the recent enforcement [of kōminka] was uplifting. Therefore, old habits and corrupt customs in the island could be quickly eradicated, and thus islanders could enjoy the grace of modernization. … However, at the same time, those harmless old customs were unavoidably sacrificed to extinction. In addition, even if it is not by an active human plan, they will naturally perish with long years.
>
> Yet, the civilized people who are already capable of doing research and documentations bear the responsibility of recoding and studying all phenomena. Studying and documenting old habits and corrupt customs are the obligation of our people; moreover, for our people who want to expand the national power to the south, whether it is south China or south Asia, the most beneficial and essential connection is the Chinese nation. To understand them, it is necessary and convenient to first understand Taiwanese islanders. This is the advantage that our people have over other countries.[417]

The prospectus presented two goals of the *Minzoku Taiwan* magazine: to study and document traditional Taiwanese customs and habits, and to serve as the groundwork for Japanese advancement into Southeast Asia. It suggested that studying and documenting Taiwanese customs was the responsibility of civilized people, and that the colonial government in Taiwan under a civilized nation was obligated to preserve traditional cultures, including Taiwanese folklore.

---

[417] My translation, emphasis in original. The prospectus was published and distributed in 1941 before the magazine published the first issue. See Wu Mi-cha (吳密察), "*Mínsú Taiwan* fākān de shídài bèijǐng jí qí xìngzhí [*Minzoku Taiwan*: The background of issuance and its nature]," 56-57.

The need to preserve traditional Taiwanese culture was also discussed in the record of a seminar on Taiwanese folklore. The worry about Taiwanese worshiping ancestors was illustrated as an example:

> Regarding the problem of worshiping ancestors, on the original shrine in the main hall, only ancestor tablets were placed; but now, they were placed aside, and Amaterasu Ōmikami from Ise Shrine [the Japanese Goddess] was placed at the center. The conventional practice of worshiping ancestors will thus disappear in gradual oblivion. Therefore, if such investigation [of Taiwanese folklore] is not conducted right now, there will be no clues in the near future. For its significance and given the incessant rapid kōminka movement, investigation of Taiwanese folklore is a very urgent matter."[418]

The example indicated the concern about the threat of the concurrent *kōminka* movement to Taiwanese folklore and traditional Taiwanese cultural practice. The prospectus and the example above further implied the importance of the work of *Minzoku Taiwan* and the possibility for a different Taiwanese subjectification practices (in addition to Japanization practices).

Minzoku Taiwan in preserving Taiwanese culture shared the perspective of "life culture" in the Japanese new cultural movement, and it collected cultural artifacts from all aspects of existing Taiwanese everyday life, for example, objects of daily necessities (i.e., artifacts), such as Taiwanese food, clothing, building, road, transportation, and so on; ways of producing and exchanging these objects and materials for producing the objects; religious and artistic practices realizing emotional and spiritual expressions (i.e., traditional beliefs, customs, music, drama, etc.); advice on health, food, or luck in specific occasions; and Taiwanese language, slang, and

---

418 My translation, emphasis added. The example was published on *Minzoku Taiwan* in 1943. Quoted in Wu Mi-cha (吳密察), "*Mínsú Taiwan* fākān de shídài bèijǐng jí qí xìngzhí [*Minzoku Taiwan*: The background of issuance and its nature]," 57-58.

legends, and so forth.[419] In the Japanese inland, "life cultures" were supposed to support the construction a new political form for the Japanese nation—national collectivism, as mentioned above. Japanese "life cultures" were promoted in support of the Japanese nation. In the Taiwanese island, "life cultures" were understood and documented for preventing Taiwanese culture from extinction under the *kōminka* movement. Taiwanese "life" cultures were preserved for the Taiwanese as a nation.

On the other hand, during the time of the Japanese expansion to Southeast Asia, *Minzoku Taiwan* inevitably was shaped by the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere discourse. Taiwanese *life cultures* and *local cultures* were positioned in the project of Japanese national assimilation of the greater East Asia. Taiwanese "life cultures" were regarded as essential cultural resources that could support Japan's project of creating the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. In *Minzoku Taiwan*, there was the perspective of ethnology, in which Taiwanese life cultures (i.e., folklores) could serve as a window for understanding a nation (people), based on the assumption that understanding folklore was the basis for guiding a nation and forming a "greater co-prosperity sphere of national groups."[420]

---

[419] Lin Chuan-fu (林川夫), ed. *Mínsú Taiwan* 民俗台灣 [*Minzoku Taiwan* Taiwanese folklore], vol. 1-7 (Táiběi Shì: Wǔlíng chūbǎnshè, Mínguó 79 [1990]). *Mínsú Taiwan* is translated and edited by Lin Chuan-fu and composed of only Taiwanese folklores selected from *Minzoku Taiwan* (1941-1945).

[420] Wang Shao-chun (王韶君), "'Mínsú' zuòwéi 'mínzú' gòngróng de tújìng—Yǐ *Mínsú Taiwan* wéi zhōngxīn (1941-1945) ["Folk customs" as the way to national co-prosperity: Centering on *Minzoku Taiwan* (1941-1945)]" (lecture, Graduate Institute of Chinese Documentation and Folk Art, National Taipei University, New Taipei City, Taiwan, March, 2012). Reprinted in *Gǔdiǎn wénxiàn yǔ mínsú yìshù qíkān* [Journal of Chinese Documentation and Folk Art] 1 (July, 2012): 161-175. The reference refers to the lecture. Wang Shao-chun analyzed discourses on *Minzoku Taiwan* and focused on how Taiwanese folklore was understood and how Taiwanese folklore was appropriated to serve for co-prosperity of nations. My reading of *Minzoku Taiwan* is mainly based on the research of Wu Mi-cha (吳密察) and Wang Shao-chun (王韶君), and *Mínsú Taiwan* 民俗台灣 [*Minzoku Taiwan* Taiwanese folklore] edited by Lin Chuan-fu (林川夫).

In addition, the Taiwanese people were also regarded as sharing the obligation with the Japanese nation of "realizing the creation of the Yamato nation (race)" in the greater East Asia.[421] The Taiwanese, as *Hàn* Chinese sharing *Hàn* culture with other Chinese in south China and south Asia, could serve for the ethnological study of the *Hàn* Chinese nation. That is, the Taiwanese people and cultures were good resources for ethnological research on the *Hàn* nation in support of the Japanese expansion to the south. As it was stated,

> The social and economic center of the new area [Southeast Asia] was the overseas Chinese from South China. It is unavoidable for us to have contact with overseas Chinese. To make collaboration smooth and close, it is necessary to know overseas Chinese. To know overseas Chinese, knowing Taiwanese islanders is the shortest way. … it is no doubt that our country will not be able to advance to the south if not taking advantage of the Taiwanese people's understanding of the southern people. On this basis, investigation and understanding of Taiwanese folklore is the pressing matter at the moment. We hope to fully take on this significance to contribute to the current situation.[422]

Furthermore, Taiwan and other areas in the south were regarded as "local" areas and "local cultures" in *Minzoku Taiwan,* and in particular, Taiwan's position and cultural resources were stressed as important to the creation of the "southern co-prosperity sphere."[423] That is, the

---

[421] Wang Shao-chun (王韶君), "'Mínsú' zuòwéi 'mínzú' gòngróng de tújìng—Yǐ *Mínsú Taiwan* wéi zhōngxīn (1941-1945) ["Folk customs" as the way to national co-prosperity: Centering on *Minzoku Taiwan* (1941-1945)]."

[422] Editor's notes, *Minzoku Taiwan* (1942), quoted in Wu Mi-cha (吳密察), "*Mínsú Taiwan* fākān de shídài bèijǐng jí qí xìngzhí [*Minzoku Taiwan*: The background of issuance and its nature]," 77-78.

[423] Wang Shao-chun (王韶君), "'Mínsú' zuòwéi 'mínzú' gòngróng de tújìng—Yǐ *Mínsú Taiwan* wéi zhōngxīn (1941-1945) ["Folk customs" as the way to national co-prosperity: Centering on *Minzoku Taiwan* (1941-1945)].

Taiwanese *local cultures* could serve as a bridge between other local cultures in the south and the Japanese culture. Such a view of Taiwan and other areas in the south as "local areas," with particular "local cultures" in relation to the Japanese empire as the leading culture, was similarly based on the same reasoning of "local cultures" in the cultural policy proposed by the Taisei Yokusankai (大正翼贊會 Imperial Rule Assistance Association) earlier.

The position of Taiwanese local cultures in the Greater East Asia project suggested that Taiwanese "local cultures" were appropriated as an instrument for Japanese assimilation and integration of all nations in the Greater East Asia into the Yamato nation. This is an ironic position of the Taiwanese local culture, in which Taiwanese folklore was supposed to be preserved for its particularity, but at the same time would ultimately be assimilated into the Japanese culture and ironically be identical to other cultures.

The discourses in *Minzoku Taiwan* demonstrated that the discourse of "life culture" and "local cultures" in the new cultural movement in the Japanese inland had shaped the views about Taiwanese folklore and Taiwan's position, particularly under the extraordinary circumstances of the Japanese construction of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. "Life culture" and "local cultures" in local communities in Japan were valued and revitalized as important components for the ideal collective national culture. When Japan's national boundary was extended to the whole of East Asia, the Japanese sense of "life culture" and "local cultures" was reconfigured by assimilation of "local" areas in East Asia. In particular, by the promotion of *Minzoku Taiwan*, Taiwan, in relation to the great Japan Empire, was included in the discourse of life culture and local cultures. Taiwanese culture and folklore being positioned within the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere ran the risk of being assimilated into the Japan Empire and Japanese culture.

On the other hand, this position could still open up possibilities for Taiwan. The practice and discourse of Taiwanese folklore initiated by *Minzoku Taiwan* were shaped by the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity discourse. The discourse that positioned Taiwanese folklore in relation to the expansion to Southeast Asia included Taiwan in the ethnological study and folklore preservation practice. By contrast when Taiwan was immersed in the reinforced Japanization environment, and was demanded by a series of patriotic service for the Japanese empire, Taiwanese folklore, not to mention Taiwanese cultural particularity, could hardly be sustained.

The patriotic services were organized by Kōmin Hōkōkai (皇民奉公會 the Public/Patriotic Service Association of Imperial Subjects) in a tight network connecting every community in the island and mobilizing Taiwanese youth and adults in preparation for the war. The services generally included a variety of training, turning Taiwanese into soldiers, such as military, industrial, agricultural, and marine trainings, and war enlistment.[424] In the name of contribution to the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity, Taiwanese folklore received the attention of folklorists, researchers, scholars, and people who loved Taiwan. Local communities with specific historical and cultural characteristics were visited, surveyed, interviewed, and documented.[425] Such folklore documentation was an important recognition for local people, and served as an inspiring resource for imaging the Taiwanese folk at that specific space.

Taiwanese Literature under the Greater East Asia Framework

The history of Taiwanese literature during wartime indicates that after the national language enforcement and abolition of *Hànwén* columns in newspapers in 1937, Japanese

[424] See for example, Tsai Chin-tang (蔡錦堂), *Zhànzhēng tǐzhìxià de Taiwan* [Taiwan under war system], 87-116.

[425] Wu Mi-cha (吳密察), "*Mínsú Taiwan* fākān de shídài bèijǐng jí qí xìngzhí [*Minzoku Taiwan*: The background of issuance and its nature]," 75-76.

literary practices predominated the literary circles in Taiwan.[426] During wartime under particular political and social circumstances, some Taiwanese writers who used to write in *Báihuàwén* turned to practice *Wényánwén* and classical *Hàn* poetry. Their practice of *Hànwén* is illustrated in the next section. Some other Taiwanese writers who used to write in Japanese on *Taiwan wényì* (台灣文藝 Taiwan literature and art) or *Taiwan xīnwénxué* (台灣新文學 Taiwan new literature) during 1935-1936 continued Japanese literary practice with a younger generation of Taiwanese writers who had studied in Japan. Japanese writers in Taiwan joined the practice of Taiwanese literature, and during this time, Taiwanese literature was mainly written in the Japanese language by both Japanese and Taiwanese writers.[427] In particular, after the Greater East Asia War broke out in late 1941, the discourse of the greater East Asia construction shaped Taiwanese literature practice and Taiwanese imagination of the self.

The history of Taiwanese literature during wartime pointed out that in January, 1940, the Taiwanese Writers Association (台灣文藝家協會) was founded by the Japanese writer Nishikawa Mitsuru (西川滿) to connect writers on the island, including Taiwanese and Japanese writers. The magazine *Bungei Taiwan* (文藝台灣 Literary Taiwan) was published for

---

[426] Liu Shu-chin (柳書琴), "Shéide wénxué shéide lìshǐ—Rìjù mòqí Taiwan wéntán zhǔtǐ yǔ lìshǐ quánshì zhī zhēng [Whose literature? Whose history?—The debate on the subjectivity of Taiwanese literature and historical interpretation during the late period of Japanese occupation]," in *Dìguólǐ de "dìfāng wénhuà": huángmínhuà shíqí Taiwan wénhuà zhuàngkuàng* ["Local culture" within the empire: The cultural condition of Taiwan during the kōminka movement], eds. Shih Wan-shun (石婉舜), Liu Shu-chin (柳書琴), and Hsu Pei-hsien (許佩賢) (Táiběi Shì: Bōzhòngzhě wénhuà yǒuxiàn gōngsī, 2008), 177-220; Hsu Chun-ya (許俊雅), *Rìjù shíqí Taiwan xiǎoshuō yánjiù* [A Study of Taiwan literature during Japanese occupation] (Táiběi Shì: Wénshǐzhé chūbǎnshè, Mínguó 84 [1995]), 108-40; Lin Jui-ming (林瑞明), "Sāodòng de línghún: Juézhàn shíqí de Taiwan zuòjiā yǔ huángmín wénxué [The disturbed soul: Taiwanese writers and imperial literature during the period of decisive battle]," in *Taiwan wénxué de lìshǐ kǎochá* [A historical investigation of Taiwan literature] (Táibéi Shì: Yǔnchén wénhuà shìyè gǔfèn yǒuxiàn gōngsī, Mínguó 85 [1996]), 294-331.

[427] Ibid.

encouraging literary creations in support of the Japanese new culture policy.[428] As mentioned above, the Japanese new culture policy incorporated "culture" into politics and emphasized the role of "local culture" in the constitution of the Japanese new culture. However, under the Japanese project of constructing the greater East Asia culture, Nishikawa Mitsuru advocated that Taiwanese literature as colonial culture was supposed to support the construction of the Japanese new culture as well as the East Asia new culture. Taiwanese writers were regarded as new cultural people who "must take the lead in pledging loyalty to the great empire."[429]

In addition, the magazine *Bungei Taiwan* (*Wényì Taiwan* 文藝台灣 Literary Taiwan) moved with other Japanese poetry journals toward the goal of "creating new south literature based on real Japanese cultural spirit."[430] The position of *Bungei Taiwan* suggested that Taiwanese literature was expected to support the Japanese wartime policy of constructing the greater East Asia co-prosperity. In other words, rather than being considered as a unique "local" culture, Taiwanese literature was viewed as a *colonial culture* that was supposed to serve Japanese politics.

On the other hand, a group of Taiwanese and Japanese writers (e.g., Zhāng Wénhuán 張文環, Huáng Déshí 黃得時, Nakayam Susumu 中山侑, and Nakamura Akira 中村哲, etc.) had a

---

428 Ibid.

429 Shīrén 詩人 (Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川滿), "Xīntǐzhì xià de wàidì wénhuà [The colonial culture in the new system]," originally published in *Taiwan shíbào* (Taiwan news) in 1940. Translated by Lin Chin-li (林巾力) and reprinted in *Rìzhì shíqí Taiwan wényì pínglùnjí* (zázhìpiān) (sān) [Major Texts of Taiwanese Literary Criticism: The Japanese Colonial Period, 1921-1945 (magazine), vol. 3], ed. Huang Ying-che (黃英哲) (Tai-nan Shì: Guójiā Taiwan wénxuéguǎn chóubèichù, 2006), 47-49. The reference refers to the reprinted version.

430 See Liu Shu-chin (柳書琴), "Shéide wénxué shéide lìshǐ—Rìjù mòqí Taiwan wéntán zhǔtǐ yǔ lìshǐ quánshì zhī zhēng [Whose literature? Whose history?—The debate on the subjectivity of Taiwanese literature and historical interpretation during the late period of Japanese occupation]," 202.

different view from *Bungei Taiwan*; they published the magazine *Taiwan bungaku* (*Taiwan wénxué* 台灣文學 Taiwan Literature) in May, 1941, for creating a different Taiwanese literature.[431] Based on the perspective of "local culture" in the Japanese new culture policy, the Taiwanese writer Huáng Déshí's (黃得時) statement suggested the position of *Taiwan bungaku* in Taiwanese literature. As he maintained,

> However remote a place is, there must be a particular *xiāngtǔ* culture cultivated by that place. Making good use of such particular culture and bringing its fragrance or taste into play is the most urgent task at this moment. In this sense, we want to propose a new construction of Taiwanese literary circles as part of the local culture.[432]

He also argued that "Taiwanese literature is neither in the Qīng literature nor in the Meiji literature, but has a unique ethos."[433] He finally suggested that Taiwanese literature be based in the place of Taiwan.[434]

---

[431] Liu Shu-chin (柳書琴), "Shéide wénxué shéide lìshǐ—Rìjù mòqí Taiwan wéntán zhǔtǐ yǔ lìshǐ quánshì zhī zhēng [Whose literature? Whose history?—The debate on the subjectivity of Taiwanese literature and historical interpretation during the late period of Japanese occupation]," 202-03; Hsu Chun-ya (許俊雅), *Rìjù shíqí Taiwan xiǎoshuō yánjiù* [A Study of Taiwan literature during Japanese occupation], 118-19.

[432] My translation. Huáng Déshí (黃得時), "Taiwan wéntán jiànshè lùn [On the construction of Taiwanese literary circles]," originally published in *Taiwan bungaku* (Taiwan Literature) in 1941. Translated by Tsai Chen-chen (蔡蓁蓁) and reprinted in Huang Ying-che (黃英哲), ed., *Rìzhì shíqí Taiwan wényì pínglùnjí* (zázhìpiān) (sān) [Major Texts of Taiwanese Literary Criticism: The Japanese Colonial Period, 1921-1945 (magazine) vol. 3)], 163. The reference refers to the reprinted version.

[433] Quoted in Liu Shu-chin (柳書琴), "Shéide wénxué shéide lìshǐ—Rìjù mòqí Taiwan wéntán zhǔtǐ yǔ lìshǐ quánshì zhī zhēng [Whose literature? Whose history?—The debate on the subjectivity of Taiwanese literature and historical interpretation during the late period of Japanese occupation]," 203.

[434] Huáng Déshí (黃得時), "Taiwan wéntán jiànshè lùn [On the construction of Taiwanese literary circles]," 168.

Huáng Déshí's (黃得時) view implied that Taiwanese literature was Taiwanese *xiāngtǔ* literature based in Taiwan that could not be determined by either the Manchurian Qīng literature (the last Chinese dynasty) or the Japanese Meiji literature. He regarded Taiwanese literature as the "local culture" of the Japanese culture, in which Taiwanese literature was allowed to maintain its particular character. His view also suggested that at this time, Taiwanese *xiāngtǔ* literature, which was positioned as a potential local culture resource to the Japanese new culture, was written in the Japanese language. In addition, his view did not support the position of *Bungei Taiwan* (文藝台灣 Literary Taiwan), in which Taiwanese literature was supposed to contribute to the Japanese wartime policy. It instead drew attention to the realistic Taiwanese circumstances, which indeed also complicated Taiwanese literature.

As mentioned above, Kōmin Hōkōkai (皇民奉公會 the Public/Patriotic Service Association of Imperial Subjects) was formed in 1941 in Taiwan to mobilize all resources to support the Japanese construction of the Greater East Asia. Taiwanese literature was included in this patriotic service. The first Greater East Asian Writers Conference was held in November, 1942, for connecting "the body and soul of Japan, Manchuria, China, and Mongolia" in co-constructing East Asia.[435] After the conference, *Bungei Taiwan* (*Wényì Taiwan* 文藝台灣 Literary Taiwan) promoted that Taiwanese literature become part of the Greater East Asian literature in the construction of the Greater East Asian culture. As it stated,

[435] Hamada Hayao (濱田隼雄), "'Dàdōngyǎ wénxuézhě dàhuì' de chéngguǒ [The achievement of the "Greater East Asian Writers Conference"]," originally published in *Taiwan bungaku* (Taiwan Literature) in 1943. Translatd by Tu Tsui-hua (涂翠花) and reprinted in Huang Ying-che (黃英哲), ed., *Rìzhì shíqí Taiwan wényì pìnglùnjí* (zázhìpiān) (sì) [Major Texts of Taiwanese Literary Criticism: The Japanese Colonial Period, 1921-1945 (magazine) vol. 4], 61. The reference refers to the reprinted version.

> In the battle with British and American culture, the conference pledged to restore the original state of the greater East Asian literature and culture, and to present the greater life of East Asia to the contemporary world. The spirit of the Greater East Asian literature is grounded on this. Japan fortunately is the front line of the Greater East Asia, and Taiwan is no doubt endowed with the sense of duty of pioneers who have constructed the culture of the South. … What we need for now… is to make [Taiwanese literature] become part of the Greater East Asian literature. … All in all, writers in Taiwan should put deliberation into such practice and spur themselves by honor and obligation of being the vanguard of the cultural war.[436]

The Greater East Asian Writers Conference reaffirmed the duty of Taiwanese writers and Taiwanese literature in the agenda of constructing the greater East Asia. Shortly after the conference, the Department of Culture in Kōmin Hōkōkai (皇民奉公會 the Public/Patriotic Service Association of Imperial Subjects) established the "Taiwanese Culture Award" (台灣文化賞) in late 1941, to strengthen the Taiwanese cultural movement in "constructing the wartime national literature."[437] The first awarding ceremony was held in February, 1943, and the

---

[436] My translation. "Wényì Taiwan juàntóuyán [Foreword to *Bungei Taiwan*]," originally published in *Bungei Taiwan* (Literary Taiwan) in 1942. Translated by Chiu Hsiang-ning (邱香凝) and reprinted in Huang Ying-che (黃英哲), ed., *Rìzhì shíqí Taiwan wényì pìnglùnjí* (zázhìpiān) (sān) [Major Texts of Taiwanese Literary Criticism: The Japanese Colonial Period, 1921-1945 (magazine) vol. 3], 501. The reference refers to the reprinted version.

[437] "Taiwan wénhuàshǎng de shèlì [The establishment of Taiwanese Culture Award]," *Nánfāng* 南方 [South] no. 163. Originally published during November 1, 1942. Reprented in *Fēnyuè*・*Fēnyuè bào*・*Nánfāng*・*Nánfāng* shījí [Wind and moon, Wind and moon tabloid, South, South poetry], ed. Nántiān shūjú (Táiběi Shì: Nántiān shūjú, 2001). The series of *Fēnyuè bào*, including *Fēnyuè* [Wind and moon], *Fēnyuè bào* [Wind and moon tabloid], *Nánfāng* [South], and *Nánfāng* shījí [South poetry], was originally published during May, 1935 and March, 1944, in 190 numbers. Reprinted in *Fēnyuè*・*Fēnyuè bào*・*Nánfāng*・*Nánfāng* shījí 風月・風月報・南

Taiwanese writer, Zhāng Wénhuán (張文環) and two Japanese writers, Nishikawa Mitsuru (西川滿) and Hamada Hayao (濱田隼雄) were honored with awards.[438]

The literary criticism of the awarded literature by the Japanese professor, Kudo Yoshimi (工藤好美), at the Taihoku Imperial University (台北帝國大學 Taipei Imperial University) provoked a debate on Taiwanese and imperial-subject literature, which complicated the Greater East Asian Literature project.[439] Kudo Yoshimi (工藤好美) first of all commented on Nishikawa's prose collection and indicated that his prose was a "complete literary performance" that "isolated the [author] self from the immense world."[440] This implied that Nishikawa's work was Romanticism literature, which was separate from realistic Taiwanese society. He then acknowledged one prose in the collection describing "real people," which demonstrated

---

方・南方詩集 [Wind and moon, Wind and moon tabloid, South, South poetry], ed. Nántiān shūjú (Táiběi Shì: Nántiān shūjú, 2001). The references thereafter refer to the reprinted version.

[438] Liu Shu-chin (柳書琴), "Shéide wénxué shéide lìshǐ—Rìjù mòqí Taiwan wéntán zhǔtǐ yǔ lìshǐ quánshì zhī zhēng [Whose literature? Whose history?—The debate on the subjectivity of Taiwanese literature and historical interpretation during the late period of Japanese occupation]," 211.

[439] See Liu Shu-chin (柳書琴), "Fènxiànshí zhǔyì yǔ huángmín wénxué: 1940 niándài Taiwan wéntán de rèntóng zhī zhàn [Dungy Realism & Koumin Literature: The Debate of National Identity in Taiwan Literati during 1943-1944] (translation of the title in original)," *Dōngyǎ xiàndài zhōngwén wénxué guójìxuébào* [The international journal of study on modern Chinese literature in East Asia] 4 (2010): 51-79; Kudo Yoshimi (工藤好美), "Taiwan wénhuàshǎng yǔ Taiwan wénxué—Yǐ Bīngtián, Shīchuān, Zhāng Wénhuán sānrén wéi zhōngxīn [Taiwanese Culture Award and Taiwanese Literature—Centering on Hamada Hayao, Nishikawa Mitsuru, Zhāng Wénhuán]," originally published in *Taiwan shíbào* [Taiwan news] on March 5, 1943. Translated by Chiu Hsiang-ning (邱香凝) and reprinted in Huang Ying-che (黃英哲), ed., *Rìzhì shíqí Taiwan wényì pínglùnjí* (zázhìpiān) (sì) [Major Texts of Taiwanese Literary Criticism: The Japanese Colonial Period, 1921-1945 (magazine) vol. 4], 104-16. The reference refers to the reprinted version.

[440] Kudo Yoshimi (工藤好美), "Taiwan wénhuàshǎng yǔ Taiwan wénxué—Yǐ Bīngtián, Shīchuān, Zhāng Wénhuán sānrén wéi zhōngxīn [Taiwanese Culture Award and Taiwanese Literature—Centering on Hamada Hayao, Nishikawa Mitsuru, Zhāng Wénhuán]," 110-11.

Nishikawa's "gradual attraction to the *realistic* world." Kudo stated that "his [Nishikawa's] literature career is thus enlightened from there [paying attention to the real world]."[441]

Kudo then commented on Zhāng Wénhuán's (張文環) writing, that it "always deals with reality in a direct way and digs the angle of reality," and he stated that Zhāng Wénhuán was "the one and only thorough Realist."[442] He acknowledged the sentiment of realism in Zhāng Wénhuán's awarded novel and pointed out its lack of historical awareness. He maintained that historical awareness was indeed the strength of the other Japanese writer, Hamada Hayao (濱田隼雄). However, he criticized Hamada's novel as a historical fabrication, which was not based on historical realism. He argued that a real historical novel was based on historical reality, and he indicated that Hamada's historical novel was fabricated based on "an official topic."[443]

Kudo's critique suggested that Realism was the direction of Taiwanese literature. That is, Taiwanese reality was the heart of Taiwanese literature. Based on this position, Kudo's comparison of the three awarded literatures implied that Zhāng Wénhuán's (張文環) realistic novel was the exemplary Taiwanese literature; Nishikawa's prose, which tended to be isolated from Taiwanese reality (e.g., Taiwanese people), had also gradually turned to realism; and Hamada's historical novel was driven by the national policy (i.e., constructing the greater East Asian culture). It also indicated that during this time within the greater East Asia discourse,, Taiwanese literature written in the Japanese language was not limited to the greater East Asian literature (e.g., Hamada's novel), Taiwanese realistic literature and Romantic literature (e.g.,

441 My translation, emphasis added. Ibid., 111.
442 Ibid., 112.
443 Ibid., 114-15.

Nishikawa's prose) were also available literary practices that shaped Taiwanese literature, Taiwanese imagination, and the practice of the self.

Hànwén Practices after the Abolition of *Hànwén* Columns

The publication of the series of *Fēnyuè bào* (風月報 Wind and moon tabloid) indicated that the *Hànwén* practice had endured during the wartime period, 1937-1945. *Fēnyuè* literally means wind and moon, and figuratively means natural scene, romance, or temptress. This series was first published in May, 1935, as a tabloid, titled *Fēnyuè* (風月). It lasted until February, 1936. It was re-published in July, 1937, and re-titled *Fēnyuè bào* (風月報), which lasted until it was re-named *Nánfāng* (南方 South) in June, 1941. The *Nánfāng* magazine continued until the last issue was published in March, 1944.[444] The series of *Fēnyuè bào* was a comprehensive *Hànwén* tabloid that published classical *Hàn* poetry and writings in *Wényánwén* and *Báihuàwén*, including *Taiwanhuàwén* and Chinese *Báihuàwén*. These writings included *Hàn* Chinese and Taiwanese cultural and moral traditions, connection with China for the goodwill between Japan and China, and dissemination of Japanese wartime policies (e.g., the *kōminka* movement, Construction of the Greater East Asia, and recruitment Taiwanese volunteer soldiers). They shaped possibilities for Taiwanese cultural and literary practice in *Hànwén* during wartime, and in particular, they suggested the versatility and durability of *Hànwén*.

Fēnyuè (Wind and moon tabloid) was published before wartime, and like *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* (三六九小報 The three-six-nine tabloid, during September 9, 1930 and September 6, 1935), it was issued on the third, sixth, and ninth date of a month, and written in *Wényánwén* in a

444 See *Fēnyuè*・*Fēnyuè bào*・*Nánfāng*・*Nánfāng* shījí 風月・風月報・南方・南方詩集 [Wind and moon, Wind and moon tabloid, South, South poetry] (1935-1944; repr., Táiběi Shì: Nántiān shūjú, 2001).

"popular" style. As the first number of the tabloid claimed, it stayed away from quarrels and trouble, but pursued pleasure in nature and life through literary creation and exchanges.[445] The writings in the *Fēnyuè* tabloid focused on traditional *Hàn* Chinese arts, literature, and language, including creations of classical *Hàn* poetry (e.g., *Jíbō* poetry), the historical development of *Hànwén* and *Hàn* poetry, and *Hàn* Chinese paintings in different Chinese dynasties. On the other hand, there were plenty of publications about prostitutes, romances with them, or stories about them, and also fictions of gods, spirits, and monsters. These publications and *Hànwén* writings connoted that the *Fēnyuè* tabloid was not a serious political and social publication but a classical, artistic, entertaining male magazine.

After *Hànwén* columns in newspapers were abolished in 1937, the *Fēnyuè bào* (風月報) was the only *Hànwén* newspaper allowed to publish. The first number of the *Fēnyuè bào* acknowledged the need to learn the Japanese national language, but maintained that for Taiwanese who did not understand the Japanese national language, such as the older generation of Taiwanese intellectuals and those who never went to common school, *Fēnyuè bào* written in *Hànwén* was necessary for them to receive knowledge in transition to "Japanese only" newspapers.[446] The goals of *Fēnyuè bào* included "promoting the national spirit in *Hànwén* due to a large number of older Taiwanese who do not understand the national language, cultivating knowledge of China by the study of the Beijing language, *Báihuàwén*, and customs on the other side, studying literature, and promoting the innate morality of East Asia."[447] In the goals, the *Hànwén* was regarded as an important practice in maintaining the goodwill between Japan and

---

[445] *Fēnyuè* [Wind and moon] no. 1 (1935 [2001]): 2.

[446] *Fēnyuè bào* [Wind and moon tabloid], no. 45 (1937 [2001]): 3.

[447] My translation. "*Fēnyuè bào* zhī zhǔzhǐ [The goals of *Fēnyuè* tabloid]," *Fēnyuè bào* [Wind and moon tabloid], no. 73 (1938 [2001]): 21.

China and in promoting the traditional morality of East Asia. In addition, *Hànwén* was positioned in an importance place in the Japanese national policy (i.e., expansion to China and construction the Greater East Asia).

Fēnyuè bào was issued semimonthly and maintained publications of *Hàn* poetry, history of *Hànwén* and *Hànxué*, and news or love stories about prostitutes. It started to include a small portion of Japanese colonial government policies, translations of Japanese literature in *Wényánwén*, Japanese writings, *Hàn* poetry created by Japanese, and the reading of *Hàn* poetry in the Japanese language.[448] It also opened a literary column specifically for Japanese literary creations, in which Zhāng Wénhuán (張文環) was invited to be the editor. The Japanese literary column lasted for three months only.[449] In addition, there was a more significant increase of different genres of Chinese and Taiwanese literature written in *Wényánwén*, Chinese *Báihuàwén*, and *Taiwanhuàwén*.

Fēnyuè bào was re-titled as *Nánfāng* (南方 South) in July, 1941, for responding to the "national policy."[450]In the first issue of *Nánfāng*, it was stated,

> We need to understand the significance of renaming the *Nánfāng* magazine. Everyone knows we are at a time when the Empire is enacting the South Policy. We need to understand the change of the time and to respond to the demand of the time. …We don't

[448] For example, in *Fēnyuè bào*, no, 45-47, 49-53 (1937), *Hàn* poems with Japanese pronunciation and idioms derived from both *Hànwén* and the Japanese language were provided.
[449] The Japanese literary column in *Fēnyuè bào* was opened during August and October in 1938. See *Fēnyuè bào*, no. 69-74 (1938 [2001]). For Zhāng Wénhuán and *Fēnyuè bào*, see Noma Nobuyuki (野間信幸), "Zhāng Wénhuán yǔ *Fēnyuè bào* [Zhāng Wénhuán and the *Fēnyuè* tabloid]," trans. Kao Hui-ling (高惠玲), in *Zhōngxīn dào biānchuí de chōngguǐ yǔ fēnguǐ: Rìběn dìguó yǔ Taiwan wénxué, wénhuà yánjiù* (shàng) [Convergence and divergence from core to periphery: The Japanese empire and the studies of Taiwanese literature and culture, vol. 1], ed. Wu Pei-chen (吳佩珍) (Táiběi Shì: Guólì Taiwan dàxué chūbǎn zhōngxīn, 2012), 139-69.
[450] See the advertisement in *Fēnyuè bào*, no. 130 (1941 [2001]): 11.

stick to the status quo, but to follow the national policy, expand to the south, and step in the construction of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.[451]

The title of *Nánfāng* inspired a different imagination and practice of *Hànwén* at this time. The statement above granted a special role to the only *Hànwén* magazine on the island, *Nánfāng*, during the Japanese advancement to Southeast Asia. It promoted an additional purpose of *Fēnyuè bào* to existing practices of *Hànwén*, which was to support the Japanese national policy.

The *Hànwén* writings in the series of *Fēnyuè bào* during the entire wartime period suggest the versatility and durability of *Hànwén*. *Hànwén* was performed in different styles (*Wényánwén*, *Báihuàwén*, and *Taiwanhuàwén*) for three different goals, including preserving *Hàn* Chinese and Taiwanese cultural and moral traditions, connecting with China for the goodwill between Japan and China, and supporting Japanese wartime policies. *Hànwén* endured through different cultural and literary practices toward different goals, and opened up possibilities for different Taiwanese subjectivities.

***Hànwén, Hàn* Chinese Culture, Taiwanese Culture**

The series of *Fēnyuè bào* had allowed Taiwanese intellectuals to continue the practice of *Hànwén*, *Hàn* poetry, and Taiwanese folklore during wartime. For example, *Hànwén* writings from writers of *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* (三六九小報 The three-six-nine tabloid) were published in *Fēnyuè bào*, such as Xùhóngshēng's (恤紅生) *Báihuà* novel, Lín Zǐshān's (林紫珊) *Wényén* novel, and xīn shēnglǜ qǐméng (新聲律啟蒙 rhymed couplet sentences) for beginners of *Hàn*

[451] *Nánfāng*, no. 133 (1941 [2001]): 6.

poetry from Sū Yǒuzhāng (蘇友章) and Hóng Shùntíng (洪舜廷).[452] Their writings sustained the practice of *Hànwén.*

Poetry and novels written in the Chinese *Báihuàwén,* and Taiwanese folk songs written in *Taiwanhuàwén,* implied the versatility of *Hànwén* practices.[453] For example, Wú Mànshā's (吳漫沙) long novel in Chinese *Báihuàwén, Táohuājiāng* (桃花江 Táohuā river, literally peach blossom river), was published during 1937-1939.[454] Taiwanese folk songs sung by Taiwanese illiterate males and females were collected, and verses that satirized, joked, or criticized Taiwanese social and cultural life were created.[455] The publications suggested that *Fēnyuè bào* maintained the practice of the Chinese *Báihuàwén* and Taiwanese folklore in *Taiwanhuàwén*. They also shaped Taiwanese practices of the self under the extensive Japanization movement during wartime.

In addition, the poetry column in the series of *Fēnyuè bào* indicated an enduring *Hàn* poetry practice on the island. It served as a forum for *Hàn* poetry societies on the island. It published activities of individual poets and *Hàn* poetry societies, such as poems and *Jípō* poetry,

---

[452] See for example, *Fēnyuè bào*, no. 88-96 (1941 [2001]).

[453] For example, poems in Chinese *Báihuàwén* (i.e., new poems) in *Fēnyuè bào*, no. 77 (1939 [2001]): 8, 11, 13.

[454] Wú Mànshā's (吳漫沙) long novel in Chinese *Báihuàwén*, *Táohuājiāng* [Táohuā river, literally peach blossom river], *Fēnyuè bào*, no. 52-89 (1937-1939 [2001]).

[455] See "Dǎyóushī 打油詩 [Doggerel verse]," *Fēnyuè bào*, no.101-110 (1940 [2001]); "Gēyáoshíyí 歌謠拾遺 [Collected folk songs]," *Fēnyuè bào*, no.109-110 (1940), 123 (1941 [2001]), or "Pénglái chūnchàng 蓬萊春唱 [Spring songs of Pénglái]," *Fēnyuè bào*, no. 123-127 (1941 [2001]).

calls for poetry contributions, and exchanges between poetry societies.[456] The poetry column and *Hàn* poetry practices continued until the last number of *Nánfāng* in March, 1944.

Still, *Hàn* poetry practice in Taiwan again was criticized by some Taiwanese writers as "lifeless" for the "old, weak practice" of imitating "old people," repeating platitudes, inflated production, fabrication, and so on.[457] The criticism stimulated a debate again on traditional and modern literature.[458] Kūnwǔ (坤五) argued that under such difficult circumstances during wartime, *Hàn* poetry was in a moribund state, and suggested that Taiwanese intellectuals be tolerant of *Hàn* poetry.[459] Huáng Shíhuī (黃石輝) then argued that at this time the issue was not about whether poetry was lifeless or not, but about *Hànwén*. He asked, "Should *Hànwén* exist? If it should, should it be further promoted? If it should, in what ways should it be maintained?" He

---

[456] For example, in *Fēnyuè bào*, no. 57 (1938): 25-40, the poetry column published poems made by individuals poets, a collection of *Jípō* poetry from several poetry societies, and calls for poetry contribution from poetry socieites, such as *Chóngwénshè* 崇文社 [Society for civil values].

[457] Yuányuánkè (元園客), "Taiwan shīrén de máobìng [Faults of Taiwanese poets]," *Fēnyuè bào*, no. 131 (1941 [2001]): 8; Dièr Pángguānshēng (第二旁觀生), "Dú 'Taiwan shīrén qīdà máobìng zàizhěn' gǎnyán [Reflection on the reading of "re-examining the seven faults of Taiwanese poets"]," *Nánfāng*, no. 139 (1941 [2001]): 17-19.

[458] The debate lasted for over a year during 1941-1942. See *Fēnyuè bào*, no. 131-32; *Nánfāng*, no. 133, 139-161. More discussions on the debate, see Huang Mei-e (黃美娥), "Xǐngláiba wǒmen de wéntán Zàiyì nián zhì nián Taiwan xīnjiù wénxuélùnzhàn [Wake up! Our literary circle—Re-discussing Taiwanese traditional and modern literature debate during 1941-1942]," in *Rìzhìshíqí Taiwan chuántǒng wénxué lùnwénjí* [The anthology of Taiwanese traditional literature], ed. Tunghai dàxué Zhōngwénxì (Táiběi Shì: Wénjīn chūbǎnshè, 2003), 322-62; Weng Sheng-feng (翁聖峰), *Rìjùshíqí Taiwan xīnjiù wénxué lùnzhēng xīntàn* [A new exploration of Taiwanese traditional and modern literature debate during Japanese occupation], ed. Guólì biānyìguǎn (National Center of Compilation and Translation) (Táiběi Shi: Wǔnán túshū chūbǎn gǔfèn yǒuxiàn gōngsī, 2007).

[459] Kunwu (坤五), "Duì Taiwan shīrén qīdà máobìng zàizhěn [Re-examining the seven faults of Taiwanese poets]," *Nánfāng*, no. 137 (1941 [2001]): 15-18.

suggested that the priority was to broaden the *Hànwén* network.[460] The arguments of Kūnwǔ (坤五) and Huáng Shíhuī (黃石輝) suggested the most urgent need of gathering the efforts of all Taiwanese writers in preserving *Hànwén,* which was on the verge of extinction.

In addition, Yùwén (毓文) proposed that under the specific circumstances in constructing the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, all writers on the island, including Taiwanese and Japanese, must not differentiate each other based on "old" and "new," but work together to contribute to the Greater East Asia project.[461] He also stressed the importance of *Hànwén* in improving cultural exchanges between Japan and China and suggested two approaches: (1) compile the culture legacy of predecessors, including their posthumous, folk literature, and the history of *Hànwén* literature movement and literary criticism; (2) study literature of other countries, especially the Japanese and Chinese literature, and promote literary creation.[462]

Yùwén's proposal turned attention from the literature debate to the importance of *Hànwén* in the Japanese agenda of constructing the greater East Asia. It implied that *Hànwén* was an important medium in improving the relationship between Japan and China in the Greater East Asia War. For example, a letter written in an easier *Hànwén* (an easier form between *Hànwén* and *Báihuàwén*) from the East Asian Student Alliance in Japan to Chinese students promoted the alliance between Japan and China in defense of the Greater East Asia in the war with Great Britain and the United States. This letter, in which *Hànwén* was the medium of communication between Japan and China, suggested the practicality of *Hànwén* during wartime.

---

[460] Huáng Shíhuī (黃石輝), "Wèi Taiwan shīrén de máobìng fānjiùàn [Reversing the previous judgment of the seven faults of Taiwanese poets]," *Nánfāng*, no. 150 (1942 [2001]): 21-24.
[461] Yùwén (毓文), "Dǎonèi wénrén yīngfù de rènwù [The responsibility of writers in the island]," *Nánfāng*, no. 163 (1942 [2001]): 6-7.
[462] Ibid., 7.

In addition, the position of *Hànwén* within the larger East Asia framework sustained and shaped *Hànwén* practices in *Nánfāng*.

Hànwén Entangled in the Japanese Relation to China and Greater East Asia

There was an obviously important writing in *Fēnyuè bào* and *Nánfāng*: the biography of Confucius, which was published as a serial of 93 chapters for five years, from *Fēnyuè bào* in 1939 to the last number of *Nánfāng* in 1944. The duration of the writing on Confucius implied the practice of preserving and transmitting *Hànxué* and suggested the importance of Confucius to colonial Taiwan and the Japanese empire during wartime.During this particular period, Confucius was positioned with East Asian morality. It was stated that "The biography of Confucius, which describes Confucius's life and introduces the eternal paragon of East Asia in details, is a great literary creation."[463] This statement suggested that Confucius, the founder of *Hànxué*, was a great moral resource to East Asia, including Japan. As indicated in the poetry collections from *Chóngwénshè* (崇文社 Society for Civil Values) and *Taiwan wénshè* (台灣文社 Taiwan Literature Society) mentioned in Chapter Three,[464] *Hànxué* and *Hànwén* were regarded as having constituted Japanese morality and national spirit (e.g., *Rescript on Education* and the Samurai spirit). The writings on Confucius implied that Confucius, as well as *Hànxué* and *Hànwén*, would be an important contribution to building the Japanese spirit and empire in the

---

463 "Xiězài qiánkān [Foreword]," *Fēnyuè bào*, no. 91-92 (1939 [2001]): 2.

464 Li Shih-wei (李世偉), "Rìzhì shídài wénshè de yánjiù—yǐ 'Chóngwénshè' wéilì [A study on the literary society under Japanese rule based on the Society for Civil Values]," *Taiwan fēngwù* [*The Taiwan Folkways*] 47, no. 3 (1997): 17, 37; Shih Yi-lin (施懿琳), "Taiwan wénshè chūtàn—yǐ 1919~1923 de *Taiwan wényì cóngzhì* wéi duìxiàng [A preliminary exploration of the Taiwan Literature Society based on the Taiwan Literary Collection, 1919-1923]" (lecture, Lìshè bǎinián xuéshù yántǎo huì [The centennial conference on the Oak Tree poetry society] (Tai-chung xiàn wénhuàjú, Tai-chung, 2001).

Greater East Asia. In support of the Japanese East Asia project, *Hànxué* and *Hànwén* were therefore sustained.

Confucianism was also granted an important role in Japan's East Asia agenda: maintaining the goodwill between Japan and China.[465] Nakayama Kyūshirō (中山久四郎) argued that Confucianism had a great spiritual impact on the countries in the Greater East Asia, including Japan. Confucian virtues such as righteousness, loyalty, and braveness were regarded as compatible with Japanese morality, and therefore Confucianism could served as the moral basis for mutual support and goodwill between Japan and China. Because Confucianism entailed *Hàn* Chinese cultural and moral traditions, including *Hànxué* and *Hànwén*, Nakayama's argument, which positioned Confucianism as a bridge between Japan and China, implied the importance of *Hànxué* and *Hànwén* in Japan's relationship with China. Taiwanese practices of *Hànxué* and *Hànwén* at this time was to maintain an amicable relationship between Japan and China for co-constructing the Greater East Asian spirit. Like Yùwén's (毓文) proposal as mentioned above, *Hànxué* and *Hànwén* in related to Confucianism were shaped and sustained by the Greater East Asia project.

Furthermore, *Hànwén* practices in *Fēnyuè bào* and *Nánfāng* suggested the overarching effect of the Japanese wartime discourse. *Hànwén* practices were shaped by the Japanese wartime policy, which expected the Taiwanese to be loyal, patriotic Japanese subjects and to contribute to the construction of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. For example, *Hàn* poems celebrated the 2,600 years of the Japanese empire, advocated the East Asia project, and

[465] Nakayama Kyūshirō (中山久四郎), "Rìběn zhīdào yǔ Kǒngzi zhī jiào [The Japanese morality and Confucianism]," *Nánfāng*, no. 174 (1943 [2001]): 1-4.

praised Japanese military generals and the Yamato soul (大和魂),[466] and *xīn shēnglǜ qǐméng* (新聲律啟蒙 rhymed couplet sentences) focused on the wartime new system.[467] The announcements in *Báihuàwén* about Japanese wartime policies in *Nánfāng* also suggested that *Fēnyuè bào* and *Nánfāng* served as a *Hànwén* mechanism for the Japanese wartime propadanda targeted to Taiwanese readers. For example, revival of literature and art was promoted for a "New System" of East Asia,[468] creation of new East Asian literature and art was encouraged,[469] poems praising the Japanese Emperor's Edict about the initiation to the Greater East Asia War in December, 1941, were translated into *Báihuàwén* and *Taiwanhuàwén* in Taiwanese folksong,[470] and news of recruitment of Taiwanese volunteer soldiers was disseminated.[471]

Hànwén practices in *Fēnyuè bào* and *Nánfāng* during wartime suggested the versatility and durability of *Hànwén*. The writings of *Hànwén* included a variety of literary genres, such as novels, poems, prose, and songs, and they were performed in different languages, such as *Wényánwén*, *Báihuàwén*, and *Taiwanhuàwén*. The writings were practices toward different goals, such as preserving the language of *Hànwén* and *Hàn* Chinese culture, maintaining Taiwanese culture (e.g., Taiwanese folklore), pursuing the goodwill between Japan and China for the

---

466 See the Poetry Forum in *Fēnyuè bào*, no. 76 (1938 [2001]): 38, no. 101 (1940 [2001]): 24-25; the *Nánfāng* Poetry Forum in *Nánfāng*, no. 172 (1943 [2001]): 37.

467 Sū Yǒuzhāng (蘇友章), "Xīntǐzhì shēnglǜ qǐméng (Rhymed couplet sentences about the New System)," *Nánfāng*, no. 165 (1942 [2001]): 1.

468 "Foreword: Xīntǐzhì yǔ wényìfùxīng [New System and revival of literature and art]," *Fēnyuè bào*, no. 119-20 (1940 [2001]).

469 "Foreword: Jiànshè Dōngyǎ xīnwényì [Construction of new East Asian literature and art]," *Fēnyuè bào*, no. 129 (1941 [2001]).

470 "Dàzhào jiàngxià [The enaction of the Japanese Emperor's Edict]," *Nánfāng*, no. 149 (1942 [2001]): 20-21.

471 "Foreword: Běndǎo qīngnián fènqǐ zhīqiū [The time for the youth in the island to rise]," *Nánfāng*, no. 167 (1943 [2001]).

Greater East Asia project, and supporting Japanese wartime movements. *Hànwén* endured by these different practices toward different goals, and continued to shape Taiwanese subjectivities.

Chapter Seven

A Journey of Knowing the Self

Inspired by Foucault's concept of "Technologies of the Self" and his history of practices of subjectivity based on Greco-Roman ethics,[472] I gradually came to understand that one could possibly know oneself through attending to the self and the practices of the self. By exploring the history of Taiwan, I have realized how I, including my thought and behavior, was shaped by the education designed by the Chinese nationalist party (Kuomintang 國民黨, KMT, literally the National People's Party) in Taiwan. My disciplinary practices of the self before led me to believe that I was a Chinese, rather than a Taiwanese. The historical study of Taiwan has helped me understand that I could be different from a Chinese! Below is a practice of the self in writing about how I know/knew who I am/was.

Learning to Be Chinese in School

I was born in an era when Taiwan had been under the governance of Kuomintang (KMT, 國民黨) for 30 years. I was educated to assume that I, along with other students at my school, was Chinese, and that my country was the Republic of China (R.O.C. 中華民國). We spoke Mandarin Chinese (i.e., Hànwén) in school. We were taught that our homeland was in mainland China, which was occupied by the Chinese Communist Party, so we all resided temporarily in Taiwan. Because we were all Chinese, we had to learn and speak Mandarin Chinese at school. I thus learned everything about China through the Mandarin Chinese language. Although I spoke

---

[472] See Michel Foucault, "Technologies of the Self," in In *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault*, eds. Luther H. Martin, Huck Gutman and Patrick H. Hutton (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), 16-49; Michel Foucault, *The Hermeneutics of the Subject: Lectures at the Collège de France 1981-1982*, ed. Frédéric Gros, trans. Graham Burchell (New York: Picador, 2001); Lynn Fendler, *Michel Foucault*, *Vol. 22 of* Continuum Library of Educational Thought, ed. Richard Bailey (London: Continuum Press, 2010), 55-56.

Hakka, my native language, at home with my parents, in fact in school I hardly learned anything about Taiwan, and I did not speak my native language.

I still remember my first day of formal schooling in Taiwan—I, with other first year students in the classroom, was told by the homeroom teacher that we were not permitted to speak our native language, which was called *fāngyán* (方言, literally means *local speech*) at school. We were allowed only to speak *guóyǔ* (國語, literally means *national language*), namely Mandarin Chinese. For the KMT government, *fāngyán* means a vernacular that many Taiwanese children speak at home. My school was in a small Hakka town, so most of the children spoke Hakka at home. We were told that *fāngyán* was a vulgar language that we were not supposed to speak at school; instead we should speak a more formal, standard language, namely *guóyǔ*, the national language. I still remember that some of my classmates got a slap in the face or were asked to stand at the back of the classroom during the whole class time for speaking *fāngyán*. Sometimes when my Hakka language was heard by accident, I was scorned by my classmates. During the first year of schooling, I knew that I must speak *guóyǔ* at school, so that I would not be punished and disdained. Gradually during the elementary school years, I thought that speaking Hakka in public was rude, and speaking Mandarin Chinese meant that I was well educated.

Besides learning the standard Chinese language, I learned Chinese literature, history, geography, philosophy, and the political system of the Republic of China. I memorized every dynasty and every emperor's name throughout the 5000 years of Chinese history. I remembered every province, its climate, soil, crops, and every railroad across the vast territory of China. I learned the Classical Chinese language, the Chinese *Báihuàwén*, and Chinese philosophy from

reading and memorizing great literary works (literature and poetry) and Confucian texts, such as *The Analects,* in middle school, and the Four Books in Confucianism in high school.[473]

In this curriculum, Taiwan was treated as one of the less important provinces of China. My memory and knowledge about Taiwan, namely Taiwanese history, literature, and culture, were sparse. The textbooks touched on Taiwan only slightly, as the Chinese proverb says, "A dragonfly skimming the surface of water." In my impression, Taiwan was just a province of China, like many other provinces, but without much significance.

In addition, we were educated about our nation, that is, our country, which was called the Republic of China. After overthrowing the Manchurian Qīng dynasty on the Chinese mainland in 1911, the R.O.C. founding father, Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, established the "Three Principles of the People" (三民主義) as the fundamental pillars of the nation and the nationalist party, the Kuomintang (KMT).[474] The Three Principles of the People served not only as the guiding principles of the R.O.C. government; they also taught us that our government functioned as a democratic nation. The principles created an ideal image of a nation, the Republic of China, and one day we all would restore the land in China and reunite with the people in China. During my elementary and secondary school years during the late 1980s and the 1990s in Taiwan, we sang the national anthem that represented the spirit of the Three Principles of the People, in the morning and afternoon assembly every day. We had firearms practice in a shooting range in high school, and we took the required military training course in high school and college, in which we

[473] The *Analects* was edited by Confucius's disciples. It is a collection of dialogues between Confucius and his disciples and the topics encompass moral values to be applied in politics, society, family, education, and individuals. The Four Books include *Great Learning*, *Doctrine of the Mean*, *Analects*, and *Mencius* which are representative of Confucian thought.

[474] The Three Principles of the People can be summarized as nationalism, democracy, and the livelihood of the people.

were all required to dress in a khaki military uniform, preparing to defend our country from the attack of the Chinese Communist Party, and ultimately to fight a war of reunification.

Testing and high school and college entrance exams were significant practices that strengthened my belief in the knowledge I received from textbooks and further shaped me into a Chinese subject. We, in terms of what kind of person we are, were evaluated based on our test scores. When I got high scores in exams, I was praised and viewed as a *good* student; when I got low scores, I was scolded and supposed to feel ashamed of myself because the low scores made my parents lose face. I of course cared about my parents and myself, and I always cared about my dignity. I made every effort in learning and memorizing knowledge from the textbooks in order to get high scores and to get into the best high school in the town and into a national university.[475] I also believed that I was a Chinese who must remember the Three Principles of the People and follow Confucian morality. In my imagination, exams were taken for granted, and being a Chinese was natural and normal.

The complete immersion in the Chinese world, created by education and language practices, and by constant checking of what I had absorbed in exams shaped who I was: a Chinese who knew only about China, its history, geography, literature, culture, and so forth, but knew little about Taiwan, because she believed that her nation was the Republic of China, of which Taiwan was just a small part. Even when first meeting people from China, I knew that I was a Chinese from Taiwan who thought that mainland China was the territory of the R.O.C but was temporarily occupied by the Chinese Communist Party. I even criticized the Chinese

[475] In Taiwan, national universities are prestigious. They are funded by the government in Taiwan and charge reasonable tuitions. It is very competitive to get into a national university. Only students with high scores in the yearly high-stake entrance exam can get permission.

Communist Party in front of my Chinese friends, and I believed that we Chinese in Taiwan would one day get the mainland back.

Thinking Differently Who I Am

I seldom really questioned who I thought I was and what I had firmly believed until I started my doctoral study in the program of Curriculum, Teaching, and Educational Policy at Michigan State University in 2008, when my way of thinking about who I am started to get shaken. In the first doctoral proseminar course, I had a historical artifact project in which I had to analyze a historical artifact from education and examine its assumptions about education, including school knowledge, teachers' role, students' role, the nature of learning, and so on. I consulted my academic advisor, Lynn Fendler, for ideas about what I could do. I showed her some photographs which captured the campus of my middle school about 30 years ago. The photographs depicted classrooms and students in uniforms all standing straight and listening to the principal's preaching during the morning assembly. There were also photographs of students doing gymnastics, mottos about patriotism, and signs of Confucian virtues at the front entrance of my middle school. After enthusiastically sharing my understanding of the education I had received in the past, my advisor asked, "Do you notice that the school looks like militaristic education?" I was not quite sure because I never noticed that it was militaristic. I just thought that it was a natural way of what we did and learned in school. "Not sure!" I confusedly said. She continued asking, "Do you think they are similar to the Japan style of education?" I had no idea and said, "Really? Aren't they from China? I never knew that we have connections with Japan." At that moment, I wondered why we would have learned from Japan, "Don't they represent our nation's education (i.e., the education of R.O.C.) that I have been so proud of?"

Having learned about the history of Asian countries, and lived and taught in Taiwan before, my advisor shared with me her understanding of the history of Taiwan in relation to Japan and China. She recalled that when she was in Taipei, Taiwan, in the mid-1970s, there were still some Taiwanese people speaking Japanese. She could still see residues of Japanese colonization in Taipei. Therefore she wondered how much Japanese influence was retained in education in Taiwan. She mentioned that my photographs reminded her of the Japanese colonial period in Taiwan. I told her that what I knew about Japan and Taiwan during that colonial period was that Japan oppressed the people in Taiwan and Japan has been our enemy since then.

She then encouraged me to explore the history of Taiwan under the Japanese colonial rule and to see what I could get from it for my historical artifact project. At the time when I searched for historical sources about Taiwan during this specific period, I knew from history textbooks that Taiwan was colonialized by Japan after the First Sino-Japan War during 1894-1895, and the people in Taiwan were oppressed by Japan during 50 years of colonization, from 1895 to 1945. Japan's colonization of Taiwan is one of the many events of Japanese invasions in China before the Second World War. According to most history textbooks, Taiwan finally returned to the bosom of our motherland, namely China, when Japan was finally defeated at the end of World War II in 1945.

The Effective History of Taiwan under Japanese Rule, 1895-1945

Being a person coming from Taiwan and having lived in Taiwan for more than 30 years, I found that the past of Taiwan had been a "foreign country" to me, using Cazorla-Sanchez's metaphor.[476] Ironically and embarrassingly, I did not really know about the place where I grew

[476] Cazorla-Sanchez described that the past is a foreign country and history is a passport that allows us to visit that country. See Antonio Cazorla-Sanchez, "The New Cultural History—And You," *History Review*, 60 (2008): 40-41.

up, which is Taiwan. With limited knowledge, I set out on the novel journey to this "foreign country," which then turned out to be a homecoming trip.[477] The visit indeed has generated ambivalent emotions in me. I was utterly shocked, surprised, irritated, and embarrassed. I almost no longer knew who I was. I read stories about Taiwan which were different than what we were told as school children. I was surprised to learn that the Taiwanese people indeed have different feelings and attitudes toward the Japanese. There was not just one interpretation about Japanese colonization. The Taiwanese people during that period also had complex relationships with Japan and an ambivalent mentality toward Japan and themselves as a colonial subject. Some people in Taiwan believed that they were real Japanese. Also, Taiwanese offspring shared such complicated feelings about their ancestors when the KMT came to Taiwan in 1945, and their feelings could not be described as "hatred" only, which was KMT's consistent feeling about Japan.

In addition, I realized that Taiwan could have been an independent country after Japan left in 1945. Instead, Taiwan was taken over by the KMT, which was comprised of Chinese people who fled the Chinese mainland in 1949. Some contemporary Taiwanese even explain that Taiwan was colonized by another external force, namely the KMT. I found that I had been *created* to be a Chinese by the KMT. The mentality of the KMT people, who lost the territory of mainland China to the Communist Party and yearned to go home one day, was imposed on me.

When I learned more about the history of Taiwan, I became irritated because I realized that I was different from those KMT people who were native Mandarin Chinese speakers. I was

[477] I searched sources online and in the main library at MSU. I found that there have been studies on Taiwan since 1990s and were published in books, journals, and blogs. I also found several books on the history of education in Taiwan at the main library. I analyzed the ways in which Taiwanese people and school children behaved and responded to the Japanese education and assimilation in Taiwan during 1895-1945. It was a preliminary analysis.

born in Taiwan and my home has always been in Taiwan. I felt embarrassed because I never cared about the history of Taiwan, the land that had nurtured me. I learned everything about China at the expense of Taiwan. I never really met China or saw what it was like. I never stepped onto the mainland, touched its soil, smelled its air, or felt the atmosphere on the other side of the Strait of Taiwan. However, I memorized every railroad, every province, every mountain and river, every dynasty and emperor, and every important historical event across China's 5,000 years of history. More ironically, I never even paid serious attention to the Taiwanese land around me or felt its heartbeat, its vitality.

During my first year in the doctoral program I seemed to wake up from the nostalgic dream woven by the KMT and I learned that Taiwan has a different history from that of China, and the people in Taiwan have different historical experiences from the people in China. I now think that the history of Taiwan should not be told as supplementary to the great history of China. My position is ambiguous. Politically, I strongly feel that I am Taiwanese. Culturally, I am both Taiwanese and Chinese. I am a Taiwanese who is politically and culturally distinct from the people in China. However I identify myself or I am identified by others (politically or culturally), the bottom line is that the betterment of the people in Taiwan and China is taken into account.

Furthermore, I learned that history—whether taught in school, depicted in textbooks, or circulated in folk wisdom—can shape one to be a certain type of person and limit one's understandings of who he or she is. The history of China that I had learned in school shaped how I thought of myself, what I identified with, and who I thought I was. At the same time, I learned that history can also disrupt such understandings and open up possibilities for new understandings. Later I found that Foucault's effective history in his "Nietzsche, Genealogy,

History",[478] speaks to my experience and learning from the historical artifact project. The history of Taiwan I read for my proseminar artifact project was in fact effective history that disrupted my understanding of who I had been. This is the pedagogical effect of history that I experienced in the historical artifact project. I not only have expanded my imagination of who I can possibly be. I have also developed a critical attitude toward assumptions about history, stories, and discourse.

Practices of Subjectivity in Dissertation Writing

Reading and writing about the histories of colonial Taiwan in this dissertation study have continued to construct my subjectivities and the possibilities and impossibilities for how I can think about myself. For example, when I revised my writing every day, I most of the time had a different thought about the same thing. The writing practice/process has constantly shaped my thought and imagination, and my subjectivity is contingent on historical conditions.[479] In addition, when conducting this study, I encountered challenges in many aspects. Those challenges came from my own habits. It has been a very difficult but exciting process of changing my habits.

First of all, I struggled with Romanization. I had been used to the Wade-Giles system since I learned English in middle school. I Romanized my home address in the Wade-Giles system in my English learning practice when sending letters to my pen pals in Belgium and the U.S. Many places in Taiwan were also Romanized in the Wade-Giles system. My name on my Passport also is Romanized by the government in Taiwan in the Wade-Giles system. When

---

[478] Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," in *The Essential Foucault: Selections from Essential Works of Foucault, 1954-1984*, eds. Paul Rabinow and Nikolas Rose (New York: The New Press, 2003 [1994]), 354.

[479] I did not realize that my writing practice was a practice of the self until my advisor, Lynn Fendler, pointed it out in a regular one-on-one advisory meeting with her.

meeting Chinese in the U.S., I learned that their names are Romanized in the *Hànyǔ Pīnyīn* (漢語拼音) system, which is the standard Romanization in China. Because of the different spelling of our names, I identified myself as different from them.

In fact, the government in Taiwan also created the *Tongyong* (通用 literally universal) *Pinyin* during 2002-2008. However, before I became familiar with *Tongyong Pinyin*, *Hànyǔ Pīnyīn* was adopted in Taiwan in 2009. I felt particularly uncomfortable when seeing signposts of place names in Taiwan Romanized in *Hànyǔ Pīnyīn*. I felt that we should not use the *Hànyǔ Pīnyīn* from a communist country. This feeling suggested that my attitude toward China, which was shaped by the Chinese nationalist party, still remained. The places Romanized in *Hànyǔ Pīnyīn* also made me feel that we would be converted into Chinese again! Since 2009, when I started to realize that we people in Taiwan are different from the people in China, the *Hànyǔ Pīnyīn* system that appeared in the island of Taiwan at that time seemed to tell me that "no, we are no different. We are the same." Frankly speaking, I am still not comfortable using the *Hànyǔ Pīnyīn* now. Using *Hànyǔ Pīnyīn* erases my Taiwanese imagination.

Later, when I tutored Chinese to an American student here in the U.S., I wondered whether I should teach him Bopomofo (*Zhùyīn fúhào* 注音符號), the phonetic system in Taiwan, or *Hànyǔ Pīnyīn*, the phonetic system in China. I consulted my Taiwanese friends who teach Chinese as a Foreign Language (CFL) in the U.S. and realized how universal *Hànyǔ Pīnyīn* had become in the CFL world. Therefore, I had to learn *Hànyǔ Pīnyīn* in order to teach the student Chinese pronunciations. In addition, since I worked as a field instructor for Chinese teachers in the Chinese Teacher Certification Program in my department (Department of Teacher Education), I have gradually used *Hànyǔ Pīnyīn* in spelling the teachers' names. In a word, I have become used to it.

When writing the proposal for this dissertation study, I decide to adopt the Wade-Giles system with no doubt. When starting to write at the earliest stage, I used the Wade-Giles system. However, when I searched for books with Chinese titles on the WorldCat library catalogue, the titles are all Romanized in *Hànyǔ Pīnyīn*. They read clear to me because I have learned this system. I have also found it very convenient for me. Still, when I Romanized Taiwanese people and places in Taiwan in *Hànyǔ Pīnyīn*, I felt uncomfortable. On the other hand, Chinese book titles or terms Romanized in Wade-Giles now do look "backward" to me. In other word, the Wade-Giles looks outmoded.

My dissertation directors and committee members might be confused with Chinese names when reading drafts of different chapters. Chinese names in different chapters are Romanized either in Wade-Giles or *Hànyǔ Pīnyīn,* or in both. Different Romanizations imply my struggle with them and my subjectivity was contingent on different histories I was writing.

Considering convenience and my imagination of Taiwan, I decided to adopt *Hànyǔ Pīnyīn* for the names of Taiwanese during the Japanese colonial period, Chinese references, and places in China. I then apply the Wade-Giles system to contemporary Taiwanese author names and places in Taiwan because their names have been Romanized in this system. My advisor, who learned the Chinese language, told me the importance of tone marks for her as a non-native Chinese speaker to read Chinese Romanizations. As a language teacher, I understand this importance, and therefore, I put tone marks in Chinese Romanizations in the *Hànyǔ Pīnyīn* in this dissertation.

I have tried to change my reading and writing habits. I have the habit of burying myself in details in reading and forgetting to get out of the details and stay back to figure out the overall scope. That is, I have tended to "not see the forest for the trees." I also have the habit of writing

in the Chinese style of writing, in which I do not introduce the main point in the opening. I tend to present the main point after describing the discourse and context at great length. I have been learning the new style of academic writing (i.e., the U.S. style) and I try to remember to present the main points at the beginning of a section.

In addition, I have also tried to change my habit of reading and writing history. I tended to read history as facts. That is, I was reading history as objective history and the search for truth. The habit had been formed by my way of studying in my formal education. I was required to memorize everything in history textbooks and to remember them as "facts." I had taken history as facts. When I read histories for the dissertation, I tended to assume that they were facts, even though I have learned from Foucault, Cohen, and White about the construction of history and the role of language in historical writing.

I have continued to remind myself that I was not searching for truth. The histories I was reading were discursive constructions. They were fabricated in a particular way. They were written under different historical conditions and were created with different political implications. I do not deny historical truth, but what I could know is based on historical writings. I have practiced reading historical writings as discourse, examining assumptions in the discourse, and imagining the subject positions they created. I have also constantly asked myself to exercise my imagination based on historical writings and their inherent assumptions.

As for my writing habit, I tended to write an actor-centered history. In my writing, I focused on people, who did what and caused what to occur. I had to remind myself that the object of my analysis was discourse and language use in discourse. I also had to be aware that the words, selections of objects, and languages I used in my writing imply meanings. That is, the

languages and words I was using in my writing actually constructed, invented, and created meanings for the objects/events I chose to focus on in this study.

Another conceptual challenge was the distinction between the concepts of identity and subjectivity. My understanding of the difference is that identity is something that is fixed and imposed on people; subjectivity is the practice of the self that one works on the self every day to create oneself to be a subject. Identity plays a role in the construction of subjectivities; but subjectivity is a practice of freedom.

The Practices of the Self in Colonial Taiwan, 1895-1945

My dissertation study has been shaped by this journey of knowing the self and practice of the self. My school education and practice of Mandarin Chinese had shaped my understanding of the self and what kind of subject I had been molded into. The historical artifact project on the history of colonial Taiwan has raised my awareness of the historical construction of Taiwanese in relation to Chinese, opened up my imagination about Taiwan and Taiwanese, and more importantly made me re-think who I am. I have been eager to know more about Taiwan, how Taiwan has been constructed in historical writings. In particular, I have been interested to know how language policies and practices shaped Taiwanese practice of the self (i.e., Taiwanese subjectivity). My language practice in the past had played an important role in shaping me into a particular Chinese subject; and therefore I would like to study language policies and language practices in colonial Taiwan and explore possibilities for Taiwanese practices of the self.

Hànwén and Taiwanese Subjectivities

Historical writings of language policies in colonial Taiwan illustrated a complex image of Taiwan, constituted by multiple language movements. The analyses of language movements in the three historical events (i.e., Taiwan culture and literature movement in the 1920s, Taiwanese

Xiāngtǔ literature movement and Taiwanese language reform in the early 1930s, and the *kōminka* movement during wartime, 1937-1945) suggested a complex relationship between the Japanese national language, *Hànwén* and *Taiwanhuàwén.* In particular, *Hànwén*, the classical written Chinese language, *Hànwén* endured the entire Japanese colonial period and sustained pressure from many directions. The durability and versatility of *Hànwén* played a significant part in shaping possibilities for Taiwanese cultural, linguistic, and literary practices of subjectivities.

Based on the analyses in this dissertation, Japanese language movement was promoted throughout the colonial period to assimilate Taiwanese into Japanese subject. It was imposed upon Taiwanese children through common school education; it was popularized to general Taiwanese populace through Japanese language education centers in Taiwanese society; it was enforced as a national language by forbidding use of *Hànwén* and Taiwanese languages in newspapers. The persisting Japanese language movement implied abundant possibilities for Taiwanese to learn and use Japanese language (i.e., practice of the self) in becoming a Japanese subject. On the other hand, *Hànwén*, which had formed Taiwanese intellectual and everyday life, endured Japanese language imposition and at the same time, complicated the Japanese language movement.

In Chapter Three, the history of colonial education in Taiwan (see Chapter Three) suggested that *Hànwén* was regarded as the main component of *Hàn* cultural and moral tradition (e.g., Confucianism) in Taiwan. The importance of *Hànwén* to Taiwanese was taken into consideration in Japanese language movement. To recruit Taiwanese children to common school for learning the Japanese language and receiving Japanese education, *Hànwén* was included in common school curriculum. The inclusion of *Hànwén* allowed Taiwanese children to learn the new Japanese language and their traditional written language (i.e., *Hànwén*). On the other hand,

the importance of *Hànwén* to Taiwanese was also regarded as an obstacle to Japanese language movement because *Hànwén* was believed to maintain Taiwanese to be a *Hàn* subject. *Shūfáng* (書房), the traditional Taiwanese private school teaching *Hànwén*, was "reformed" under colonial education regulation to teach the Japanese language. The reform of *shūfáng* rendered Taiwanese practice of *Hànwén* in *shūfáng* complicated.

Ironically, *Hànwén* and *Hànxué* (漢學 study of Chinese Classics) was also believed to play an essential role in the formation of Japanese empire and spirit. Japanese officials in Taiwan were also versed in *Hànwén* and *Hànxué*, and communicated with Taiwanese intellectuals in *Hànwén. Hànwén* thus served as a bridge between Taiwanese and Japanese intellectuals. They networked and made literary exchanges through *Hàn* poetry societies. Their practice indeed maintained *Hànwén and Hàn* poetry practices.

In addition, the Japanese relation to *Hànwén* and *Hànxué* was emphasized during wartime (1937-1945) in the Japanese agenda of creating the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. In Chapter Six, the discourse on the *Hànwén* magazine, the series of *Fēngyuè bào* (風月報) indicated that *Hànwén* and *Hànxué* were viewed as valuable cultural and moral foundation for Japanese construction of the greater East Asia. The importance of *Hànwén* and *Hànxué* to building the Japanese wartime empire in East Asia supported *Hànwén* and *Hànxué* practice throughout the wartime period. Under the intensive Japanization movement (i.e., *kōminka* movement) when the Japanese language was popularized more intensively and *Hànwén* columns in newspapers were abolished, the *Hànwén* and *Hànxué* practices were maintained on the series of *Fēngyuè bào* suggested the complexities of Taiwanese practice of becoming a Japanese imperial subject. Moreover, the practice of *Hànwén* in relationship to the Japanese language movement during wartime suggested the versatility of *Hànwén.*

In Chapter Four, the history of Taiwanese new culture and literature movement proposed to build a civilized nation of Taiwan in the new era in the 1920s. While receiving new knowledge from the West and developing a new attitude toward becoming a civilized subject, *Hànwén* and *Hànxué* were still an important practice in Taiwanese life. For example, *Taiwan shīhuì* (台灣詩薈), the anthology of *Hàn* poetry, presented a position that advocated the traditional *Hàn* Chinese civilization as a valuable model for promoting Taiwan to civilization. Especially under the pressure of the Japanese national language movement, preserving *Hànwén* was felt as an extremely important project in the new cultural movement. This position assumed that Taiwanese could become a civilized *Hàn* cultural subject. On the other hand, the *Hàn* poetry practice, particularly the *Jíbō* poetry (擊缽吟) in Taiwan was criticized as constraining poets' freedom in literary creation. In spite of the criticism, the *Hàn* poetry was still regarded as an important practice of preserving *Hàn* culture.

On the other hand, in the new cultural movement, the literary form of *Hànwén* was regarded as a problem in educating and enlightening Taiwanese masses. The archaic style and characters of *Hànwén* were seen as esoteric to Taiwanese learners of new knowledge. The discourse of new cultural movement indicated a need to reform the *Hànwén* to be an easy *Hànwén* based on the spoken language, namely *Báihuàwén* (colloquial written Chinese language). The *Hànwén* was the so-called *Wényánwén* (literary written Chinese language). The Taiwanese practice of *Báihuàwén* had become popular in *Taiwan min pao*. Taiwanese writers argued that *Báihuàwén* had allowed them to write about Taiwan and Taiwanese-ness (i.e., people and customs) in a more accessible language to Taiwanese masses. The argument implied that *Báihuàwén* opened up possibilities for Taiwanese writing of the self and promoting of the self to civilization.

Still, the Taiwanese practice of *Báihuàwén* received criticism for its "vulgar" language and "abnormal" style. The use of spoken language in writing was criticized as not as elegant as *Wényánwén*. On the other hand, the *Báihuàwén* in Taiwan, which was a mixture of the Taiwanese spoken language, the Japanese language, and Hànwén, was the Taiwanese style *Báihuàwén*. The mixed use of language in the Taiwanese style *Báihuàwén* was also criticized as non-standard *Báihuàwén.* In addition, the Taiwanese language was regarded as a vulgar dialect that could not create elegant Taiwanese new literature. The criticisms offered different views of the Taiwanese style *Báihuàwén* that complicated Taiwanese imagination of promoting the self be a civilized subject. Taiwanese intellectuals who studied in China suggested adopting the Chinese *Báihuàwén* as the model for developing *Báihuàwén* in Taiwan and writing Taiwanese new literature for the new era. Writings in Chinese *Báihuàwén* had indeed served as a model for Taiwanese writers to learn *Báihuàwén*; however, following the Chinese *Báihuàwén* in creating Taiwanese new literature might subsume Taiwanese language and culture into the *standard* Chinese language and culture. The Taiwanese practice of *Báihuàwén* was complicated by the Chinese *Báihuàwén.* In spite of the complex relationship between Taiwanese *Báihuàwén* and Chinese *Báihuàwén*, *Hànwén* maintained in practice in these two different styles, in addition to *Wényánwén*. These styles again suggested the versatility of *Hànwén.*

In Chapter Five, the discourse of the Taiwanese *xiāngtǔ* (鄉土 place-based) literature movement and Taiwanese language reform still implied the durability and versatility of *Hànwén*. The discourse of the Taiwanese *xiāngtǔ* literature movement suggested a focus on Taiwan and Taiwanese masses. Taiwanese *xiāngtǔ* literature was supposed to be written on Taiwan for developing Taiwanese literacy and promoting Taiwanese culture. The discourse regarded the Taiwanese language as a "language" rather than a dialect that was supposed to be the major

medium of writing, and positioned Taiwan as the main subject. The discourse indeed opened up Taiwanese imagination of the self in this island and raised Taiwanese attention to Taiwan as a subject. It created possibilities for Taiwanese language and culture practices, for example, the development of a script for the Taiwanese language and collections of Taiwanese folklore.

In the development of the Taiwanese script, *Hànwén* was believed to be the closest language to the Taiwanese language, and therefore, *Hànzì*, the characters of *Hànwén*, was adopted as the main linguistic resource. The Chinese *Báihuàwén*, which was developed in contemporary China, was not considered as compatible with the Taiwanese language and the Taiwanese context. The adoption of *Hànzì* in the Taiwanese script suggested the richness and versatility of *Hànwén*, which supported the Taiwanese language. Not using the Chinese *Báihuàwén* suggested an independent position of Taiwan and Taiwanese language. Lien Yatang (連雅堂), the Taiwanese traditional intellectual, even compiled a dictionary of the Taiwanese language based on *Hànwén* to prove that the Taiwanese language had a written form and was a valuable *Hàn* language. Ambiguously, the Taiwanese language was still positioned in relation to the Chinese language.

On the other hand, the *Hànwén* tabloid, *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* (The three-six-nine tabloid), also supported Taiwanese *xiāngtǔ* literature. It collected Taiwanese folk songs and published Taiwanese folklore in the Taiwanese language. It also published Chinese folklore in a mixture of *Wényánwén* and Chinese and Taiwanese *Báihuàwén*. It is important to note that *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* was performed in an eccentric style of writing that satirize, mock, critique, or play with contemporary news and issues in the world. Furthermore, *Hàn* poetry was still maintained in popular practice on this *Hànwén* tabloid. *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào* endured for over five years in the early 1930s and allowed practices of *Hànwén* in different linguistic styles and literary genres.

The analyses above again suggested durability and versatility of *Hànwén*. In spite of the imposition of the Japanese national language policy throughout the colonial period, and challenges from Taiwanese new culture and literature movements, *Hànwén* was maintained in the practice of *Hàn* poetry (e.g., *Hàn* poetry societies, *Taiwan shīhuì*, and *Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào*), and in different forms, such as *Báihuàwén* and *Taiwanhuàwén*. In the Taiwanese *xiāngtǔ* literature movement and reform of the Taiwanese language, *Hànwén* and *Hànzì* were also adopted for developing the Taiwanese script. Even under the most intensive Japanization movement (i.e., the kōminka movement) during wartime 1937-1945, *Hànwén* endured the entire wartime period in support of the Japanese national policies through the series of *Fēngyuè bào*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Dìyīxiàn 第一線 [The frontline]. 1935. Reprinted in Vol. 2 of *Taiwan xīnwénxué zázhì cóngkān* 台灣新文學雜誌叢刊 [Taiwan new literature monograph]. Edited by Toshio Ikeda (池田敏雄) and Chuang Yang-lin (莊楊林). Táiběi Shì: Dōngfāng wénhuà shūjú, Mínguó 70 [1981].

Fēnyuè・*Fēnyuè bào*・*Nānfāng*・*Nānfāng* shījí 風月・風月報・南方・南方詩集 [Wind and moon, Wind and moon tabloid, South, South poetry]. Edited by Nántiān shūjú 南天書局 [SMC Publishing Inc.]. Táiběi Shì: Nántiān shūjú, 2001.

Inō, Kanori (伊能嘉矩). *Táiwān wénhuà zhì*,shàng, zhōng, xià juǎn,Zhōngyì běn 臺灣文化志, 上、中、下卷，中譯本 [Taiwanese culture Record, vol. 1-3, Chinese translation], edited and translated by Guóshǐ guǎn Táiwān wénxiàn guǎn [Taiwan Historica]. Táiběi Shì: Táiwān shūfáng chūbǎn yǒuxiàn gōngsī, 2011.

Lǐ, Xiànzhāng (李獻璋).Ed. *Taiwan mínjiān wénxuéjí* 台灣民間文學集 [The collection of Taiwanese folk literature]. Wénguāng chūbǎnshè, 1936.

Nan-yin 南音 [Southern voice]. 1932. Reprinted in Vol. 1 of *Taiwan xīnwénxué zázhì cóngkān* 台灣新文學雜誌叢刊 [Taiwan new literature monograph]. Edited by Toshio Ikeda (池田敏雄) and Chuang Yang-lin (莊楊林). Táiběi Shì: Dōngfāng wénhuà shūjú, Mínguó 70 [1981].

Sānliùjiǔ xiǎobào 三六九小報 [The three-six-nine tabloid]. 1930-1935. Reprint, Táiběi Shì: Chéngwén chūbǎnshè, 1982.

Taiwan jiàoyù yángé zhì (zhōngyìběn) 臺灣教育沿革誌 (中譯本) [The chronicle of Taiwan education (Chinese translation)]. Edited by Taiwan jiàoyù huì 台灣教育會[Taiwan Kyōikukai in Japanese, Taiwan Education Society]. Translated by Hsu Hsi-ching (許錫慶). Nántóu Shì: Guǒshǐguǎn Táiwān wénxiànguǎn, Mínguó 99 [2010].

Taiwan qīngnián 台灣青年 [the Taiwan Youth], *Taiwan* 台灣, *Taiwan min pao* 台灣民報 [The people's newspaper of Taiwan], *Taiwan hsin min pao* [The new people's newspaper of Taiwan]. 1920-1931. Reprint, Táiběi Shì: Dōngfāng wénhuà shūjú [The Oriental Cultural Service], Mínguó 62 [1973].

Taiwan shīhuì (shàng, xià cè) [Anthology of Taiwanese Poetry]. Edited by Lián Héng (連橫). vols. 2. 1924. Reprint, Táiběi Shì: Chéngwén fāxíng, Mínguó 66 [1977].

Taiwan wényì 台灣文藝 [Taiwan literature and art]. 1934-1936. Reprinted in Vol. 3-5 of *Taiwan xīnwénxué zázhì cóngkān* 台灣新文學雜誌叢刊 [Taiwan new literature monograph]. Edited

by Toshio Ikeda (池田敏雄) and Chuang Yang-lin (莊楊林). Táiběi Shì: Dōngfāng wénhuà shūjú, Mínguó 70 [1981].

Taiwan xīnwénxué 台灣新文學 [Taiwan new literature]. 1935-1937. Reprinted in Vol. 6-7 of *Taiwan xīnwénxué zázhì cóngkān* 台灣新文學雜誌叢刊 [Taiwan new literature monograph]. Edited by Toshio Ikeda (池田敏雄) and Chuang Yang-lin (莊楊林). Táiběi Shì: Dōngfāng wénhuà shūjú, Mínguó 70 [1981].

Taiwan zǒngdū fǔ gōngwén lèizhuàn jiàoyù shǐliào huìbiān yǔ yánjiù 臺灣總督府公文類纂教育史料彙編與研究 [Compilation and study of historical materials of education from official records in the Taiwan Government-General]. Edited by Taiwan shěn wénxiàn wěiyuánhuì 臺灣省文獻委員會[The Historical Research Committee of Taiwan Province]. Translated by Lin Pin-tung (林品桐). Nántóu Xiàn: Taiwan shěn wénxiàn wěiyuánhuì, Mínguo 90 [2001].

Xiānfā bùduì 先發部隊 [The vanguard]. 1934. Reprinted in Vol. 2 of *Taiwan xīnwénxué zázhì cóngkān* 台灣新文學雜誌叢刊 [Taiwan new literature monograph]. Edited by Toshio Ikeda (池田敏雄) and Chuang Yang-lin (莊楊林). Táiběi Shì: Dōngfāng wénhuà shūjú, Mínguó 70 [1981].

Secondary Sources

Ang, Kaim (Hoklo name, 翁佳音). “Cóng jiùdìmíng yǔ gǔdìtú kàn Táiwān jìndài chuqíshǐ 從舊地名與古地圖看臺灣近代初期史 [Early Modern History of Taiwan in Old Maps].” In *Táiwān shǐ shíyī jiǎng* [Eleven Lectures on Taiwan History], 68-85. Táiběi Shì: Guólì lìshǐ bówùguǎn [National Museum of History], Mínguó 95 [2006].

Ang, Uijin (洪維仁). “Rìjù shídài de táiyǔ jiàoyù 日據時期的台語教育 [Taiwanese language education during Japanese colonial period].” *Táiwān fēngwù* 臺灣風物 [*The Taiwan Folkways*] 42, no. 3 (1992): 49-84.

———. *Táiyǔ wénxué yǔ Táiyǔ wénzì* 台語文學與台語文字 [Taiwanese literature and Taiwanese characters]. Táiběi Shì: Qiánwèi chūbǎnshè, 1992.

Duke, Benjamin. *The History of Modern Japanese Education—Constructing the National School System, 1872-1890.* New Brunswick, USA: Rutgers University Press, 2009.

Chang, Han-yu (張漢裕). Ed. *Chhoa Poe-hoe quánjí* 蔡培火全集 [A corpus on Cai Peihuo]. Táiběi Shì: Wú Sānlián Táiwān shǐliào jījīnhuì chūbǎn, Mínguó 89 [2000]. Originally published in 1929.

Chen, Pei-feng (陳培豐). “Chóngxīn jiěxī zhímíndì Táiwān de guóyǔ tónghuà jiàoyù zhèngcè—yǐ Rìběn de jìndài sīxiǎngshǐ wéi zuòbiāo” 重新解析殖民地臺灣的國語「同化」教育政策—以日本近代思想史為坐標 [A reanalysis of *dōka* and educational policy in colonial

Taiwan in the context of modern Japanese political thought]. *Taiwan shǐ yénjiò* (Taiwan historical research) 7, no. 2 (2001): 1-49.

———. "Zhímíndì Taiwan guóyǔ 'tónghuà' jiàoyù de dànshēng—Yīzé Xiūèr guānyú jiàohuà, wénmíng, yǔ guótǐ de sīkǎo 殖民地臺灣國語「同化」教育的誕生—伊澤修二觀於教化、文明與國體的思考 [Izawa shuji's views on education, civilization, the 'kokutai' and Christianity: The birth of the Japanese assimilationist education program in Taiwan]." *Xīn shǐxué* 新史學 [New historiography] 12, no. 1 (2001): 115-55.

———. *"Tónghuà" de tóngchuáng yìmèng*: *Rìjù shíqí Taiwan de yǔyán zhèngcè, jìndài huà yǔ rèntóng* 「同化」的同牀異夢:日據時期台灣的語言政策、近代化與認同 [Same bed, different dreams of assimilation: Taiwanese language policy, modernization, and identity under Japanese colonial rule]. Táiběi Shì: Màitián, 2006.

———. "Rìzhì shíqí Taiwan Hànwén mài de piāoyóu yǔ xiǎngxiàng: Dìguó Hànwén, zhímíndì Hànwén, Zhōngguó Báihuàwén, Taiwan Hànwén 日治時期台灣漢文脈的漂游與想像: 帝國漢文、殖民地漢文、中國白話文、台灣話文 [Multiple Imaginings and Transformations of *Hànwén* in Japanese Colonial Taiwan: Imperial *Hànwén*, Colonial *Hànwén*, Chinese Vernacular, and Taiwanese Vernacular]." *Taiwan shǐ yánjiù* 台灣史研究 [Taiwan Historical Research] 15, no. 4 (2008): 31-86.

———. "Zǒuxiàng yīshìtóngrén de mínzú zhī dào —'Tónghuà' zhèngcè màiluò zhōng yīshìtóngrén de jièxiàn 走向一視同仁的民族之道—同化政策脈絡中一視同仁的界線 [Moving toward the 'way' equal to all Japanese nation—boundaries of imperial literature in the discourse of assimilation policies]. In *Taiwan wénxuéshǐ shūxiě guójì xuéshù yántǎohuì lùnwénjí, dièrjí* 台灣文學史書寫國際學術研討會論文集、第二集 [Proceedings of the international conference on the writing of Taiwan literature history, vol. 2], edited by Guólì Cheng-kung dàxué Taiwan wénxuéxì [Department of Taiwan Literature at National Cheng-kung University], 139-72. Kaohsiung Shì: Chun-hui, 2008.

Chen, Jou-chin (陳柔縉). *Taiwan xīfāng wénmíng chūtǐyàn* 台灣西方文明初體驗 [First experience of Western civilization]. Táiběi Shì: Màitián chūbǎn, 2005.

Chen, Shao-hsing (陳紹馨). *Taiwan de rénkǒu biànqiān yu shèhuì biànqiān* 臺灣的人口變遷與社會變遷 [Demographic and Social Change in Taiwan]. Táiběi Shì: Liánjīng, Mínguó 68 [1979].

Chhoa, Poe-hoe (蔡培火). "Tuīguǎng Taiwan báihuàzì zhī zhǔzhǐ jì qí jìhuà [The purpose and plan of promoting Taiwanese *bai hua* characters]." In *Taiwan yǔyán xiāngguān zīliào* [Materials relevant to the Taiwanese language]. Chhoa Poe-hoe quánjí [A corpus on Cai Peihuo] vol. 6. Edited by Chang Han-yu (張漢裕). Táiběi Shì: Wú Sānlián Taiwan shǐliào jījīnhuì chūbǎn, Mínguó 89 [2000]. Originally published in 1929.

Chiu, Ya-ping (邱雅萍). “Cóng rìkān bàozhǐ 'Hànwénlán fèizhǐ tànjiù Taiwan shì Báihuàwén de miànmào [A language inquiry of Taiwanese vernacular from the abrogation of Han-wen column on the dailies].” Master’s thesis, Department of Taiwan Literature, National Cheng-kung University, 2007. http://etds.lib.ncku.edu.tw/etdservice/view_metadata?etdun=U0026-0812200913491922

Chou, Wan-yao (周婉窈). “The ‘kōminka’ Movement: Taiwan under wartime Japan, 1937-1945.” PhD Diss., Department of History, Yale University, 1991. ProQuest (UMI Dissertations Publishing, 1991. 9218772).

———. *Taiwan lìshǐ túshuō: Shǐqián zhì 1945 nián* 台灣歷史圖說: 史前至 1945 年 [Taiwan History in Illustration: Prehistory to 1945], 2nd ed. Táiběi Shì: Liánjīng chūbǎnshè yǒuxiàn gōngsī, 1998.

Cohen, Sol. *Challenging Orthodoxies: Toward a New Cultural History of Education*. New York: Peter Lang, 1999.

Depaepe, Marc and Frank Simon. “Paedagogica Historica: Lever or Mirror in the Making of the History of Education?” *Paedagogica Historica* 32, no. 2 (1996): 421-50.

Fendler, Lynn. *Michel Foucault*. Continuum Library of Educational Thought vol. 22. Edited by Richard Bailey. London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2010.

Foucault, Michel. *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*. Translated by A. M. Sheridan Smith. New York: Pantheon, 1972.

———. *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*. Translated by R. Hurley. New York: Random House, 1978.

———. *The Use of Pleasure*, Volume 2 *of The History of Sexuality*. Translated by R. Hurley. New York: Random House, 1984.

———. *The Care of the Self*, Volume 3 of *The History of Sexuality*. Translated by R. Hurley. New York: Random House, 1984.

———. “The Concern for Truth.” In *Foucault Live: Collected Interviews, 1961-1984*, edited by Sylvère Lotringer, 460. New York: Semiotext(e), 1984.

———. “Technologies of the Self.” in In *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault*. Edited by Luther H. Martin, Huck Gutman, and Patrick H. Hutton, 16-49. Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1988.

———. *The Hermeneutics of the Subject: Lectures at the Collège de France 1981-1982*. Edited by Frédéric Gros. Translated by Graham Burchell. New York: Picador, 2001.

———. “The Ethics of the Concern of the Self as a Practice of Freedom.” In *The Essential Foucault: Selections from the Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984*, edited by Paul Rabinow and Nikolas Rose, 25-42. New York: The New Press, 2003.
———. “Nietzsche, Genealogy, History.” In *The Essential Foucault: Selections from Essential Works of Foucault, 1954-1984*, edited by Paul Rabinow and Nikolas Rose, 351-369. New York: The New Press, 2003.

———. “Questions of Method.” In *The Essential Foucault: Selections from Essential Works of Foucault, 1954-1984*, edited by Paul Rabinow and Nikolas Rose, 246-258. New York: The New Press, 2003.

Harrison, Mark. *Legitimacy, Meaning, and Knowledge in the Making of Taiwanese Identity*. New York: PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, 2006.

Hé, Yuángōng [河原功 Isao Kawahara]. “1937 nián Taiwan wénhuà, Taiwan xīnwénxué zhuàngkuàng—wéirào zhe fèizhǐ Hànwénlán yǔ jìngzhǐ zhōngwén chuàngzuò de zhū wèntí 1937 年台灣文化、台灣新文學狀況—圍繞著廢止漢文欄與禁止中文創作的諸問題 [Taiwan culture and Taiwan new literature in 1937—Issues surrounding the abolishment of *Hànwén* columns in newspapers and prohibition of Chinese creation],” translated by Sōngwěi zhítài [松尾直太 Matsuo Naota]. In *Taiwan wénxuéshǐ shūxiě guójì xuéshù yántǎohuì lùnwénjí, dìèrjí* 台灣文學史書寫國際學術研討會論文集、第二集 [Proceedings of the international conference on the writing of Taiwan literature history, vol. 2]. Edited by Guólì Cheng-kung dàxué Taiwan wénxuéxì [Department of Taiwan Literature at National Cheng-kung University], 57-88. Kaohsiung Shì: Chun-hui, 2008.

Hsu, Chi-tun (許極燉). *Taiwan yǔ gàilùn* 台灣語概論 [Introduction to Taiwanese Languages]. Kaohsiung Shì: Taiwan yǔwén yánjiù fāzhǎn jījīn huì, 1990.

Hsu, Chun-ya (許俊雅) *Rìjù shíqí Taiwan xiǎoshuō yánjiù* 日據時期臺灣小說研究 [A Study of Taiwan literature during Japanese occupation]. Táiběi Shì: Wénshǐzhé chūbǎnshè, Mínguó 84 [1995].

Hsu, Pei-hsien (許佩賢). *Tàiyángqíxià de mófǎ xuéxiào*: *Rìzhì Taiwan xīnshì jiàoyù de dànshēng* 太陽旗下的魔法學校:日治臺灣新式教育的誕生 [The magic school under the flag of sun: The birth of modern schooling in colonial Taiwan]. Xīnběi Shì: Dōngcūn, 2012.

Hu Shih (胡適), “Wénxué gǎiliáng chúyì [A humble opinion of literature improvement], *Xīnqīngnián* [The new youth] 2, no. 5 (1917): 26-36; “Lìshǐ de wénxué guānniàn lùn [A historical view of literature],” *Xīnqīngnián* [The new youth] 3, no. 3 (1917): 32-34.

Huang Hsiu-cheng (黃秀政), Chang Sheng-yen (張勝彥), and Wu Wen-hsing (吳文星). *Taiwan shǐ* 臺灣史 [Taiwan history]. Táiběi Shì: Wǔnán, 2002.

Huang Mei-e (黃美娥). “Rìzhì shídài Taiwan shīshè línlì de shèhuì kǎochá 日治時代台灣詩社林立的社會考察 [A social investigation of Taiwanese poetry societies during Japanese colonial period].” *Taiwan fēngwù* 臺灣風物 [*The Taiwan Folkways*] 47, no. 3 (1997): 43-88.

Huang, Mei-e (黃美娥). “Xǐngláiba wǒmen de wéntán—Zàiyì nián zhì nián Taiwan xīnjiù wénxuélùnzhàn 醒來吧! 我們的文壇—再議 1941 年至 1942 年台灣新舊文學論戰 [Wake up! Our literary circle—Re-discussing Taiwanese traditional and modern literature debate during 1941-1942].” In *Rìzhìshíqí Taiwan chuántǒng wénxué lùnwénjí* 日治時期臺灣傳統文學論文集[The anthology of Taiwanese traditional literature], edited by Tunghai dàxué Zhōngwénxì 東海大學中文系, 322-62. Táiběi Shì: Wénjīn chūbǎnshè, 2003.

Huang, Mei-e (黃美娥). *Gǔdiǎn Taiwan*: *Wénxuéshǐ, shīshè, zuòjiālùn* 古典臺灣: 文學史、詩社、作家論 [Classical Taiwan: History of literature, poetry society, and writers]. Táiběi Shì: Guólì biānyìguǎn, Mínguó 96 [2007].

Huang, Ying-che (黃英哲). Ed. *Rìzhìshíqí Taiwan wényì pínglùnjí* (zázhìpiān) 日治時期臺灣文藝評論集 (雜誌篇) [Major Texts of Taiwanese Literary Criticism: The Japanese Colonial Period, 1921-1945 (magazine)]. 4 vols. Tai-nan Shì: Guójiā Taiwan wénxuéguǎn chóubèichù, 2006.

Kuo, Hung-pin (郭泓斌). “Ōu Zhōu rén chēn Taiwan Formosa [Europeans named Taiwan Formosa].” In *Taiwan rén de Taiwan shǐ* [Taiwanese’s Taiwan History]. Edited by Kuo Hung-pin (郭泓斌), accessed May 10, 2013, http://www.taiwanus.net/history/1/03.htm

Lee, Yeounsuk. *The Ideology of Kokugo: Nationalizing Language in Modern Japan*. Translated by Maki Hirano Hubbard. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2010. Originally published as *Kokugo to iu shisō: Kindai Nihon no gengo ninshiki* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1996).

Li, Nan-heng (李南衡). Ed. *Wénxiàn zīliào xuǎnjí* 文獻資料選集 [Anthology of archival sources]. Rìjùxià Taiwan xīnwénxué shǐ, míngjí 5 日據下台灣新文學史，明集 5 [History of Taiwan New Literature under Japanese rule, míng collection 5]. Táiběi Shì: Míngtán chūbǎnshè, Mínguó 68 [1979].

Li, Shih-wei (李世偉). “Rìzhì shídài wénshè de yánjiù—yǐ ‘Chóngwénshè’ wéilì 日治時代文社的研究—以「崇文社」為例 [A study on the literary society under Japanese rule based on the Society for Civil Values].” *Taiwan fēngwù* 臺灣風物 [*The Taiwan Folkways*] 47, no. 3 (1997): 15-41.

Li, Yung-chih (李永熾). *Rìběn jìndài shǐ yánjiù* 日本近代史研究 [A Study of the Modern History of Japan]. Táiběi Xiàn: Dàohé chūbǎnshè, Mínguó 81 [1992].

Lin, Chen-jung (林呈蓉). *Mǔdān shè shìjiàn de zhēnxiàng* 牡丹社事件的真相 [The Truth of Mudan Incident]. Lu-chou Shì: Bóyáng wénhuà shìyè yǒuxiàn gōngsī, 2006.

———. *Huángmínhuà shèhuì de shídài* 皇民化社會的時代 [The age of imperial society]. Táiběi Shì: Taiwan shūfáng, 2010.

Lin, Chuan-fu (林川夫). Ed. *Mínsú Taiwan* 民俗台灣 [*Minzoku Taiwan* Taiwanese folklore], vol. 1-7. Táiběi Shì: Wǔlíng chūbǎnshè, Mínguó 79 [1990].

Lin, Jui-ming (林瑞明). "Sāodòng de línghún—Juézhàn shíqí de Taiwan zuòjiā yǔ huángmín wénxué 騷動的靈魂—決戰時期的台灣作家與皇民文學 [The disturbed soul: Taiwanese writers and imperial literature during the period of decisive battle]." In *Taiwan wénxué de lìshǐ kǎochá* 台灣文學的歷史考察 [A historical investigation of Taiwan literature], 294-331. Táibéi Shì: Yǔnchén wénhuà shìyè gǔfèn yǒuxiàn gōngsī, Mínguó 85 [1996]).

———. *Taiwan wénxué de lìshǐ kǎochá* 台灣文學的歷史考察 [A historical investigation of Taiwan literature]. Táibéi Shì: Yǔnchén wénhuà shìyè gǔfèn yǒuxiàn gōngsī, Mínguó 85 [1996].

Liu, Shu-chin (柳書琴). "Shéide wénxué shéide lìshǐ—Rìjù mòqí Taiwan wéntán zhǔtǐ yǔ lìshǐ quánshì zhī zhēng 誰的文學? 誰的歷史?—日據末期台灣文壇主體與歷史詮釋之爭 [Whose literature? Whose history?—The debate on the subjectivity of Taiwanese literature and historical interpretation during the late period of Japanese occupation]." In *Dìguólǐ de "dìfāng wénhuà": huángmínhuà shíqí Taiwan wénhuà zhuàngkuàng* 帝國裡的「地方文化」: 皇民化時期臺灣文化狀況 ["Local culture" within the empire: The cultural condition of Taiwan during the kōminka movement], edited by Shih Wan-shun (石婉舜), Liu Shu-chin (柳書琴), and Hsu Pei-hsien (許佩賢), 177-220. Táiběi Shì: Bōzhòngzhě wénhuà yǒuxiàn gōngsī, 2008.

———. "Fènxiànshí zhǔyì yǔ huángmín wénxué: 1940 niándài Taiwan wéntán de rèntóng zhī zhàn 糞現實主義與皇民文學: 1940 年代台灣文壇的認同之戰 [Dungy Realism & Koumin Literature: The Debate of National Identity in Taiwan Literati during 1943-1944] (translation of the title in original)." *Dōngyǎ xiàndài zhōngwén wénxué guójìxuébào* 東亞現代中文文學國際學報 [The international journal of study on modern Chinese literature in East Asia] 4 (2010): 51-79.

Noma, Nobuyuki (野間信幸). "Zhang Wenhuan yǔ *Fēnyuè bào* 張文環與《風月報》[Zhang Wenhuan and *Fēnyuè* tabloid]," trans. Kao Hui-ling (高惠玲), in *Zhōngxīn dào biānchuí de chōngguǐ yǔ fēnguǐ: Rìběn dìguó yǔ Taiwan wénxué, wénhuà yánjiù*, shàng 中心到邊陲的重軌與分軌: 日本帝國與台灣文學、文化研究 ・上 [Convergence and divergence from core to periphery: The Japanese empire and the studies of Taiwanese literature and culture, vol. 1], edited by Wu Pei-chen (吳佩珍), 139-69. Táiběi Shì: Guólì Taiwan dàxué chūbǎn zhōngxīn, 2012.

Nakajima, Toshiro (Zhōngdǎo Lìláng 中島利郎). Ed. *Yījiǔ sānlíng niándài Taiwan xiāngtǔ wénxué lùnzhàn zīliào huìbiān* [Compilation of materials on the Taiwan *xiāngtǔ* literature debates in the 1930s]. Kaohsiung Shì: Chun-hui, Mínguó 92 [2003].

Rabinow, Paul and Nikolas Rose. Eds. *The Essential Foucault: Selections from the Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984*. New York: The New Press, 2003.

Rabinow, Paul and Nikolas Rose. "Introduction: Foucault Today" In *The Essential Foucault: Selections from the Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984*, edited by Paul Rabinow and Nikolas Rose, vii-xxxv. New York: The New Press, 2003 [1994].

Seixas, Peter Carr. "Schweigen! die Kinder. Or, Does Postmodern History Have a Place in Schools? In *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, edited by Paul N. Stearns, Peter Carr Seixas, and Sam S. Wineburg, 19-37. New York: New York University Press, 2000.

Shìjiè Huáyǔwén jiàoyùhuì 世界華語文教育會 [World Chinese Language Education Association]. Ed. *Guóyǔ yùndòng bǎinián shǐluè: Zūnzhòng zúqún fāngyán chuàngzào guóyǔ qíjī* 國語運動百年史略: 尊重族群方言、創造國語奇蹟 [A concise history of national language movement of 100 years: Respect ethnic languages and create a miracle of the national language]. Táiběi Shì: Guóyǔ rìbào, 2012.

Shih, Tien-fu (施添福). *Qīngdài zàitái hànrén de zǔjí fènbu hé yuánxiāng shēnghuó fāngshì* 清代在臺漢人的祖籍分布和原鄉生活方式 [Distribution of original domicile of Han Chinese in Taiwan in Ch'ing dynasty and their original hometown lifestyles] (Táiběi Shì: Shīdà dìlǐ xuéxì, Mínguó 76 [1987]).

Shih, Wan-shun (石婉舜), Liu Shu-chin (柳書琴), and Hsu Pei-hsien (許佩賢). Eds. *Dìguólǐ de "dìfāng wénhuà": Huángmínhuà shíqí Taiwan wénhuà zhuàngkuàng* 帝國裡的「地方文化」: 皇民化時期臺灣文化狀況 ["Local culture" within empire: The Taiwanese cultural condition during the kōminka movement]. Táiběi Shì: Bōzhòngzhě chūbǎn yǒuxiàn gōngsī, 2008.

Shih, Yi-lin (施懿琳). "Cóng *Yìngshè shīhuì* kàn Rìjù zhōngwǎnqí Chang-hua shīrén de shídài guānhuái 從《應社詩薈》看日據中晚期彰化詩人的時代關懷 [Reading poets from Chang-hua from *Yìngshè* poetry anthology: Their care of the epoch in the mid and late period of Japanese occupation]." *Zhōngguó xuéshù niánkān* 中國學術年刊 [Studies in Sinology] no. 14 (1993): 365-97.

———. "Taiwan wénshè chūtàn—yǐ 1919~1923 de *Taiwan wényì cóngzhì* wéi duìxiàng 台灣文社初探—以 1919~1923 的《台灣文藝叢誌》為對象 [A preliminary exploration of the Taiwan Literature Society based on the Taiwan Literary Collection, 1919-1923]." Paper presented at Lìshè bǎinián xuéshù yántǎo huì 櫟社百年學術研討會 [The centennial conference on the Oak Tree poetry society], Tai-chung xiàn wénhuàjú, Tai-chung, 2001.

Tai, Pao-tsun (戴寶村). "Yímíng Taiwan: Taiwan yímíng lìshǐ kǎochá 移民台灣: 台灣移民歷史的考察 [Migration to Taiwan: A Survey of migration history of Taiwan]." In *Taiwan shǐ shíyī*

jiǎng 台灣史十一講 [Eleven lectures on Taiwan history], 48-67. Táiběi Shì: Guólì lìshǐ bówùguǎn [National Museum of History], Mínguó 95 [2006].

Taiwan wénxuéshǐ shūxiě guójì xuéshù yántǎohuì lùnwénjí, dièrjí 台灣文學史書寫國際學術研討會論文集、第二集 [Proceedings of the international conference on the writing of Taiwan literature history, vol. 2]. Edited by Guólì Cheng-kung dàxué Taiwan wénxuéxì [Department of Taiwan Literature at National Cheng-kung University]. Kaohsiung Shì: Chun-hui, 2008.

Tsai, Chin-tang (蔡錦堂). *Zhànzhēng tǐzhìxià de Taiwan* 戰爭體制下的台灣 [Taiwan under war system]. Táibèi Shì: Rìchuàngshè wénhuà, Mínguó 95 [2006].

———. "Zàilùn 'huángmínhuà yùndòng' 再論皇民化運動 [Revisiting the "Kōminka Movement"]," *Dànjiāng shǐxué* [*Tamkang History Review*] 18 (2007): 227-45.

Tsai, Hui-ju (蔡蕙如). "Rìzhì shíqí Taiwan mínjiān wénxué guānniàn yǔ gōngzuò zhī yánjiù 日治時期臺灣民間文學觀念與工作之研究 [The study on the idea and practice of Taiwanese folk literature during Japanese colonial period]. PhD Diss., Department of Chinese Literature, National Cheng-kung University, 2008. http://ndltd.ncl.edu.tw/cgi-bin/gs32/gsweb.cgi?o=dnclcdr&s=id=%22096NCKU5045022%22.&searchmode=basic

Tsai, Yuen-chieh (蔡淵絜). "Qīngdài Taiwan de yíkěn shèhuì 清代臺灣的移墾社會[The Settlers' Society in Taiwan in Ch'ing Dynasty]." In *Taiwan shèhuì yǔ wénhuà biànqiān* (shàng cè) 臺灣社會與文化變遷〈上冊〉[Social and Cultural Change in Taiwan, vol. 1], edited by Chiu Hei-yuan (瞿海源) and Chang Ying-hwa (章英華), 45-67. Táiběi Shì: Zhōngyāng yánjiù yuàn mínzú xué yánjiù suǒ [Institute of Ethnology Academia Sinica], 1986.

Tsurumi, E. Patricia. *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895-1945*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1977.

Wakabayashi, Masahiro (若林正丈) & Wu, Mi-cha (吳密察). Eds. *Taiwan chóngcéng jìndàihuà lùnwén ji* 台灣重層近代化論文集 [Conference proceedings on multi-layered modernity of Taiwan]. Táiběi Shì: Bōzhòngzhě chūbǎn yǒuxiàn gōngsī, 2000.

Wang, Shao-chun (王韶君). "'Mínsú' zuòwéi 'mínzú' gòngróng de tújìng—Yǐ *Mínsú Taiwan* wéi zhōngxīn (1941-1945) 以「民俗」做為「民族」共榮的途徑—以《民俗台灣》為中心 ["Folk customs" as the way to national co-prosperity: Centering on *Minzoku Taiwan* (1941-1945)]." Paper presented at the 2012 Taiwanese Folk Art Conference, Graduate Institute of Chinese Documentation and Folk Art, National Taipei University, New Taipei City, Taiwan, March, 2012. Reprinted in *Gǔdiǎn wénxiàn yǔ mínsú yìshù qíkān* 古典文獻與民俗藝術期刊 [Journal of Chinese Documentation and Folk Art] 1 (July, 2012): 161-75.

Wang, Sung-shan (王嵩山). "Dì èr jiǎng: Taiwan yuánzhùmíng wénhuà yǔ lìshǐ 第二講: 台灣原住民文化與歷史 [Lecture Two: Culture and history of the indigenous people of Taiwan]." In

Taiwan shǐ shíyī jiǎng 台灣史十一講 [Eleven lectures on Taiwan history], 36-44. Táiběi Shì: Guólì lìshǐ bówùguǎn [National Museum of History], Mínguó 95 [2006].

Weng, Sheng-feng (翁聖峰). *Rìjùshíqí Taiwan xīnjiù wénxué lùnzhēng xīntàn* 日據時期臺灣新舊文學論爭新探 [A new exploration of Taiwanese traditional and modern literature debate during Japanese occupation]. Edited by Guólì biānyìguǎn 國立編譯館 (National Center for Compilation and Translation). Táiběi Shi: Wǔnán túshū chūbǎn gǔfèn yǒuxiàn gōngsī, 2007.

White, Hayden. *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974.

Wu, Mi-cha (吳密察). "*Mínsú Taiwan* fākān de shídài bèijǐng jí qí xìngzhí 「民俗台灣」發刊的時代背景及其性質 [*Minzoku Taiwan*: The background of issuance and its nature]." In *Dìguólǐ de "dìfāng wénhuà": Huángmínhuà shíqí Taiwan wénhuà zhuàngkuàng* 帝國裡的「地方文化」: 皇民化時期台灣文化狀況 ["Local culture" within the empire: The cultural condition of Taiwan during the kōminka movement], edited by Shih Wan-shun (*石婉舜*), Liu Shu-chin (柳書琴), and Hsu Pei-hsien (許佩賢), 49-81. Táiběi Shì: Bōzhòngzhě wénhuà yǒuxiàn gōngsī, 2008.

Wu, Pei-chen (吳佩珍). Ed. *Zhōngxīn dào biānchuí de chōngguǐ yǔ fēnguǐ: Rìběn dìguó yǔ Taiwan wénxué, wénhuà yánjiù* (shàng, zhōng, xià) 中心到邊陲的重軌與分軌: 日本帝國與台灣文學、文化研究 (上、中、下) [Convergence and divergence from core to periphery: The Japanese empire and the studies of Taiwanese literature and culture]. 3 vols. Táiběi Shì: Guólì Taiwan dàxué chūbǎn zhōngxīn, 2012.

Wu, Wen-hsing (吳文星). "Rìjù shídài Taiwan shūfáng zhī yénjiù 日據時代台灣書房之研究 [The study of the Taiwanese *shūfáng* during Japanese occupation]." *Sī yǔ yén: Rénwén yǔ shèhuì kēxué zázhì* 思與言: 人文與社會科學雜誌 [Thought and Words: Journal of the Humanities and Social Science] 16, no. 3 (1978): 2-89.

———. "Rìjù shíqí Taiwan shèhuì lǐngdǎo jiēcéng yǔ 'guóyǔ pǔjí yùndòng' zhī yánjiù (shàng)日據時期台灣社會領導階層與「國語普及運動」之研究〈上〉[Study of Taiwanese social elites and national language popularization movement under Japanese colonial rule, 1]." *Jìndài Zhōngguó* [Contemporary China] 55 (1987): 265-79.

———. "Rìjù shíqí Taiwan zǒngdū fǔ tuēguǎng rìyǔ yùndòng chūtàn (shàng)日據時期臺灣總督府推廣日語運動初探〈上〉[A preliminary exploration of the Japanese national movement promoted by the Government-General of Taiwan during Japanese occupation, 1]." *Taiwan fēngwù* 臺灣風物 [*The Taiwan Folkways*] 37, no. 1 (1987): 1-31.

———. "Rìjù shíqí Taiwan zǒngdūfǔ tuēguǎng rìyǔ yùndòng chūtàn (xià)日據時期臺灣總督府推廣日語運動初探〈下〉[A preliminary exploration of the Japanese national movement

promoted by the Government-General of Taiwan during Japanese occupation, 2].” *Taiwan fēngwù* 臺灣風物 [*The Taiwan Folkways*] 37, no. 4 (1987): 53-86.

———. “Rìjù shíqí Taiwan shūfáng jiàoyù zhī zàijiǎntǎo 日據時代台灣書房之再檢討 [Reexamination of the Taiwanese *shūfáng* during Japanese occupation].” *Sī yǔ yén: Rénwén yǔ shèhuì kēxué zázhì* 思與言: 人文與社會科學雜誌 [Thought and Words: Journal of the Humanities and Social Science] 26, no. 1 (1988): 101-08.

———. *Rìzhì shíqí Taiwan de shèhuì lǐngdǎo jiēcéng* 日治時期臺灣的社會領導階層 [Social elites in Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule]. Táiběi Shì: Wǔnán túshū, 2008.

Wú, Xīnróng (吳新榮). *Wú Xīnróng rìjì* (*zhànqián*) 吳新榮日記 [*Wú Xīnróng* diary (before war)]. Edited by Zhāng Liángzé (張良澤). Táiběi Shì: Yuǎnjǐng chūbǎn shìyè gōngsī, Mínguó 70 [1981].

Wú, Zhuóliú (吳濁流). *Límíng qián de Taiwan* [Taiwan before dawn], edited by Zhāng Liángzé (張良澤). Táiběi Shì: Yuǎnxíng chūbǎnshè, Mínguó 66 [1977].

Yang, Yung-pin (楊永彬). “Rìběn lǐngTái chūchí Rì Tái guānshēn shīwén chànghè 日本領臺初期日台官紳詩文唱和 [Poetry singing along together by Japanese officials and Taiwanese elites at the early stage of Japanese colonization].” In *Taiwan chóngcéng jìndàihuà lùnwén ji* 台灣重層近代化論文集[Conference proceedings on multi-layered modernity of Taiwan], edited by Wakabayashi Masahiro (若林正丈) and Wu Mi-cha (吳密察), 105-181. Táiběi Shì: Bōzhòngzhě wénhuà yǒuxiàn gōngsī, 2000.

Yè, Róngzhōng (葉榮鐘). *Rìjù xià Taiwan zhèngzhì shèhuì yùndòng shǐ* 日據下台灣政治社會運動史 [History of political and social movement in Taiwan under Japanese rule]. Tai-chung Shì: Chénxīng chūbǎn yǒuxiàn gōngsī, 2000.

Zhāng, Guāngzhèng (張光正). Ed. *Zhāng Wǒjūn quánjí* 張我軍全集 [A corpus on Zhāng Wǒjūn]. Táiběi Shì: Rénjiān chūbǎnshè, 2002.