

Department of Languages and Intercultural Education

**Japanese Colonial Language Education in Taiwan and Assimilation,
1895-1945**

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**This thesis is presented for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
of
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Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university.

To the best of my knowledge and belief this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgement has been made.

Signed:

Catherine Fewings

March 17, 2004

Abstract

This thesis explores the subject of Japanese colonial language education in Taiwan and assimilation between 1895 and 1945. It examines the overall nature of Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan through its colonial policies, followed by a review of the history of Japanese colonial language education in Taiwan, the investigation of the Japanese colonial position on language education and assimilation, the establishment of the implementation of Japanese language education in Taiwan in areas of teaching methodologies and textbook compilation, and the determination of the effects of Japanese language education on assimilation in Taiwan. The thesis further seeks to determine the link between a Taiwanese identity and the Taiwanese who were ruled and educated under Japanese colonial rule. The views of both the elite and common Taiwanese who lived through the colonial era are examined.

The aim of this thesis is to test the hypothesis whether Japanese colonial education in Taiwan achieved assimilation among the Taiwanese as claimed by Japanese colonial authorities. Through the official facts and figures provided by Japanese colonial authorities, they seemed to prove a successful case of assimilation among the Taiwanese. However, through close scrutiny of these official facts and figures and reality backed up by the oral accounts of the Taiwanese and conscientious observations by the Japanese, it is found that the claims made by Japanese colonial authorities in the case of assimilation through Japanese language education are highly contestable. By interviewing those who experienced Japanese language education during the colonial period, further insights into the formation of post-colonial Taiwanese identities are gained. This study contributes to studies on Taiwan's subsequent socio-linguistic developments in the post-colonial period.

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During my field trip to Japan, assistance rendered by librarians from various libraries, the Tōsho Bunko in Tokyo where school textbooks used during Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan, Korea, and China are held, the Tokyo University Library, the Osaka Prefecture Library, and the Tenri University Library in Nara is highly appreciated. Inter-library loans organised by the Curtin University Library are crucial to my extended research. Also, special permission given by the Australian National University Library in Canberra to allow precious journals, such as *Taiwan Minpao*, to be loaned for my viewing is appreciated.

I would also like to thank the current Shanshang Elementary School (known as the *Yamagami Kōgakkō* during the colonial period) in the Tainan prefecture of Taiwan for their permission to look into the precious school archives and students' records during the colonial period. Gratitude is also expressed to all the interviewees who gave the most enlightening interviews and oral accounts in relation to my research in the subject of Japanese colonial language education and assimilation and those Taiwanese friends who assisted me in locating eligible interviewees in the village of Nanchou. Their help made my field trip to Taiwan in 2001 the most enjoyable and productive experience.

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Introduction

Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan between 1895 and 1945 accounted for a very significant part of modern Taiwanese history. Today, the social, political, and economic developments in Taiwan still hinge on the legacy of the fifty-year Japanese colonial rule. Since the lifting of the Martial Law in 1987 in Taiwan,¹ which was imposed by the Chinese Nationalist government in 1949 as an extreme measure to tighten social and political control on the Taiwan island, the freedom of speech has been reinstated as a legitimate right, and studies on Taiwan's history, especially Taiwan's colonial history under Japanese occupation, have started to flourish since the late 1980s.²

Reviewing the history of socio-political advocacy over Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan in colonial policies, social control, and assimilation by the Taiwanese, *Taiwan Seinen/Tai Oan Chheng Lian*, a Japanese/Chinese bilingual periodical published in 1920, was the pioneer. In the area of Japanese colonial education, as early as 1929, the first Taiwanese PhD scholar, Lin Mosei, had completed his thesis on public education in Taiwan under the Japanese colonial administration,³ which

¹ See Huang Chun-chieh (2000), *Taiwan Yi Shi yu Taiwan Wen Hua*, Taipei, Zheng Zhong Shu Ju, p. 29.

² See for example, Chang Yen-hsien, Li Hsiao-feng, Chuang Yung-ming et al. (eds) (1987), *Taiwan Jin Dai Ming Ren Zhi*, Vols 1-5, Taipei, Zi Li Wan Bao Publishing Co; Chang Yen-hsien (ed.) (1988), *Li Shi Wen Hua yu Taiwan*, Vols 1-2, Taipei, Taiwan Feng Wu Publishing Co; Wu Mi-cha (1990), *Taiwan Jin Dai Shi de Yan Jiu*, Taipei, Dao Xiang Publishing Co; Chou Wan-yao (1991), 'The Kōminka Movement: Taiwan Under Wartime Japan, 1937-1945', unpublished PhD Thesis, Yale University; Wu Wen-hsing (1992), *Ri Ju Shi Qi Taiwan She Hui Ling Dao Jie Ceng zhi Yan Jiu*, Taipei, Zheng Zhong Shu Ju; Chang Wen-chi (1993), *Dang Dai Wen Xue de Taiwan Yi Shi*, Taipei, Zi Li Wan Bao Publishing Co; Chen I-song (1994), *Chen I-song Hui Yi Lu: Ri Ju Shi Dai Pian*, Taipei, Qian Wei Publishing Co; Ch'iu Yung-han (1994), *Wa ga Seishun no Taiwan, Wa ga Seishun no Honkon*, Tokyo, Chūō Kōron Sha; Wu Mi-cha (1994), 'Taiwanshi no Seiritsu to sono Kadai' in Mizoguchi Yūzō et al. (eds), *Ajia Kara Kangaeru: Shūen kara no Rekishi*, Vol. 3, Tokyo, Tokyo University Press; Ka Chih-ming (1995), *Japanese Colonialism in Taiwan*, Boulder, Westview Press; Chen Mei-ju (1996), 'Taiwan Guang Fu Hou Yu Yan Jiao Yu Zheng Ce zhi Yan Jiu', unpublished Master Thesis, Taiwan Normal University; Li Hsiao-feng (1996), *Lin Mosei, Chen Sin: he Ta Men de Shi Dai*, Taipei, Yu Shan She Publishing Co; Lin Ching-ming (1997), *Nihon Tōchika Taiwan no 'Kōminka' Kyōiku*, Tokyo, Kōbunken; Chen Ying-chen (1998), 'Taiwan no Hichūgokuka: Taiwan no Amerikaka to "Nihonka" no Tokushitsu', in Igarashi Akio (ed.), *Henyōsuru Ajia to Nihon*, Tokyo, Seiri Shobō; and Lu Shao-li (1998), *Whistle from the Sugarcane Factory: The Transition of Time Cognition and Rhythms of Social Life in Taiwan under the Japanese Rule, 1895-1945*, Taipei, Yuan Liu Publishing Co; and Yeh Lung-yen (1998), *Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Dian Ying Shi*, Taipei, Yu Shan She Publishing Co.

³ See Lin Mosei (1929), 'Public Education in Formosa under the Japanese Administration: A Historical and Analytical Study of the Development and the Cultural Problems', unpublished PhD Thesis, Columbia University, New York, translated into Chinese by Lin Yung-mei (2000), *Ri Ban Tong Zhi Xia Taiwan de Xue Xiao Jiao Yu*, Taipei, Xin Zi Ran Zhu Yi Publishing Co.

marked the beginning of systematic studies on Japanese colonial education in Taiwan from the perspective of the Taiwanese. During the fifty-year Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan, there was no shortage of Japanese scholars and colonial bureaucrats recording the progress and development of Japanese colonial education in Taiwan, such as Yoshino Hidekimi, Kokubu Tanetake, Satō Genji, and the Japanese colonial education advisory body, the *Taiwan Kyōikukai*.⁴ In the recording of the history of colonial developments in Taiwan, boasting Taiwan's economic growth, social stability and prosperity, there was also no shortage of Japanese bureaucratic efforts, such as Takekoshi Yosaburō, Gotō Shimpei, Mochiji Rokusaburō, Tōgō Minoru, Ide Kiwata, and the Government-General of Taiwan.⁵ Conscientious Japanese colonial critics such as Yanaihara Tadao, however, offered liberal and critical views on the detrimental effects of Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan, which itself to a certain degree vindicated the inferior-treatment of the Taiwanese under the colonial system of the time.⁶

During the post-colonial period, Wu San-lien, Ts'ai Pei-huo et al.'s *Taiwan Min Zu Yun Dong Shi* published in the early 1970s concentrated on the socio-political resistance of the Taiwanese against Japanese colonial rule.⁷ Written by those Taiwanese who lived through the colonial era, it is still today a valuable source of reference to studies on Taiwan's indigenous socio-political movements during the colonial period. In the 1980s, Japanese scholar Mukōyama's epic research on Taiwan's social-political movements under Japanese colonial rule offers another timely and thorough reference source on this subject matter.⁸ Internationally, in the 1970s, the comprehensive study by E. Patricia Tsurumi on Japanese colonial

⁴ See Yoshino Hidekimi (1927), *Taiwan Kyōikushi*, Taihoku, Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shinpōsha; Kokubu Tanetake (1931), *Taiwan ni okeru Kokugo Kyōiku no Tenkai*, Taihoku, Daiichi Shuppansha; Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, Taihoku, Taiwan Kyōikukai; and Satō Genji (1943), *Taiwan Kyōiku no Shinten*, Taihoku, Taiwan Shuppan Bunka.

⁵ See Takekoshi Yosaburō (1905), *Taiwan Tōchishi*, Tokyo, Hakubunkan; Gotō Shimpei (1908), 'Taiwanshi', in Ōkuma Shigenobu (ed.), *Kaikoku Gojūnenishi*, Tokyo, Waseda University; Mochiji Rokusaburō (1912), *Taiwan Shokumin Seisaku*, Tokyo, Fuzambō; Tōgō Minoru and Satō Shirō (1916), *Taiwan Shokumin Hattatsushi*, Taihoku, Kōbunkan; Ide Kiwata (1937), *Taiwan Chisekishi*, Taihoku, Nichi Nichi Shinpōsha; and Taiwan Sōtokufu (1945), *Taiwan Tōchi Gaiyō*, Taihoku, Taiwan Sōtokufu.

⁶ See Yanaihara Tadao (1929), *Teikokushugika no Taiwan*, Tokyo, Iwanami Shoten.

⁷ See Wu San-lien, Ts'ai Pei-huo et al. (1971), *Taiwan Min Zu Yun Dong Shi*, Taipei, Zi Li Wan Bao Publishing Co.

⁸ See Mukōyama Hiroo (1987), *Nihon Tōchika ni okeru Taiwan Minzoku Undōshi*, Tokyo, Chūō Keizai Kenkyūjo.

education in Taiwan, focusing on its history and development, has built a solid foundation for research on this subject matter, and her works are still frequently referenced by researchers pursuing similar academic interests.⁹ Other scholars such as Lamley, Chen, and Kerr, who pioneered in the research of Taiwan's social formation and identity under Japanese rule led by the Taiwanese elite, opened up a new perspective into the studies on Taiwan's modern social and political transformation.¹⁰ In the late 1970s, Ts'ai Mao-feng, one of the pioneer educators in the Japanese language who taught at the Suchou University, one of the few private universities in Taiwan which had established a Japanese Language Department of the time, started to publish works on Japanese language education in Taiwan.¹¹ However, he concentrated instead on the historical development and establishment of Japanese colonial language education in Taiwan. Ts'ai has also pioneered studies on the establishment of Japanese language education in tertiary education in Taiwan in the post-colonial era. From the early 1980s, Taiwanese scholars such as Wu Wen-hsing started to comprehensively study the history of Japanese colonial language education in Taiwan, looking into its socio-political implications, tackling the political motives behind the implementation and assimilation, and detecting the mobility of the

⁹ See E. Patricia Tsurumi (1977), *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895-1945*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press.

¹⁰ See Harry Lamley (1964), 'The Taiwan Literati and Early Japanese Rule 1895-1915: A Study of their Reactions to Colonial Rule and Modernization', unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Washington; Harry Lamley (1971), 'Assimilation Efforts in Colonial Taiwan: The Fate of the 1914 Movement', *Monumenta Serica*, Vol. 29, No. 71; Harry Lamley (1981), 'Sub-ethnic Rivalry in the Ch'ing Period', in E. M. Ahern and H. Gates (eds), *The Anthropology of Taiwanese Society*, Stanford, Stanford University Press; and Harry Lamley (1999), 'Taiwan under Japanese Rule, 1895-1945: The Vicissitudes of Colonialism', in Murray A. Rubinstein (ed.), *Taiwan: A New History*, Armonk, M. E. Sharpe; Edward I-te Chen (1969), 'Japanese Colonialism in Korea and Formosa: A Comparison of its Effects upon the Development of Nationalism', unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Pennsylvania; Edward I-te Chen (1972), 'Formosan Political Movements', *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 3; and George Kerr (1974), *Formosa: Licensed Revolution and the Home Rule Movement, 1895-1945*, Honolulu, the University Press of Hawaii. Issues concerning Taiwanese identity and the legacy of Japanese colonial rule, can also be seen in Lai Tse-han, Ramon H. Myers, and Wei Wou (1991), *A Tragic Beginning: The Taiwan Uprising of February 28, 1947*, Stanford, Stanford University Press; Stevan Harrell and Huang Chun-chieh (eds) (1994), *Cultural Change in Postwar Taiwan*, Boulder, Westview Press; Steven Phillips (1999), 'Between Assimilation and Independence: Taiwanese Political Aspirations Under Nationalist Chinese Rule, 1945-1948', in Murray A. Rubinstein (ed.), *Taiwan: A New History*, Armonk, M. E. Sharpe; Hsiao A-chin (2000), *Contemporary Taiwanese Cultural Nationalism*, London, Routledge; Huang Chun-chieh (2000), *Taiwan Yi Shi yu Taiwan Wen Hua*, Taipei, Zheng Zhong Shu Ju; and Leo Ching (2001), *Becoming 'Japanese': Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*, Berkeley, University of California Press.

¹¹ See Ts'ai Mao-feng (1977), *Chūgokujin ni okeru Nihongo Kyōikushi no Kenkyū*, book published by author, place of publication not provided.

Taiwanese elite under Japanese rule. Wu is the forerunner in this area of research and still actively contributes to the field.¹²

Japanese colonial rule, especially its ideologies and the cultural policies behind the implementation of Japanese language education in Japanese-occupied territories such as Taiwan and Korea, has attracted great interest among researchers and is still generating enthusiastic academic pursuits.¹³ From the 1990s, more publications on Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan can be seen and the studies have been treated with independent attention in areas of politics, economy, social development, educational history, Japanese language education, and the development of Taiwanese literature during the colonial period.¹⁴ Although much has been said and discussed on

¹² See Wu Wen-hsing (1983), *Ri Ju Shi Qi Taiwan Shi Fan Jiao Yu zhi Yan Jiu*, Taipei, Press of Taiwan Normal University; Wu Wen-hsing (1987), 'Ri Ju Shi Qi Taiwan Zong Du Fu Tui Guang Ri Yu Yun Dong Chu Tan' (II), *Taiwan Feng Wu*, Vol. 37, No. 4; Wu Wen-hsing (1991), *Ri Ju Shi Qi Zai Tai Hua Qiao Yan Jiu*, Taipei, Taiwan Xue Sheng Shu Ju; and Wu Wen-hsing (1992), *Ri Ju Shi Qi Taiwan She Hui Ling Dao Jie Ceng zhi Yan Jiu*, Taipei, Zheng Zhong Shu Ju.

¹³ See for example, Li Yuan-hui (1983), *Ri Ju Shi Qi zhi Taiwan Chu Deng Jiao Yu*, Taipei, Fu Wen Publishing Co; E. Patricia Tsurumi (1984), 'Colonial Education in Korea and Taiwan', in Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie (eds), *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*, Princeton, Princeton University Press; Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie (eds) (1984), *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*, Princeton, Princeton University Press; Ho I-lin (1986), 'Huang Min Hua Zheng Ce zhi Yan Jiu: Ri Ju Shi Dai Mo Qi Ri Ban Dui Taiwan de Jiao Yu Zheng Ce yu Jiao Hua Yun Dong', unpublished Master Thesis, Taiwan Cultural University; W. G. Beasley (1987), *Japanese Imperialism 1895-1945*, New York, Oxford University Press; Asada Kyōji (1990), *Nihon Shokuminchi Kenkyū Shiron*, Tokyo, Miraisha; Shi Gang (1993), *Shokuminchi Shihai to Nihongo*, Tokyo, Sangensha; Mizoguchi Yūzō et al. (eds) (1994), *Ajia Kara Kangaeru: Kindaikazō*, Vol. 5, Tokyo, Tokyo University Press; Chen Pei-feng (1996), *Shokuminchi Taiwan no Kokugo Kyōiku Seisaku to Iminzoku Tōchi*, Tokyo, Fuji Zerokkusu Kobayashi Settarō Kinen Kikin; Peter Duus, Ramon H. Myers, and Mark R. Peattie (eds) (1996), *The Japanese Wartime Empire 1931-1945*, Princeton, Princeton University Press; and Komagome Takeshi (1996), *Shokuminchi Teikoku Nihon no Bunka Tōgō*, Tokyo, Iwanami Shoten; and Choi Chungmoo (1997), 'The Discourse of Decolonisation and Popular Memory: South Korea', in Tani E. Barlow (ed.), *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia*, Durham, Duke University Press.

¹⁴ See, for example, Ong Yok-tek (1980), *Taiwan: Kumensuru sono Rekishi*, Tokyo, Kōbundō, translated into Chinese as *Taiwan: Ku Men de Li Shi*, republished in 1993, Taipei, Zi Li Wan Bao Publishing Co; Ng Yuzin Chiautong (1981), *Taiwan Sōtokufu*, Tokyo, Kyōikusha, translated into Chinese by Huang Ying-che (1993), *Taiwan Zong Du Fu*, Taipei, Qian Wei Publishing Co; Yeh Shih-t'ao (1987), *Taiwan Wen Xue Shi Gang*, Taipei, Wen Xue Jie Za Zhi, republished in 2000, Kaohsiung, Chun Hui Publishing Co; Nakamura Takashi (ed.) (1988), *Nihon no Nanpō Kan'yo to Taiwan*, Nara, Tenrikyō Dōyūsha; Chung Ching-han (1993), *Nihon Shokuminchika ni okeru Taiwan Kyōikushi*, Tokyo, Taga Shuppan; Lai Yung-chung (1993), 'Taiwan Di Qun Za Zhi Fa Zhan zhi Yan Jiu: Cong Ri Ju Shi Qi Zhi Min Guo Ba Shi Yi Nian', unpublished Master Thesis, Taiwan Cheng Chi University; Shimomura Sakujirō (1994), *Bungaku de Yomu Taiwan*, Tokyo, Tabatake Shoten; Yang Bi-chuang (1996), *Hou Teng Xin Ping (Gotō Shimpei) Zhuang*, Taipei, Yi Qiao Publishing Co; Kawahara Isao (1997), *Taiwan Shinbungaku Undō no Tenkai*, Tokyo, Kenbun Shuppan; Li Yuan-hui (1997), *Ri Ju Shi Qi Taiwan Shi Fan Jiao Yu Zhi Du*, Taipei, Nan Tian Shu Ju; Fujii Shōzō (1998), *Taiwan Bungaku kono Hyakunen*, Tokyo, Tōhō Shoten; Sung-sheng Yvonne Chang (1999), 'Taiwanese New Literature and the Colonial Context: A Historical Survey', in Murray A. Rubinstein (ed.), *Taiwan: A New History*, Armonk, M. E. Sharpe; and Faye Yuan Kleeman (2003), *Under an*

Japanese colonial education in Taiwan, either from a historical perspective or on the socio-political implications of the system in Taiwanese society of the time, we see very little literature dealing with perspectives of the Taiwanese who were in the system, and how they perceived and received colonial education under Japanese rule. Very little research has linked the perspectives of the Taiwanese under the system during and after the colonial periods. Although research has been dedicated to the Taiwanese elite's perspectives on Japanese colonial rule such as that of Wu Wen-hsing and Chou Wan-yao,¹⁵ virtually no literature has presented the perspectives of ordinary Taiwanese at the time on how they were affected by the system in relation to their identity and day-to-day living.

In order to find out the above views of ordinary Taiwanese, I have interviewed eighteen Taiwanese who lived through the colonial era and were educated under the Japanese colonial system. Over a period of two weeks in March 2001, eighteen interviews were carried out, pertaining to interviewees' experience of Japanese education and Japanese rule in Taiwan during the period of the 1920s to 1945 and the immediate post-colonial period. Interviewees were Taiwanese who had at least finished six years of elementary education during the Japanese occupation. Based on interviewees' verbal accounts, the aim is to determine how assimilation through Japanese language education had taken effect on the interviewees and the discrepancy in the realisation of assimilation between the education provider, the Japanese, and the receivers, the Taiwanese. Also, based on research on the change in post-colonial language policies, this study will also seek to determine the effects of the linguistic shift and the socio-linguistic behaviours among the interviewees.¹⁶

Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press.

¹⁵ See Chou Wan-yao (1989), *Ri Ju Shi Dai Taiwan de Yi Hui She Zhi Yun Dong*, Taipei, Zi Li Wan Bao Publishing Co; Chou Wan-yao (1991), 'The *Kōminka* Movement: Taiwan Under Wartime Japan, 1937-1945', unpublished PhD Thesis, Yale University; and Chou Wan-yao (1996), 'The *Kōminka* Movement in Taiwan and Korea', in Peter Duus, Ramon Myers, and Mark Peattie (eds), *The Japanese Wartime Empire 1931-1945*, Princeton, Princeton University Press; and Wu Wen-hsing (1992), *Ri Ju Shi Qi Taiwan She Hui Ling Dao Jie Ceng zhi Yan Jiu*, Taipei, Zheng Zhong Shu Ju.

¹⁶ See for example, Li Yuan-hui (1984), *Taiwan Guang Fu Shi Qi yu Zheng Fu Qian Tai Chu Qi Jiao Yu Zheng Ce zhi Yan Jiu*, Taipei, Fu Wen Publishing Co; Cheng, Robert L. and Huang Shuanfan (1988), *The Structure of Taiwanese: A Modern Synthesis*, Taipei, the Crane Publishing Co; Robert L. Cheng (1990), *Yan Bian Zhong de Taiwan She Hui Yu Wen*, Taipei, Zi Li Wan Bao Publishing Co; Robert L. Cheng (1994), 'Language Unification in Taiwan, Present and Future', in Murray A. Rubinstein (ed.), *The Other Taiwan, 1945 to Present*, New York, M. E. Sharpe; Huang Shuanfan (1995), *Yu Yan, She Hui yu Zu Qun Yi Shi*, Taipei, the Crane Publishing Co; Shih Cheng-feng (ed.)

In this thesis, I will look into how Japanese colonial education in Taiwan, focusing on Japanese language education, took effect in Taiwanese society and how the colonial education system affected the Taiwanese people and the indigenous socio-political and cultural movements of the time. I will start to look at the nature of Japanese colonial education in Taiwan, discussing the overall colonial policies, reviewing the history and progress of Japanese language education in Taiwan, exploring the Japanese colonial position on its language education policy and assimilation; and also consider the effects of Japanese language education on assimilation from the perspectives of the Taiwanese, both the elite group and the common people. I will then present and compare their views during and after the colonial period. The effects of the post-colonial linguistic shift and Japanese colonial legacy among the interviewees will also be discussed.

In order to find answers to these questions, Chapter One will examine the overall Japanese colonial policies for Taiwan in different stages of rule and discuss the socio-political circumstances contributing to their establishment. Chapter Two will review the history of Japanese language education in Taiwan and specify key elements in Japanese language education. Chapter Three will further explore Japanese colonial positions on Japanese language education and its philosophy. Chapter Four will look into how Japanese language education was pioneered, implemented, and established in Taiwan in areas of teaching methodologies and textbook compilation, and compare the contents of language textbooks used at the *Kōgakkō* – common schools designated for Taiwanese children and those used at the *Shōgakkō* – elementary schools designated for Japanese children. Chapter Five will set out to determine the effects of Japanese language education in Taiwan in relation to assimilation. This chapter will also establish the relationship between overseas Japanese education starting in Taiwan and Japan's ambition of promoting Japanese to become a 'Greater East Asian' language and, further, the language of the world. Chapter Six will present writings by the Taiwanese elite in socio-political magazines,

(1996), *Yu Yan Zheng Zhi yu Zheng Ce*, Taipei, Qian Wei Publishing Co; Ho I-lin (1998), *Sengo Taiwan no Media Seisaku to Gengo Funsō (1945-1950)*, Tokyo, Fuji Zerokkusu Kobayashi Settārō Kinen Kikin; and Ho I-lin (2000), "'Guo Yu" Zhuan Huan Guo Cheng Zhong Taiwan Ren Zu Qun Te Zhi zhi Zheng Zhi Hua', in Wakabayashi Masahiro and Wu Mi-cha (eds), *Taiwan Zhong Ceng Jin Dai Hua Lun Wen Ji*, Taipei, Bo Zhong Zhe Publishing Co.

such as *Taiwan Seinen* and *Taiwan Minpao*, and the style of literature during the *Kōminka* Movement to demonstrate how the Taiwanese perceived and reacted to Japanese colonial rule with the underlying theme of assimilation, and how their Japanese education affected their ethnic and cultural identity. Chapter Seven will present the memories of ordinary Taiwanese who were educated under the Japanese colonial education system and relate their experiences to the post-colonial period. Another focus will be how the interviewees coped with the language shift in the post-colonial period and their socio-linguistic behaviour will be also be explored.

Both primary and secondary resources are used to contribute to the writing of this thesis. Primary sources include periodicals and magazines such as *Taiwan Seinen* (Taiwan Youth), *Taiwan Kyōiku* (Taiwan Education), *Taiwan Jihō* (Taiwan Report), and *Kokugo Undō* (National Language Movement), and newspapers such as *Taiwan Minpao* (Taiwan People's Newspaper), *Taiwan Hsin Minpao* (Taiwan New People's Newspaper), and *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shinpō* (Taiwan Daily-daily Newspaper). Views represented by both Japanese and Taiwanese authors at different stages of the colonial rule are presented throughout the thesis as evidence for my own arguments. Government publications and documents published by the Government-General of Taiwan during the colonial period are also used to provide facts and figures quoted constantly in this research. In order to determine the underlying ideologies of Japanese colonial education in Taiwan in relation to assimilation and their teaching methodologies, I have also comprehensively reviewed language textbooks and their reference books used during the colonial period. Secondary sources include writings and publications by researchers from Taiwan, Japan, and the United States whose well-established theories and arguments further enhance and strengthen my arguments throughout the thesis. Qualitative data of one-on-one interviews is also employed in this research to present the views of ordinary Taiwanese in issues related to Japanese colonial rule, Japanese language education and assimilation, and Japanese language education and identity, and the analysis of their socio-linguistic behaviour in the post-colonial period. The writing of the thesis is presented in a chronological order, unfolding the history of Japanese colonial education in Taiwan and the post-colonial legacy. However, significant incidents and events, domestically or world-wide, regardless of their timeframe are reinforced and compared in appropriate places from time to time throughout the thesis.

Chapter One A Sketch of Japanese Colonial Policies for Taiwan 1895-1945

Introduction

Taiwan was ceded to Japan under the Shimonoseki Treaty after Qing China was defeated in the Sino-Japanese War in 1895. Upon the arrival of the Japanese, there was not a clear direction as to what colonial policies were to be implemented on the island. The first three Governor-Generals of Taiwan were pre-occupied with military ‘pacification’ of the Taiwanese rebels from 1895 to 1897. It was only under the reign of the fourth Governor-General, Kodama Gentarō (1852-1906), that civil administration was established and concrete colonial policies for Taiwan were launched. Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan can be divided into three major periods; 1898-1918, 1919-1936, and 1937-1945. The policies under the three stages can be identified as Gradualism followed by inactive Assimilation and radical Japanisation. As a background for the discussion of education and language policies, I will in this chapter discuss these Japanese colonial policies and the socio-political circumstances surrounding their implementation in Taiwan.

Taiwan: An ‘Uncivilised’ Land

Upon the acquisition of Taiwan, Japanese colonisers were facing a society about whose culture and languages they knew very little. Neither did the Taiwanese know what the future held for them. The ill-fated *Taiwan Min Zhu Guo*, the Taiwan Democratic Nation, was abruptly constituted by resisting forces as the last attempt to claim Taiwan’s independence. It collapsed after only eleven days.¹ The Japanese moved on the shore of Keelung on May 30, 1895, and ceremonies were held on June 17 in Taihoku (Taipei)² to commemorate the inauguration of Japanese colonial rule

¹ According to Hsieh and Furuno, *Taiwan Min Zhu Guo* was established on the 25th of May 1895 and collapsed eleven days after its establishment. See Hsieh Shen-chan and Furuno Naoya (1996), *Taiwan Dai Zhi*, (I), Taipei, Chuang Yi Li Wen Hua Publishing Co, pp. 132-140. However, Ng argues that *Taiwan Min Zhu Guo* co-existed with the Japanese colonial government for as long as 148 days. See Ng Yuzin Chiautong (1970), *Taiwan Minshūkoku no Kenkyū*, Tokyo, Tokyo University Press, cited in Ng Yuzin Chiautong (1993), *Taiwan Zong Du Fu*, pp. 59-61.

² Upon the first mention of names and places in Taiwan during Japanese colonial rule, Japanese pronunciation will be used in the main text followed by current Mandarin pronunciation in brackets. After that, only Japanese pronunciations of names and places mentioned during the colonial period will be used.

in Taiwan. Scattered grassroots resistance persisted all over the island after the Japanese arrival. It took the Japanese more than five months to fully occupy Taiwan when they eventually reached the south of the island in Tainan on October 21.³

Li Hung-chang (1823-1901), the Qing representative in the signing of the Shimonoseki Treaty, had warned the Japanese of the trouble lying ahead if they were to rule Taiwan, what he saw as uncultivated land outside of Chinese civilisation.⁴ Ruling Taiwan, with its ethnic complexity and unique social circumstances, proved to be a daunting task for the Japanese. The population of Taiwan, prior to the Japanese arrival, consisted of two major ethnic groups – the Hokkien and the Hakka, other Chinese migrants, and the indigenous Taiwanese. The Hokkien, who mainly came from the Zhang and Quan areas of southern Fujian in China and were referred collectively as ‘Hoklo’⁵ by the Hakka, migrated to Taiwan from the seventeenth century. The Hakka, who mainly came from Guangdong, arrived shortly after. Factions among the Hoklo of different geo-ethnic backgrounds and between the Hoklo and the Hakka were common. Feuds and confrontations between factions over territorial disputes remained a strong feature in early Taiwanese settlement history. Between 1683 and 1895, fifty-two large scale armed affrays among ethnic factions were documented, almost one every four years. Battle-fields extended from the south to the north of the island.⁶ To Lamley, these sub-ethnic rivalries in Taiwanese society during the late Qing period have been “an appropriate form of conflict for rival communities in an insecure environment plagued by disorder and weak government”.⁷ With minimum political interference from Qing China, indeed, after more than two centuries of Chinese rule, the modern concept of law and order was yet to be developed in Taiwan.

³ See George Kerr (1974), *Formosa: Licensed Revolution and the Home Rule Movement, 1895-1945*, pp. 14-15.

⁴ Li concluded that there were four major obstacles in Taiwan to Japanese colonial administration that would never be conquered. They were incessant grassroots riots, opium smoking among the public, an adverse climate, and threats from head-hunting indigenous tribes to economic development. See Asada Kyōji (1990), *Nihon Shokuminchi Kenkyū Shiron*, p. 64.

⁵ The term ‘Hoklo’ is commonly used among researchers of contemporary Taiwanese society and development. I will use the term ‘Hoklo’ in defining the collective ethnic group of the Hokkien in Taiwan hereafter.

⁶ See Lin Tsai-fu (1984), *Min Nan Ren*, Taipei, San Min Shu Ju, pp. 209-225.

⁷ See Harry Lamley (1981), ‘Sub-ethnic Rivalry in the Ch’ing Period’, p. 315

It is under such social circumstances that the Japanese took over the administration of Taiwan from Qing China. In the early years of Japanese colonial rule, Taiwan was pestered with incessant grassroots guerrilla warfare and rebellions. The saying, '*san nian yi xiao fan, wu nian yi da fan*' (an unrest in every three years; an uprising in every five years), to a certain degree describes what Taiwanese society was like back then. Not until the arrival of the fourth Japanese Governor-General of Taiwan were effective measures taken to counter the destructive effects brought about by such civil unrest. Within the administration of Kodama Gentarō and his capable Chief Civil Administrator, Gotō Shimpei (1857-1929), highly oppressive ordinances were issued to quickly bring down the rebels. Before describing these measures, here we should have some understanding of the authority and power that the Government-General of Taiwan enjoyed. The Government-General of Taiwan was granted the authority to pass legislation for the colony in 1896, which was exempted from the jurisdiction of the Imperial Diet in Japan. Under the Japanese Constitution, the Diet had the sole law-making power for all Japanese territories. However, this law (commonly known as *Rokusun Hō*, Law 63, for the legislation number attached to it) gave the Governor-General of Taiwan the arbitrary bureaucratic power to implement laws in Taiwan.⁸

Among the oppressive ordinances issued as a result of the arbitrary legislative power of the Government-General of Taiwan were the 'Ordinance Regarding ad hoc Law Courts' (No. 2, 1896) and the notorious 'Bandits Punishment Ordinance' (No. 24, 1898). The former authorised "the establishment of ad hoc courts at places of rebellion and permitted the judges to sentence the captured rebels to death or hand down other severe penalties".⁹ The latter made "the death sentence mandatory for those who acted as a group whose activities caused the death of a person or persons and/or caused the destruction of public property".¹⁰ At the grassroots level, the existing *hokō* (*bao-jia*) system, which itself worked as a crime report network, was conveniently attached to the police system to exercise tight social control over ordinary households. In a village, ten households formed a *kō*, and ten *kō*, 100

⁸ See Chou Wan-yao (1991), 'The *Kōminka* Movement: Taiwan under Wartime Japan, 1937-1945', p. 18.

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 19. Also see Hsieh Shen-chan and Furuno Naoya (1996), *Taiwan Dai Zhi*, (II), pp. 140-142.

¹⁰ See Chou Wan-yao (1991), 'The *Kōminka* Movement: Taiwan under Wartime Japan, 1937-1945', p. 19.

households, formed a *ho*. If a crime was not reported within the same *hokō* area by any household, the entire group of people would be penalised.¹¹

Coercive measures for voluntary surrenders and heavy-handed suppression were undertaken simultaneously to secure the process of tranquillising rebellion. According to Ide Kiwata, between 1897 and 1901 under most of the Kodama-Gotō administration, 8,030 Taiwanese rebels were captured and another 3,473 were executed.¹² Official figures also reveal that from 1895 to 1902, during the course of pacification, the number of Taiwanese rebels killed totalled 32,000, which accounted for more than one percent of the total Taiwanese population.¹³ This horrifying figure not only manifested the scale and frequency of upheavals that confronted the Japanese colonial administration in the early stage in Taiwan but also showed its determination in using extreme measures to eradicate destructive forces which would threaten effective colonial rule. The next Governor-General, Sakuma Samata (1844-1915), inheriting the Kodama-Gotō administration in May 1906, had continued the fashion of suppression. However, he was able to shift the focus of pacification from the Taiwanese rebellions to those initiated by the aborigines when the former started to subside. In 1909, Sakuma launched a five-year plan for 'managing' the Taiwanese aborigines. Guerrilla warfare against Japanese colonial authorities initiated by both the Taiwanese and the aborigines continued to persist until 1915 when the last infamous rebellion, the *Jiao-ba-nian Incident*, took place.¹⁴ In their battle against the Japanese, more than 30,000 Taiwanese were killed, and 866 participants were sentenced to death.¹⁵ The prevalence and scale of the warfare also cost the Japanese police and army personnel handsomely. By 1915, the Japanese who died in the

¹¹ See Asada Kyōji (1990), *Nihon Shokuminchi Kenkyū Shiron*, p. 595. For a detailed discussion of the *hokō* system, see Ide Kiwata (1937), *Taiwan Chisekishi*, pp. 314-316.

¹² See Ide Kiwata (1937), *Taiwan Chisekishi*, p. 318.

¹³ See Ng Yuzin Chiautong (1993), *Taiwan Zong Du Fu*, p. 93.

¹⁴ Also known as the *Xi-lai-an Incident*, it was led by Yu Ching-fang who used the deity housed in the Xi-lai-an temple located in Tainan as his patron to elicit support for his resistance against Japanese colonial rule. Believing in his majestic religious power, thousands of Taiwanese people joined his call for fighting the Japanese either through monetary donation or armed resistance. The riots led by Yu lasted for a couple of years until Yu and other riot leaders were captured in August 1915. Severe punishments were handed down quickly by Japanese colonial authorities to discourage further rioting. See Hsieh Shen-chan and Furuno Naoya (1996), *Taiwan Dai Zhi* (II), pp. 166-171.

¹⁵ See Chou Wan-yao (1991), 'The *Kōminka* Movement: Taiwan under Wartime Japan, 1937-1945', p. 16. Also, according to Ide Kiwata, among the 866 Taiwanese sentenced to death, ninety-five were executed and 731 were spared due to the mercy of a royal enthronement ceremony in Japan in the same year in 1915. See Ide Kiwata (1937), *Taiwan Chisekishi*, p. 569.

suppression of rebels totalled more than nine and a half thousand. The casualties exceeded those who died in the first Sino-Japanese War in which 8,395 Japanese military personnel were killed.¹⁶

The Gradualism Policy 1898-1918

Within a short period of time from June 1895 to February 1898, Kabayama Sukenori (1837-1922), Katsura Tarō (1847-1913), and Nogi Maresuke (1849-1912) had one after another succeeded the governor-generalship for Taiwan. As a result of the lack of direction of colonial policies, compounded by upheavals of grassroots resistance, military pacification remained the main focus of administration for the first three Governor-Generals of Taiwan. On the one hand, it is not hard to imagine that under constant change of governor-generalship, consistent policies were difficult to implement if they were ever made. On the other hand, it is presumable that the first few Governor-Generals of Taiwan were bound to be more militant than civil if their surroundings remained highly hostile. Social instability and the hostile Taiwanese proved to be great obstacles in the early stage of Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan. On top of the Japanese colonial agenda lay the maintenance of social order if any assimilation attempt was to be carried out by Japanese colonial authorities.

With the long-term absence of Kodama in the governor's post (1898-1905), Gotō Shimpei, Chief Civil Administrator of the Government-General of Taiwan, was in practice the executive of colonial policies for Taiwan. Gotō believed in what he called 'biology politics', which was heavily influenced by social Darwinism, as the ultimate principal for colonial administration in Taiwan. That is, "he claimed that his philosophy of colonial administration was based on the biological principles of evaluations discovered and clarified by Darwin..., human communities, like nature, evolved only slowly over long spans of time".¹⁷ He saw the different characteristics of Taiwanese society compared to Japan and understood the long adaptation of the Taiwanese people to the indigenous culture and practices. He thought it would be foolish to abruptly introduce Japanese rules and ways to Taiwan and hope to convert

¹⁶ See Iguchi Kazuki (1995), 'Chōsen Chūgoku to Teikoku Nihon', in *Iwanami Bukuretto Shiritzu: Nihon Kindaishi*, Vol. 4, Tokyo, Iwanami Shoten, p. 35.

¹⁷ See E. Patricia Tsurumi (1977), *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895-1945*, p. 81.

the Taiwanese into Japanese overnight.¹⁸ Therefore, he adopted gradualism as the first phase of concrete colonial policy for Taiwan. Through a gradualist policy he aimed to govern Taiwan without attempting to introduce sudden changes into Taiwanese life and society. The sudden changes, he meant, were ways and rules applied in Japan.

Prior to Japanese rule, Taiwan had been under the reign of Qing China for more than two centuries. Business practices, land management, local administration, and matters concerning everyday life were different from Japan. In order to smooth colonial administration in Taiwan, the Japanese had made substantial efforts to study the Taiwanese languages and customs.¹⁹ Prior to Gotō, the visionary educator and advocate of national education, Izawa Shūji, had already established a Taiwanese language course at the *Kokugo Gakkō* (the National Language School) in 1896, in which a linguistic department comprising Japanese and Taiwanese language studies was established.²⁰ The official *Rinji Taiwan Kyūkanshū Chōsakai* (The Provisional Taiwan Old Customs Investigation Association) was established in 1901, headed by the then Chief Civil Administrator, Gotō Shimpei. The Association had launched a wide range of investigations into existent Taiwanese customs and practices on whose basis new regulations were made to be implemented. Investigations covered private Taiwanese laws and practices, Qing administration, aboriginal affairs, the economic

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ During the colonial period, Japanese colonial authorities had initiated the term 'Taiwanese' to refer to the language spoken by the Hoklo, southern Hokkien, although there were also languages spoken by other ethnic groups in Taiwan, such as Hakka and the Taiwanese aboriginal languages. For example, in the compilation of Japanese language textbooks used in the early years of Japanese language education in Taiwan, the Taiwanese text translation was based on southern Hokkien instead of Hakka. See Taiwan Sōtokufu Minseikyoku (1896), *Taiwan Tekiyō Kokugo Tokuhon Shoho*, and the editing of several Japanese/Taiwanese dictionaries was also based on southern Hokkien instead of Hakka. See, for example, Tōhō Takagi (ed.) (1931), *Tainichi Shin Jisho*, Taihoku, Taiwan Keisatsu Kyōkai. Taiwanese was commonly referred to as the language spoken by the Taiwanese in distinction to the official language, Japanese, during the colonial period, and the term is commonly used even today. In this study, instead of redefining the Taiwanese languages consisting of southern Hokkien, Hakka, and the Taiwanese aboriginal languages, southern Hokkien spoken by the majority of the Taiwanese population, the Hoklo, will be referred to as 'Taiwanese' and the term will be used in discussion in relation to Japanese and Japanese language education during the colonial rule in the text hereafter. For detailed discussion on the Taiwanese languages, also see Ogawa Naoyoshi (1906), 'Taiwango ni tsuite', *Taiwan Kyōkai Kaihō*, No. 90, pp. 55-60, No. 91, pp. 106-111.

²⁰ In addition to Izawa's personal efforts in compiling books on the Taiwanese language, he also made specially trained would-be Japanese teachers learn the Taiwanese language as one of the requirements. See Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, pp. 164-165. More discussion on Izawa Shūji and the *Kokugo Gakkō* will be provided in Chapter Two.

situation, and land management.²¹ In each area of investigation, reports were published for reference and further research. Between 1903 and 1914, eleven volumes of reports were published.²² These efforts not only helped the Japanese in understanding the Taiwanese way of life, but also made colonial administration applicable to the locals. These reports also became one of the very important sources for studies on Taiwanese society of the time.

Private associations, such as the *Taiwan Kanshū Kenkyūkai* (The Taiwan Traditions and Customs Research Association) and the *Taiwan Kyōkai* (The Taiwan Association), were among those pioneering the studies on indigenous customs and culture. The *Taiwan Kanshū Kenkyūkai* was founded in 1900, headed by Kodama and Gotō and forty-nine founding members, including the authority in studies on Taiwanese cultural history, Ino Yoshinori, who compiled three volumes of *Taiwan Bunkashi* (Taiwan Cultural History) detailing the socio-cultural aspects of Taiwanese life in contemporary years.²³ It investigated traditions and customs practiced in Taiwan to assist in the implementation of colonial administration and legislation. *Kanshū Kiji* (Notes on Traditions and Customs), its monthly journal, published academic articles from its members, which at one stage, exceeded two thousand.²⁴ The headquarters of the *Taiwan Kyōkai* were established in Tokyo in 1898 as an advisory body on colonial affairs in Taiwan. The Taiwanese branch headed by Katsura Tarō was established the following year with more than three hundred prominent figures attending the inauguration ceremony.²⁵

The private *Taiwan Kanshū Kenkyūkai* served as a research body for academic values, while the *Taiwan Kyōkai* worked, on the other hand, as a governmental advisory body for Japanese colonial ambitions in Taiwan. Judging from the list of its honorary members, which included many of the founding members of the Meiji era and the former Governor-Generals of Taiwan, it was founded with high hopes for

²¹ See Ide Kiwata (1939), *Taiwan Chisekishi*, pp. 415-417.

²² Yang Bi-chuang (1996), *Hou Teng Xin Ping (Gotō Shimpei) Zhuang*, pp. 41-42.

²³ His three books cover the cultural history of Taiwan dating the period under Qing rule and the years when Taiwan was ceded to Japan in areas of social customs, education, trading, riots, agricultural and industrial developments, transportation, and the Taiwanese aborigines. See Ino Yoshinori (1928), *Taiwan Bunkashi*, Vols 1-3, Tokyo, Tōei Shoin, reprinted in 1994, Taipei, Nan Tian Shu Ju.

²⁴ See Ide Kiwata (1939), *Taiwan Chisekishi*, p. 417.

²⁵ See Kaminuma Hachirō (1988), *Taiwan Kyōkai Kaihō*, Vol. 1 (Introduction Volume), Tokyo, Rokuin Shobō, p. 29

giving sound advice on colonial policies for Taiwan. The main mission of the Taiwan Association was for Taiwan to become a base for the advancement into the southern region (South-east Asia) and to establish a network of reporting on the geographical features and natural resources in neighbouring southern China. Katsura Tarō's proposal for the establishment of the association revealed Japan's early intentions in making colonised Taiwan the stepping-stone for Japan's southern expansion.²⁶ How the Association had achieved its goals is not the prime concern of this study, however, the efforts by the association in the promotion of the Japanese as well as the Taiwanese languages are noteworthy.

Article Two of its Constitution stated that one of the major missions of the Taiwan Association is to enhance communication between the Japanese and Taiwanese.²⁷ The *Taiwan Kyōkai Gakkō* was established in Tokyo in 1900 with one hundred students enrolled. Since the school was built with the intention of nurturing personnel who would facilitate Japan's 'southern advancement', the emphasis on language studies, especially Taiwanese and Mandarin Chinese, was evident. The Taiwanese language was taught seven hours weekly along with other subjects, including Mandarin Chinese (five hours), English (six hours), Law, Accounting, Economics, Geography-oriented Economics, Asian History, and Mathematics.²⁸ The school also provided a breeding ground for colonial officials and staff. Twenty-one out of its first forty-five graduates were employed by the Government-General of Taiwan.²⁹ Here we see an early initiative taken by the Japanese to facilitate the language skills of trained staff for colonial administration.

Among other investigations launched in Taiwan by Gotō were a census and a land survey. The first census of Taiwan was achieved in 1905, it involved 7,405 Japanese personnel and took over three years to complete. Based on this census, the household registration system was established. Under the investigation, 487,353 households were registered and a total Taiwanese population, excluding unassimilated Taiwanese aborigines, of over three million was recorded. Within this

²⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 30-31. More discussion on Taiwan's strategic position in relation to Japan's southern expansion is provided in Chapter Five.

²⁷ See Kaminuma Hachirō (1988), *Taiwan Kyōkai Kaihō*, Vol. 1, p. 33.

²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 36.

²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 41.

system, headcounts of all household members and their relations and occupations were clearly registered so that Japanese colonial authorities were able to document the structure and composition of each Taiwanese family, and further detect the social mobilisation of the population. Based on this system levies and conscription could be applied accordingly.³⁰ The household registration system was inherited by the Guomindang (Chinese Nationalists, also known as KMT) regime after Japanese rule and is still in use in Taiwan today. The land survey started in July 1898, and the Provisional Taiwan Land Survey Bureau was established to assist in the investigation. This full-scale land survey took the colonial government six years and more than one and a half million people to accomplish. The aims of the survey were to define land ownership and understand the Taiwanese practice of land management. Nevertheless, the main motive was the land levy. The survey had rediscovered 71 percent more land than the figure held by the last governor of Taiwan under the Qing regime, Liu Ming-ch'uan.³¹ The survey had also provided a sound base for the development of the capitalist economy in Taiwan which Japan was later able to exploit to support its militant expansion in Asia.³²

An opium monopoly, the establishment of the policing system, the improvement of public sanitation and health, a sugar industry monopoly, and the development of transportation were among the goals of the Kodama-Gotō administration which, many researchers have argued, lay the foundation of modernisation in Taiwan at the turn of the twentieth century. In 1906 Gotō left Taiwan to take up a new post, the president of the South Manchurian Railway Company, in China. It is generally agreed that the Kodama-Gotō administration (1898-1906) laid the foundation of Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan. Because of his innovative measures during his eight years post in Taiwan, Gotō is often referred to as the founding father of modernisation in Taiwan's history.³³

³⁰ See Ide Kiwata (1939), *Taiwan Chisekishi*, pp. 323-325.

³¹ See Yang Bi-Chuang (1996), *Hou Teng Xin Ping (Gotō Shimpei) Zhuang*, p. 46.

³² This goal was particularly important during the *Kōminka* period when Japanese colonial rule intended to develop Taiwan as an industrialised economy for Japan's wartime needs. For a detailed discussion, see Ihara Yoshinosuke (1988), 'Taiwan no Kōminka Undō', in Nakamura Takashi (ed.), *Nihon no Nanpō Kan'yo to Taiwan*, pp. 373-385.

³³ For detailed discussion, see Yang Bi-Chuang (1996), *Hou Teng Xin Ping (Gotō Shimpei) Zhuang*.

Up to 1905, it was Gotō Shimpei's policy of gradualism which dominated Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan. With the departure of Gotō, influences on the formation of colonial policies for Taiwan had also become more diversified. According to Peattie, between 1905 and 1920, it was the ex-administrators, scholars, politicians, and journalists, such as Nitobe Inazō (1862-1933), Tōgō Minoru (1881-1959), Mochiji Rokusaburō (1867-1923), Takekoshi Yosaburō (1865-1950), and Nagai Ryūtarō (1881-1944), who helped shape the colonial policies for Taiwan. He argues that their attitudes towards Japanese colonial affairs in Taiwan between 1905 and 1920 were both "moderate and conservative". Their views on the issue of colonial rule mixed "hard national interest, cautious humanitarianism, racially oriented pseudo-science, paternalism, and complacent assumptions about the status quo in almost equal proportions".³⁴ In this well-balanced Japanese colonial ideology, Peattie has led us to try to perceive a self-defined term of benevolence among these Japanese colonial specialists who bore in mind Japan's responsibility towards the colony both for its physical and, more so, mental, developments, echoing their colonial counterparts in the West.³⁵

This sentiment is evidenced in the writings of Japanese colonial 'theorists' throughout this period in Taiwan. Takekoshi Yosaburō was elected five times to the Diet's House of Representatives. At the beginning of his book, *Taiwan Tōchishi*, he wrote,

[the] white people have long believed that it has been the white man's burden to cultivate the uncivilised territories and bring them the benefits of civilisation. The Japanese people now have risen in the Far East and want to participate with the white people in this great mission. Will the Japanese nation, as a yellow people, be capable of performing this mission? The government of Taiwan may well provide the answer.³⁶

³⁴ See Mark R. Peattie (1984), 'Japanese Attitudes Towards Colonialism, 1895-1945', in Ramon Myers and Mark Peattie (eds), *The Japanese Colonial Empire 1895-1945*, p. 87.

³⁵ See George Kerr (1974), *Formosa: Licensed Revolution and the Home Rule Movement 1895-1945*, p. 20.

³⁶ See Takekoshi Yosaburō (1905), *Taiwan Tōchishi*, Preface, pp. 1-2. English translation in Etō Shinkichi (1964), 'An Outline of Formosan History', in Mark Mancall (ed.), *Formosa Today*, New York, Praeger, p. 49.

Nitobe Inazō, often referred to as a humanitarianist, strongly advocated the protection of rights of the colonised people.³⁷ He stressed respect for the customs, values, languages, and characteristics of the colony in the process of assimilation.³⁸ His ideal of Japanese colonialism lies in a balance between Japan's benevolent tolerance towards the physical being of the indigenous people and the empire's constant surveillance over the social progress of the colonised. That is, in his ideology, the colonised people needed to be protected and guided by a parental colonial power with well-meant intentions, such as Japan. However, the language of self-determination and autonomy was absent from his campaigning for the preservation of the indigenous culture of the colony.³⁹ Nitobe was sympathetic to the differences of the colonised physically and culturally. However, he still embraced the ideal of assimilation as a benevolent act by the coloniser for the betterment of the colonised. In other words, without the protection and guidance of the parental colonial power, such as Japan, the colony, such as Taiwan, might not be able to progress and elevate in culture. Therefore, assimilation by the coloniser was the most desirable remedy to cure the ethnic and cultural inferiority of the colonised.

A scornful tone towards the 'backwardness' of the culture of the colonised and their inferiority can also be sensed in Takekoshi's writings. In his comments on Taiwanese religions in the same book, he again wrote,

[the] religious condition of the Formosan Chinese has shown me how fearful religion is when the ethical element is lacking. All the religions which are recognised as truly great contain a large amount of moral teaching, but no such teaching is to be found in the bewildering tangle of corrupted superstition which the Formosan Chinese call religion...In a word, the Formosan religion is nothing but a meaningless tissue of superstition and devil worship.⁴⁰

³⁷ Nitobe Inazō was a renowned Japanese educator and colonial theorist. He specialised in agriculture and studied in America and Germany. Between 1901 and 1903, he was employed by the Government-General of Taiwan as a specialist in improving Taiwan's sugar mill industry. When he was working for the United Nations, he was known to have devoted himself to the cause of the peace of the world. See Asada Kyōji (1990), *Nihon Shokuminchi Kenkyū Shiron*, p. 64, and Matsumura Akira (ed.) (1988), *Daijirin*, Tokyo, Sanseidō, p. 1845. More discussion on Nitobe's theory of colonialism can be seen in Nitobe Inazō (1969), *Nitobe Inazō Zenshū*, Tokyo, Kyōbunkan.

³⁸ See Nitobe Inazō (1969), 'Shokumin Seisaku no Genri', in *Nitobe Inazō Zenshū*, Vol. 4, pp. 165-167.

³⁹ See Asada Kyōji (1990), *Nihon Shokuminchi Kenkyū Shiron*, p. 81.

⁴⁰ Translations into English are by the author unless indicated otherwise; for the original Japanese text, see Takekoshi Yosaburō (1905), *Taiwan Tōchishi*, pp. 485-486.

In Takekoshi's writings, we see a more revealing attitude of Japanese bureaucrats towards the inferiority of the colonised people, in this case, the Taiwanese. In his and Nitobe's ideologies, we see a self-justified paternal benevolence of Japanese colonial theorists for Taiwan, which blended with a sense of victor's superiority. This dual attitude reflected in Japanese colonial policies for Taiwan marked Japan's ambivalent position in Taiwan. On the one hand, the principle of biological law whose political rhetoric was to respect indigenous culture and practices without abruptly introducing Japanese ones justified the discriminatory treatment of the Taiwanese. On the other hand, the superiority complex in turn helped preserve the status quo and privileges that the Japanese enjoyed over the Taiwanese.

It is also worth pointing out that liberal Japanese who had genuine concerns towards assimilation between the Japanese and the Taiwanese tended to come from Japan proper. Politicians, such as Itagaki Taisuke (1837-1919),⁴¹ envisaged that active assimilation between the Japanese and the Taiwanese would benefit both peoples in a direct way and they could co-prosper under the Japanese jurisdiction. His views were however not welcomed by the Government-General of Taiwan. Itagaki, a prominent Japanese politician, came to Taiwan to promote his view of assimilation towards the end of his political career. He encountered great hospitality from Japanese colonial bureaucrats and residents in Taiwan. The short-lived *Dōkakai* (the Assimilation Society) was aborted soon after he founded it in 1914. His failure, however, foreshadowed the change of political climate in Taiwan. Towards the end of the 1910s, an assimilation policy adopted by Japanese colonial authorities in Taiwan started to gather momentum.

The 'Naitai Yūgō, Naichi Enchō' Policy 1919-1936

The differential treatment of the Japanese and the Taiwanese in the colony as a result of the Gradualism Policy had long been evident, especially in education. From 1898, a Japanese-Taiwanese segregated education system was adopted by the Government-

⁴¹ Itagaki Taisuke, one of the leaders of the Meiji Restoration, founded the Liberty Party in Japan in 1881, and became Minister of Internal Affairs under Japan's first cabinet headed by Prime Minister Ōkuma Shigenobu in 1898. See J. Lebra (1983), 'Itagaki Taisuke', *Kōdansha Encyclopaedia of Japan*, Vol. 3, Tokyo, Kōdansha, pp. 349-350. More discussion of Itagaki's involvement in the *Dōkakai* movement in Taiwan can be seen in Chapter Six.

General of Taiwan. *Kōgakkō*, common school education, was designated for Taiwanese children while *Shōgakkō*, elementary school education, was for Japanese children. The first high school designated for Japanese youth was established in 1907.⁴² However, by 1915, twenty years after Japanese rule in Taiwan, there was not a single public high school for Taiwanese youth.⁴³ Sending their children overseas to Japan for higher education became one of the few options for some rich Taiwanese families. This trend unexpectedly had thrown some impact on colonial administration, fearing for the effect of ‘contaminated thoughts’ being brought back by overseas-educated students to the Taiwanese public. The fear that more and more Taiwanese students would go to Japan and discover the inequality that the Taiwanese were suffering in education in Taiwan had caused pressure on the colonial government to reconsider their education policy. Under the strong petition of Lin Hsien-t’ang, a prominent Taiwanese figure who was very much revered by the local people in the middle of Taiwan, and others, the *Taichū* (Taichung) *Chūgakkō*, a self-funded Taiwanese public high school was eventually founded in Taichū in 1915.⁴⁴

It was this push towards a more egalitarian education that significantly pressured Japanese colonial authorities to accommodate policies more favourable to the Taiwanese. The establishment of the *Taichū Chūgakkō* in 1915 can also be seen as a prelude to the demand for egalitarian treatment by the Taiwanese from the early 1910s.⁴⁵ Further, Wilson’s advocacy of self-determination of peoples after the First World War had also made its appeal in Taiwan. Together with the spread of the democratic atmosphere of the Taishō period (1912-1925) in Japan, a change to Japan’s existing colonial policies for Taiwan was set to happen. In 1919, the liberal Hara Kei (1856-1921) cabinet appointed the first civilian official, Den Genjirō (1855-1930), to the post of the eighth Governor-General of Taiwan. Den, a close ally of Hara Kei, was thus given a go-ahead signal by the Japanese government for the implementation of the *Naitai Yūgō* (harmonious relations between Japan and

⁴² Prior to the establishment of a senior high school, the high school curriculum designed for Japanese youth in Taiwan was incorporated into one of the attached schools to the *Kokugo Gakkō* as early as 1898. More discussion on this respect can be seen in Chapter Two.

⁴³ The first private high school in Taiwan was established by Presbyterian missionaries in Tainan in 1885. See Chang Hou-chi (ed.) (1991), *Zhang Rong Zhong Xue Bai Nian Shi*, Tainan, Zhang Rong High School Press.

⁴⁴ More discussion of the establishment of the *Taichū Chūgakkō* can be seen in Chapter Two.

⁴⁵ See Wu San-lien, Ts’ai Pei-huo et al. (1971), *Taiwan Min Zu Yun Dong Shi*, pp. 35-52.

Taiwan) policy, and the *Naichi Enchō* (extension of Japan proper to include Taiwan) policy.⁴⁶

Japan's adoption of the assimilation policy towards the colonies of Taiwan and Korea (which had been annexed by Japan in 1910) was based on the belief that the three peoples were *dōbun dōshu* (same script, same race), belonging to the same racial (Asian) stock and sharing the same cultural (Chinese) heritage.⁴⁷ In Japanese colonial rhetoric, assimilation not only aimed to achieve ethnic harmony between the coloniser and the colonised but to enhance the status of the latter. As has been discussed previously, Japanese colonial policies were a self-justified ideology in which Japan, playing a parental role, had the ethnic and cultural superiority to lead and guide her inferior Asian siblings for betterment. This ideology also helps to explain Japan's later military aggression in Asia, a self-justified mission aimed to build up the 'Greater East-Asia Co-prosperity Sphere' to withstand the West in the 1940s.⁴⁸ A stream of measures taken by Den Genjirō and his civilian successors started to give the impression of a reformed Japanese rule in Taiwan between 1919 and 1936. At the social level, punishments such as whipping and Japanese/Taiwanese segregation in education were abolished, Taiwanese political participation at the local level was encouraged, and marriages between the Japanese and Taiwanese were to be legally approved. In administration, the colonial bureaucratic structure and its jurisdiction were reconstructed to favour a localised colonial government. In 1920 the Japanese colonial bureaucratic structure was reformed to construct Taiwan into five *shū* (equivalent to prefecture) and three *chō* (equivalent to government offices), and under each *shū*, there were administration areas of *shi* (city), *kai* (street), and *sō* (village), and under *chō*, there were also *kai* and *sō*. Between *kai* and *sō*, there were *gun* (equivalent to shire). Except *gun*, from *shū* down, each level of local administration had its own councils. However, their council members were appointed either by the Government-General of Taiwan, *shū* and *chō* Chiefs, or city Mayors. It was only after 1935 when the first election for council members of different administration levels was held that half of their

⁴⁶ See Ng Yuzin Chiautong (1993), *Taiwan Zong Du Fu*, p. 118.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 151.

⁴⁸ More discussion of this process and development in relation to Japan's language policy in this area will be provided in Chapter Five.

members were elected directly by the residents in Taiwan, including the Japanese and the Taiwanese.⁴⁹

This election was a conditional election which restricted both the eligibility of the candidates and the voters. Only half of the council seats were to be elected by local residents, the other half were to be appointed by authorities. The eligibility for voters was restricted to males, over twenty-five years of age, a local resident for more than six months, and a tax-payer of minimum five *yen* a year. Under these restrictions, among the four million strong Taiwanese population, only twenty-eight thousand were eligible to vote, while more than thirty thousand Japanese were eligible to vote among its two hundred thousand people. In other words, there were fifteen Japanese voters in one hundred, while only seven Taiwanese in a thousand.⁵⁰ The Japanese clearly had the political dominance over the Taiwanese reinforced by their better social and economic status. Using the election as an example, reform measures taken by Den and his successors did not truly liberate the Taiwanese from their inferior status in Taiwan. Alongside the lack of improvement in inequality in education,⁵¹ in just about every aspect of their life in comparison with the Japanese, the Taiwanese were disadvantaged under Japanese colonial rule.

How then did the Taiwanese and Taiwanese society react to the assimilation policy, the second stage of Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan? Different from the bloody confrontation of their forbears with Japanese colonial authorities, the newly Japanese-educated Taiwanese generation resorted to the tactics of 'non-bloody confrontation' and 'non-violent resistance'. Overseas-educated Taiwanese were among the first to exercise their influence over issues of domestic social and political injustice in Taiwan. Many of them went to Japan proper to obtain higher education. By 1922, it was estimated that more than 2,400 Taiwanese had studied in Japan.⁵² As a result, they had become more aware of the dissatisfying situation in Taiwan. In

⁴⁹ See Ng Yuzin Chiautong (1993), *Taiwan Zong Du Fu*, p. 155.

⁵⁰ See Chen I-song (1994), *Chen I-Song Hui Yi Lu: Ri Ju Shi Dai Pian*, pp. 169-170. Also see *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shinpō*, November 24, 1935 for the result of the election. Similar limitations on voters' eligibility were placed on Japanese voters in Japan until 1925.

⁵¹ More discussion of inequality in education for the Taiwanese can be seen in Chapter Two.

⁵² The number of students ranged from high schools to special advanced colleges and universities. See Taiwan Sōtokufu Keimukyoku (1939), *Taiwan Shakai Undōshi*, Taihoku, Taiwan Sōtokufu, reprinted in 1973, Tokyo, Ryūkei Shosha, p. 24.

1920, a group of young Taiwanese intellectuals established an organisation, the *Shinminkai* (the New People Society), in Tokyo, which published its own Japanese/Chinese bilingual Journal, *Taiwan Seinen/ Tai Oan Chheng Lian* (Taiwan Youth). Issues in relation to assimilation, modern education, colonial administration, and so forth, were ardently discussed by both Japanese and Taiwanese contributors.⁵³

Politically, the members of the New People Society pushed for further participation of the Taiwanese in the process of legislation regarding Taiwan. Its main mission was to petition for the abolition of Law 63 and the establishment of a Taiwanese Parliament. With a Taiwanese Parliament and locally elected parliamentarians, there would be forces to check and balance the bureaucratic power of the Government-General of Taiwan. This movement, commonly referred to as 'Petition for the Establishment of a Taiwanese Parliament Movement', led by the locally renowned leader Lin Hsien-t'ang, started its fourteen-year consistent but futile petition to the Imperial Diet in Japan from 1921. As a result of lack of support from politicians in Japan, their petition was never tabled in the Diet. The movement was eventually abandoned in 1934. Other organisations, such as the *Taiwan Bunka Kyōkai* (Taiwan Culture Society), established in 1921, disguised a similar political agenda in the name of culture. Under the banner of culture, the society circulated their own newsletters, set up public reading rooms, and held numerous speeches and seminars to voice their concerns over the assimilation issue and the betterment of the Taiwanese. On the surface, their acts meant a Taiwanese contribution to the assimilation scheme by arousing public attention and interest over the issue. The hidden agenda was really a cry for ethnic awareness and self-determination by the Taiwanese.⁵⁴

Owing to the spread of Wilsonian ideology and the liberal political atmosphere in Japan, we see a more accommodating Japanese colonial policy for Taiwan in the period of 1919-1936. This allowed the existence of the assimilation movement and socio-cultural activities promoted by the *Taiwan Bunka Kyōkai*. As a result of modern education introduced by the Japanese, younger Taiwanese generations also

⁵³ Debates by Taiwanese contributors on these issues will be discussed in Chapter Six.

⁵⁴ Activities organised by the society were closely monitored by Japanese colonial authorities, for details see Taiwan Sōtokufu Keimukyoku (1939), *Taiwan Shakai Undōshi*, pp. 25-33.

had the chance to widen their scope of participation in domestic social and political developments. Nearly two decades of assimilation attempts by Japanese colonial authorities however only resulted in superficial integration between the Japanese and the Taiwanese. The status quo of the Japanese in Taiwan remained, and differential treatment of the Taiwanese persisted. The Government-General of Taiwan might have taken an initiative in formulating the assimilation policy; nevertheless, it never played an active role in the process of promoting assimilation. Instead, its stand on this issue was defensive and ambivalent. It was under such realisation that a Taiwanese ethnic awareness, defying Japanese colonial rule and Japanese culture, started to grow. Issues such as the emergence of a Taiwanese identity in reaction against assimilation intended by Japanese colonial rule started to unfold. The process of a search for identity, especially among the Taiwanese intellectuals, will be closely examined in Chapter Six.

The Kōminka Movement 1937-1945

With the outbreak of the second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, Taiwan witnessed the intensification of Japan's assimilation policy – the launch of the *Kōminka* (Japanisation) Movement from 1937 to 1945. With the intensification of the war, the importance of Taiwan's strategic position in the southern China Sea had prompted Japan to build up Taiwan as the base for its further expansion into South-east Asia. Thus a colonial policy centring on total mobilisation of the Taiwanese followed. The ultimate goal of the *Kōminka* Movement was to transform the Taiwanese into becoming imperial Japanese subjects (*kōmin*), who would be ready at the empire's command at any time. In the first *Taiwan Kyōiku Rei* (Taiwan Education Ordinance) issued in 1919, 'cultivating imperial subjects' was written as the ultimate principle for public education in Taiwan.⁵⁵ However, the launch of the *Kōminka* Movement officially expanded the scope of imperial subject cultivation from the arena of school to all walks of life in Taiwanese society. The arrival of Admiral Kobayashi Seizō (born 1877), the seventeenth Governor-General of Taiwan, ended the short history of civilian rule in Taiwan from 1919 to 1936. The appointment of Kobayashi indicated

⁵⁵ See Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, p. 324.

Japan's high hopes for the industrialisation and Japanisation of Taiwan, and the build-up of Taiwan as the stepping-stone for Japan's southern expansion.⁵⁶

According to a speech given by Kobayashi at the meeting attended by district chiefs, the *Kōminka* Movement meant:

[to] explicitly express the fundamental meaning of the respected *kokutai*,⁵⁷ to clearly declare the consolidation of people's beliefs, to prudently carry out the royal decree of impartial benevolence among its subjects, and to elevate the substance of assimilation: these are the unchallengeable fundamental principles of Japanese rule since the concession of Taiwan. Examining the mission of the [Japanese] empire and the position of Taiwan in particular time, to consolidate five million Taiwanese people to become subjects of the [Japanese] empire with necessary qualities and to make them realise the resolution of coming together to contribute to the future of our nation are the most important tasks. For these causes, it is essential to make totally explicit the spirit of the [Japanese] empire, to uplift common education, to guide and encourage the use of [righteous] language and customs, to cultivate the foundation of royal righteous imperial subjects, and to consolidate the efforts by the majority of solid-natured Japanese by inviting them to elevate [such] benign social norms.⁵⁸

In reality, upon the launch of the *Kōminka* Movement, all cultural and political movements associated with Taiwan-centred appeals were disallowed by Japanese colonial authorities. To weaken and eventually erase the ethnic consciousness of the Taiwanese, measures were taken to disconnect the Taiwanese from their traditions and way of life. In 1937 the teaching of classical Chinese⁵⁹ was abandoned in common schools, and so were Chinese columns in newspapers. Also gone was the broadcasting of Taiwanese on the radio in 1938. The Taiwanese style of clothing was banned. Taiwanese indigenous operas were prohibited.⁶⁰ The scheme of *Jimyō Seiri*, or religious reform, which aimed to build one *Shintō* shrine in every Taiwanese village, was among the most extreme. In the name of religious reform, many statues of traditional Chinese deities were destroyed and temples were converted for Japanese language education.⁶¹ This scheme encountered great resistance among the

⁵⁶ See Ihara Yoshinosuke (1988), 'Taiwan no Kōminka Undō', pp. 275-291.

⁵⁷ *Kokutai* is literally translated as 'the fundamental character and form of the Japanese empire'. More discussion on the concept will be dealt in Chapter Three and Chapter Five.

⁵⁸ See Takasu Atsuya (1939), 'Taiwan Kōminka no Shomondai', *Taiwan Jihō*, No. 240, p. 16.

⁵⁹ Classical Chinese, centring on studying texts such as *Lun Yu* (Collections of Confucius's Thoughts) and *Men-Tze* (Collections of Mencius's Thoughts), was used as the foundation for Chinese literacy in traditional Taiwanese education. Children normally started with simpler texts such as *San Zi Jing* (Three-word Phrases) and *Bai Jia Xing* (One Hundred Chinese Surnames).

⁶⁰ Mukōyama Hiroo (1987), *Nihon Tōchika ni okeru Taiwan Minzoku Undōshi*, pp. 1224-1225.

⁶¹ According to a report in *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shinbō* on February 2, 1939, in 1938 under the scheme of *Jimyō Seiri*, statues of traditional Chinese deities from 130 temples in one of the villages in the

Taiwanese who had practiced local religious beliefs for centuries. It also incurred strong criticism from some parliamentarians in the Diet in Japan. *Jimyō Seiri* was eventually abolished in 1941 by the eighteenth Governor-General of Taiwan, Hasegawa Kiyoshi (1883-1970).⁶² However, the propaganda of Shintoism among ordinary Taiwanese households, to convert them from worshipping traditional Chinese deities to Shintoist ones, continued. By 1941, it was estimated that more than seven and a half million visits by the Taiwanese and nearly forty thousand visits by the Taiwanese aborigines were made to Japanese *Shintō* shrines. By 1942, more than seven hundred and ninety thousand Shintoist amulets were issued for Taiwanese households.⁶³ *Kaiseimei Undō* (the name-changing scheme), which encouraged the Taiwanese to give up their old name and adopt a Japanese one, also aimed to wipe out the ethnic consciousness of the Taiwanese.⁶⁴

The Japanese language had always been seen as the essence of the Japanese spirit. Therefore, in order to act like Japanese, it was thought that the Taiwanese must first think and speak like Japanese.⁶⁵ Since the Japanese arrival in 1895, the Japanese colonial administration had placed a strong emphasis on Japanese language education among the Taiwanese. From 1898 when the common school system, *Kōgakkō*, was set up for Taiwanese children and until 1922 when the Japanese/Taiwanese segregated education system was abolished, Japanese had made up more than half of the school curriculum for Taiwanese children. Social educational programmes aimed at providing extra Japanese language study for those Taiwanese who slipped through the school system were also endorsed by Japanese colonial authorities from the 1920s. From 1937 together with school education, Japanese language education was further reinforced in existing and new social

Shire of Hsin-feng in Tainan were burned collectively on an 'auspicious' day, and the temples from which deities had been removed were used as *Kokugo Kōshūjo* (National Language Study Institute), cited in Mukōyama Hiroo (1987), *Nihon Tōchika ni okeru Taiwan Minzoku Undōshi*, p. 1223.

⁶² See Mukōyama Hiroo (1987), *Nihon Tōchika ni okeru Taiwan Minzoku Undōshi*, pp. 1224-1226.

⁶³ See Taiwan Tsūshinsha (1943), *Taiwan Nenkan*, Taihoku, Taiwan Tsūshinsha, p. 516, cited in Mukōyama Hiroo (1987), *Nihon Tōchika ni okeru Taiwan Minzoku Undōshi*, p. 1227.

⁶⁴ The name change scheme in Taiwan had very minimal effects. According to official figures, only 1.6 percent of the Taiwanese population had applied for the scheme by 1943, while in Korea it was estimated by 1940, 80 percent of the population had participated in the scheme. For more discussion of the name change scheme in Taiwan during the *Kōminka* period, see Ihara Yoshinosuke (1988), 'Taiwan no Kōminka Undō', pp. 357-359. Also see Chou Wan-yao (1991), 'The *Kōminka* Movement: Taiwan under Wartime Japan, 1937-1945', pp. 110-165.

⁶⁵ More discussion of Japanese language education and the Japanese spirit and characteristics is held in Chapter Three.

educational programmes designed for adults and people who knew little Japanese. *Kokugo Kōshūjo* (National Language Study Institute) and *Kan'i Kokugo Kōshūjo* (Supplementary National Language Study Institute), the most important Japanese popularisation apparatus, were added to the capacity of Japanese language teaching outside of normal schools, an integral part of the Japanese colonial government's wartime efforts in mobilising the Taiwanese.

According to Ihara, the promotion of the Japanese language, together with other wartime education programmes aiming to drill the civil nature among the Taiwanese, was the major focus of Japan's wartime efforts in pushing for Taiwan's industrialisation. To him, a Japanese-educated Taiwanese population to contribute to an industrialised Taiwanese economy for Japan's wartime needs was the ultimate goal of the *Kōminka* Movement.⁶⁶ Thus, the importance of Japanese language education, more so during the *Kōminka* period, not only reflected the ideal of racial assimilation but also meant practical economic gains to Japanese colonial authorities in Taiwan. More discussion of the promotion of the Japanese language and social educational programmes designated for the mobilisation of the Taiwanese during the war will be provided in Chapter Two and Chapter Five.

Conclusion

After examining the overall Japanese colonial policies for Taiwan, we see that Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan aimed to exploit the full economic potential of Taiwan, especially during the war. Further, it intended to maximise the political outcomes of its rule in Taiwan by tight control through cultural, social, and educational measures. Political pragmatism was applied at different stages in accordance with the socio-economic development of Taiwanese society, which saw the initiation of the Gradualism Policy in the beginning, inactive Assimilation in the middle, and the launch of the *Kōminka* Movement towards the end of colonial rule. Although assimilation was recognised as a model for colonial rule in Taiwan right from the beginning, this ideal was dealt with great caution. Policy implementations associated with it were adjusted conveniently to suit Japanese colonial interests and

⁶⁶ See Ihara Yoshinosuke (1988), 'Taiwan no Kōminka Undō', p. 368.

maximise the results of its rule. Among the social and political measures to maintain a Japanised Taiwanese society, the promotion of Japanese language education through schools and the social apparatus was the most established, systematic, and influential. Education, including the promotion of Japanese language education, was used as the most effective measure to promote Japanese colonial ideologies and to breed a Japanised Taiwanese population who were loyal and compliant with Japanese colonial rule. Chapter Two will review the history of Japanese language education and continue the discussion of its contents and effects throughout Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan.

Chapter Two The Direction of Education for the Taiwanese: Japanese Language Education

Introduction

When Taiwan became Japan's first colony in 1895, Taiwan had also become the first place that the Japanese language was promoted overseas through government efforts. The important role the Japanese language played in Japanese education was manifested in the concept of *kokka kyōiku*, national education, advocated by Izawa Shūji (1851-1917). With Izawa's vision, this concept was consolidated in Meiji Japan and used as a model for colonial education in Taiwan.¹ Japanese language education has been an integral part of Japanese national education since the Meiji era. Educators such as Izawa had long believed that the true Japanese spirit was in its language. Thus, through language education, the national spirit of Japan could be cultivated among its people.² Taiwan, as a new Japanese territory, was given great importance in cultivating loyal imperial subjects with the true Japanese spirit, and this task was only to be achieved through Japanese language education.

Also, from the Japanese coloniser's perspective, the Japanese language was the foremost means towards achieving mutual understanding and eventual assimilation between the Japanese and the Taiwanese. Although assimilation was the model that Japan employed to rule Taiwan, as has been discussed in Chapter One, it was never clearly spelled out in the early policies for Taiwan. Assimilation of the Taiwanese into becoming Japanese was a far more complicated political issue than Japanese colonial authorities could anticipate. It involved the thorny issue of ethnic and cultural differences between the two peoples, and the Japanese were certainly not ready to embrace the Taiwanese as their newly adopted siblings. Therefore, not much concrete wording regarding assimilation was written down in the early colonial policies for Taiwan. In education, the speech of assimilation however did not present a threat to Japanese ethnic identity and national interest, for the purpose of

¹ Upon his appointment in charge of educational affairs in Taiwan, Izawa saw Taiwan as a new Japanese territory for 'national education export'. See *Hiroshima Shinbun*, May 25, 1895, cited in Kaminuma Hachirō (1962), *Izawa Shūji*, Tokyo, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, p. 214. More discussion on the concept of *kokka kyōiku* is provided in Chapter three.

² The relationship between Japanese language education and the cultivation of Japanese characteristics and the Japanese spirit can be seen in Chapter Three.

assimilating the Taiwanese subjects was to cultivate their national (Japanese) spirit through the Japanese language. Although this ideology was more a personal vision of Izawa Shūji, it was also in alignment with the perspective of Japanese colonial rule for Taiwan regarding education.³ Thus, in the area of colonial education for Taiwan, the chanting of the theme of assimilation occurred much earlier and more loudly than in other aspects of Japanese colonial policies for Taiwan. Japanese language education became the focus of colonial education for the Taiwanese and also dominated Japanese socio-cultural policies for Taiwan throughout its rule. In this chapter I will review the history of Japanese language education in Taiwan, centring on the various school systems (*Kokugo Denshūjo*, the *Kokugo Gakkō*, *Kōgakkō*, and *Chūgakkō*) and social education programmes before and during the war. I will further examine the nature and content of Japanese language education designated for these levels of school education and programmes to determine their effects and implications.

Izawa Shūji and Modern Education in Taiwan

Taiwan, with its ethnic and linguistic diversity, presented a challenge to Japanese colonial rule from the start. The first national census conducted in Taiwan by the colonial government in 1905 revealed that among the estimated three million people, 76.66 percent were made up by the Hoklo who came mainly from the Zhang and Quan areas in the Fujian province of China. In 1926 the number rose to 79.98 percent.⁴ Their ancestors were among the pioneer Chinese migrating to Taiwan from the seventeenth century. The Hoklo traditionally resided in the agrarian lands of the western Taiwanese coast. They spoke the southern Fujian language with various regional accents, which was characterised as southern Hokkien (or the Minnan language) and later localised to what is called 'Taiwanese' today.⁵ The Hakka, arriving at a later stage from parts of the Guangdong province in China, were pushed into the inner hills of north-western, central, and south-western Taiwan. They spoke Hakka, a regional language greatly different from Cantonese. The Hoklo-Hakka

³ The direction of education for the Taiwanese, as acknowledged by Gotō Shimpei, Chief Civil Administrator of the Government-General of Taiwan from 1898 to 1906, was the promotion of the Japanese language. Early colonial bureaucrats, such as Mochiji Rokusaburō, also promoted the same ideology regarding educating the Taiwanese. More discussion of the Japanese colonial position on education in Taiwan can be seen in Chapter Three and Chapter Five.

⁴ See Lin Tsai-fu (1984), *Min Nan Ren*, p. 494.

⁵ For a detailed discussion of the Taiwanese language, see Chapter One.

ratio was about six to one in 1956, which had not changed greatly since the census in 1905.⁶ Before these new arrivals, Malayo-Polynesian aborigines, who were categorised into nine major tribes by Japanese anthropologists, had inhabited the Formosan (Taiwan) island for thousands of years.⁷ Despite only making up 3.6 percent of the total population, their linguistic situations were far more complicated than the tribal names suggested. Apart from the heavy concentration of Hakka-speaking population in the north-western inner hills of Taiwan, Taiwanese (southern Hokkien), was the dominant language spoken in the island. In the early years of Japanese occupation, Japanese was, in reality, a minority language with only 2.1 percent of the population speaking the language.⁸

Before the official Japanese arrival, Izawa Shūji, the visionary educator, was appointed by the Japanese army in May 1895 to be in charge of colonial educational affairs in Taiwan. He was keen to practice his educational belief in the new Japanese territory. Educated in America, Izawa was one of the most vigorous advocates for *kokka kyōiku*, the Japanese model of national education which emphasised the cultivation of loyal imperial subjects through Japanese language education.⁹ The concept of national education was developed and promoted in Meiji Japan for the ultimate goal of nation building. This ideology was carried over by Izawa to Taiwan to formulate ideas and programmes for colonial education centred on Japanese language education.¹⁰ When the colonial government was tied up in suppressing the Taiwanese rebellions and a concrete colonial policy was yet to be formulated, Izawa had already come up with plans to transform the outlook of education in Taiwan.

On his way to Taiwan, Izawa enthusiastically compiled a book on Taiwanese conversation called *Taiwango Kaiwa Hen* (Edition of Taiwanese Conversation).¹¹ Realising that language was the foremost means towards achieving mutual understanding, language education dominated Izawa's educational proposal

⁶ See Lin Tsai-fu (1994), *Min Nan Ren*, pp. 65, 493-494. Today the ratio remains at about the same level in 1989 (Hoklo-Hakka: 73.3 percent – 12 percent). See Huang Shuanfan (1995), *Yu Yan, She Hui yu Zu Qun Yi Shi*, p. 21.

⁷ See Pan Ying (1996), *Taiwan Ping Pu Zu Shi*, Taipei, Nan Tian Shu Ju, pp. 2-3.

⁸ See Huang Shuanfan (1995), *Yu Yan, She Hui yu Zu Qun Yi Shi*, p. 21.

⁹ More discussion of the model of *kokka kyōiku* and Japanese language education can be seen in Chapter Three.

¹⁰ See E. Patricia Tsurumi (1977), *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895-1945*, pp. 10-11.

¹¹ See Kaminuma Hachirō (1962) *Izawa Shūji*, p. 214.

presented to the first Governor-General of Taiwan, Kabayama Sukenori. One was what he called the 'urgent' programme, and the other the permanent programme. In the former, urgency was expressed over the establishment of mutual communication between the Japanese and the Taiwanese, respect for local intellectual traditions, realisation of the relationship between religion and education in Taiwan, and investigations into local customs and practices. In order to achieve mutual communication between the coloniser and the colonised, he proposed the teaching of both languages at school, the compilation of bilingual textbooks, and the training of bilingual as well as multi-lingual staff. Vacant offices were to make way for Japanese language teaching, and trained interpreters were to be employed as language teachers.¹² In his proposal, employment incentives were offered to the Japanese as well as the Taiwanese who would learn Taiwanese or Japanese to assist in colonial government administration.

Upon his arrival, Izawa visited several sites of cultural heritage in Taiwan, including the deserted temple which he later made into the first Japanese language school, and met Thomas Barclay. Barclay, a Presbyterian missionary and principal of Taiwan's first private high school, had been involved in educating the Taiwanese for twelve years.¹³ Although based on his own experience Barclay suggested that Taiwanese should be the language employed to instruct the 'natives' and Roman letters used for writing to reduce teaching difficulties, Izawa did not agree to it. He believed that Japanese would be more effective for educating the Taiwanese, since Chinese characters, used in Japanese, were also used in Taiwan.¹⁴ Realising the prestige and influence that the local gentry had long enjoyed among the Taiwanese public, he intended to seek their support. A few days after his arrival, he addressed a sceptical crowd of local gentry. For a better prospect of success over his educational programmes, he stressed the benefits of modern Japanese education and persuaded them to pledge their loyalty to the new empire.¹⁵ On July 16, 1895, six students were

¹² See Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, pp. 6-7.

¹³ Taiwan's first private high school was established by English Presbyterian missionaries in Tainan on September 21, 1885. See Li Hsiao-feng (1996), *Lin Mosei, Chen Sin: he Ta Men de Shi Dai*, p. 23. Also see Chung Ching-han (1993), *Nihon Shokuminchika ni okeru Taiwan Kyōikushi*, p. 98.

¹⁴ See Kokubu Tanetake (1931), *Taiwan ni okeru Kokugo Kyōiku no Tenkai*, p. 41.

¹⁵ See Kaminuma Hachirō (1962), *Izawa Shūji*, p. 217.

enrolled with the first Japanese language school established in Shisangan (Chih-shan-yen).¹⁶

Kokugo Denshūjo and the Kokugo Gakkō

When Izawa temporarily returned to Japan with two Taiwanese graduates from the first Japanese language school, six Japanese educational officials were tragically killed by Taiwanese rebels on the new year day of 1896. As a result, the first Japanese language school came to a halt. Not until April of the same year did Izawa recover from the tragedy and regain his commitment to education in Taiwan. As part of his urgent educational plan for Taiwan, he set up fourteen *Kokugo Denshūjo* (National Language [Japanese] Teaching Institute), later expanded to sixteen, over the Taiwan island to offer Japanese and other subjects to young and adult students in 1896. In the same year, as part of his permanent educational plan, a central *Kokugo Gakkō* (National Language School), comprising language studies and normal education, was established in Taihoku. Also from Japan he brought with him thirty-six Japanese language instructors, nine teachers designated for the *Kokugo Gakkō*, and thirteen educational officials to Taiwan to resume his educational ambitions.¹⁷

Although Izawa insisted that Japanese would be used for teaching, in the first six weeks the thirty-six Japanese language instructors brought in by him were quickly trained in basic Taiwanese for classroom instruction, learning phrases such as ‘open the book’, ‘read the book’, and ‘write on the blackboard’. They also learned methods of Japanese teaching, the format of Chinese official writings, music, and gymnastics. Together with fifty instructors specially trained by the Government-General of Taiwan, they were later dispatched to the sixteen newly established *Kokugo Denshūjo*.¹⁸ Each *Kokugo Denshūjo* was expected to enrol one hundred students. The essence of national language (Japanese) education in the cultivation of Japanese

¹⁶ See Taiwan Keisei Shinpōsha (1938), *Taiwan Dainenpyō*, Taihoku, Taiwan Keisei Shinpōsha, p. 13. Also, according to Furuno’s research, before the establishment of the first Japanese language school in Taiwan, basic Japanese was taught to Taiwanese constables who assisted the Japanese in maintaining law and order in Taiwan as early as the inauguration of the Japanese colonial administration on June 17, 1895. See Furuno Naoya (1991), *Taiwan Gun Shireibu 1895-1945*, Tokyo, Kokusho Kankōkai, p. 59, cited in Hirataka Fumiya and Seki Masaaki (1997), *Nihongo Kyōikushi*, Tokyo, Aruku, pp. 164-165.

¹⁷ See Kaminuma Hachirō (1962), *Izawa Shūji*, p. 233.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 235-236.

national spirit was reflected in the written guidelines of the *Kokugo Denshūjo* as early as 1896. The guidelines specified that education in *Kokugo Denshūjo* was to “teach the island people the national language for daily living and cultivate their national spirit”.¹⁹

In the *Kokugo Denshūjo*, two kinds of curriculum were designed for groups of students of fifteen to thirty years of age and of eight to fifteen years of age. The former comprised only Japanese language study with eighteen hours weekly devoted to general language learning and sixteen to reading and composition. The duration of the course was six months. This curriculum was clearly designed for mature-aged Taiwanese who were to be quickly trained to become potential bilingual clerks to assist in colonial administration. Students of eight to fifteen years of age spent up to twenty-four hours a week learning the Japanese language, including reading, composition and script practice. Four hours was spent on mathematics. In addition, one subject out of geography, history, music, and gymnastics was selectively taught in various schools. Sewing was also taught to female students to attract their attendance. The duration of this course was four years. This programme, especially the curriculum designed for those aged between eight and fifteen, was the preliminary form of primary education in Taiwan, which was later replaced by *Kōgakkō*, the common school system, in 1898. However, *Kokugo Denshūjo* designated for aboriginal children were not replaced by the common school system until 1908.²⁰ By June 1897, only 1,581 Taiwanese had attended the *Kokugo Denshūjo* with 303 students from fifteen to thirty years of age graduating, which meant that the system benefited only one in four hundred school-aged Taiwanese children.²¹

The establishment of the *Kokugo Gakkō* in 1896 marked the existence of the highest educational institute in Taiwan at the time.²² Underneath the *Kokugo Gakkō*, a

¹⁹ See Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, pp. 166-168.

²⁰ Chung Ching-han (1993), *Nihon Shokuminchika ni okeru Taiwan Kyōikushi*, p. 101.

²¹ See Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, p. 221.

²² Education offered in the *Kokugo Gakkō* was equivalent to secondary education today. Among other secondary educational institutes established by the Government-General of Taiwan at the time, there were also six-month to two-year agricultural experimental schools and three-year vocational high schools. *Taiwan Sōtokufu Igakkō*, the Government-General of Taiwan Medical College, established

normal education department and a linguistic department were set up. The normal education department was a cradle for Japanese language instructors, Japanese normal and elementary school teachers and principals, and research methodologies on education. The linguistic department, comprising Japanese and Taiwanese language studies, was to train Japanese/Taiwanese bilingual staff. The normal education department later expanded to include normal education for *Kōgakkō*, training their teachers and principals and developing teaching methodologies for the Taiwanese in 1902.²³ Four primary schools were also attached to the *Kokugo Gakkō* to provide normal education students a place to practice what they learned. The first affiliated school of the *Kokugo Gakkō*, inherited from the first Japanese language school established in Shisangan, enrolled forty-two Taiwanese students. A department for girls was also attached to it, offering twenty-six hours out of its thirty-five-hour weekly curriculum in sewing, knitting, and handcrafts. Forty-eight female students were enrolled with seventeen of them being married.²⁴ The second affiliated school enrolled thirteen students, and in 1898 twenty-eight students were enrolled with its night school. The third school enrolled seventy-one students who were divided into the youth (seventeen and over) and the young (sixteen and under) groups. Every morning, they spent three hours on the pronunciation of the fifty Japanese syllabaries, Japanese conversation, and gymnastics.²⁵ The fourth affiliated school was set up to cater for Japanese children and youth, comprising elementary and high school education. This establishment was an incentive to encourage more Japanese to bring their families to settle in Taiwan.²⁶ A high school department was not set up until 1902 in the fourth attached school. Also in 1902 a national (Japanese) language department – serving the interests of Taiwanese youth, and a

in 1899, was classified as professional or higher education. It was the first institute to offer tertiary education to the Taiwanese. See Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, pp. 918-919.

²³ When normal education was established in the *Kokugo Gakkō*, it was exclusively to serve Japanese interests. In 1899, three normal schools designated for Taiwanese students were set up in Taihoku, Taichū, and Tainan. The first two were soon closed in 1902 due to a surplus of graduates for the yet small market of *Kōgakkō* education. Some of the remaining students were incorporated into the *Kokugo Gakkō* and the remaining normal school in Tainan. To accommodate these Taiwanese students, the Government-General of Taiwan formulated new regulations and allowed the *Kokugo Gakkō* to divide its normal education into two sections in 1902, one for Japanese students designated for *Shōgakkō* and the other for the Taiwanese designated for *Kōgakkō* education. The remaining Tainan Normal School was closed in 1904. See Li Hsiao-feng (1996), *Lin Mosei, Chen Sin: he Ta Men de Shi Dai*, p. 25. Also see Chung Ching-han (1993), *Nihon Shokuminchika ni okeru Taiwan Kyōikushi*, pp. 122-123 and Tōgō Minoru and Itō Shirō (1916), *Taiwan Shokumin Hattatsushi*, p. 483.

²⁴ See Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, p. 710.

²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 712

²⁶ Kaminuma Hachirō (1962), *Izawa Shūji*, pp. 238-239.

vocational department – teaching practical knowledge in areas of agriculture, electricity, and railway-related mechanics to Taiwanese youth, were also added to the capacity of the *Kokugo Gakkō*.²⁷

As has been discussed above, three normal schools designated for the Taiwanese were set up in 1899 to train teachers to cope with the potential growth of *Kōgakkō*. However, the growth of *Kōgakkō* was slower than anticipated, so by 1904, all three normal schools designated for the Taiwanese were closed, leaving behind only the *Kokugo Gakkō* to provide normal education for the Taiwanese – the only official course at the time to train the Taiwanese to become *Kōgakkō* teachers.²⁸ Significantly, the segregated education system between the Japanese and the Taiwanese, featuring Japanese colonial education in Taiwan, can also be seen in the *Kokugo Gakkō* when normal education was formulated to accommodate the Taiwanese students in 1902. Before normal education for *Kōgakkō* – designated for Taiwanese children – was included, the department was exclusively to serve Japanese interests, training qualified Japanese staff to work at *Shōgakkō*, elementary schools designated for Japanese children. When native Taiwanese were fortunate enough to be trained to become qualified teachers, ironically, they had to do a course different from that of the Japanese. Taiwanese graduates were naturally not expected to serve at *Shōgakkō*, nor were they eligible for normal education undertaken for *Shōgakkō*. In 1910 the department was further divided into *Shōgakkō* and *Kōgakkō* normal education departments. The latter further split its courses into one for the Japanese students and the other for the Taiwanese students.²⁹ In the end, the Taiwanese were only eligible to undertake the third category of normal education under the Japanese model of colonial education in Taiwan.

The curriculum in the *Kokugo Gakkō* designated for Taiwanese normal education students again strongly reflected Izawa's belief in the Japanese model of national education. These Taiwanese teachers-to-be were expected to be physically as well as mentally sound 'Japanese citizens' to set good examples for their students. Apart from essential knowledge, including ethics, Japanese, mathematics, bookkeeping,

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 102

²⁸ Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, p. 626.

²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 601.

and science, new subjects, such as music and gymnastics, were also taught.³⁰ The strong emphasis on Japanese language education was readily apparent throughout the new curriculum introduced by Izawa. In their weekly study, Taiwanese students spent between ten and twelve hours, a third of total curriculum time, learning Japanese in its three-year course. Another third was spent on gymnastics (five hours), mathematics (four hours), and Chinese (three hours). Time spent on social sciences (4.8 percent) and education-related subjects, such as psychology, teaching methodologies, and class management (6.3 percent), was minimal.³¹ Chung argues that under the Japanese colonial education system, the Taiwanese teachers were not to be trained to obtain professional knowledge in relation to education, nor were they expected to obtain liberal knowledge on subjects such as history and geography. They were only expected to obtain practical knowledge and educate their Taiwanese students with due influence.³²

With the enduring legacy of the *Kokugo Gakkō* and *Kōgakkō*, Izawa left Taiwan in 1899 after being disappointed with the colonial government's lack of interest in prioritising education in its colonial agenda. After Izawa's attempt, colonial education in Taiwan was as Gotō Shimpei admitted "no particular direction except the promotion of the Japanese language".³³ Although education was a low priority of Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan, both Japanese educators and colonial officials acknowledged the importance of Japanese language education in Taiwan from educational as well as pragmatic points of view. For Izawa, the most urgent task of ruling a new place was mutual communication between the coloniser and the colonised. For the colonial government, they needed bilingual Taiwanese staff to assist in local administration. The *Kokugo Gakkō* and the first fourteen *Kokugo Denshūjo* were established under such pragmatism. On top of that, Izawa's ambition was really to seek a more permanent-based education system in Taiwan, such as the *Kōgakkō* system. Ironically, the establishment of *Kōgakkō* was a result, again, of the pragmatism of Japanese colonial rule. When the number of *Kokugo Denshūjo*

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 547.

³¹ See Toyota Kokufu (1968), *Gengo Seisaku no Kenkyū*, Tokyo, Kinseisha, pp. 142-143.

³² See Chung Ching-han (1993), *Nihon Shokuminchika ni okeru Taiwan Kyōikushi*, p. 126.

³³ Gotō Shimpei made such comments at an educational conference held by the Government-General of Taiwan on November 10, 1903 when he was asked about the direction of education in Taiwan. More discussion on this policy is provided in Chapter Three and Chapter Five.

students increased nearly two-fold, the colonial government decided to introduce *Kōgakkō*, since these were based on the user-pay principle while *Kokugo Denshūjo* were fully funded by the colonial government and mature-aged students were also given an allowance for studying.³⁴

With Izawa's model, the curriculum designed for *Kōgakkō* education included subjects of *Shūshin*,³⁵ mathematics, history, geography, drawing, music, and *taisō* (warm-up gymnastics). These subjects, as well as Japanese, were developed under the model of national education in Japan and intended to re-shape Taiwanese children with the new style of Japanese education. He clearly declared that education was the way to assimilate the newly acquired people, the Taiwanese, into becoming genuine Japanese subjects.³⁶ In particular, the subject of *Shūshin* was introduced by Izawa to indoctrinate Taiwanese children with the greatness of Japan as a nation and to pledge their loyalty to the Japanese emperor.³⁷ On language instruction, Izawa also insisted on using Japanese instead of the native languages of the Taiwanese and the Romanised script as suggested by Barclay. For this, Kokubu, a colonial educator himself, argued that Japanese was seen by Izawa as a more effective tool for achieving assimilation than using the Romanised script.³⁸

Japanese language education, initiated by Izawa, was a feature of Japanese colonial education in Taiwan from this time on. Izawa further argued that his education model in Taiwan was based on a 'compromise principle'. There was a compromise between a totally Japanese-oriented system and a colonial system which was to deprive the colonised to the advantage of the coloniser. This was a compromised educational model which was expected to provide common ground for "forming harmonious relations between the coloniser and the colonised with the eventual

³⁴ See Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, pp. 217-223. Also see Kokubu Tanetake (1939), *Nihongo Kyōju no Jissai*, Tokyo, Tōdo Shoseki Kabushiki Gaisha, p. 81.

³⁵ *Shūshin*, featuring a combination of ethics, morality, and manners education, was introduced by Izawa as part of his educational ideal to appease Taiwanese imperial subjects. *Shūshin* education bore strong Confucian ethics which emphasised loyalty from the subjects to the emperor and which Izawa hoped to use to convert the Taiwanese to the belief in the relationship between themselves and the Japanese emperor. See Chung Ching-han (1993), *Nihon Shokuminchika ni okeru Taiwan Kyōikushi*, pp. 272-273.

³⁶ See Izawa Shūji (1898), 'Taiwan Kōgakkō Setchi ni Kansuru Iken', in Shinano Kyōikukai (1958), *Izawa Shūji Senshū*, Nagano, Shinano Kyōikukai, p. 583.

³⁷ See Chung Ching-han (1993), *Nihon Shokuminchika ni okeru Taiwan Kyōikushi*, pp. 272-273.

³⁸ See Kokubu Tanetake (1939), *Nihongo Kyōju no Jissai*, p.12.

assimilation of the two”.³⁹ Strategically, he kept classical Chinese alongside Japanese in the curriculum to appeal to the Taiwanese. In the implementation of the *Kyōiku Chokugo* (the Imperial Rescript on Education) – which was recited by heart by every Japanese school child of the time – at *Kōgakkō*, he sought to draw its relevance to the Taiwanese since the rescript drew on Confucian ideas. Confucianism had long been revered by the Taiwanese as the core element in traditional education.⁴⁰ Ethical slogans such as ‘be loyal to the emperor and love your country’ and ‘be frugal and industrious and pious to your parents’ can be found both in the *Kyōiku Chokugo* and Confucianism. With the incorporation of such concepts, Izawa hoped to persuade the Taiwanese to the belief in the Japanese model of education and its benefits. Other concepts such as *dōbun dōshu* (same script, same race) in which Japanese and Chinese were both taught at the *Kōgakkō*, and *isshi dōjin* (impartial benevolence from the lord to his subjects) whose ethical components can be found in Confucianism and the *Kyōiku Chokugo*, were all part of his compromised model to make the Japanese style of education more compatible with the Taiwanese.⁴¹

The Establishment of Japanese Language Education at the Kōgakkō

The establishment of the *Kokugo Denshūjo* in 1898 only benefited a handful of bilingual Taiwanese who were trained to assist in colonial administration. Although it also provided a basic form of primary education for Taiwanese children, as has been discussed above, only one in four hundred was fortunate enough to have received it. The Taiwanese who attended the highest educational institute, the *Kokugo Gakkō*, were, again, the elite among the elite, extremely rare.⁴² If Japanese

³⁹ See Izawa Shūji’s speech titled ‘Shin Hanto Jinmin Kyōka no Hōshin’, in Shinano Kyōikukai (1958), *Izawa Shūji Senshū*, pp. 632-633. Also see Komagome Takeshi (1996), *Shokuminchi Teikoku Nihon no Bunka Tōgō*, pp. 56-57.

⁴⁰ The *Kyōiku Chokugo* was issued in 1890 by the Japanese emperor, Meiji, and used as an ultimate principle for elementary education in Japan. It is said that all school children of the time could recite the full text of the *Kyōiku Chokugo*. The full text of the *Kyōiku Chokugo* can be seen in the *Shūshin* textbook used at the elementary school during the Meiji, Taishō, and Shōwa periods. See Komagome Takeshi (1996), *Shokuminchi Teikoku Nihon no Bunka Tōgō*, pp. 51-57. English translation can be seen in Tsunoda Ryūsaku et al. (eds) (1958), *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, Vol. II, New York, and Columbia University Press.

⁴¹ See Komagome Takeshi (1996), *Shokuminchi Teikoku Nihon no Bunka Tōgō*, pp. 51-57.

⁴² According to Wu’s estimation, by 1919 the graduates from the *Kokugo Gakkō* and the Government-General of Taiwan Medical College, totalling 2,151, accounted for only 0.06 percent of the total Taiwanese population of the time. However, it should be pointed out that over the same period, 3,748 Taiwanese had made their way to Japan for different levels of education which were not provided for

language education was to penetrate into wider aspects of Taiwanese society and cultivation of the new Taiwanese subjects with true Japanese spirit was to be achieved, a more readily accessible way of learning Japanese was urgently needed. On the other hand, the pioneering work by Izawa and better prospects of employment had made more and more native Taiwanese realise the importance of the new style of education. The demand for a more accessible common education system for the Taiwanese thus grew stronger.⁴³ In 1898 fifty-five common schools replaced the existing *Kokugo Denshūjo* and began the history of modern primary education in Taiwan.⁴⁴ Before the Japanese model, education in Taiwan was largely conducted in private institutes called *Shufang*, a one school one teacher style of education. There were also government institutes, offering instruction in classical Chinese and Confucianism to those who had passed the highly competitive national civil examination, and community-funded supplementary schools, offering teaching to remote villagers, aborigines, and children of the deprived. Nevertheless, their influences were limited and education was often interrupted by riots initiated by local gang rivalries. Confucian temples, revered sacred land for spiritual and intellectual inspiration, however, remained a token rather than a reality of traditional culture and education with which Taiwanese society was associated. The primitive form of public education in Taiwan for keen learners and children of the local gentry thus took place in traditional *Shufang* which continued to operate after the Japanese arrival while other forms of official and social education from the Qing reign ceased.⁴⁵ The Japanese official statistics revealed that in 1898 at its highest level, 1,707 *Shufang* were in operation in Taiwan.⁴⁶

Inheriting the tradition from the Qing period, curriculum in *Shufang* consisted of a wide range of classical Chinese texts, official writings, and poetry. Taiwanese languages including southern Hokkien and Hakka were employed for classroom instruction and the teaching of classical Chinese texts. To make sure that *Shufang*

the Taiwanese in Taiwan. See Wu Wen-hsing (1992), *Ri Ju Shi Qi Taiwan She Hui Ling Dao Jie Ceng zhi Yan Jiu*, Taipei, Zheng Zhong Shu Ju, pp. 102, 120.

⁴³ For a detailed discussion on the circumstances leading up to the establishment of the *Kōgakkō*, see Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, pp. 217-223.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p. 247.

⁴⁵ See Wang Chi-chang (1988), 'Qing Dai Taiwan de Jiao Yu', in Chang Yen-hsien (ed.), *Li Shi Wen Hua yu Taiwan*, Vol. 1, Taipei, Taiwan Feng Wu Publishing Co, pp. 211-217. Also see Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, p. 969.

⁴⁶ See Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, p. 984.

would gradually fit in the colonial education model, Izawa had first proposed to incorporate 'modern' subjects, such as mathematics, geography, history, and ethics, into the *Shufang* curriculum. Seeing the fact that the main language, Taiwanese, was used for classroom instruction, Izawa also felt the need to incorporate Japanese into the *Shufang* curriculum.⁴⁷ He also added textbooks edited by the Government-General of Taiwan on subjects of Japanese history and the Imperial Rescript on Education to the reading list of *Shufang* students. Not surprisingly, these textbooks were rarely used.

When common schools replaced *Kokugo Denshūjo* in 1898, *Shufang* was in fact the number one competitor to the common school system. At the establishment of the common school system, only 2,396 Taiwanese children attended *Kōgakkō*, while children attending *Shufang* totalled 29,941.⁴⁸ In 1898 further regulations were made to supervise the establishment of new *Shufang* and their curriculum. Japanese language and history were introduced; subjects on late Qing history were banned. Classical Chinese was also offered at the *Kōgakkō*, taught by renowned local scholars or *Shufang* teachers, to attract enrolment.⁴⁹ Together these measures were taken as an attempt to diminish the influence of *Shufang* in Taiwanese education. On the other hand, graduates from the *Kokugo Gakkō* and *Kōgakkō* often found employment with the colonial government. This incentive also directly encouraged more Taiwanese parents to send their children to the Japanese style of schools. The number of *Shufang* declined as the number of *Kōgakkō* rose. 1904 marked the year that the number of students attending *Kōgakkō* exceeded that of *Shufang*.⁵⁰ In 1911 the autonomy of textbook usage in *Shufang* was removed by the colonial government.⁵¹

By 1919, twenty-one years after the commencement of the new education system, the attendance rate of common schools by Taiwanese children remained as low as

⁴⁷ See Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, p. 974. Also see Kaminuma Hachirō (1962), *Izawa Shūji*, p. 243.

⁴⁸ Statistics are from Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, pp. 408-409, 984-985, cited in Chung Ching-han (1993), *Nihon Shokuminchika ni okeru Taiwan Kyōikushi*, p. 120-121.

⁴⁹ See Wu Wen-hsing (1992), *Ri Ju Shi Qi Taiwan She Hui Ling Dao Jie Ceng zhi Yan Jiu*, p.132.

⁵⁰ See Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, pp. 408, 984.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, pp. 978-980.

20.69 percent.⁵² By contrast, 95.60 percent elementary school attendance rate was achieved by Japanese children over the same period. Budget for colonial education and the limited number of *Kōgakkō* were contributing factors to the low attendance rate. Nevertheless, on top of the financial difficulty, a review by the Government-General of Taiwan had concluded that there were seven main reasons for the low attendance rate at the *Kōgakkō*. There was disruption by local gang riots, sceptical attitudes of the Taiwanese towards the non-productive nature of Japanese education, rumours of children being sent to Japan once attending the school, not using Chinese to write, the clash of school schedule with farming activities, the misconception of gymnastics being military training and music lessons being demoralising, and incitement by *Shufang* teachers to dissuade Taiwanese children from attending *Kōgakkō*.⁵³

While common school education in Taiwan progressed steadily, yet slowly, towards a national education system which was meant to be accessible to all school-aged children, the number of *Shufang*, in contrast, dropped sharply to three hundred and one with less than two percent of students patronising the traditional style of education in 1919.⁵⁴ The influence of *Shufang* in Taiwanese education by then was negligible. From 1932 no new *Shufang* was allowed to be set up and by 1938 nearly half of school-aged Taiwanese children were attending *Kōgakkō*.⁵⁵ The *Shufang* system was eventually abolished in 1940 with the launch of the *Kōminka* Movement which resulted in the closing of all existing *Shufang*.⁵⁶

On the other hand, subjects taught at the *Kōgakkō* centred on the principle of cultivation of 'national (Japanese) characteristics' continued to have profound influence while *Kōgakkō* were expanding. In their six-year education, Taiwanese children learned moral education, mathematics, music, and gymnastics. For their first four years they spent between twelve and fourteen hours, half of the total curriculum time, learning the Japanese language. No time was spent on the subjects

⁵² *Ibid* p. 409.

⁵³ See Taiwan Sōtokufu Minseikyoku Gakumubu (1919), *Taiwan Gakuji Yōran*, Taihoku, Taiwan Sōtokufu, cited in Chung Ching-han (1993), *Nihon Shokuminchika ni okeru Taiwan Kyōikushi*, pp. 117-118.

⁵⁴ See Chung Ching-han (1993), *Nihon Shokuminchika ni okeru Taiwan Kyōikushi*, p. 114.

⁵⁵ See E. Patricia Tsurumi (1977), *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895-1945*, p. 148.

⁵⁶ See Chung Ching-han (1993), *Nihon Shokuminchika ni okeru Taiwan Kyōikushi*, p. 116.

of history, geography, and science. For the last two years, ten hours, a third of the total curriculum time was spent learning Japanese. Practical knowledge, such as agriculture, commerce, and mechanics was taught to male students while sewing and home economics were added to the curriculum for female students.⁵⁷ All these subjects were taught in Japanese.

Regulations concerning *Kōgakkō* education were revised numerous times by the Government-General of Taiwan. However, the emphasis on righteous behaviour, Japanese language education, and the cultivation of Japanese national characteristics remained unchanged.⁵⁸ The same principle was also applied to common school education for aboriginal children. It should be pointed out that the common school curriculum did not differ greatly from that of the elementary school attended by Japanese children, who, however, used a different set of textbooks prescribed by *Monbushō*, Ministry of Education in Japan.⁵⁹

In comparison with its predecessor, *Kokugo Denshūjo*, *Kōgakkō* offered more permanent and prevalent educational programmes for Taiwanese children. However, the attendance rate of Taiwanese children at these schools still remained as low as 30 percent towards the end of the 1920s.⁶⁰ The establishment of the common school system nevertheless marked the beginning of the modern elementary education system in Taiwan. It not only laid the foundation for compulsory elementary education in Taiwan, but more significantly the system had been used by the Japanese political regime as a channel through which a 'national language', Japanese instead of Taiwanese, was promoted to serve the interests of the colonisers. Together with the emphasis on the cultivation of Japanese national characteristics and spirit among its subjects, the political connotation of Japanese language education through the *Kōgakkō* system was readily apparent. *Kōgakkō* thus worked as a key indicator to Japanese colonial authorities of how effective and prevalent Japanese language education was in Taiwan. The success of Japanese language education in Taiwan therefore depended on the success and prevalence of *Kōgakkō*. However, this only

⁵⁷ See Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, pp. 379-381.

⁵⁸ More discussion on regulations and guidelines regarding *Kōgakkō* education is provided in Chapter Three.

⁵⁹ See Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, pp. 417-419.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p. 410.

materialised towards the end of the 1930s. By the time primary education was eventually made compulsory for the Taiwanese in 1943, it was too late for Japanese colonial authorities to reap the full effect of a Japanese-educated Taiwanese population. More in-depth discussion on this respect is provided in Chapter Five.

Japanese in Chūgakkō Education

As has been argued by Tsurumi, Japanese colonial education in Taiwan was designed to indoctrinate and discipline the Taiwanese masses who sat at the bottom of the social ladder.⁶¹ Apart from the slow progress of *Kōgakkō*, plans for high school education designated for Taiwanese youth were virtually absent from the agenda of Japanese colonial administration in Taiwan. In contrast, as has been discussed previously, high school education designated for Japanese youth in Taiwan was established as early as 1898 when the high school curriculum was incorporated into the fourth attached school to the *Kokugo Gakkō*. In 1899, a high school department was added to the *Kokugo Gakkō*. By 1907, Japanese youth who came with their families to settle in Taiwan had increased eight-fold, and this had made it necessary for the Government-General of Taiwan to formulate regulations to establish individual high schools to cater for Japanese youth.⁶²

As has been discussed in Chapter One, high school education designated for Taiwanese youth under Japanese rule began in 1915 when the first Taiwanese-funded public high school, the *Taichū Chūgakkō*, was established. Petitions for the establishment of a high school for Taiwanese *Kōgakkō* graduates started as early as 1912. The stance of the Japanese government in this issue was somehow different from that of the Government-General of Taiwan. Wu has reviewed Japanese government files to reveal the negative attitude of the Japanese government of the time towards the establishment of high school education for Taiwanese youth. The Chief of *Hōseikyoku* (Legislation and Administration Department), Takahashi Sakuei, wrote to the then Japanese Prime Minister, Ōkuma Shigenobu, and stated,

[the] natives [Taiwanese], who are capable of comprehending complex thoughts, if given abstract education, would be improved with civil ideologies, consciousness, and

⁶¹ E. Patricia Tsurumi (1977), *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895-1945*, p. 11.

⁶² See Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, pp. 727-730.

be reminded of inequality. They would then become obstacles to the colonial instrument, which would then make [Japanese] rule difficult...Therefore abstract education should be avoided for the natives to prevent them from becoming self-conscious.⁶³

The colonial government in Taiwan was, however, in a dilemma between in principle agreeing to the colonial ideology of education for Taiwan and the pressure to ease the resentment among Taiwanese local gentry, whom the colonial government attempted to draw over to their side, towards inequality in education. To the consolation of the locals, Japanese colonial officials in Taiwan were more in favour of the establishment of high school education for the Taiwanese. The then Chief of Civil Administration in Taiwan, Uchida Kakichi, replied to Takahashi's comments and stated that

[giving] the newly acquired people higher education should be cautiously done by the [colonial] rule. However, the children of those who are rich are more advanced and have already obtained basic education and learned the national language [Japanese]...They, however, if given [higher education], would be given the essence of good people and could also become the model for the majority [of the Taiwanese people] in the island. This is not only their blessing, but also beneficial to the [colonial] rule.⁶⁴

Apart from practical considerations in favour of colonial rule, there was also pressure coming from the deficiency of education for the Taiwanese in society. As has been argued above, more and more Taiwanese had made their way to Japan proper for high school and further education due to lack of opportunities at home. Also, with the absence of governmental high schools, the number of missionary high schools established by Christian churches increased. Fearing for the detrimental effects of more and more Taiwanese entering the school system outside of colonial government control, in February 1915 the Government-General of Taiwan publicised regulations to incorporate all public high schools, including the *Taichū Chūgakkō*, under its supervision.⁶⁵ It also made sure that high school education provided for Taiwanese

⁶³ See Wu Mi-cha (1990), *Taiwan Jin Dai Shi de Yan Jiu*, pp. 158-159.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p. 162.

⁶⁵ The high school petitioned for by the Taiwanese gentry was meant to be a private high school in the first place. However, when it was approved, it was incorporated into the colonial education system despite being funded by the local gentry. See Wu San-lien, Ts'ai Pei-huo et al. (1971), *Taiwan Min Zu Yun Dong Shi*, p. 49.

youth would be at a lower level (one year shorter) than that provided for the Japanese.⁶⁶

Subjects taught at high schools designated for Japanese youth and at those designated for Taiwanese youth were different. Japanese and classical Chinese, mathematics, history, geography, and English were taught at both kinds of schools. However, Japanese youth spent more time learning English (an average seven hours a week) than Japanese and classical Chinese while Taiwanese youth spent more time on Japanese and Chinese (an average eleven hours a week) than English which was only taught weekly in their last two years for two hours. Taiwanese youth also spent an average of five hours a week on gymnastics, music, and painting/drawing, and four hours a week on practical knowledge, such as agriculture and commerce which were not offered at normal high schools designated for Japanese youth.⁶⁷ Examining the subjects taught at the *Chūgakkō*, it is evident that high school education provided for the Taiwanese was a mere extension of *Kōgakkō* education. In depth and scope, colonial high school education was not intended to provide the Taiwanese students with stimulus in thoughts and fundamental knowledge, such as logic and philosophy. Among its thirty-hour weekly curriculum, more than a third (between ten and twelve hours) was devoted to language studies, and only one-sixth was spent on sciences (three hours on physics and chemistry), social sciences (two hours on history and geography), and law and economics (two hours, only in the final year). The features of high school education for the Taiwanese again centred on the cultivation of loyal imperial subjects, who were expected to speak Japanese and behave like obedient subjects.⁶⁸ It also reflected the mentality behind Japanese colonial policy on education; that is, to maintain the status quo of the Japanese and to indoctrinate the Taiwanese to be compliant with colonial rule.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 162-163.

⁶⁷ High schools designated for Japanese youth as regulated by the Government-General of Taiwan in 1907 contained two parts; the first part offered a six-year academic-based course designed for students who would proceed to *kōtō* (senior) high school or preparatory university education, while the second part offered a five-year course which was academically less competitive than the first part. The high school education offered for Taiwanese youth resembled that of the second part course, although the course for the Taiwanese being one year shorter, and less time was spent on science and English. See Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, pp. 735-736, 749-750.

⁶⁸ See Articles Five, Six, and Seven of the *Taiwan Kōritsu Chūgakkō Kisoku* (Taiwan Public High School Regulations) in Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, pp. 746-747.

Until 1922, segregation was still practiced in the education system, and the discriminatory nature of colonial education in Taiwan at all levels was readily visible. The compounding effects of the *Naichi Enchō* (the extension of Japanese territory to include Taiwan) policy in Japan and the *Naitai Yūwa* (harmonious relations between Japan and Taiwan) ideology promoted by liberal Japanese politicians and Taiwanese intellectuals led to the abolition of Japanese/Taiwanese segregation in education in 1922. The *Shin Taiwan Kyōiku Rei* (New Taiwan Education Ordinance) decreed that Taiwanese children who were capable of using Japanese at a proficient level could study at *Shōgakkō* and Japanese children who wished to enrol in *Kōgakkō* could do so. From secondary education onwards, the Taiwanese and the Japanese could attend the same schools and be educated together.⁶⁹ The ordinance on the one hand endorsed the official assimilation policy, and on the other aimed to reduce the pressure from the Taiwanese public who alternatively would seek higher education in Japan as worried by Japanese colonial authorities. After the issuing of the New Taiwan Education Ordinance, the curriculum structure remained largely unchanged, though all male high schools now offered a five-year course.⁷⁰ Language studies continued to remain a strong feature in high school education in Taiwan. More than a third of curriculum time (between ten and fourteen hours) was devoted to language studies, including Japanese, classical Chinese, and other languages – English and French. Hours devoted to Japanese and Chinese had decreased while the time devoted to other languages increased. Also, the Taiwanese language was added to the high school curriculum as an elective subject for Japanese students, and up to three extra hours of Japanese a week were added from the third year for Taiwanese students.⁷¹

The abolition of the segregation system, however, did not result in the abolition of inequality in education for the Taiwanese. Unlike *Kōgakkō*, to enter high schools, an entrance examination had to be passed before enrolment could be determined. Japanese was the native language of the Japanese, and exam questions related to Japanese history and moral education largely centred on *kokutai* (the Japanese

⁶⁹ See Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, pp. 356-357.

⁷⁰ The duration of female high schools in Taiwan during the colonial period remained at four years. See Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, pp. 869-870.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, pp. 786-787.

national polity).⁷² Thus in this respect Taiwanese students were disadvantaged in comparison with their Japanese competitors. Also, after the abolition of segregated high schools, invisible segregation between the Japanese and the Taiwanese was still in existence. High schools which had previously been exclusively occupied by Japanese students remained Japanese-only, and schools where Taiwanese students had a large representation which had previously attracted less enthusiastic Japanese students to sit for their entrance examinations, including the *Taichū Chūgakkō*, started to accommodate more Japanese students who chose to come because they had less prospect of entering the Japanese elitist schools. As a result, Japanese students continued to be the majority in these schools as well.⁷³ Yanaihara Tadao criticised the so-called *naitai kyōgaku* (Japanese/Taiwanese co-education) system as a smoke-screen to veil the reality in which the Japanese were still in the dominant position, while the Taiwanese were placed in an even more restricted situation in their participation in higher education controlled by the Japanese in Taiwan.⁷⁴

High school education for female students in Taiwan was conducted separately from male students. High school education for Japanese female students in Taiwan began in 1904 when a supplementary course was added to the *Taihoku Daini Shōgakkō* (Taipei Second Elementary School). The course was later moved and merged into the *Daisan Fuzoku Gakkō* (the Third Attached School) of the *Kokugo Gakkō* in 1905. It marked the first female high school for Japanese students in Taiwan.⁷⁵ High school education for Taiwanese female students under Japanese rule started considerably earlier than their male counterparts. The need to train female teachers for female *Kōgakkō* pupils had led the Government-General of Taiwan in 1906 to designate the *Daini Fuzoku Gakkō* (the Second Attached School) of the *Kokugo Gakkō* as the cradle for female Taiwanese teachers. Renamed in 1910, education in the *Kokugo Gakkō Fuzoku Jogakkō* (National Language School Attached Female School) centred on normal and handcraft education. The school was renamed again in 1919 as the *Taihoku Joshi Kōtō Futsū Gakkō* (Taipei Female Common High School) with the establishment of a normal education section to train female

⁷² More discussion on the concept of *kokutai* is provided in Chapter Three and Chapter Five.

⁷³ See Chung Ching-han (1993), *Nihon Shokuminchika ni okeru Taiwan Kyōikushi*, p. 146.

⁷⁴ See Yanaihara Tadao (1929), *Teikokushugika no Taiwan*, pp. 202-203. Also see Chung Ching-han (1993), *Nihon Shokuminchika ni okeru Taiwan Kyōikushi*, p. 146.

⁷⁵ See Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, pp. 812-814.

Kōgakkō teachers.⁷⁶ Together with two other female high schools in Taichū and Chōka (Changhua), they were added to the existing three female high schools designated for Japanese students.⁷⁷

Article Six of the *Taiwan Kōritsu Joshi Kōtō Futsū Gakkō Kisoku* (Regulations of Taiwan Public Female Common High Schools) stated the essence of high school education for Taiwanese female students.

Clause One - subjects are taught to cultivate merits, to familiarise [them] with Japanese, and to consolidate [their] national characteristics.

Clause Two - the most needed subjects are to be carefully taught to female students for [obtaining] virtues, gentleness, compassion, and the habits of being able to work hard and perform domestic chores.

Clause Three - skills and knowledge which are suitable for their daily needs in the future are to be selected to teach [them] for practical application [in life].⁷⁸

More than male students, educated Taiwanese females were not only expected to obtain Japanese national characteristics and speak Japanese, but also play a significant role in managing domestic affairs and applying their practical knowledge in life. It is thus not surprising that for those who attended female common high schools, one third of their weekly curriculum was spent on Japanese (ten hours), and one third (eleven hours) on learning home economics and handcrafts. In home economics, knowledge ranging from caring for the young and the old, cooking, and socialising was delivered. For those who attended female high schools designated for normal education, nearly one quarter (eight hours) of their weekly time was spent on languages, including Japanese and Chinese, one quarter (nine hours) on home economics and handcrafts, nearly one quarter (eight hours) on teaching methodologies, and the rest on mathematics (two hours), geography (two hours), painting/drawing (two hours), music (three hours), and gymnastics (two hours).⁷⁹ Again, inequality in high school education for Taiwanese female students resembled the situation of their male counterparts. By 1944, it was estimated that among the twenty-two female high schools in Taiwan, Japanese students numbered nearly twice

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 821-827.

⁷⁷ See Chung Ching-han (1993), *Nihon Shokuminchika ni okeru Taiwan Kyōikushi*, p. 181.

⁷⁸ For the original Japanese text, see Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, pp. 828-829.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 837-840.

as many as Taiwanese students (8,396 to 4,855) although the Japanese only made up a fraction of the total Taiwanese population.⁸⁰ Thus it was highly competitive for Taiwanese students who had to compete against the Japanese as well as other Taiwanese to enter high schools. Among the high schools where Japanese students – including males and females – were the majority, their acceptance rate was as high as 80 percent, while among the high schools where Taiwanese students were the majority, their acceptance rate, the highest level recorded in the *Taichū Daini Kōtō Jogakkō* (Taichung Second Female High School) in 1943 was 33 percent. Also, it is worthwhile pointing out that due to the attentive efforts of the Government-General of Taiwan, the attendance rate of aboriginal female students was higher than that of the Taiwanese female students.⁸¹

Japanese in Social Education

As has been discussed above, the establishment of *Kokugo Denshūjo* in 1896 marked the beginning of social education in Taiwan under Japanese rule. Part of its initial programme was aimed at young and mature-aged Taiwanese who could be trained in a short period to assist in colonial administration. This style of education offered an intensive and community-based programme, differing from the more formal educational pathway, such as *Kōgakkō* education, which required a much longer time to complete. Scattered educational programmes set up by investigation teams appointed by Gotō Shimpei in villages were also conducted on an irregular basis. The essence of social education as stated in its guiding principles was to “glorify the spirit of the empire, to advance in assimilated culture, and to develop an ideal Taiwan which is part of imperial Japan”. Therefore, facilities aiming to strengthen the consciousness of the Taiwanese being imperial subjects and education centring on virtues, morality, common sense, and improvement of life topped the priority in social education for Japanese colonial government in Taiwan.⁸²

In 1905 the first *Kokugo Yagakukai* (Japanese Night School Club) and *Kokugo Fukyūkai* (Japanese Popularisation Club) were held in the *Kōgakkō*. Without

⁸⁰ See Chung Ching-han (1993), *Nihon Shokuminchika ni okeru Taiwan Kyōikushi*, pp. 181-182.

⁸¹ See Taiwan Sōtokufu (1940), *Taiwan Gakuji Ichiran*, pp. 26-29, and Taiwan Tsūshinsha (1944), *Taiwan Nenkan*, pp. 506-507, cited in Chung Ching-han (1993), *Nihon Shokuminchika ni okeru Taiwan Kyōikushi*, p. 182.

⁸² See Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, pp. 1036-1039.

systematic efforts in promoting teaching facilities and methods, the effects of these programmes were minimal. Urged by the need to promote popular education among the Taiwanese, the Government-General of Taiwan initiated several official institutions. In 1908 a museum, in 1913 a zoo, and in 1914 the Government-General of Taiwan Library were built. The *Taiwan Kyōikukai* (Taiwan Education Association), an organisation founded for the development of Japanese language education in Taiwan in 1901, was also employed to spread its influence and efforts to promote social education in Taiwan. It assisted the Government-General of Taiwan in providing manpower and teaching resources, holding island-wide lectures and seminars, and conducting Japanese learning camps for *Kōgakkō* students from 1915.⁸³ In each issue of its journal, *Taiwan Kyōiku* (Taiwan Education), problems in teaching and learning Japanese were ardently discussed by Japanese educators, ranging from school to social education.⁸⁴

By 1915, twenty years after Japanese rule in Taiwan, the promotion of Japanese language education through social education had started to take root in Taiwanese society. From the north to the south, *Kokugo Renshūkai* (Japanese Practice Club) and *Kokugo Yagakukai* were well established using the facilities of *Kōgakkō*. In *Kokugo Renshūkai*, there were classes for women from the middle and high social classes, teaching them Japanese, sewing, and skills and manners associated with social functions and gatherings. In *Kokugo Yagakukai* there were also Japanese classes designed for labourers, merchants, and chauffeurs.⁸⁵ By 1919, Japanese language organisations, such as *Kokugo Fukyūkai*, *Kokugo Yagakukai*, and *Kokugo Renshūkai* which offered Japanese classes to the public, totalled 887.⁸⁶ The promotion of Japanese through social educational programmes paralleled school education in Taiwan and continued to spread its influence.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 1018.

⁸⁴ Views and opinions from articles in *Taiwan Kyōiku* will be discussed in Chapter Four and other chapters.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1020.

⁸⁶ See Yamane Isakura (1920), 'Kokugo Fukyū ni kansuru Shisetsu', *Taiwan Kyōiku*, No. 214, p. 6, No. 216, pp. 8-9, cited in Wu Wen-hsing (1992), *Ri Ju Shi Qi Taiwan She Hui Ling Dao Jie Ceng zhi Yan Jiu*, p. 324. Also see Yamane Isakura (1920), 'Kokugo Fukyū ni kansuru Shisetsu', *Taiwan Kyōiku*, No. 215, pp. 10-17.

Outside the promotion of the Japanese language, organisations such as *Fūzoku Kairyōkai* (Reformation of Customs Club) and *Dōfūkai* (Assimilation of Customs Club) established in 1914 under the influence of the establishment of the *Dōkakai*, aimed to promote the awareness of hygiene and common sense. Through lectures and educational programmes, they sought to rectify infamous local Taiwanese customs, such as foot-binding and superstition, among the public.⁸⁷ Shinto's temples were built as local spiritual secret lands. Vocational training centres for young *Kōgakkō* graduates and social reform and educational centres were also set up in districts and villages. In addition, establishments such as community fire brigades, athletic groups, women's groups, people's halls, and art activities all aimed to strengthen and supplement education to the Taiwanese public who did not attend the normal school system.⁸⁸ Nevertheless, at the top of the agenda of the colonial government's social education in Taiwan was the promotion of the Japanese language.

By 1918, an estimated 26,931 Taiwanese including 4,264 females, had participated in Japanese classes offered through social education, ranging from one month to one year. These figures however only contributed to some 2.9 percent of the Taiwanese population who were registered as comprehending the Japanese language in the census conducted in 1920.⁸⁹ From 1923 *Kokugo Renshūkai* had brought thousands more participants into its practice sessions throughout Taiwan. Despite the figure which indicated a positive increase of Taiwanese people learning Japanese, the rate of Japanese-speaking Taiwanese by 1925 remained as low as six percent.⁹⁰ Even among the Taiwanese elite who were urged most strongly by the colonial government to take the lead in learning Japanese, the result was disappointing. In 1924, among the 2,669 selected district council members, nearly half did not speak

⁸⁷ Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, pp. 1018-1019.

⁸⁸ *Ibid* pp. 1039-1041.

⁸⁹ See statistics by the Provisional National Census Investigation Department in Statistics Department (1921), 'Kokugo Futatabi Kanamoji no Hontōjin ni Fukyūseru Teido', *Taiwan Jihō*, No. 27, p. 99. In Ide Kiwata's research, the figure of 6.7 percent was recorded in 1920 as the rate of the Taiwanese population who comprehended Japanese. See Ide Kiwata (1937), *Taiwan Chisekishi*, p. 77.

⁹⁰ See Editorial (1927), 'Shobō no Kairyō to sono Katsuyō: Kokugo Fukyū no Ichihō toshite', *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shinbō*, No. 9626, cited in Wu Wen-hsing (1992), *Ri Ju Shi Qi Taiwan She Hui Ling Dao Jie Ceng zhi Yan Jiu*, p. 328.

any Japanese. Interpreting was needed when council meetings were convened.⁹¹ Wu argues that the lack of interest in learning Japanese was the main contributing factor to the low Japanese-comprehension rate among the Taiwanese. Also, the strongly-campaigned yet loosely-planned programmes gave the public the impression of government propaganda and the compulsory nature of Japanese language learning. Thus, by the late 1920s, the school system, especially *Kōgakkō*, still remained the more effective instrument in the promotion of Japanese language education in Taiwan.

Only when assimilation was officially declared as Japan's colonial policy for Taiwan, did the colonial government feel the urgency to generate more efforts in promoting Japanese among the Taiwanese public. According to Chung, not until the declaration of the Taiwan Education Ordinance in 1919 was the role of the Japanese language in effecting assimilation of the Taiwanese clearly defined. Although *Kokugo Denshūjo* were established as early as 1896 and *Kōgakkō* in 1898, both aiming to systematically promote Japanese language education in Taiwan, to Chung, their establishment meant to achieve 'enlightenment', rather than assimilation.⁹² Also, as has been argued in Chapter One and the beginning of Chapter Two, although assimilation was not clearly spelled out in Japanese colonial policies for Taiwan in its early rule, in education, Japanese language was perceived by both colonial educators and authorities to be the most effective tool to assimilate the Taiwanese, since the Japanese had long believed that the true Japanese spirit was in its language.⁹³ Thus, when assimilation became an explicit Japanese colonial policy in 1919, the key role of the Japanese language in the process of assimilation was redeemed. This reinforcement led to the increase in *Kōgakkō* numbers as well as the re-structuring of secondary and further education in Taiwan. These adjustments, however, did not raise the rate of Japanese-speaking Taiwanese dramatically. From 1925 to 1930, the rate of Japanese-speaking Taiwanese only progressed to between

⁹¹ The level of Japanese comprehension among the city council members, a level higher than district council members, was higher. In 1926, among the thirty-eight city council members, only two did not speak Japanese. See Wu Wen-hsing (1992), *Ri Ju Shi Qi Taiwan She Hui Ling Dao Jie Ceng zhi Yan Jiu*, p. 329.

⁹² See Chung Ching-han (1993), *Nihon Shokuminchika ni okeru Taiwan Kyōikushi*, p. 318.

⁹³ More discussion on this respect will be dealt with in Chapter Three.

eight and thirteen percent.⁹⁴ If the rate of the Japanese-speaking population correlated with the level of assimilation, then the result of the colonial government's efforts in converting the Taiwanese was extremely embarrassing. The official figure was largely calculated based on the number of the Taiwanese who had made use of the Japanese school system and social education programmes of the time. Therefore, outside the school system and social education, there remained a vast majority of the Taiwanese population who were yet to be targeted to contribute to the popularisation of Japanese by the colonial government.

Thirty-five years into Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan, Japanese colonial authorities started to examine closely the problem of slow progress in the promotion of the Japanese language through social education. Government intervention in speeding up the progress of language promotion started to take place at this stage. Big cities like Taihoku and Tainan reinforced their efforts in promoting Japanese by holding more Japanese classes, publishing better Japanese textbooks, and awarding those who devoted themselves to promoting Japanese. Tainan further publicised written regulations, such as the *Kokugo Fukyū Shōrei Jikō* (Japanese Popularisation Rewards Matters), to itemise how, when, and where Japanese should be promoted and how these regulations should be observed.⁹⁵ This trend was followed by other cities, which led to a further increase in the number of Taiwanese learning Japanese. A more permanent Japanese teaching institute, *Kokugo Kōshūjo*, which became the most important colonial instrument in promoting Japanese outside of the school system during the *Kōminka* era, was first established in 1929 in Taichū with central government funding. Taihoku followed suit in the next year to subsidise it and its sister institute, *Kan'i Kokugo Kōshūjo*. For the first time *Kokugo Kōshūjo* and *Kan'i*

⁹⁴ In 1927, the *Taihoku Shū Rengo Dōfukai* (the Taihoku Prefecture United Assimilating Customs Association) found that only 12.7 percent of the Taiwanese residing in the prefecture spoke Japanese, and in 1930 Tainan Shū authorities revealed that only eight percent of its Taiwanese residents spoke Japanese. Judging from the fact that Taihoku and Tainan were the two most populated cities of Taiwan at the time, the average rate of the Japanese-speaking Taiwanese island-wide is unlikely to exceed the level of Taihoku by 1930. Figures were cited in Wu Wen-hsing (1992), *Ri Ju Shi Qi Taiwan She Hui Ling Diao Jie Ceng zhi Yan Jiu*, pp. 328-329, 354. However, in Ide Kiwata's research, in 1930, the rate of Japanese-speaking Taiwanese population was recorded at 20 percent. See Ide Kiwata (1937), *Taiwan Chisekishi*, p. 77.

⁹⁵ The contents of these regulations centred on making Japanese the official language in government offices, giving employment priority to those Taiwanese who could speak Japanese, extending the promotion of Japanese to the wider public, to the market, and work place. See Wu Wen-hsing (1992), *Ri Ju Shi Qi Taiwan She Hui Ling Dao Jie Ceng zhi Yan Jiu*, p. 354.

Kokugo Kōshūjo had become municipal-level government institutes. The overwhelming results of these institutes won more subsidies from the Government-General of Taiwan and from 1931 they officially become part of social educational programmes under the Government-General of Taiwan.⁹⁶

The Taiwanese who attended *Kokugo Kōshūjo* were aged from twelve to twenty-five and spent two to three hours a night for a hundred nights a year. The maximum length of the course was four years. *Kan'i Kokugo Kōshūjo*, whose predecessors were *Kokugo Fukyūkai* and *Kokugo Renshūkai*, offered a three to six month course, two to three hours a night for sixty nights in total. People involved in Japanese teaching included teachers from *Kōgakkō*, colonial officials, policemen, leaders of youth groups, and enthusiastic volunteers. With financial support from district and city councils, the colonial government, and public donation, these institutes were more tightly organised and well developed. By 1935, *Kokugo Kōshūjo* had nearly doubled to reach 1,629 and were attended by more than a hundred thousand people. The sister institutes, *Kan'i Kokugo Kōshūjo*, totalled 754 and were attended by 31,378 people.⁹⁷

In addition to *Kokugo Kōshūjo* and *Kan'i Kokugo Kōshūjo*, from 1930 a centralised *Kyōka Rengōkai* (Education-Culture United Association) united all *Dōfūkai*, youth, and women's groups within local communities. It mobilised its subordinate leaders and members, including district and city council members, school teachers, and representatives of social groups to devote to the *Kokugo Fukyū Jūnen Keikaku* (Ten Year Plan for the Popularisation of Japanese) promoted by the Government-General of Taiwan.⁹⁸ Apart from helping push for the establishment of *Kokugo Kōshūjo* and *Kan'i Kokugo Kōshūjo* in all villages in Taiwan, they were also keen to set examples of speaking Japanese in public, reading Japanese publications, and listening to Japanese music and radio.⁹⁹ With the launch of the *Kōminka* Movement, from 1937

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 354-355.

⁹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 357.

⁹⁸ In 1933, the Government-General of Taiwan launched the *Kokugo Fukyū Jūnen Keikaku* (Ten Year Plan for the Popularisation of Japanese), which aimed to establish one Japanese language institute in each village and in ten years push the Japanese-speaking population in Taiwan to reach more than 50 percent. See Wu Wen-hsing (1992), *Ri Ju Shi Qi Taiwan She Hui Ling Dao Jie Ceng zhi Yan Jiu*, pp. 356, 359.

⁹⁹ *Ibid*. p. 356.

to the end of the war in 1945, the promotion of Japanese in Taiwan had reached its peak. The numbers of *Kokugo Kōshūjo* and *Kan'i Kokugo Kōshūjo* multiplied dramatically. At the highest level in 1940, *Kokugo Kōshūjo* increased six-fold in five years and *Kan'i Kokugo Kōshūjo* five-fold.¹⁰⁰ For pre-school children under six years of age and children who could not attend *Kokumin Gakkō* (Public Elementary Schools), there were also *Kokugo Hoikuen* (Japanese-language Kindergartens) for the former and supplementary courses attached to local elementary schools for the later.¹⁰¹ By 1942 students attending these kindergartens and supplementary courses totalled more than 120,000.¹⁰² The net of Japanese promotion in Taiwan was virtually extended to every level and every corner of Taiwanese society under the *Kōminka* Movement. In 1940 the Japanese-speaking population in Taiwan was estimated to have reached 51 percent, which was achieved three years earlier than the target set by the Government-General of Taiwan in 1933.¹⁰³

In order to support the extreme right-wing movement, the *Taisei Yokusan Undō* (the Imperial Rule Assistance Movement) in Japan under the war, the initiation of the *Kōmin Hōkō Undō* (the Imperial Subject Public Service Movement) in Taiwan in 1941 extended its wartime efforts outside of Japan. Under the *Kōmin Hōkō Undō*, the *Kōmin Hōkōkai* (the Imperial Subject Public Service Association) was established to exercise its down-stream organisations to contribute earnest efforts towards Japan's war campaign. The purpose, activities, and organisation of the *Kōmin Hōkōkai*, according to the Government-General of Taiwan, was stated as follows:

[in] order to exercise total mobilisation of the nation under the war and spare no mercy to the reinforcement of national defense, with active support from our people and enthusiasm from the authorities, it is the perfect time [to launch such a scheme]. From 1941, the Japanese, the Taiwanese, the aborigines in Taiwan, and the authorities will unite as one to promote the national movement of the *Kōmin Hōkō Undō*. The scheme

¹⁰⁰ Statistical data from Taiwan Sōtokufu, *Taiwan Shakai Kyōiku Gaiyō*, 1932-1935, and *Taiwan no Shakai Kyōiku*, 1938-1942, cited in Wu Wen-hsing (1992), *Ri Ju Shi Qi Taiwan She Hui Ling Dao Jie Ceng zhi Yan Jiu*, p. 358.

¹⁰¹ From 1941 all elementary schools in Taiwan, including *Kōgakkō* and *Shōgakkō*, were all renamed as *Kokumin Gakkō*.

¹⁰² See Taiwan Sōtokufu (1942), *Taiwan no Shakai Kyōiku*, pp. 47-58, and Taiwan Sōtokufu (1943), *Daitōa Sensō to Taiwan*, pp. 5-7, cited in Wu Wen-hsing (1992), *Ri Ju Shi Qi Taiwan She Hui Ling Dao Jie Ceng zhi Yan Jiu*, p. 359.

¹⁰³ Taiwan Sōtokufu (1938-1942), *Taiwan no Shakai Kyōiku*, cited in Wu Wen-hsing (1992), *Ri Ju Shi Qi Taiwan She Hui Ling Dao Jie Ceng zhi Yan Jiu*, p. 360.

centres on the organisation of the *Kōmin Hōkōkai* to promote the ideal of 'Taiwan as a family'. Activities to materialise this ideal and its objectives will focus on up-lifting the fighting spirit, exercising life in wartime, reinforcing labour work, completing civil defense, and promoting physical education [among the people]. The organisation of the *Kōmin Hōkōkai* will be consistent with the administration of the Government-General and will invite able people from all walks of life as leaders to join.¹⁰⁴

Many prominent Taiwanese elite were obliged to get involved in the movement, aiming to entice more support from the general Taiwanese public. Among the efforts of the *Kōmin Hōkō Undō*, the promotion of the Japanese language among the Taiwanese was the most prominent.¹⁰⁵ To see how this scheme aimed to promote the Japanese language among the Taiwanese public as a great contribution towards Japan's wartime efforts, the example of a meeting convened in the name of the association can give us some insight into the nature of this scheme. The meeting was reported by Tsuchiya Hiroshi in an article titled 'Taiwan no Kōmin Hōkō Undō to Kokugo Mondai' ('Taiwan's Imperial Subject Public Service Movement and the Japanese Language Problem'), and he detailed what had been discussed in the meeting. Suggestions such as the abolition of the Taiwanese languages in public offices, banks, companies, and institutes were made. It went further to suggest that once all the families learn to speak Japanese, Japanese would be compulsory used and more ban would be placed on the use of the Taiwanese languages, such as telephone conversations. Ultimately one Japanese language class was to be attached to one *Kōmin Hōkōhan*, the most grassroots unit of the association, to promote the Japanese language to everyone in Taiwan, because speaking Japanese was seen as the most direct and visible contribution that the Taiwanese could make to war-time Japan.¹⁰⁶

Through the efforts of school and social education, it was estimated that by 1945, the end of Japanese rule, Taiwan reached a Japanese-speaking population of 80 percent.¹⁰⁷ In comparison with Korea, where only 35 percent spoke Japanese over

¹⁰⁴ See Taiwan Sōtokufu (1945), *Taiwan Tōchi Gaiyō*, pp. 79-80. A similar movement of total national mobilisation was also introduced in Japan at the same time.

¹⁰⁵ More discussion on this movement and its related campaigns is provided in Chapter Five.

¹⁰⁶ See Tsuchiya Hiroshi (1942), 'Taiwan no Kōmin Hōkō Undō to Kokugo Mondai', *Kokugo Undō*, Vol. 6, No. 9, p. 10.

¹⁰⁷ Wu, whose sources are from reports on Taiwan's social education by the Government-General of Taiwan, suggests the rate of the Japanese-speaking population among the Taiwanese by 1944 was 71 percent. See Wu Wen-hsing (1992), *Ri Ju Shi Qi Taiwan She Hui Ling Dao Jie Ceng zhi Yan Jiu*, p. 363. In *Taiwan Chōhei Tokuhon* published by Kōnan Shinbunsha on December 22, 1943, based on a

the same period, the success in Taiwan is overwhelming.¹⁰⁸ As Wu and Chou have both pointed out, statistics from the Government-General of Taiwan remain the only source determining the degree of popularisation of Japanese in Taiwan during the colonial period, so they should be read with caution. Also, the gap between knowing Japanese and actually speaking and using it in everyday life can be decisive in undermining the degree of popularisation boasted by the colonial government. For example, the Taiwanese families which 'designated' Japanese as their daily language and were awarded by the Government-General of Taiwan as the *Kokugo no Ie* (National Language House) in 1942 totalled 9,604. The 77,679 household members, presumably speaking Japanese all the time, nevertheless made up only 1.3 percent of the total Taiwanese population.¹⁰⁹ Away from schools, offices, and government departments, the Taiwanese tended to switch back to their mother tongues. Thus Japanese observers often complained that in most public places such as parks, markets, stations, banks, and hospitals, Taiwanese was still the dominant language heard.¹¹⁰ Chapters Five and Seven will contextualise these official figures in relation to Taiwanese people's Japanese proficiency and the degree of Japanese popularisation in Taiwan during the colonial period.

Legacy of Japanese Language Education

Regardless of the motive behind Japanese colonial rule, after fifty years, Taiwan's agrarian society was transformed to an industrial-oriented economy. With the infrastructure laid out to facilitate Taiwan's economy, Taiwan, in comparison with China, had achieved a much higher standard of living and rate of school attendance.¹¹¹ Higher living standards in turn resulted in the popularisation of education and community participation in arts and socio-cultural activities among the

survey by *Naimushō* (Ministry of Interior Affairs) the rate of 80 percent Japanese-speaking Taiwanese population was cited in page 156. The rate of Japanese speaking Koreans was reported at 57 percent. Also see *Kōnan Shinbun*, October 12, 1943 (evening edition), cited in Chou Wan-yao (1991) 'The *Kōminka* Movement: Taiwan under Wartime Japan, 1937-1945', p. 89.

¹⁰⁸ See Wu Wen-hsing (1992), *Ri Ju Shi Qi Taiwan She Hui Ling Dao Jie Ceng zhi Yan Jiu*, p. 363.

¹⁰⁹ See Taiwan Sōtokufu (1940), *Taiwan Gakuji Nenkan*, pp. 295-296, and Taiwan Sōtokufu (1940, 1942), *Taiwan no Shaikai Kyōiku*, pp. 19, 63-64. Significantly, among the eighteen Taiwanese who related their personal experiences under Japanese colonial rule for his study, interviewee Chen, Yi-jen, whose family was among those awarded a plaque as the National Language House. His experience and views on Japanese language education during colonial rule can be further explored in Chapter Seven. See Interview with Chen Yi-jen, March 10, 2001, pp. 3, 4.

¹¹⁰ Nakayoshi Shunji (1941), 'Kotoba ni tsuite', *Taiwan Jihō*, No. 253, p. 36.

¹¹¹ See George Kerr (1974), *Formosa: Licensed Revolution and the Home Rule Movement 1895-1945*, Preface, p. 15.

Taiwanese. Literary activities flourished among talented Taiwanese writers who contributed to what many critics refer to as the 'New Taiwanese Literature Movement' from the 1920s till 1945. With their education in Japanese, many of them having obtained university education in Japan, and the influences of literary movements in China and Japan, they were capable of creating literary works both in Japanese and in colloquial Chinese to stir waves among Taiwanese literary circles and across Japan as well.¹¹² Through school education and socio-political propaganda by the Japanese colonial government, the use of the Japanese language exposed the Taiwanese to a world where new knowledge associated with modernity was brought in, although perhaps from the Japanese perspective. By 1937, six Japanese language newspapers and more than forty different journals and magazines were circulated among the public.¹¹³ More than 180 movie theatres and six radio stations were under operation to enrich leisure activities and entertainment of the Taiwanese. By 1943, a total of ninety-five public and private libraries were opened to serve the Taiwanese public.¹¹⁴ Most significantly, by the end of Japanese rule in 1944, the elementary school attendance rate in Taiwan reached 71.7 percent.¹¹⁵

If the true Japanese spirit could be captured through the mastering of the language, then the identity of being a Japanese would logically, in some degree, exist in the Taiwanese who had managed to acquire the language. It could also be argued that the higher the level of acquisition of the language, the stronger sense of Japanese identity.¹¹⁶ By this logic, if a Japanese identity could be defined through the acquisition of the Japanese language, a Japanese way of thinking would be likely to be determined at the same time. Ong stated that the effect of Japanese language usage does not remain only at the linguistic level, but further determines the way of thinking of the Taiwanese and their perspectives towards the outside world.¹¹⁷ Indeed, Taiwan, under fifty years of Japanese rule, was transformed from a geo-ethnic settlement society to one which was governed by a central government, and

¹¹² More in-depth discussion is provided in Chapter Six.

¹¹³ See Chu Chi-hua (1993), 'Taiwan She Hui Jiao Yu zhi Yan Jin', in Hsu Nan-hao (ed.), *Taiwan Jiao Yu Shi*, Taipei, Shi Da Shu Yuan, p. 196.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

¹¹⁵ See Taiwan Sōtokufu (1945), *Taiwan Tōchi Gaiyō*, p. 39.

¹¹⁶ More in-depth discussion of the correlation between Japanese language acquisition and Japanese identity appears in Chapters Six and Seven.

¹¹⁷ Ong Yok-tek (1993), *Taiwan: Ku Men de Li Shi*, p. 133.

under this regime law and order were employed island-wide. This change without doubt shaped the way that the Taiwanese perceived themselves in a changing society and the world around them. The effects of Japanese language education, especially among the Taiwanese intellectuals, on their literary activities and identity under Japanese rule, will be examined in Chapter Six. Also, the legacy of Japanese education among the ordinary Taiwanese, and how they perceived themselves and Japanese rule evidenced by their oral accounts in the post-colonial era will be discussed in the final chapter, Chapter Seven. To further our understanding of the essence and philosophy of Japanese language education in Taiwan, in Chapter Three I will look into the Japanese colonial position on its language policies, assimilation, and the ideologies which substantiated the promotion of Japanese language education throughout the colonial rule in Taiwan.

Chapter Three The Position of Japanese Colonial Rule on Japanese Language Education and Assimilation in Taiwan

Introduction

As we have seen, Taiwan became Japan's first colony in 1895, in one of the most significant periods in Japanese history, the Meiji period. Japan had closed its doors to the west for two hundred years prior to the Meiji period which commenced in 1868 with the overthrow of the Shogunate and the reinstatement of rule by the emperor.¹ This period saw an overhaul of Japan's political, social, and economic systems and ideologies and a new focus on the building of a Japanese nation-state. Definitions of the concepts of *kokka* (nation-state) and *kokumin* (citizen) dominated the socio-political ideologies of Japan in the Meiji and subsequent periods.² The Meiji Restoration consolidated Emperor Meiji's position as the ultimate leader, politically and spiritually, of Japan. Underneath the Japanese emperor, all subjects were brought up equally and they pledged loyalty to the nation, and to the emperor. The Japanese model of *kokka/kokumin* centred on the Japanese emperor on the top and underneath him the Japanese people united as one. The concept of *kokka kyōiku* (national education), emerging underneath such tides of influence, was advocated by educators with such visions.³ Izawa Shūji was one of them. He founded the *Kokka Kyōiku Sha* (National Education Club) in 1890 to promote such an idea. *Kokka kyōiku* was meant to be a nation-oriented matter. With central funding from the government, it sought to popularise common education among people of the nation, who would in turn devote themselves to the well-being of the nation. The

¹ In 1853, Perry, a US naval officer, arrived in Japan with a fleet of ships to demand the opening trade between Japan and America. In 1854, he secured the Kanagawa Treaty to have certain American interests in Japan and the opening of two ports, Shimoda and Hakodate as coaling and supply stations. During the seclusion period, the Tokugawa shogunate permitted only the Chinese and the Dutch to trade at Dejima, a man-made islet in Nagasaki Harbour. Perry was said to be the person who reopened Japan to the west after more than two centuries' seclusion. See Marlene J. Mayo (1983), 'Perry, Matthew Galbraith', *Kōdansha Encyclopaedia of Japan*, Vol. 6, Tokyo, Kōdansha, pp. 177-178. Also see Joseph W. Slade (1983), 'Nagasaki Trade', *Kōdansha Encyclopaedia of Japan*, Vol. 5, p. 306.

² For detailed discussion, see Nishikawa Nagao and Matsumiya Hideharu (eds) (1995), *Makumatsu Meijiki no Kokumin Kokka Keisei to Bunka Henyō*, Tokyo, Shinyakusha, Chapter One.

³ For detailed discussion, see Kubo Yoshizō (1995), *Kubo Yoshizō Kyōikugaku Chosakushū: Tennosei Kokka no Kyōiku*, Vol. 2, Tokyo, Emuti.

collective efforts of nation-building by educated individuals were thus to be achieved.⁴ Elementary education was made compulsory in Japan in 1873. It was thought to be the most effective apparatus to consolidate the *kokka/kokumin* ideology among the Japanese from the very bottom of Japanese society.

Taiwan, a new Japanese colony, presented a challenge to the yet to be consolidated ideology of *kokka/kokumin*. As has been discussed in the previous chapter, Izawa Shūji ambitiously extended his vision of education from Japan to Taiwan. However, with little support from the colonial government in Taiwan, he was unable to capitalise on the concept of *kokka kyōiku* in Taiwan.⁵ He left behind pioneer work in Taiwan's modern education and a legacy which hinged on Japanese language education. This was the foundation for Japanese colonial education in Taiwan. In Chapter One, I reviewed Japan's overall colonial policies for Taiwan. It was not until 1922 when the New Taiwan Education Ordinance was declared that a segregated system in education for the Taiwanese, a legacy of Gotō's gradualism policy, was removed. In Chapter Two, I discussed the history of Japanese language education in Taiwan. Throughout Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan, Japanese language education dominated Japan's socio-cultural implementations in Taiwan. Succeeding on Japanese colonial education policies, in this chapter I will further analyse the position of Japanese colonial rule on Japanese language education and assimilation in Taiwan. Examining official regulations and ordinances in relation to education, in this chapter I will also explore how Japanese language education took centre stage in colonial education in Taiwan. I will finally investigate the

⁴ For the concept of *kokka kyōiku*, see Izawa Shūji (1891), 'Kokka Kyōiku no Keisei', a speech made at the first *Kokka Kyōiku Sha* conference held in Osaka, in Shinano Kyōikukai (1958), *Izawa Shūji Senshū*, pp. 47-73. Also see Editorial (1895), 'Kokka Kyōiku no Imi', *Kyōiku Jiron*, No. 378, p. 10.

⁵ In Izawa's plans, *kōgaku*, or what he referred to as 'public school' was meant to be the base of education in Taiwan, and on top of that, he wanted to build three Normal Colleges where public school teachers could be trained. His plans were hit by the fact of insufficient funding allocated for education by the colonial government in Taiwan. In 1897, among the 14 million yen allocated for civil administration in Taiwan, only 260,000 yen, or about 0.2 percent was allocated to education. Disagreeing with the then Head of *Minseikyoku* (equivalent to Ministry of Internal Affairs), Mizuno Jun, over issues in education, in July 1897, Izawa left his post as the Head of *Gakumubu* (equivalent to Department of Educational Affairs). See Izawa Shūji (1897), 'Taiwan Kōgakkō Setchi ni Kansuru Iken', a speech made to the *Teikoku Kyōikukai* in Tokyo on May 22, in Shinano Kyōikukai (1958), *Izawa Shūji Senshū*, pp. 608-632. Also see Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, p. 44. More discussion on Izawa and his efforts in education in Taiwan appeared in Chapter One and Chapter Two.

relationship between Japanese language education and the cultivation of Japanese national characteristics, and the effect of Japanese language education on assimilation within the colonial framework.

Conflict of Interest

According to Komagome, Japanese colonial education policies for Taiwan can be measured on two levels. One, in order to rule a colony, a minimum level of education was seen as necessary to be implemented in Taiwan. This seems to be the view represented by early Japanese colonial bureaucrats, such as Gotō Shimpei and Mochiji Rokusaburō.⁶ The other, the *isshi dōjin* ideology, deriving from the *tennō* (the Japanese emperor) *kokka/kokumin* system, implies that all subjects should be treated with impartial benevolence. Thus, what was provided for the Japanese should be given to people in other parts of Japanese territories, such as Taiwan. As has been discussed above, this view seems to be largely represented by Izawa Shūji.

Izawa, in a speech made at the *Kokka Kyōiku Sha* in 1896, stated that his vision of education in Taiwan was to “Japanise the Taiwanese from the bottom of their hearts”.⁷ In another speech, he also argued that after physical defeat of the Taiwanese by force, education was the only way to genuinely gain control of them by their hearts.⁸ Izawa, promoting compulsory education for national education, sketched the *Kōgakkō* system as a basic and permanent form of education for the Taiwanese. Through the *Kōgakkō* system he intended to provide ‘useful knowledge’, such as Japanese and mathematics, to replace the existing education provided at traditional Taiwanese *Shufang*, mainly the recitation of classical Chinese, which he described as “impractical”.⁹ Izawa left his

⁶ Gotō Shimpei was Chief Civil Administrator of the Government-General of Taiwan from 1898 to 1906 while Mochiji Rokusaburō worked for the Bureau of Statistics of the colonial government from 1902. From 1903 he also held the position of Section Chief of *Gakumuka* (Section of Educational Affairs). See Komagome Takeshi (1996), *Shokuminchi Teikoku Nihon no Bunka Tōgō*, p. 45.

⁷ The speech was published in *Kokka Kyōiku* (1896, No. 47) and reproduced in Shinano Kyōikukai (1958), *Izawa Shūji Senshū*, p. 593. Also See Komagome Takeshi (1996), *Shokuminchi Teikoku Nihon no Bunka Tōgō*, pp. 42-43.

⁸ Izawa Shūji (1985), ‘Taiwan no Kyōiku’, *Kokka Kyōiku*, No. 54, in Shinano Kyōikukai (1958), *Izawa Shūji Senshū*, p. 583.

⁹ See Izawa Shūji (1897), ‘Taiwan Kōgakkō Setchi ni Kansuru Iken’, p. 612.

position in July 1897 when his proposed educational budget was slashed by the Government-General of Taiwan to the degree that the broad-based education that he wished to provide for the Taiwanese public was made impossible. The immediate downgrading of *Gakumubu* (the Department of Educational Affairs) to *Gakumuka* (the Section of Educational Affairs) within civil administration also highlighted the lack of interest of Japanese colonial rule in a more permanent-based education for the Taiwanese.¹⁰

Kimura Tadashi, the Section Chief in Educational Affairs in 1900 and the first colonial official who favoured compulsory education for Taiwanese children, advocated increasing funding to assist the establishment of schools in Taiwan for the acceleration of compulsory education. His position over education in Taiwan was also treated with hostility from the colonial government. Less than a year after he made the proposal, he was removed from the post. Mochiji Rokusaburō, whose attitude towards colonial education in Taiwan was in alignment with the Kodama-Gotō administration, defended the colonial government's educational policy against voices urging the implementation of compulsory education. In his debate with Kimura at a 1904 *Taiwan Kyōikukai* convention, Mochiji argued that current circumstances in Taiwan were not mature enough, for a well-surveyed household registration was yet to be established, and a good control of the number of school-aged children was yet to be achieved. Further, he argued that the current Japanese constitution was not applicable in Taiwan, in order to rationalise the need for a different system in the colony.¹¹ Taiwan was yet to be incorporated into the *kokka/kokumin* model, and 'special treatment', outside the jurisdiction of the Japanese constitution, was to be employed. Mochiji's attitude largely represented the position of Japanese colonial rule on the issue of education concerning Taiwan until compulsory education was finally introduced in 1943.¹² Although over the same period compulsory education was provided for Japanese children both in Japan and Taiwan, Taiwan with its ambiguous legal status, failed to be considered for the

¹⁰ See Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, pp. 44, 49.

¹¹ See Komagome Takeshi (1996), *Shokuminchi Teikoku Nihon no Bunka Tōgō*, pp. 46-47.

¹² For the development of compulsory education in Taiwan during Japanese rule, see Chapter Five.

kokka/kokumin ideology and the right to compulsory education. The concept of *kokka kyōiku* remained a personal ambition of Izawa but never found a legitimate place in the early history of Japanese colonial education in Taiwan.

The reluctance of Japanese colonial officials to embrace the colonised Taiwanese with the *kokka/kokumin* ideology lies in what Komagome argues to be '*ketsuzoku*' (blood and ethnicity) nationalism, nationalism based on Japanese lineage, which in the late nineteenth century had instilled the instigators of such an ideology with the thought of determining what constituted Japanese ethnicity and what did not.¹³ Over and over again, they stated that Japanese ethnicity had not been tarnished since all Japanese people descended from its founder emperor and this bloodline had continued unbroken for thousands of years.¹⁴ Thus, the Japanese people inherited not only the sacred lineage from their imperial ancestors but the uniqueness of the Japanese spirit and characteristics which were a result of such lineage. The ideology that *kokutai* (Japan's fundamental character and form of the empire) was unique in the world, and that the Japanese language was the sacred property of their ancestry which conserves the Japanese soul and spirit, were strongly associated with this nationalistic sentiment and worshipped by their firm believers.¹⁵ Dominated by this nationalistic sentiment, the task of incorporating people of a different origin, such as the Taiwanese, into the ideology of *kokka/kokumin* remained in great doubt. Nevertheless, Japanese colonial officials were keen to promote among the colonised Taiwanese the greatness of Japan and to bestow the newly occupied territory with the Japanese spirit. Colonial education for the Taiwanese was to become the centre stage where these ideologies were best manifested. Withdrawing from the strict sense of nationalism based on Japanese lineage which was only applicable for the Japanese, the focus on Japanese language education thus provided a common ground for the conceptualisation of these Japanese ideologies in

¹³ See Komagome Takeshi (1996), *Shokuminchi Teikoku Nihon no Bunga Tōgō*, pp. 57-62.

¹⁴ In Japanese legends, Jimmu was said to be the first Japanese emperor, who ascended the throne in 660 B.C. This is regarded as a thousand years too early by most modern historians as the unification of the Japanese islands under one monarchy came much later. See R. H. P. Mason and J. G. Caiger (1997), *A History of Japan*, Rutland, Charles E. Tuttle, p. 25.

¹⁵ See Torii Hideyoshi (1919), 'Wa ga Kokutairon', *Taiwan Kyōiku*, No. 202, p. 46. Also see R. H. P. Mason and J. G. Caiger (1997), *A History of Japan*, p. 294, in which *kokutai* is described as "the distinctive character of Japan's institutions and the processes of government".

Taiwan. It also cushioned the impact deriving from the yet to be formulated policies, such as assimilation.

Japanese Language Education and Assimilation

For many Japanese, the Japanese language conserves the form and spirit of the Japanese existing in Japanese ethnic lineage. Ueda Kazutoshi (1867-1937), a devoted Japanese linguist and professor from Tokyo University, in his famous statement, “*Nihongo wa Nihonjin no Seishinteki Ketsueki*” (the Japanese language is the spiritual blood of the Japanese) sums up the Japanese nationalist sentiment towards their language.¹⁶ Thus, through Japanese language education, the Taiwanese could best be made to realise the Japanese spirit and develop it. Japanese language education, the cornerstone of Japanese national education, became the focus of Japanese colonial education in Taiwan. On this level, the conceptual assimilation of the Taiwanese into the Japanese ideologies seemed to satisfy both Japanese colonial officials and educators. Although the Japanese colonial officials had little desire to have the Taiwanese assimilated ethnically into becoming Japanese, efforts were given to promote Japanese language education in the most primitive form of education in Taiwan through *Kōgakkō* since 1898.¹⁷

Mochiji, representing Japanese colonial interests in Taiwan, also advocated assimilation through education. In Mochiji's realisation of education for the Taiwanese, Japanese language education was the only essence to an extent that there was no other knowledge necessary to be taught to the Taiwanese.¹⁸ His position on the assimilation of the Taiwanese through education was based on what Komagome calls ‘*genko*’ (linguistic) nationalism, as opposed to nationalism based on Japanese lineage.¹⁹ The application of nationalism based on Japanese lineage to the Taiwanese is out of the question since the Taiwanese were of a different ethnicity. A device of linguistic nationalism was

¹⁶ Cited in Komagome Takeshi (1996), *Shokuminchi Teikoku Nihon no Bunka Tōgō*, p. 59. Ueda Kazutoshi's thoughts on the sacredness of the Japanese language and his famous statement that “Japanese is the spiritual blood of the Japanese” have become the focus of study for scholars. For more discussion on Ueda's thoughts, see Shi Gang (1993), *Shokuminchi Shihai to Nihongo: Taiwan, Manshūkoku, Tairiku Senryōchi ni okeru Gengo Seisaku*, pp. 131-136.

¹⁷ The history of Japanese language education in Taiwan can be seen in Chapter Two.

¹⁸ See Mochiji Rokusaburō (1912), *Taiwan Shokumin Seisaku*, pp. 294-295.

¹⁹ See Komagome Takeshi (1996), *Shokuminchi Teikoku Nihon no Bunka Tōgō*, p. 61.

employed instead. By implementing the use of Japanese in Taiwan, Japanese linguistic nationalism could then define Japan's national boundaries to include Taiwan. Further, fortified by military and political dominance, the coloniser's language was made omnipresent. The implementation of Japanese language education in Taiwan was an inevitable result of the dominance of the coloniser over the colonised. According to Japanese linguistic nationalism, on a metaphysical level, its language could best manifest the Japanese spirit and national characteristics. On a physical level, the Taiwanese would cultivate the Japanese spirit and characteristics through the mastering of the language, and once they acquired the Japanese language, they would then sympathise with the Japanese nationalistic sentiment. This is what assimilation was to achieve among the colonised through Japanese language education.

From Izawa to Mochiji and their successors, common education in Taiwan had always featured Japanese language education. From a pragmatic as well as a Japanese nationalistic perspective, the focus on Japanese language education in Taiwan suited both colonial officials and the educators' agenda. Assimilation was officially avoided in the stipulation of the colonial policy until the arrival of the eighth Governor-General of Taiwan, Den Genjirō, in 1919. Before that, linguistic nationalism – relying on the use of the Japanese language to define Japan's national boundaries – provided a timely transition for the maturing of more open policies for Taiwan, such as the *Naichi Enchō* policy (the extension of Japan proper to include Taiwan), in the late 1910s and to substitute for the inapplicable nationalism based on Japanese lineage.²⁰ Japanese colonial conflict of interest in assimilation defined by the strict sense of lineage nationalism was eased by the implementation of Japanese language education in Taiwan and the nationalistic sentiment behind it. Thus, politically, Japanese language education was rationalised to be the means to the end of assimilation of the Taiwanese. For Japanese colonial rule, Japanese was more than a tool of communication. It was seen as the spiritual blood of the Japanese. It is through the means of Japanese that Japanese colonial authorities wanted to convey this nationalistic sentiment and deliver the concept

²⁰ For discussion of the development of the Assimilation Policy and the *Naichi Enchō* policy, see Chapter One.

of Japan as a superior nation to the Taiwanese people. To this extent, the task of assimilation, conceptual understanding and appreciation of Japanese ideologies and values among the Taiwanese was achieved.

For such an enclosed vision in Japanese language education, Yanaihara Tadao, a liberal critic of Japanese colonialism, criticised the simplistic logic of Japanese colonial education policy in Taiwan for mistaking language assimilation for ethnic assimilation. Colonial officials, such as Mochiji, had repeatedly used the word assimilation when elaborating on educational policy, but Mochiji could not give evidence to substantiate how Japanese language education and assimilation were inter-dependent and how the latter was to be achieved through the former.²¹ It seemed to be a natural progression for Japanese colonial officials that as long as the Taiwanese learned Japanese, the magic power of the Japanese language would convert them to think like Japanese and act like Japanese. Yanaihara also argued that such a one-sided language policy would not only fall short of achieving the expected goal of assimilation, but could also be counter-productive to the colonial rule. He used the example of Ts'ai Pei-huo, a Taiwanese journalist well-educated in Japanese, who had advocated the Romanisation of the Taiwanese language instead of using Japanese as a bid to increase literacy among the general Taiwanese public,²² to demonstrate the fact that well-educated Taiwanese would not necessarily be assimilated by the Japanese and that they were capable of articulating their own thoughts even while being educated in another language. Instead, such a policy could stimulate them to become more conscious of their unequal status in education and disadvantages in the obtaining of knowledge due to the use of the Japanese language in Taiwanese society.²³

Mochiji also argued that Japanese had to be promoted among the Taiwanese to become the common language between the Hoklo, the Hakka, and among the Taiwanese

²¹ See Mochiji Rokusaburō (1912), *Taiwan Shokumin Seisaku*, pp. 279-320.

²² See Ts'ai Pei-huo (1922), 'Shin Taiwan no Kensetsu to Rōmaji, *Taiwan*, Vol. 3, No. 6, pp. 36-47. More discussion on Ts'ai's advocacy can be seen in Chapter Six.

²³ In his article Ts'ai appealed to the Japanese readers that the colonial government's forced language policy was to "silence the colonised Taiwanese in politics and society and belittle those who had received the old style of education", cited in Yanaihara Tadao (1929), *Teikokushugika no Taiwan*, p. 209.

aboriginal tribes since they could not communicate in one common language.²⁴ Yanaihara Tadao, again, disputed Mochiji's opinion. Yanaihara pointed out that the argument for using Japanese as the common language among different ethnic groups in Taiwan was invalid since the majority of the Taiwanese had migrated from the same areas in China. Also, linguistic differences between the two major ethnic groups of the Taiwanese, the Hoklo and the Hakka, were not as great as the case in the Philippines where a common language needed to be introduced. Further, he argued that if education was the way to spread culture and uplift the intelligence of the natives, the use of the native languages of the Taiwanese would be more effective than Japanese. He also pointed out that in other colonies, the native languages were always used in common education followed by the introduction of the coloniser's language in higher education, such as the case in British-ruled India. The promotion of the Japanese language through the school system, Yanaihara argued, was only for the convenience of Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan. He could not see how the promotion of Japanese through common education in Taiwan would result in uplifting the intelligence of the native Taiwanese other than serving Japanese colonial interests in Taiwan.²⁵

Examining the stance of Japanese colonial rule on the issue of education and assimilation, we see its pragmatism and hypocrisy. In the implementation of Japanese language education, the concept of assimilation did not seem to present a threat to Japanese colonial interests in Taiwan. Implementing Japanese language education in Taiwan would only favour colonial rule while having Japanese privileges in Taiwanese society maintained. Further, the Japanese language could be employed to indoctrinate the Taiwanese to become subjects loyal to Japanese colonial rule. To become subjects devoted to the Japanese empire was the ultimate motive behind common education in the *Kōgakkō*, and Japanese language education was seen to be the key element in achieving this. Another main purpose of Japanese colonial education in Taiwan was to make the Taiwanese compliant with the status quo, to acquire no more than the basic

²⁴ See Mochiji Rokusaburō (1912), *Taiwan Shokumin Seisaku*, p. 295. Discussion on the linguistic diversity in Taiwan prior to Japanese arrival can be seen in Chapter One.

²⁵ See Yanaihara Tadao (1929), *Teikokushugika no Taiwan*, pp. 206-207.

knowledge necessary for agriculture and industrial production.²⁶ Chanting assimilation in language education was in fact in alignment with Japanese colonial interests in Taiwan. By contrast, promoting assimilation in other areas, such as in politics, would present immediate threats to Japanese colonial interests in Taiwan. If assimilation was to be achieved, socially and politically, there would be no discrepancy in the rights and obligations between the Taiwanese and the Japanese. Compulsory education was to be provided for the Taiwanese as it was for their Japanese counterparts. The Taiwanese should have equal participation in colonial administration concerning Taiwan. Subsequently, the status quo whereby the Japanese were given privileges at the apex of Taiwanese society at the expenses of the Taiwanese who sat at the bottom would have been challenged. This explains why the concept of assimilation was heard and advocated much earlier exclusively in education than other areas of colonial administration in Taiwan, where the official assimilation policy was not declared until 1919, nearly two and a half decades after Japanese colonial rule began in Taiwan. Even then, the rhetoric of assimilation after 1919 had only the value of talking up the egalitarian ideal without genuine solutions to those problems. The hypocrisy of Japanese colonial assimilation policy, as Yanaihara argued, was a means of protection for Japanese colonial rule to maintain their privileges in Taiwan. In similar fashion Izumi Tetsu, a law professor of Meiji University and liberal critic of Japanese colonialism, argued that when speaking about the obligations of the colonised, the assimilation policy was conveniently employed for their compliance. When speaking about the rights of the colonised, the policy was then applied in accordance with conditions which were to favour the Japanese coloniser.²⁷ The reluctance of Japanese colonial rule in giving up their privileges and recognising the rights of the Taiwanese had made assimilation in Taiwan become a hypocritical and futile exercise.

²⁶ This principle was officially addressed in the annual educational conference conducted by the then Chief Civil Administrator of the Government-General of Taiwan, Uchida Kakichi. See Editorial (1912), *Taiwan Kyōiku*, No. 124, pp. 1-3.

²⁷ Izumi's argument is cited in Ts'ai Shih-gu (1921), 'Dōka Seisaku ni tsuite', *Taiwan Seinen*, Vol. 2, No. 3, p. 25.

Japanese Language Education and Japanese National Characteristics

When the first Japanese language school in Taiwan was established in 1895, the over-all guidelines for Japanese language education in Taiwan were yet to be formulated. Based on Izawa's vision, Japanese language education topped the agenda of Japanese colonial education in Taiwan. That Japanese language education was given the important role of cultivating the Japanese national spirit was first seen in the *Kokugo Denshūjo Kisoku* (the National Language Teaching Institute Regulations) when the first fourteen *Kokugo Denshūjo* were established in 1896 by Izawa. Article One of the *Kokugo Denshūjo Kisoku* stated "the principle of the *Kokugo Denshūjo* is to educate the island people [the Taiwanese] in the national language [Japanese]...and cultivate [their] national (*honkoku*) spirit (*seishin*)".²⁸ The same elements were reflected in the stipulations concerning language education in the *Gogakubu* (the Language Department) of the *Kokugo Gakkō* established in the same year. Article Nineteen of the *Kokugo Gakkō Kisoku* (the National Language School Regulations) again stated that "the principle of this department is to teach languages, cultivate [students'] morality, to enlighten [their] intelligence...and to cultivate [their] national spirit (*kokuminteki seishin*)".²⁹ Japanese language education and the cultivation of Japanese characteristics – elements derived from the *kokka/kokumin* ideology, were seen as part and parcel of the regulations stipulated for *Kokugo Denshūjo* and the *Kokugo Gakkō*. For this, Kokubu argued that Japanese language education in Taiwan was not just language education; it was to achieve the further aim of assimilation of the Taiwanese as perceived by Izawa.³⁰

Japanese language education and national spirit, as stipulated in the *Kōgakkō* regulations, were also seen as inseparable and indispensable; one could not be achieved without the other. This principle, Kokubu again argued, was the reason for the supremacy of Japanese language education in Taiwan and the expected success of common education in the *Kōgakkō*.³¹ Article One of the *Kōgakkō* regulations established in 1898 stated that "the principle of the *Kōgakkō* is to educate the island

²⁸ See Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, p. 168.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 553.

³⁰ See Kokubu Tanetake (1931), *Taiwan ni okeru Kokugo Kyōiku no Tenkai*, pp. 39-40.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

people [the Taiwanese] in morality and practical knowledge, and to cultivate [their] national characteristics (*kokumintaru no seikaku*) as well as increase proficiency in [their] national language [Japanese]”. Article Two further added that “based on the locality, Japanese language education can be arranged through intensive courses, night school, or after normal school hours”.³² Reviewing these regulations, it is clear that from the beginning that Japanese language education became the core of *Kōgakkō* education, which also explains the fact that more than two-thirds of its curriculum time was devoted to the Japanese language.³³ Regulations on *Kōgakkō* were modified in 1904. Article One of the modified *Kōgakkō Kisoku* again stated that “the principle of the *Kōgakkō* is to educate the island people in Japanese and morality, to cultivate [their] national characteristics (*kokumintaru no seikaku*), and to teach [them] common knowledge and the skills necessary for life”.³⁴ The modified regulations reflected the major principle in the earlier system; in addition, Japanese language education was mentioned first and common knowledge and skills were to be added to *Kōgakkō* education. The 1904 regulations were again modified in 1912. All the elements in Article One concerning *Kōgakkō* education remained unchanged except that care for physical development was added.³⁵ In the education of common knowledge and skills, from 1904 sewing was added to the curriculum from the third year for female students, and handicrafts, agriculture, and commerce were added from the fifth year for male students. Due to the increase in the number of subjects, Japanese language education was gradually reduced down to less than half of the total curriculum time by 1912.³⁶ Although the time devoted to Japanese classes was seemingly reduced, the application of the Japanese language was on the other hand widened and its implications were greater than it might seem. The early years of the *Kōgakkō* curriculum were designed to introduce Taiwanese students to the Japanese language, but when it came to the senior years, Japanese could also be applied in their learning of skills and knowledge related to

³² See Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, p. 229.

³³ Among its twenty-eight hour weekly curriculum in the first year, twenty-one hours were devoted to *Kokugo/Sakubun* (Japanese/Composition) (five), *Dokusho* (Reading) (twelve), and *Shūji* (Calligraphy) (four). Over the six years, on average more than two-thirds of the curriculum was devoted to the Japanese language. See Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, pp. 232-233.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 292.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 271-272, 282-283.

handcrafts and agriculture. Therefore, the application of the Japanese language in *Kōgakkō* education was in fact increased.³⁷

Despite regulations on Japanese language education in Taiwan dating back as far as 1896, the over-all direction of education in Taiwan was not officially stipulated until the declaration of the first Taiwan Education Ordinance in 1919. In addition to the rationalisation of a Japanese/Taiwanese segregated education system, the declaration of the Taiwan Education Ordinance by the Government-General of Taiwan also mapped out colonial education in Taiwan into four directions. They were common, vocational, professional, and normal education.³⁸ Common education, as offered in *Kōgakkō*, was still the area where Japanese language education was given most emphasis. In the area concerning the duration, teaching subjects, and teaching guidelines of common education, Articles Nine, Ten, and Eleven further emphasised Japanese language acquisition, morality education, and the cultivation of the national spirit (*kokumin no seishin*) through Japanese language education.³⁹ The first Taiwan Education Ordinance was replaced by the New Taiwan Education Ordinance in 1922. Again, regulations concerning language education, morality education, and the cultivation of the Japanese spirit and characteristics were stipulated in Articles Twenty-three, Twenty-four, and Twenty-five which in essence succeeded its predecessor in the area of *Kōgakkō* education.⁴⁰ From the *Kokugo Denshūjo Kisoku* in 1896 to the *Kōgakkō Kisoku* in 1898 to the New Taiwan Education Ordinance in 1922, regulations concerning education in Taiwan had always centred on Japanese language education, especially at the *Kōgakkō*. From Izawa's educational initiatives to the declaration of the Taiwan Education Ordinance by the Government-General of Taiwan, the stance between Japanese educators and colonial officials in colonial education in Taiwan had been consistent. That is, Japanese language education was the top priority of Japanese colonial education for Taiwan. It was the tool to consolidate the goal of cultivating the Taiwanese with the Japanese spirit and national characteristics. Only when the Taiwanese were transformed

³⁷ See Kokubu Tanetake (1931), *Taiwan ni okeru Kokugo Kyōiku no Tenkai*, p. 59.

³⁸ See Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, p. 324.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 334-335.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 362-364.

with the national characteristics of Japan could the goal of Japanese language education in Taiwan be achieved.

Examining regulations and ordinances concerning Japanese language education in Taiwan, all elements were founded on the task of cultivating in the Taiwanese children Japanese national characteristics. What then constituted the Japanese national characteristics? Dr. Haga Yaichi (1867-1927), a professor of Tokyo University in Japanese literature, listed ten features of what he called the Japanese national characteristics. He argued that the Japanese were 'loyal to the emperor and they love their country'. They were 'respectful to ancestors and they honour their family name'. They were 'realistic and practical'. They 'love plants and enjoy nature'. They were 'optimistic and delightful'. They were 'seldom troubled by worldly gains and losses and open-minded'. They were 'graceful and delicate'. They were 'hygienic and unblemished'. They had 'proper manners and behaviour'. They were 'gentle and forgiving'.⁴¹ Tsukushima Kenzō further elaborates on the first two Japanese national characteristics which he argues are the most fundamental to how Japan was constituted as a society. According to this theory, for the Japanese, the individual person does not exist without the loyalty and attachment to the Japanese emperor. Individual Japanese are placed in the chain of their families, the nation, and the emperor, and the Japanese do not exist as individuals without this association with the nation and the Japanese emperor. There was no such thing as an individual for the Japanese when their ties to their families, Japanese society, and the Japanese emperor were cut off.⁴²

The significance of Japanese kinship in relation to their ancestry and the land is again reinforced by Furuishi Ken, a school teacher of the *Chōka Shōgakkō* (Changhua Elementary School) in Taiwan. He further explained,

[because] the Japanese, not like the European immigrants who came from many different places, have been steadily living in Japan for as long as Japanese history goes, this makes

⁴¹ See Haga Yaichi (1907), *Kokuminsei Jūron*, Tokyo, Fuzambō, cited in Tsukushima Kenzō (1984), *Nihonjinron no naka no Nihonjin*, Tokyo, Dainihon Tosho Kabushiki Gaisha, pp. 229-237.

⁴² *Ibid*, pp. 230-232.

the Japanese regular habitants of their home land. Families making up the landscape of the Japanese nation are therefore a natural progression. This result also makes the Japanese honour their ancestors, and signifies their bloodline. A major part of Japanese history also originated from the land itself, and this has in turn made them respect their land by worshipping deities in shrines and ancestors' tombstones.⁴³

The Japanese placed so much importance on their family name and ancestry that their lineage was regarded as untarnishable. Nor could they do anything to dishonour their ancestry which is closely linked to the land and to their society as a whole. In addition to this realisation, Dr. Haga's list helps us grasp what was meant by 'Japanese national characteristics'. However, whether these elements are exclusively Japanese is, of course, debatable. Virtues such as a loving nature and being gentle and optimistic seem to be desirable common goals pursued by any form of educational apparatus in relation to children's education. Further, whether Japanese language education alone would achieve these common goals is also debatable. As Ōnae Hironari, a school principal of the *Daimokukō Kōgakkō*, argued, Japanese language education alone was not enough to achieve these 'Japanese' characteristics; coupled with moral, intellectual, and physical education, the whole set of education would make a more complete task. Besides the belief that Japanese language education was the key to cultivating Japanese traits among *Kōgakkō* pupils, Ōnae presented a different view to clear the confusion. In his series of articles titled 'Kokugo Kyōjuhō no Kisokuteki Kenkyū' (Preliminary Research on Teaching Methodologies of the National Language), he argued,

[it] is firmly believed that based on national language education, a complete cultivation of the national spirit is to be achieved and on top of that the ultimate goal of the characteristics and conduct of the people can then be attained among *Kōgakkō* students. There is a lot of doubt in this belief. The shaping and creation of the national traits of the people is not necessarily associated with national language education. Without knowing this distinction, the real effects of education cannot be attained. Further, even if the Japanese language has been acquired by some of the Taiwanese, their ways of thinking might not have been assimilated into Japanese. On the contrary, they think differently. This is why we need to look into the basis of Japanese language education and draw a clear distinction between using Japanese as a convenient tool to educate the Taiwanese and the method of education concerning the cultivation of national characteristics and spirit of the Taiwanese. To me, Japanese language education should not be the ultimate purpose of common education; rather it should only be a convenient tool. Civil education, academic education, and

⁴³ See Furuishi Ken (1915), 'Wa ga Kokuminsei to Taiwan Kyōiku' (I), *Taiwan Kyōiku*, No. 153, pp. 19-20.

physical education should be the core for common education in the *Kōgakkō* for the attainment of national spirit and characteristics for *Kōgakkō* pupils.⁴⁴

In contrast to the ten virtues of national characteristics of the Japanese, Furuishi Ken, in return, listed the ten phenomena that he observed as to why Taiwanese children lacked these Japanese characteristics and therefore needed a good dose of Japanese education. The ten weaknesses of the Taiwanese children were listed as follows:

- 1) They have a weak conception towards respecting the deities and worshipping their ancestors.
- 2) They do not understand the true meaning of life concerning the nation, society, and family.
- 3) They tend to look after their own interests.
- 4) They are not disciplined nor organised.
- 5) They have a high sense of self-pride but lack a sense of respect for others.
- 6) They lack enduring perseverance and patience.
- 7) They are not hygienic, and have no methods and no style.
- 8) They are seldom lively and active.
- 9) They do not know the true value of money.
- 10) They do not understand the virtue of working hard.⁴⁵

Furuishi argued that the shortcomings of the Taiwanese children lay in the vices of the geographic nature of Taiwan and Taiwanese society. He argued that the humid weather in Taiwan had made children inactive and impatient and it resulted in their physical weakness. They also failed to be moved and inspired by nature which in turn resulted in their lack of style and emotions. Vices existing in old Taiwanese society such as being unhygienic and disordered had also resulted in people's lack of self-respect. To rectify the situation, Furuishi further suggested that physical training and the drills of Japanese national education should be employed in educating the Taiwanese. In the training of

⁴⁴ See Ōnae Hironari, 'Kokugo Kyōjuhō no Kisokuteki Kenkyū', *Taiwan Kyōiku*, No. 202, pp. 16-19, and No. 203, pp. 27-32. More discussion on Ōnae's theories can be seen in Chapter Four.

⁴⁵ See Furuishi Ken (1915), 'Wa ga Kokuminsei to Taiwan Kyōiku' (I), p. 21.

Japanese national education, he further divided it into three focuses. They were the appreciation of the Japanese emperor, the consolidation of the concept of nation, and the self-cultivation of the national spirit. All essences of this Japanese style of national education were attributed to the appreciation of the mercy and merits of the Japanese emperor and his loyal decrees, reinforcement of patriotism to Japan and Japanese ancestry, acknowledgement of Japan's *kokutai*, and the sense of obligation towards the Japanese royal family. On this foundation, the self-cultivation of benevolence, frugality, a sense of humanity, activity, and perseverance were to be achieved accordingly.⁴⁶

Detached from this Japanese-centric perspective, the contents of Japanese national education, as articulated by Furuishi, were no more than the indoctrination of the colonised Taiwanese with Japanese patriotism and the supremacy of Japanese culture, honouring Japanese royalty and ancestry. His approach to education of the Taiwanese children was militaristic and authoritarian. To impose ideologies such as Japan's *kokutai* and the supremacy of Japanese royalty upon children beyond their comprehension was hardly appropriate. However, absolute obedience and self-discipline were endorsed here by educators, such as Furuishi, to be a style of education which would achieve the maximum result in national unity and the sense of loyalty. Since the Taiwanese children were seen to barely possess virtues and proper attitudes, this Japanese style of education was seen to be an effective remedy for the Taiwanese malaise. Rather than being guided and encouraged, the Taiwanese children were to be moulded into these Japanese values and were said to be benefiting from them. The model of Japanese education with the connotation of assimilation inevitably failed to recognise the purpose and nature of education, which is to guide and inspire students who may have different beliefs and may practice different cultures. Due to their belief that assimilation was beneficial to the colonised, Japanese colonial educators failed to recognise the fact that the model of Japanese education would barely work in a society different from that of the Japanese. It is only their bold attempt and firm belief in the

⁴⁶ See Furuishi Ken (1915), 'Wa ga Kokuminsei to Taiwan Kyōiku' (II), *Taiwan Kyōiku*, No. 154, pp. 18-27.

supremacy of Japanese culture that made zealous Japanese educators industriously try to carry out their visions.

The Power of the Japanese Language

It was through Japanese language education that Japanese national characteristics were to be obtained and the assimilation of a people of different origins, such as the Taiwanese, to be achieved. Let us further explore how this belief and the nationalistic sentiment towards their language were represented in writings by Japanese educators of the time. The view that the assimilation of the Taiwanese relied on the popularisation of the Japanese language was discussed in an editorial titled ‘Hontō Kyōikusha ni taisuru Jūyō Mondai’ (Important Questions to Educators of the Taiwan Island).

The popularisation of the national language has the value of assimilating the people of the Taiwan island. It also smoothes the invisible relations between people once the languages are unified within the territory of the [Japanese] empire. It is like the standardisation of currencies and measurements in a country, which removes barriers in relation to people’s daily economic dealings. Its advantage is beyond measurement. In other words, the national language is where the spirit of the people dwells, the circulation of spiritual blood starts and stops. Therefore, the spread of legends, religions, and literature of a people [through their language] will unconsciously influence those of other peoples or even transform or replace them.⁴⁷

In another article, the view that the Japanese language has the power to unify thoughts and consolidate its speakers’ loyalty towards the Japanese nation was expressed by Watanabe Matsuzō. In his article titled ‘Kokugo no Chikara’ (the Power of the National Language), Watanabe argued that the true value of the national language (Japanese) needed to be realised before efforts were made to acquire it. To him, the national language was not only important for the individual speaker to use as a tool to exchange thoughts. It was also important for the nation to enable its people to express thoughts, to foster an interest in reading and logic in thinking, to increase their hobbies and absorb knowledge, and to cultivate their morality. Therefore, the national language possessed great power for the cultivation of the national spirit among its speakers.

⁴⁷ See Editorial (1916), ‘Hontō Kyōikusha ni taisuru Jūyō Mondai’, *Taiwan Kyōiku*, No. 169, p. 2.

Our language is intimately linked to our land and thousands of years of history. It has contained our thoughts and the honoured spirit of our ancestors. The unique characteristics of the Japanese people are therefore expressed in the language. By learning the language, the thoughts and emotions of the Japanese people are naturally received. With the national language, the Japanese thoughts and emotions, in other words, the Japanese spirit, are to be fostered...Further, languages are effective tools for the exchange of thoughts; with the national language, the thoughts within a nation can be unified. When thoughts are unified, the people can be unified, and the nation can be unified and becomes stronger.⁴⁸

He further elaborated,

[when] the nation is stronger, the nation will prosper. When the nation prospers, its people will be plucking the fruit of prosperity. On the contrary, if languages within a nation were not unified, the unification of thoughts of the people could not be expected and misunderstanding would occur among the people. The resultant discord would diminish harmony and unity among the people and in due course would affect the operation of the nation...this, from the standpoint of individuals and from the standpoint of the nation, is very disadvantageous.⁴⁹

Based on the arguments from these texts, the national language, Japanese, as a cultural lubricator and enhancer, would not only break down the barrier of communication between the coloniser and the colonised but also serve as a mutual agent to arouse nationalistic sentiment among the people who speak it. Further, the Japanese spirit could be revitalised and reinforced through the use of the language. Most importantly, the use of the Japanese language would bring unity and prosperity to its nation and people.

The indispensability of Japanese language education for Japanese national education was further elaborated by Tsukamoto Katsuzō, a high school teacher. In Tsukamoto's perspective, the uplifting of the national education relied on respect for the national language, Japanese. He argued that the purpose of national education was to educate the Japanese to become complete Japanese nationals. He disputed education which emphasised the exploration of the nature of individual students. He saw this as no more than daydreaming. For him, besides being a citizen of a nation, there was not a concrete definition as to what it meant to be a human being. That was why the purpose of

⁴⁸ See Watanabe Matsuzō (1916), 'Kokugo no Chikara', *Taiwan Kyōiku*, No. 165, pp. 18-19.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p. 19.

national education had practicability. A righteous citizen of a nation, to him, would be a righteous human being. He further elaborated that the only way to educate a person to become a complete citizen of a nation was national language education. Through the national language, the cultivation of national spirit and civil training could begin to happen. Fundamentally, to love the language of the mother country was the purest form of love of the nation, and the cultivation of the purest love of the nation in turn relied on the purest form of national language education. On the contrary, to Tsukamoto, an impure form of the national language could impede national language education which would in turn impede the quality of national education.⁵⁰ The Japanese ultimate love for their language and nation, as the one expressed by Tsukamoto, was summed up in a passage from 'Kokugo no Chikara' (The Power of the National Language) in Lesson Twenty-eight, Volume Nine of the *Jinjō Shōgaku Kokugo Tokuhon* (Standard Elementary Japanese Language Reader) published in 1937.

The national language cannot be separated from the nation or the people. The people who forget their national language are not people of their nation. Respect the national language. Love the national language. The national language is the place where the soul of the people dwells.⁵¹

This unconditional love towards the Japanese language and the mystical belief in its power made many Japanese educators overlook the reality of promoting Japanese in a non-Japanese speaking environment, and problems facing the seemingly easy task of assimilation through the implementation of Japanese language education. It is also this belief in the power of the Japanese language which convinced Japanese educators that the assimilation of the Taiwanese could be achieved, to such an extent that they totally ignored the fact that the Taiwanese spoke different languages and practiced different cultures and beliefs long before the Japanese came. Lin Mosei, a pioneer in Japanese colonial education in Taiwan, argued that the problem of Japanese assimilation education in Taiwan lay in the colonial authorities' ignorance in recognising the

⁵⁰ See Tsukamoto Katsuzō (1940), 'Kokugo no Aigo', *Kokugo Undō*, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 4-5. Also see Benedict Anderson (1983), *Imagined Communities*, London, Verso, pp. 67-111, on the importance of language, education, and literacy in the promotion of nationalism.

⁵¹ See Monbushō (1937), *Jinjō Shōgaku Kokugo Tokuhon*, Tokyo, Monbushō, Vol. 9, pp. 170-171.

psychological attachment and consciousness of the Taiwanese people towards their native languages and cultures. Imposing the Japanese language and suppressing the use of native languages would only turn the feelings of the Taiwanese against Japanese rule. He vigorously opposed Japanese colonial education for Taiwan with the connotation of assimilation. To him, education should provide a model to explore students' individuality and bring out their potential. In his opinions, assimilation, the one-sided sentiment towards the perceived supremacy of a particular culture, was a form of guiding principle that should not be applied in education to anyone. He referred to Yanaihara Tadao's argument that language dresses only the appearance of a society and that speaking the designated language of a society does not mean that it will change people internally.⁵² Evidence in this study suggests that the Taiwanese might learn to speak Japanese, but it does not mean they would necessarily think in a Japanese way and abandon their indigenous values altogether. From a pragmatic point of view, the ideology of assimilation through the implementation of Japanese language education was unlikely to succeed since there was not much use of Japanese in the everyday lives of the majority of the Taiwanese outside school. The truth is: Japanese remained a socio-political dominant language to the advantage of the ruling Japanese elite. To the general Taiwanese public it had little relevance to their day-to-day living. More discussion on the reality of Japanese language education in Taiwan and the effects of assimilation through Japanese language education among the Taiwanese will be provided in Chapters Five, Six, and Seven. In Chapter Four, I will continue to look into the system of Japanese language education in Taiwan through its establishment and teaching methodologies. I will also examine language textbooks used at various stages during the colonial rule. In doing so, I examine the socio-political circumstances contributing to their compilation and the relationship between their contents and the political theme of assimilation.

⁵² See Lin Mosei (2000) [1929], *Ri Ban Tong Zhi Xia Taiwan de Xue Xiao Jiao Yu*, pp. 209-211.

Chapter Four *Kokugo Kyōiku* (Japanese Language Education) in Taiwan: Pioneer Work in Teaching Methodologies and Language Textbook Compilation

Introduction

When Japanese colonial education began in Taiwan in 1895, it also started the history of overseas Japanese language education in areas of formulation and implementation. Japanese language education in Taiwan accounted for a very important part of Japan's efforts to promote the Japanese language overseas and to her other colony, Korea, and occupied territories in China and South-east Asia. It is based on the pioneer work in Taiwan that a model of Japanese teaching was formed for the promotion of Japanese language education overseas. The history of Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan is nevertheless connected with the ambition to prove that it had a level of civilisation comparable to the Europeans and could therefore play a role in 'civilising' other Asian countries.¹ Nevertheless, the magnitude of Japanese language education in Taiwan and its implications deserve our full attention. Following on from the discussion on Japanese colonial position and ideologies on Japanese language education in Taiwan in the previous chapter, in this chapter I will further analyse the establishment of Japanese language education in Taiwan through the pioneer work in teaching methodologies and textbook compilation. I will also investigate how the model of Japanese language education for non-native speakers was formulated and consolidated in Taiwan. Finally, the contents of language textbooks used at various stages of colonial rule will be examined to determine the socio-political circumstances associated with their production and the underlying theme of assimilation.

The Formulation of Teaching Methodologies

Upon the establishment of the *Kōgakkō* in 1898, there was not a unified system of Japanese teaching methodologies. Direct translation between the Japanese and the Taiwanese languages, the dominant teaching methodology used at the *Kokugo*

¹ See Takekoshi Yosaburō (1905), *Taiwan Tōchishi*, Preface, pp. 1-2.

Denshūjo, *Kōgakkō*'s predecessor, was most prevalent.² For example, when teaching the pattern 'what is this?', the teacher would first say in Japanese '*Kore wa nan desu ka?*' Immediately, the Taiwanese equivalent would be given to help students comprehend the Japanese sentence. The method was also widely used in the early years of *Kōgakkō* education, especially among the first and second graders who had little knowledge of the Japanese language. This methodology was, however, thought to be ineffective by Japanese language instructors, and they felt the need to develop a more effective way of teaching.

The establishment of the *Kokugo Kyōju Kenkyūkai* (the National Language Teaching Research Association) in 1898, led by Hashimoto Takeshi, who also taught at the *Kokugo Gakkō*, pioneered research into Japanese teaching methodologies in Taiwan.³ In 1901 the association became the *Taiwan Kyōikukai* which played a key role in developing and formulating Japanese teaching methodologies and curriculum for *Kōgakkō* education. As has been discussed in the previous chapters, it also worked as an advisory body for the Government-General of Taiwan in the area of education. The broader aims of the *Taiwan Kyōikukai* included the expression of opinions on education and society, research into education excellence, investigations of significant events in education, organising seminars and workshops in relation to education, and publishing educational journals and books.⁴ The *Taiwan Kyōikukai* and its branch offices attracted membership from those involved in education in Taiwan. In 1901, it started to publish its journal, *Taiwan Kyōikukai Zasshi*, (Journal of the Taiwan Education Association), every second month with a focus on opinions expressed in the area of education and

² When the first Japanese language school was established in July 1895 in Shisangan, without the formation of teaching methodologies or textbooks, Izawa himself taught in English to the first two Taiwanese students, and through an interpreter, Taiwanese was used to assist in their comprehension. See Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, p.157.

³ Members such as Yamaguchi Kiichirō, who first introduced François Gouin's teaching methodology into the *Kōgakkō* to replace the old Japanese/Taiwanese translation methodology, and Ogawa Naoyoshi, who was involved in the compilation of several Japanese/Taiwanese dictionaries, were closely associated with the association. See Yoshino Hidekimi (1927), *Taiwan Kyōikushi*, pp. 154-158. Also see Tomita Akira (1998), 'Nihon Tōchi Jidai Shoki Taiwan ni okeru Nihongo Kenkyū: Kokugo Kyōju Kenkyūkai oyobi Ogawa Naoyoshi no Kenkyū ni tsuite', *Nihongo Kyōiku*, No. 99, 96-107.

⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 154-155.

society. From October 1902, it started publishing the journal monthly. From 1912, the journal was renamed *Taiwan Kyōiku* (Taiwan Education).⁵

In 1899, Hashimoto Takeshi first introduced the French linguist François Gouin's teaching methodology to Taiwan. Gouin's methodology was called the direct teaching method with its principles based on the model of the process of infants learning a language. According to Gouin's theory, infants learn a language by observing actual objects in life and movements related to words without the intervention of translation. The learner is like a piece of blank paper, and the direct way of learning is to make them absorb what they experience and think and talk from their head.⁶ It was soon applied by Yamaguchi Kiichirō (1872-1952) and others in the first elementary school attached to the *Kokugo Gakkō*. For Yamaguchi, a faithful follower of Hashimoto, it is clear that Japanese language education in Taiwan was not just to create interpreters. Rather, he emphasised a sympathetic understanding of the Japanese language before practical matters. Therefore, rather than logical understanding of a language, he encouraged the actual experiencing of 'language activities' in life. That is, he advocated direct teaching in Japanese without the intervention of translation.⁷ Gouin's teaching methodology was applied to directly make students speak and listen to Japanese before opening the textbooks to read the contents. When they became familiar with the language, the contents of the textbooks were then read with new words being introduced. Real life props and well-prepared pictures were used as teaching aids. Illustrations used in the textbooks were also designed to teach the Japanese language in a direct manner.⁸ The result was said to be so satisfactory that the Government-General of Taiwan in the next year published Gouin's methodology as a teaching guide to be promoted among other schools in Taiwan.⁹ In 1904 Yamaguchi formally introduced Gouin's direct teaching

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 155. Opinions expressed in articles from the journal in relation to Japanese language education in Taiwan have been comprehensively reviewed throughout this thesis.

⁶ See Komagome Takeshi (1996), *Shokuminchi Teikoku Nihon no Bunka Tōgō*, p. 65. For detailed discussion, see Kokubu Tanetake (1931), *Taiwan ni okeru Kokugo Kyōiku no Tenkai*, pp. 340-370.

⁷ See Kokubu Tanetake (1931), *Taiwan ni okeru Kokugo Kyōiku no Tenkai*, p. 333.

⁸ See Taiwan Sōtokufu Minseikyoku (1900), *Taiwan Kōgakkō Kokugo Kyōju Yōshi*, Taihoku, Taiwan Sōtokufu, cited in Kokubu Tanetake (1931), *Taiwan ni okeru Kokugo Kyōiku no Tenkai*, pp. 271-272.

⁹ See Taiwan Sōtokufu Minseikyoku Gakumubu (1900), *Guan-shi Gengo Kyōju Hōan*, Taihoku, Taiwan Sōtokufu.

methodology into the *Kōgakkō*. When he left Taiwan in 1911 after more than a decade of devotion to further overseas Japanese language education in Korea and China, he was still zealously promoting this direct teaching method.¹⁰ In 1904 the subject, *Kanbun* (classical Chinese), became independent from the subject, *Kokugo* (Japanese), so that students would not rely on their mother tongue to inter-translate Japanese and Taiwanese while learning Japanese. This move aimed to make students concentrate on learning *Kokugo* as Japanese and *Kanbun* as classical Chinese respectively. In 1901 the former had been included and taught together within the latter.¹¹

Another significance in insisting on the direct teaching method lies in the rationalisation that through direct teaching, the Japanese language, thought to be the ultimate manifestation of the Japanese spirit, could be acquired more directly by the learner. Through the Japanese language, ‘Japanese civilisation’, ‘the benevolence of the Japanese imperial family’, and ‘the Japanese spirit’ would be conveyed to the speaker directly without interference. The Japanese language was said to guarantee the existence of ‘things’ related to Japan, and the contents of things related to Japan were in turn manifested through the Japanese language. The subtle feeling of ‘things related to Japan’ (*Nihontekina mono*), and the definition of ‘the meanings of things’ (*jibutsu no imi*) could be better understood in the Japanese language in an emotional, rather than a logical, level.¹² This subtle feeling, coming from experiencing the Japanese language, can perhaps be connected to what Ueda Kazutoshi called ‘the spiritual blood of the Japanese’.¹³ To a greater extent, this experience conceptualises the intertwining of the Japanese nation, Japanese ethnicity, and the Japanese spirit as one through the language. It was thus thought by Japanese language educators, such as Yamaguchi, that inter-

¹⁰ Yamaguchi Kiichirō came to Taiwan in 1896 along with other Japanese teachers who were to be trained with an intensive schedule to quickly join the pioneer work of Japanese teaching in Taiwan. He was admitted to the first elementary school attached to the *Kokugo Gakkō* where he later experimented with Gouin’s teaching methodology. See Yoshino Hidekimi (1927), *Taiwan Kyōikushi*, p. 73. Also see Komagome Takeshi (1996), *Shokuminchi Teikoku Nihon no Bunka Tōgō*, p. 331.

¹¹ See Kondō Junko (1995), ‘Taiwan ni okeru Yamaguchi Kiichirō: Kōgakkō Kisoku Kaisei to no Kakawari ni suite’, *Nihongo Kyōiku*, No. 85, p. 115.

¹² See Yamaguchi Kiichirō (1942), ‘Jikokugo to Gaikokugo - Nihongo Kyōjuhō Josetsu sono Ni’, *Nihongo*, Vol. 2, No. 3, cited in Komagome Takeshi (1996), *Shokuminchi Teikoku Nihon no Bunka Tōgō*, p. 334.

¹³ Discussion of Ueda’s theories can be seen in Chapter Three.

ethnic assimilation through the common experience of mastering the Japanese language in Japanese-occupied territories was feasible.¹⁴ This is why, to Yamaguchi, learning Japanese through the method of translation would be inappropriate among the people of Japan's occupied territories. Rather than conveying the concept of Japanese being the spiritual blood of the Japanese, he would further pursue a way to actually 'transfuse' the blood into the people of Japanese-occupied territories. The only way to have the spiritual blood of the Japanese transfused into the veins of the colonised was through the direct teaching of the Japanese language.¹⁵

Accompanying the direct teaching method which was widely promoted in the *Kōgakkō*, a teaching method emphasising the contents of the textbook was emerging. This method faithfully followed the sequence of the contents of each lesson in teaching, which also had the effect of unifying teaching procedures. However, due to the over-emphasis on teaching sequence and the contents of the textbook, the hasty cover-all methodology was insufficient in consolidating students' comprehension over each section of the lesson. It was said that students who had spent four or five years learning Japanese based on this method were still unable to satisfactorily use Japanese in the classroom.¹⁶ This textbook-oriented method was used together with Gouin's direct teaching methodology until 1909 when Ōnae Hironari, the principal of the *Daimokukō Kōgakkō*, advocated what he called the 'practice-oriented' way of teaching to be used in the *Kōgakkō*. The practice-oriented way of teaching was developed in opposition to the methodology which emphasised the comprehension of the textbook contents.¹⁷ In particular, subjects like *Shūshin*,¹⁸ Geography, and History normally ended up with teachers spending too

¹⁴ Komagome Takeshi (1996), *Shokuminchi Teikoku Nihon no Bunka Tōgō*, pp. 334-335.

¹⁵ See Yamaguchi Kiichirō (1933), *Gaikokugo toshite no Wa ga Kokugo Kyōjuhō*, p. 151, cited in Komagome Takeshi (1996), *Shokuminchi Teikoku Nihon no Bunka Tōgō*, p. 335.

¹⁶ See Katō Haruki (1918), 'Taiwan ni okeru Kokugo Mondai' (1), *Taiwan Kyōiku*, No. 188, pp. 37-41. Also see Ōnae Hironari (1919), 'Kokugo Kyōjuhō no Kisokuteki Kenkyū' (5), *Taiwan Kyōiku*, No. 201, pp. 11-14.

¹⁷ See Katō Haruki (1918), 'Taiwan ni okeru Kokugo Mondai' (1), p. 41.

¹⁸ As has been discussed in Chapter Two, *Shūshin*, a combination of morality, civics, and manners, was introduced by Izawa Shūji to the curriculum of the *Kōgakkō* upon its establishment in 1898. However, the first *Shūshin* textbooks used at the *Kōgakkō*, *Kōgakkō Shūshinsho*, were not published until 1912. The emphasis on the national spirit of Japan and its related themes, such as the Japanese royal family and Japan's sacred origin, had always been the key elements of the textbook. For detailed discussion, see Chung Ching-han (1993), *Nihon Shokuminchika ni okeru Taiwan Kyōikushi*, pp. 248-253.

much time talking and students finding it hard to concentrate and express themselves in return. The practice-oriented way of teaching instead made learning spans short and applied everyday life material to help students practice and express themselves in Japanese. However, after four or five years of experiment, problems again were found in this practice-oriented methodology. Due to the emphasis on speaking practices, students were often made to practice given sentences repetitively so that they became exhausted and gave dull mechanical responses in reply.¹⁹ Thus, from 1913 together with the compilation of the new version of language textbooks, an over-all teaching methodology which aimed to refine the teaching skills of Japanese and in the meantime avoid all the problems resulting from the past methodologies was again emerging. The improvement in teaching methodology aimed to ‘teach the Japanese language the way it is’, and emphasised self-expression. It is said that it took about ten years of experiment for such a methodology to mature. Based on these pioneer efforts by Japanese educators in searching for a better way of teaching, the foundation of Japanese teaching methodologies was consolidated at the *Kōgakkō* in this period.²⁰ Komagome argues that by 1930, *Kōgakkō* education aimed to use Japanese to instruct students in every aspect of their school life to completely eliminate the Taiwanese language.²¹

Overall, the development of teaching methodologies for Japanese language education at the *Kōgakkō* highlighted the difficulties in teaching Japanese in a non-speaking environment. Over several decades, numerous methodologies were experimented with and heated debates were carried out over how to formulate satisfactory methodologies for Japanese language education in Taiwan. These efforts were aimed at maximising the results of Japanese language education at the *Kōgakkō*. Other issues, such as the discrepancy between written and spoken Japanese, the purpose of Japanese language education, the suitability of current textbooks, language proficiency of Japanese language teachers, the lack of opportunities for the use of Japanese other than at school for *Kōgakkō* pupils, and the limited resources available for the Taiwanese public who

¹⁹ See Katō Haruki (1918), ‘Taiwan ni okeru Kokugo Mondai’ (1), p. 40.

²⁰ See Yoshino Hidekimi (1927), *Taiwan Kyōikushi*, p. 274.

²¹ See Komagome Takeshi (1996), *Shokuminchi Teikoku Nihon no Bunka Tōgō*, p. 338.

missed out on *Kōgakkō* education were also of concern to Japanese educators in Taiwan.²² In addition, the lower achievement of Japanese language education in Taiwan in comparison to Korea and the complexity of Japanese language education in the *Kōgakkō* were also acknowledged by educators themselves.²³ To bring about better results for Japanese language education in the *Kōgakkō*, Katō Haruki, an educator and editor for governmental publications, further suggested that an appreciation of these difficulties would help teachers to genuinely look into the problems. Secondly, he suggested that Japanese language teachers should have a good mastery of the Japanese language since their thoughts and expressions would directly influence the students. To him, only the most refined Japanese should be taught, in terms of pronunciation, intonation, and precise meanings of words. Thirdly, he argued that teachers should be prudent in their teaching and try to be as accurate as possible. Fourthly, he stressed that teachers should be able to integrate the contents of the textbooks into teaching without referring to the textbooks lesson by lesson and should make students absorb the most direct and practical Japanese through conversation. Finally, he pointed out that teachers ought to make sure that students not only used correct Japanese while in the classroom but also when playing or doing chores and other activities. Constant supervision should be given on all occasions to make sure that students use proper Japanese.²⁴

As opposed to the teaching methodologies discussed above which could be described as the form – the physical level – of Japanese language education, Ōnae Hironari further argued that the substance – the metaphysical level – of Japanese language education accounted for more importance if the purpose of Japanese language education was to be successfully served at the *Kōgakkō*. Together with the revised regulations issued for *Kōgakkō* in 1904, the purpose of Japanese education consolidated itself further than the mere spreading of the Japanese language in Taiwan. The ultimate purpose of Japanese

²² See for example, Katō Haruki (1913), 'Taiwan Kōgakkō ni okeru Kokugo Kyōjuhō Shōshi', (1), *Taiwan Kyōiku*, No. 139, pp. 19-21, Katō Haruki (1914), 'Taiwan Kōgakkō ni okeru Kokugo Kyōjuhō Shōshi', (3) and (4), *Taiwan Kyōiku*, No. 141, pp. 29-32, and No.142, pp. 15-17, and Inoue Masao (1914), 'Kōgakkō Daiichinen Kyōiku Hōshin no Konpon', *Taiwan Kyōiku*, No. 151, pp. 7-11.

²³ See Katō Haruki (1918), 'Taiwan ni okeru Kokugo Mondai' (2), *Taiwan Kyōiku*, No. 189, pp. 50-52. Also see Katō Haruki (1918), 'Kōgakkō ni okeru Kokugo Mondai', speech cited in Yoshino Hidekimi (1927), *Taiwan Kyōikushi*, p. 276.

²⁴ See Katō Haruki (1918), 'Taiwan ni okeru Kokugo Mondai' (2), pp. 52-54.

language education at the *Kōgakkō* was to cultivate complete national spirit among *Kōgakkō* pupils and on that basis national characteristics and merits of the pupils were to be built. That is, the emphasis on the formal features of Japanese language education at the *Kōgakkō*, to make pupils improve their Japanese language skills, was not enough. Furthermore, efforts had to be made for Japanese language education which would consolidate a foundation for the cultivation of national characteristics among *Kōgakkō* pupils.²⁵ Ōnae further argued that the Japanese national spirit was conserved in the Japanese ways of thinking. Therefore, to have *Kōgakkō* pupils equipped with the Japanese ways of thinking, the means of assimilation was unavoidable. Thus, as discussed in the previous chapter, the use of the power of the Japanese language to assimilate and to further build up a foundation for the cultivation of the Japanese spirit among *Kōgakkō* pupils became the cornerstone of Japanese language education after the introduction of the new *Kōgakkō* regulations. In 1912 the first clause of the Taiwan *Kōgakkō* Regulations further stated the purpose of *Kōgakkō* education.

Kōgakkō is to teach the children of the [Taiwan] island the national language, to instruct them with merits, to cultivate their national characteristics, to care for their physical development, and to educate them with basic knowledge and skills which are essential in life.²⁶

Therefore, for Ōnae, based on the interpretation of this clause, common education provided at the *Kōgakkō* should centre on the main principle of educating sound and solid (Japanese) nationals in the same way as was expected of the *Shōgakkō*. To divide all the educational elements stated in the clause into three areas, he suggested that virtues and merits could be seen as civic education, the care for physical development could be seen as physical education, and the teaching of basic knowledge and skills could be seen as intellectual education. *Kōgakkō* education was to be consolidated on these pillars, that is, the cultivation of national characteristics among the *Kōgakkō* pupils. Although the teaching of the Japanese language accounted for the first element of *Kōgakkō* education in the clause and often was taken for granted by a large majority

²⁵ See Ōnae Hironari (1919), 'Kokugo Kyōjuhō no Kisokuteki Kenkyū', *Taiwan Kyōiku*, No. 202, pp. 16-17.

²⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 17-18.

of Japanese educators as the ultimate purpose of *Kōgakkō* education, to Ōnae, the misconception that the purpose of *Kōgakkō* education was merely to spread the Japanese language should be redressed. He stated that Japanese language education should be employed as a convenient tool – for the teaching of the three areas – to achieve the purpose of national education at the *Kōgakkō*. It should never be mistaken for the ultimate purpose of *Kōgakkō* education. Instead, Japanese language education should be used as the basis to unify these three elements – civic, physical, and intellectual – of education at the *Kōgakkō* to facilitate the ultimate purpose.²⁷

Ōnae's arguments added yet another dimension to the debate on issues related to Japanese language education in Taiwan. Throughout the history of Japanese language education in Taiwan, *Kōgakkō* was the stage where overseas Japanese language education was pioneered, tested, and formulated. Through the commitment and concerns of educators such as Yamaguchi Kiichirō, Ōnae Hironari, and Katō Haruki, we see the genuine interest of Japanese language educators in their jobs. We also see that issues such as teaching methodologies, teachers' competency, linguistic complexity of languages, and the end results of language education – its practicality and students' ability to apply their knowledge to everyday life still reflect what concerns us today in the area of language education, especially in second language education. By reviewing the formulation of teaching methodologies of Japanese language education in Taiwan, we are given an example of how the task of the promotion of overseas Japanese language education through governmental efforts was tackled. In addition, it sheds further light on how colonial education in Taiwan was developed to suit the overall interests and educational ideologies of Japan in managing its colonial subjects.

The Compilation of Japanese Language Textbooks

Before the establishment of the *Kōgakkō*, language textbooks used in the *Kokugo Denshūjo* were a mixture of imports of Japanese language textbooks used for elementary education in Japan and locally developed teaching materials, with some directly

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

translated from Japanese readers and adapted to suit local usage. In the compilation of local teaching materials, the method of Japanese/Taiwanese direct translation had made the parallel presentation of both the Japanese and Taiwanese texts a predominant way of textbook editing. Examples can be found in the compilation of *Taiwan Tekiyō Kokugo Tokuhon Shoho* (Elementary National Language Reader for Taiwan) and *Shin Nihon Gogenshū* (Collections of New Japanese Language), Volume One, which were the language textbooks developed in Taiwan for *Kokugo Denshūjo* in 1896. In both textbooks, passages of direct translation into the native language – Taiwanese – were printed below the main Japanese text. Both books were conversation-based with the former providing a broad knowledge in relation to nature and basic sciences for the Taiwanese learning Japanese and the latter aiming to be a bilingual reference book for both the Taiwanese and the Japanese with vocabularies pertaining to daily life, life in the army, and policing.²⁸

The compilation of Japanese language textbooks used at the *Kōgakkō* was closely linked with the development of language teaching methodologies. Japanese language textbooks, in the early years of *Kōgakkō* education, were therefore printed in both Japanese and Taiwanese languages to suit the teaching methodology of direct translation, such as *Taiwan Tekiyō Kokugo Tokuhon Shoho*, *Shin Nihon Gogenshū*, Volume One, and *Taiwan Tekiyō Kaiwa Nyūmon* (Beginner's [Japanese] Conversation for Taiwan).²⁹ The Taiwanese translation of the Japanese text was however written in complicated Chinese characters which most of the Taiwanese pupils were unable to understand. A new teaching methodology, which in turn influenced the editing of language textbooks, was necessary. As has been discussed above, when Hashimoto Takeshi found a book on Frenchman François Gouin's direct teaching methodology in the library of the *Kokugo Gakkō* in 1898, where he also taught, his discovery offered a timely breakthrough in teaching methodologies of Japanese language education for the

²⁸ See Taiwan Sōtokufu Minseikyoku Gakumubu (1896), *Taiwan Tekiyō Kokugo Tokuhon Shoho*, Taihoku, Taiwan Sōtokufu, and Taiwan Sōtokufu Minseikyoku Gakumubu (1896), *Shin Nihon Gogenshū*, Vol. 1, Taihoku, Taiwan Sōtokufu. Also see Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, p. 206.

²⁹ See Taiwan Sōtokufu Minseikyoku Gakumubu (1900), *Taiwan Tekiyō Kaiwa Nyūmon*, Taihoku, Taiwan Sōtokufu.

Kōgakkō. After one year's trial, the result was said to be satisfactory and based on this method, the compilation of language textbooks used at the *Kōgakkō* gradually abandoned the style of Japanese/Taiwanese parallel text and eventually the Taiwanese text was abolished for direct Japanese teaching.³⁰ The success of Gouin's teaching methodology in Taiwan had not only become a model for Japanese language education in other Japanese-occupied territories such as Korea and Manchuria where it was promoted by educators such as Yamaguchi Kiichirō, but also prompted the change in the compilation of Japanese language textbooks used at the *Kōgakkō*.³¹

On the one hand, the compilation of *Kōgakkō* Japanese language textbooks largely depended on the style of teaching. On the other hand, the contents and editing style of the language textbook also revealed the circumstances contributing to its compilation and the purposes behind. For example, the textbook, *Taiwan Tekiyō Kokugo Tokuhon Shoho*, used at the *Kokugo Denshūjo*, was designed to make learners not only acquire the skill of Japanese speaking but also absorb knowledge in relation to nature and science, as stated in the preface of the textbook itself. The book, heavily packed with facts, gives the impression that it is a book about general knowledge which just happens to be written in Japanese. This book also pays a lot of attention to the introduction of basic sciences, plants, animals, and insects, which had a combined purpose of teaching the Japanese language as well as general agricultural knowledge. It devotes a few lessons to Japan's geography, introducing all the impressive Japanese scenery such as Mt. Fuji to the Taiwanese. Each lesson in the book contains long knowledge-based sentences although the sentence structure is basic and consistent. It seems that the textbook used here is more for a reader who has already achieved a good level of Japanese rather than a conversational textbook for a beginner. Its contents would certainly not appeal to young children who could not relate much to its complicated subjects, besides the fact that each lesson and their sentences were far too long.³²

³⁰ See Kokubu Tanetake (1931), *Taiwan in okeru Kokugo Kyōiku no Tenkai*, p. 340.

³¹ See Komagome Takeshi (1996), *Shokuminchi Teikoku Nihon no Bunka Tōgō*, pp. 337-338.

³² For example, the first lesson of the book, 'Momo', introducing the peach plant, spanned over six pages. See Taiwan Sōtokufu Minseikyoku Gakumubu (1896), *Taiwan Tekiyō Kokugo Tokuhon Shoho*. Also, there were two courses offered at the *Kokugo Tenshūjo*. One was for young people and adults aged

Judging from the time that the textbook was developed and used in 1896 when Japanese language education in Taiwan was at its very pioneering stage, this textbook can be seen as an experiment. The establishment of the *Kokugo Denshūjo* was also aimed at training the Taiwanese to become bilingual staff to assist in colonial administration in a short time. This language textbook was thus developed for such strategic reasons. However, even adults who understood some Japanese would find the textbook too difficult to follow. Therefore, with the establishment of the *Kōgakkō* and experimentation in teaching methodologies throughout the system, the development of language textbooks which would better suit the aim of Japanese language education in Taiwan was underway.

The first twelve volumes of Japanese language textbooks independently developed in Taiwan for the *Kōgakkō*, *Taiwan Kyōkayōsho Kokumin Tokuhon* (Taiwan Textbook National Readers), were published between 1901 and 1903. Before that, language textbooks used at the *Kōgakkō*, similar to its predecessor, *Kokugo Denshūjo*, were a combination of imports of language textbooks used in elementary schools in Japan or adaptations with parallel text translated in the Taiwanese language. During the time of the *Kokugo Denshūjo*, language textbooks and reference books, in addition to the ones introduced above, also included *Shōgaku Tokuhon* (Elementary School Reader), *Shōgaku Tokuhō Sakubun Kyōju Kakezu* (Elementary School Reading Methods and Composition Teaching Illustrations), and *Nihongo Kyōjusho* (Japanese Teaching Book).³³ Before the development of the new versions of language textbooks used at the *Kōgakkō*, these books naturally became a reference list of textbooks for Japanese language education. When Gouin's direct teaching methodology gradually gathered momentum and replaced the traditional Japanese/Taiwanese direct translation methodology, from 1899 to 1900 the compilation of language textbooks which would facilitate the direct teaching of Japanese at the *Kōgakkō* was underway. Before the

between fifteen and thirty, and the other was for children aged between eight and fifteen. The former was designed as an intensive Japanese course aimed at training bilingual staff with a six-month duration, while the latter was a primitive form of elementary education for Taiwanese children with a four-year duration.

See Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, pp. 168-169.

³³ See Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, p. 204.

official launch of *Taiwan Kyōkayōsho Kokumin Tokuhon* between 1901 and 1903, a preparatory step was taken in 1900 when the teaching guide of Gouin's methodology, *Guan-shi Gengo Kyōju Hōan*, (Gouin's Language Teaching Scheme) and the teaching guide for Japanese language education at the *Kōgakkō*, *Taiwan Kōgakkō Kokugo Kyōju Yōshi* (Principles for Taiwan *Kōgakkō* Japanese Language Teaching) were published by *Gakumuka* (Section of Educational Affairs) of *Minseikyoku* (Ministry of Civil Affairs) of the Government-General of Taiwan.³⁴ These books were to make Japanese teachers familiar with Gouin's methodology and unify their teaching styles according to the guidelines of these books. Before the *Kōgakkō* regulations were revived in 1904, the use of the native language (Taiwanese) was advocated as a medium for the assistance of the teaching of the Japanese language.³⁵ Japanese language education before the new regulations was divided into separate subjects like *Kokugo/Sakubun* (National Language/Composition), *Dokusho* (Reading), and *Shūji* (Writing), which were later unified as one subject, *Kokugo* (Japanese), by the 1904 regulations.³⁶ Before the introduction of the new regulations, *Taiwan Tekiyō Kokugo Tokuhon Shoho* was designated for the teaching of the subject of *Kokugo/Sakubun* in which speaking was included. The imports of *Shōgaku Yomikaki Kyōjusho* (Elementary School Reading and Writing Teaching Book) and *Shōgaku Tokuhon* (Elementary School Reader) were employed for the instruction of the subject of Reading.³⁷

To utilise Gouin's direct teaching methodology at the *Kōgakkō*, the first six volumes of the language textbooks, *Taiwan Kyōkayōsho Kokumin Tokuhon* edited by the *Taiwan Kyōikukai*, were first published in 1901. Volumes Seven to Nine were published in 1902 followed by Volumes Ten to Twelve in 1903. Volumes One to Six contained basic Japanese designed to build up students' basic conversation skills. From Volume Seven,

³⁴ See Taiwan Sōtokufu Minseikyoku Gakumuka (1901-1903), *Taiwan Kyōkayōsho Kokumin Tokuhon*, Vols 1-12, Taihoku, Taiwan Sōtokufu, Taiwan Sōtokufu Minseikyoku Gakumuka (1900), *Guan-shi Gengo Kyōju Hōan*, and Taiwan Sōtokufu Minseikyoku Gakumuka (1900), *Taiwan Kōgakkō Kokugo Kyōju Yōshi*.

³⁵ See Clause Ten of the *Kōgakkō Kisoku*, cited in Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, p. 231.

³⁶ See Katō Haruki (1914), 'Taiwan Kōgakkō ni okeru Kokugo Kyōjuhō Shōshi' (3), p. 32.

³⁷ See Kondō Junko (1995), 'Taiwan ni okeru Yamaguchi Kiichirō, Kōgakkō Kisoku Kaisei to no Kakawari ni tsuite', *Nihongo Kyōiku*, No. 85, pp. 115-116.

morality and general knowledge on topics such as the Japanese emperor, patriotism, superstition, and the advantages of sanitation were introduced.³⁸ From the Meiji period, the Japanese language had undergone a rapid process of standardisation to reach a form which was thought to be more communicative and compatible with a modernised Japanese society. Issues such as the limitation of *kanji* usage, the unification of phonetic *kana* usage, and the introduction of *kōgobun* (a spoken style of Japanese based on the Tokyo dialect) to supplement *bungobun* (the literary style of Japanese) in written texts were also reflected in the compilation of the language textbooks used in Taiwan. In each lesson standard numbers of *kanji* were introduced, and the percentage of *kōgobun* and *bungobun* used in each volume of the textbook was also carefully manipulated.³⁹

The teachers' guidelines published in 1900 for *Kōgakkō* Japanese language education, *Taiwan Kōgakkō Kokugo Kyōju Yōshi*, clearly stated how the teaching of Japanese speaking and reading was to be facilitated through the use of the textbooks. For the first six volumes, the purpose of the textbooks was to cover speaking. Therefore, themes and concepts associated with speaking, such as actual actions, were to be selected as subjects in the lesson. Focusing on speaking, actions with verbs acted out with hand and eye coordination dominated the contents of the lesson for the first six volumes. Here is an example of how the teaching of one lesson based on the content of the textbook was carried out in the classroom. The example used here was experimented with by Yamaguchi Kiichirō as the first week of teaching at the beginning of a school year.

Teaching Theme:

Language used in the classroom

Contents of the textbook:

- 1) *Sensei* (teacher), *Hai* (yes), *Rei* (bow)

³⁸ See Taiwan Sōtokufu Minseikyoku (1900), *Taiwan Kōgakkō Kokugo Kyōju Yōshi*, pp. 23-24.

³⁹ For a detailed discussion of these developments, see Kokubu Tanetake (1931), *Taiwan ni okeru Kokugo Kyōiku no Tenkai*, pp. 225-226.

- 2) *Te* (hand), *o* (grammatical particle), *Agemasu* (raise), *Te* (hand), *o* (grammatical particle), *Sagemasu* (put down)
- 3) *Tachimasu* (stand up), *Rei* (bow), *o* (grammatical particle), *Shimasu* (do), *Koshi* (back), *o* (grammatical particle), *Kakemasu* (put on, sit down)

Teaching procedures:

First day: Cover all of (1)

Second day: Cover all of (2)

Third day: Cover all of (3)

Fourth day: Cover all of (1), (2), and (3)

Fifth day: Same as the fourth day

Sixth day: The application of all teachings

Teaching Scenarios (the first day):

Preparation:

- 1) Lead students into the classroom to their seats and write down the dates on the right hand side of the blackboard.
- 2) Face the students and ask them what they call a person who teaches at school and make one student answer in their native language.
- 3) If the answer is 'teacher', ask them how they address you.
- 4) Ask students how they would respond if called by the teacher, and then make students say 'yes' as an answer.
- 5) Ask students whether they bow to a teacher as a courtesy. If someone answers 'yes', then make the student demonstrate the action.
- 6) Indicate to students that it is appropriate to address a teacher as 'teacher' and respond 'yes' to a teacher and bow to him/her. By the same token, if the teacher is Japanese and you are from the same country, indicate to students that it is appropriate to say the greeting words in Japanese and bow to the teacher. Thus, teach them 'teacher', 'yes', and 'bow' or '*sensei*', '*hai*', and '*rei*' as in Japanese, and ask them to be aware of these words while learning.

Application:

- 1) Indicate to students that the person you call 'teacher' is called '*sensei*' in our country [Japan]. Say the word '*sensei*' very clearly a few times, then ask one student to say it and make the whole class say it.
- 2) Call one student and wait for his response. Tell students that the response word, 'yes', is '*hai*' in Japanese. Say the word '*hai*' several times and then make one student say it and gradually make the whole class say it.
- 3) Indicate to students that a greeting posture between students and teacher is to be performed as a manner in our country [Japan] and demonstrate the action. First stand up and then put both hands down. After looking at the face of the person in front of you, demonstrate the action by bowing your head to the person and say that this is called '*rei*' (bowing). Then say the word '*rei*' several times before making one student do it and then make the whole class follow.
- 4) First make individual students perform the action, then make the whole class perform the action. Teach students to perform the manner in real situations.
- 5) When repeating the words, '*hai*', '*rei*', and '*sensei*', translate them into the native language for the students, then teach them the Japanese pronunciation of these words after students repeat them in their native language.

The first day of teaching can be concluded with a bow between teacher and students and among students themselves.⁴⁰

Also, as a detailed guide, teaching application in speaking can be followed in this sequence:

- 1) The teacher demonstrates the action.
- 2) Students follow the action.
- 3) The teacher demonstrates the action and speaks.

⁴⁰ The whole teaching procedures from day one to day six can be seen in Taiwan Sōtokufu Minseikyoku Gakumuka (1900), *Taiwan Kōgakkō Kokugo Kyōju Yōshi*, pp. 34-48. Also see Appendix 2.

- 4) Students follow the action while the teacher speaks.
- 5) Students repeat after the teacher.
- 6) Students speak while doing the action.
- 7) The teacher commands the action and students do the action while speaking.
- 8) Students stop doing the action while trying to speak based on memory.
- 9) Students do the action upon hearing the command from the teacher.
- 10) Students speak in accordance with the sequence of the actions.
- 11) Students respond upon hearing commands from each other.⁴¹

From Volume Seven, the design of the textbook shifted its focus to the build-up of virtues and general knowledge. Therefore the selection of the contents stresses the elements of the cultivation of the new (Japanese) nationals. Concepts of the Japanese imperial family, patriotism, the great benevolence of the Japanese emperors and empresses, righteous models who sacrificed themselves for the sake of the country and the public, and themes related to education on dangers of superstition, uncleanness, and bad customs were selected.⁴² The twelve volumes of *Taiwan Kyōkayōsho Kokumin Tokuhon* were used as Japanese language textbooks at the *Kōgakkō* until a new version of textbooks, *Kōgakkōyō Kokumin Tokuhon* (National Japanese Reader for *Kōgakkō*) was published between 1912 and 1913.⁴³

After a decade of experiment in teaching, a need to revise the language textbook emerged again. Investigations into *kana* usage and the contents in areas of materials, syntax, and length were made in preparation for the compilation of a new version of language textbooks.⁴⁴ The design of the new version of textbooks was to make speaking dominate the first four weeks of teaching and avoid the use of the textbook until the fifth week. The fifty letters of the *katakana* syllabary were taught in the first year. *Hiragana* were not introduced until Volume Five which was later than its predecessors where *hiragana* were introduced in Volume Four. The introduction of *kanji* began earlier in

⁴¹ *Ibid*, pp. 14-15.

⁴² *Ibid*, p. 24.

⁴³ See Taiwan Sōtokufu (1912-1913), *Kōgakkōyō Kokumin Tokuhon*, Taihoku, Taiwan Sōtokufu.

⁴⁴ See Kokubu Tanetake (1931), *Taiwan ni okeru Kokugo Kyōiku no Tenkai*, p. 215.

the new version of textbooks from Volume One with the introduction of numbers one to ten as opposed to the old ones where *kanji* were not introduced until Volume Five. In comparison with the introduction of *kanji* in the old textbooks, the new version had increased the number of *kanji* from 966 to 1450 with 677 of them being repeatedly used in the text.⁴⁵ Together with the revision of the *Kōgakkō* regulations in 1912, the new version of language textbooks was to reflect in the contents the element of the cultivation of the national (Japanese) spirit, the main element of the new regulations. There was a significant increase in the lessons with themes related to the Japanese royal family, patriotism, civics, and virtues. Among its twelve volumes, the lessons involved with such themes aiming at the cultivation of the Japanese spirit in the new version of textbooks increased to sixty-three as compared to fifty-five in the old ones. There was also an increase in lessons with general knowledge in the new version of textbooks.⁴⁶ From 1919 to 1922, a series of changes in educational administration together with the issuing of the Taiwan Education Ordinance in 1919 and the new one in 1922 had prompted changes in colonial education in Taiwan. Changes included schooling age, course structure, and *Kōgakkō* graduates' qualifications – all to be standardised with those of the *Shōgakkō*. These changes prompted the need to revise the language textbooks again. First of all, the new textbooks were renamed *Kōgakkōyō Kokugo Tokuhon* (Japanese Reader for *Kōgakkō*) (Version One), published between 1922 and 1926.⁴⁷ *Hiragana* were introduced quite early in this version of Japanese language textbooks from Volume Three. In comparison with the predecessors, the new version of textbooks increased nearly two-fold in content and the contents were substantially more advanced. The change also narrowed the gap between this new version of textbooks and

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 216-219. Compare this with the situation in 1981, where 1,945 regularly used *kanji* were chosen by the *Kokugo Shingikai*, a Japanese language education reviewing and advisory body, as the basis of *kanji* literacy to be learned during elementary and junior high schools in Japan, the importance of *kanji* literacy in Japanese language education has been dominant both in Taiwan and Japan. See Matsumura Akira (ed.) (1988), *Daijirin*, p. 1196.

⁴⁶ The number increased from 101 to 118; see Kokubu Tanetake (1931), *Taiwan ni okeru Kokugo Kyōiku no Tenkai*, pp. 231-232.

⁴⁷ Another twelve volumes of Version Two were published between 1929 and 1931. See Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, pp. 404-405.

those used at the *Shōgakkō*.⁴⁸ *Kōgakkōyō Kokugo Tokuhon* (Version One) had since become the main language textbooks used at the *Kōgakkō*.

The causes for the revision and republication of Japanese language textbooks used at the *Kōgakkō* were complicated. However, the available evidence suggests that they were closely linked to two factors. One, comprehensively discussed above, was to reflect developments in teaching methodologies. Teaching methodologies at the *Kōgakkō* had been tested and developed over three decades since the beginning of Japanese language education in Taiwan. Each modification in teaching methodologies sparked the need for compiling new textbooks which would deliver better teaching results as desired. The revision of language textbooks thus became a natural progression in association with the formulation of teaching methodologies for *Kōgakkō* education. The other reason was largely to do with administrative changes in *Kōgakkō* education and the colonial education system. The years from 1912 to 1922 coincided with some major developments in colonial administration and the *Kōgakkō* system in Taiwan. As has been discussed in the previous chapter, accompanied by the change of policies in education, the revised *Kōgakkō* regulations in 1912 featured the additional element of the cultivation of the national (Japanese) spirit in Japanese language education, which became the ultimate purpose of education at the *Kōgakkō*. This in turn stimulated the compilation of language textbooks to accommodate and reinforce themes needed for this purpose, as has been discussed above. Again in 1922, when the New Taiwan Education Ordinance was issued, the colonial government introduced the Japanese/Taiwanese co-education scheme – a gesture aimed at eradicating educational barriers between the Japanese and the Taiwanese.⁴⁹ This again prompted changes in *Kōgakkō* education. To elevate the level of Japanese among *Kōgakkō* pupils who were to catch up with their *Shōgakkō* counterparts, the contents of language textbooks were again adjusted to reflect this policy change.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 233-235.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 356-357.

Japanese Language Textbooks and Assimilation

Examining the contents of language textbooks used in the early years of Japanese language education in Taiwan at the *Kokugo Denshūjo* and the *Kōgakkō*, the intent to filter assimilation through the contents of the textbooks was visible. Nevertheless, the themes in the overall contents of these textbooks were far from over-imposing. As has been analysed above, the compilation of *Taiwan Tekiyō Kokugo Tokuhon Shoho*, a locally produced Japanese textbook used at the *Kokugo Denshūjo* and the *Kōgakkō*, helps to demonstrate that in the process of searching for an ideal method of Japanese teaching, the obstacle of teaching Japanese to non-native speakers had to be overcome before other objectives, such as assimilation, could be accomplished. Reviewing the contents of language textbooks used in the early history of Japanese language education in Taiwan, we see very little evidence of a politically motivated theme, such as assimilation, in the contents. Instead, we see the pragmatism of cramming as much Japanese as possible in the Taiwanese who had never learned Japanese before. In its seventeen lessons, all but three were devoted to the introduction of basic knowledge in plants, insects, birds, and animals although the two lessons on animals were situated in the Ueno Zoo in Japan. The rest was devoted to Japanese scenery.⁵⁰ Due to the long contents and the intermediate level of Japanese used in each lesson, students who comprehended little Japanese would have enough difficulty dealing with the language without being able to contemplate greater themes such as assimilation.

When *Taiwan Kyōkayōsho Kokumin Tokuhon*, the first independent Japanese language textbooks for the *Kōgakkō*, appeared in 1901-1903, the selection of the contents had been localised to reflect the reality of everyday life in Taiwan. The use of ‘A-gim’ or ‘A-jin’ instead of ‘Tarō’ in naming the characters in the text gave an authentic flavour of what it was like in Taiwanese society. Also Taiwan’s locality, geographic features, and social vices, such as foot-binding and opium-smoking, were also introduced. As has been discussed above, the contents of Volumes One to Six of this version of textbooks focused on speaking with the text predominantly printed in *katakana*. From Volumes

⁵⁰ See Taiwan Sōtokufu Minseikyoku Gakumubu (1896), *Taiwan Tekiyō Kokugo Tokuhon Shoho*, Lessons One to Seventeen.

Seven to Twelve, contents emphasised morality, general knowledge, and broader subjects, such as loyalty, superstition, and hygiene.⁵¹ The themes related to Japan, such as the Japanese emperor, Japanese history, and Japanese geography were far from over-imposing, however those lessons do appear early in the school year and are always the first few lessons from Volume Seven.⁵²

From 1913 to 1914, *Taiwan Kyōkayōsho Kokumin Tokuhon* were replaced by *Kōgakkōyō Kokumin Tokuhon* to reflect changes in teaching methodologies. The main feature of this version of language textbooks was to incorporate the element of the cultivation of the national (Japanese) spirit in the daily life of the students.⁵³ The contents of the new version of textbooks largely followed the old one. However, an average of four more lessons were added to each volume of the new textbooks.⁵⁴ It is clear that there is a relationship between the themes in relation to assimilation – the emphasis on Japanese values and ideologies – and the level of Japanese in the text. The more advanced the level of Japanese in the text, the more lessons were devoted to themes related to assimilation.

In 1923, in order to reflect changes in *Kōgakkō* education prompted by the New Taiwan Education Ordinance issued in 1922, the newly developed *Kōgakkōyō Kokugo Tokuhon* (Version One), 1923-1926, again replaced *Kōgakkōyō Kokumin Tokuhon*. This version of language textbooks aimed to close the gap in Japanese proficiency between *Kōgakkō* and *Shōgakkō* pupils. After revision, the new textbooks were nearly twice as big as their predecessors, and the level of Japanese was said to be comparable to that of *Jinjō Shōgaku Kokugo Tokuhon* used at the *Shōgakkō*.⁵⁵ Although Version Two of the *Kōgakkōyō Kokugo Tokuhon* was also published between 1926 and 1929, my available

⁵¹ See the content tables extracted by Kokubu Tanetake (1931), *Taiwan ni okeru Kokugo Kyōiku no Tenkai*, pp. 211-213.

⁵² Volumes Seven to Twelve were used for students from their fourth to the sixth years. For the details of the content table of each volume, see *ibid.*

⁵³ For the content tables extracted by Kokubu Tanetake, see *ibid.* p. 228.

⁵⁴ For the content tables extracted by Kokubu Tanetake, see *ibid.* pp. 228-230.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 234-235.

sources suggest that Version One seemed to be the main Japanese language textbooks used at the *Kōgakkō* from that period onwards.⁵⁶

As the war between Japan and China intensified from 1937, Hsu's research shows that language textbooks used during the *Kōminka* period in Taiwan particularly reflected the reinforcement of assimilation, concepts such as loyalty to the Japanese emperor and the Japanese empire, and the greatness of Japan as a nation. These themes were included to indoctrinate young Taiwanese children.⁵⁷ In *Shūshin*, lessons related to the unique foundation of Japan as a nation – 'The Beginning of a Nation', 'The Royal Castle', 'Mt Fuji', 'Japan is a Divine Country', 'Kimi ga Yo' (the national anthem of Japan), and 'Yasukuni Jinja' (the shrine where deceased Japanese soldiers' spirits are worshipped) – were included to demonstrate the national spirit of Japan.⁵⁸ These lessons have a common theme in elevating the greatness and sacredness of Japan and emphasise the values of personal devotion and sacrifice to Japan and the Japanese emperor as examples for *Kōgakkō* pupils.

Some of the concepts above would probably have been quite incomprehensible for school-aged children like *Kōgakkō* pupils. However, the purpose was indoctrination rather than education. Accompanied by these ideologies demonstrated in the lessons, school life was also largely devoted to the performance of patriotism and devotion to the Japanese empire. Every morning during the school assembly, the school principal would indoctrinate children with concepts such as the 'Great East Asian War' and the 'Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere'.⁵⁹ On important dates of the calendar, such

⁵⁶ In the materials that I collected during my field trip to Japan in 1999, collections of *Taiwan Kōgakkōyō Kokugo Tokuhon*, published in 1935-1936 by Taiwan Sōtokufu, were Version One, and samples of Version Two were not found. Also according to Kokubu's research, Version Two of the *Kōgakkōyō Kokugo Tokuhon* was developed to suit the needs of Taiwanese aboriginal children attending the *Kōgakkō*, whose system was different from the *Kōgakkō* attended by Taiwanese children. See Kokubu Tanetake (1931), *Taiwan ni okeru Kokugo Kyōiku no Tenkai*, pp. 286-287.

⁵⁷ Hsu Pei-hsien (1996), 'Cong Zhan Zheng Qi Jiao Ke Shu Kan Zhi Min Di "Shao Guo Min" de Su Zhao', *Taiwan Feng Wu*, Vol. 46, No. 1, p. 78.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 71, 78. Also see discussion by Chung Ching-han (1993), *Nihon Shokuminchika ni okeru Taiwan Kyōikushi*, pp. 248-258.

⁵⁹ See Hsu Pei-hsien (1996), 'Cong Zhan Zheng Qi Jiao Ke Shu Kan Zhi Min Di "Shao Guo Min" de Su Zhao', p. 79.

as the eighth day of every month which was to commemorate the date when Japan declared war against the United States by bombing Pearl Harbour, school children would assemble on the school ground and listen to the principal reciting the Japanese emperor's decree. They would be made to sing the national anthem of Japan, the national flag of Japan would be raised, and they would then pay tribute in the direction of the royal palace and the royal shrine in Japan. After that, students would be made to thank the royal army of Japan and whisper 'thank you soldiers' in their minds. All these rituals and performance were conducted as clearly specified in the teaching guidelines of language textbooks for the drill of the national spirit, and everything and anything in life during this period was all for the sake of the nation, Japan.⁶⁰

Another feature of this period's textbooks is war-related themes and scenes presented as the content of the lessons. Soldiers in various battlefields were portrayed, and places of strategic importance in the war such as 'Manchuria' and 'the Java Islands' were introduced.⁶¹ Lessons also incorporated the reality of what was happening in Taiwanese society during this period, such as the introduction of the *Kōmin Hōkōkai*. As discussed above, the *Kōmin Hōkōkai*, or the Imperial Subject Public Service Association, was a scheme set up in 1941 to mobilise all the residents in Taiwan to perform public service for wartime needs. It was presided over by the Governor-General of Taiwan. It stated, "all residents of Taiwan will perform their share of public service to carry out the national spirit of Japan while defending the nation and rebuilding the order in East Asia".⁶² A concept like this would have been extremely difficult for school children, such as *Kōgakkō* pupils, to understand; however the editing of the lesson used a conversation carried out between children and parents who asked and explained what this scheme was about to make it comprehensible to children.⁶³

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p. 80.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, pp. 83-84.

⁶² *Ibid*, p. 84. More discussion on the *Kōmin Hōkōkai* is provided in Chapter Five.

⁶³ See Lesson Twenty, Volume Eight of the *Shotōka Kokugo* (Elementary Level Japanese) used at the *Kōgakkō* during the *Kōminka* period, cited in Hsu Pei-hsien (1996), 'Cong Zhan Zheng Qi Jiao Ke Shu Kan Zhi Min Di "Shao Guo Min" de Su Zhao', p. 84.

Taiwanese characters were also used in the textbooks as role models to further reinforce the effect of political propaganda among Taiwanese children. The two examples used here are the lessons of '*Kimi ga Yo Shōnen*' (The National Anthem Boy) and '*Sayon no Shō*' (The Bell of Sayon). In the lesson of '*Kimi ga Yo Shōnen*', it was related that in a big earthquake in 1935, a Taiwanese *Kōgakkō* school boy, Chan Te-kun, was badly hurt and sent to the hospital. He died the next day while singing the Japanese national anthem. He was described as a well-behaved child, had always spoken Japanese instead of Taiwanese and performed Japanese religious rituals. He was later commemorated by having his statue erected in the school where he studied.⁶⁴ In the lesson of '*Sayon no Shō*', it described an indigenous Taiwanese tribal girl, Sayon, who became a member of a female youth corps after graduating from the *Kōgakkō*. In 1938 when their teacher was summoned to go to China for the cause of war, Sayon and other members of the corps decided to carry their teacher's luggage while sending him off. On the way to their destination, they encountered a storm and Sayon was unfortunately washed away together with her teacher's luggage in a river while trying to cross the bridge. She was later commemorated by having a bell cast with her name engraved on it erected in the corps where she was trained at that time by the seventeenth Governor-General of Taiwan, Hasegawa Kiyoshi. Her story was also made into a movie which Japanese colonial authorities made use of to further propagate with her aboriginal background.⁶⁵ Textbooks in this period not only displayed a reinforced concept of patriotism to Japan, but also were edited to make the text more interesting to read with subject matters more related to children's lives.⁶⁶

With available sources, an overview of the contents between Japanese language textbooks used at the *Kōgakkō* and those used at the *Shōgakkō* can give a clearer picture of how the language textbooks used in Taiwan were adapted to suit local usage and how changing views of education were reflected in the changing contents. Samples used here were some volumes of the *Kōgakkōyō Kokugo Tokuhon* (Version One) published during

⁶⁴ See Lesson Six, Volume Three of the *Shotōka Kokugo*, cited in *ibid*, p. 84.

⁶⁵ See Lesson Seventeen, Volume Five of the *Shotōka Kokugo*, cited in *ibid*.

⁶⁶ See Hsu Pei-hsien (1996), 'Cong Zhan Zheng Chi Jiao Ke Shu Kan Zhi Min Di "Shao Guo Min" de Su Zhao', p. 87

the Shōwa period and some of the *Jinjō Shōgaku Kokugo Tokuhon* used at the *Shōgakkō* during approximately the same time.⁶⁷ Generally speaking, the contents of textbooks designated for *Shōgakkō* pupils were more imaginative which suited the nature of children's thinking patterns. There were more articles related to nature in which things can be found in their surroundings and daily lives, such as flowers, animals, nature, and children-related themes. As for the contents selected for *Kōgakkō* pupils, although there was no shortage of such lessons, the proportion was less, and more articles were devoted to social norms, to teach the Taiwanese children what was right and wrong. This difference has a lot to do with the intention of Japanese colonial authorities in creating compliant, law-abiding subjects, to the advantage of Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan.⁶⁸ Also, as has been discussed above, the contents of the textbooks used for *Shōgakkō* pupils were more advanced than those prescribed for *Kōgakkō* pupils. This is because Japanese was the native language of the former but not that of the latter. For example, the famous Japanese children's story, *Momotarō* (The Peach Boy), listed in Volume One of the *Jinjō Shōgaku Kokugo Tokuhon* used for the *Shōgakkō*, is twenty-two pages long,⁶⁹ while the same story appearing in Volume Three of the *Kōgakkōyō Kokugo Tokuhon* used at the *Kōgakkō* was less than half as long with the story being significantly simplified.⁷⁰

Also, as has been discussed again and again in this study, Japanese language education was considered to be the cornerstone of the Japanese spirit, to reflect this ultimate education principle, common themes in both language textbooks were the introduction of the Japanese imperial family and Japanese history where the sacred origins of Japan's ancestry were glorified.⁷¹ The glorification of Japan's military advancement during this period was also prevalent in both language textbooks with contents emphasising the Japanese flag, the Japanese army, and victorious Japanese warships. Wartime heroes,

⁶⁷ See Taiwan Sōtokufu (1935-1936), *Kōgakkōyō Kokugo Tokuhon* (Version One), Taihoku, Taiwan Sōtokufu, Vols 2, 3, 4, 6, and 8, and Monbushō (1932-1939), *Jinjō Shōgaku Kokugo Tokuhon*, Vols 1-12.

⁶⁸ See Chung Ching-han (1993), *Nihon Shokuminchika ni okeru Taiwan Kyōikushi*, pp. 270-271.

⁶⁹ See Monbushō (1932), *Jinjō Shōgaku Kokugo Tokuhon*, Volume One, pp. 54-75.

⁷⁰ See Taiwan Sōtokufu (1936), *Kōgakkōyō Kokugo Tokuhon* (Version One), Volume Three, pp. 65-74.

⁷¹ From Volume Six of the *Jinjō Shōgaku Kokugo Tokuhon* and the *Kōgakkōyō Kokugo Tokuhon*, lessons on Japanese emperors, the royal shrine, and Japanese history and origins started to appear.

such as Kodama Gentarō and Nogi Maresuke, were honoured in the textbooks.⁷² It is clear that there is a relationship between the themes related to assimilation and the level of Japanese in both textbooks. There were also more articles on Japanese historical figures in the textbooks used for *Shōgakkō* pupils as opposed to those used at the *Kōgakkō*. This difference again is attributed to the fact that the design of the textbooks was to reflect the different cultural origins of the Japanese and the Taiwanese children. Accordingly, contents focused on the locality of Taiwan were a strong feature of the textbooks used at the *Kōgakkō*, where names of characters in the textbooks, such as A-min or A-gim, were used in stories to make them meaningful to *Kōgakkō* pupils. Things related to Taiwan, such as Taiwan's produce and geographic features were also introduced in the lessons.⁷³ It is also worthwhile to point out that lessons on Taiwan only appeared once in Volume Eight of the whole twelve volumes of the *Jinjō Shōgaku Kokugo Tokuhon*.⁷⁴

Conclusion

As has been said in the introduction, the magnitude of Japanese language education in Taiwan deserves our full attention. After reviewing the process of its development in teaching methodologies, language textbook compilation, and the underlying theme of assimilation, we can appreciate the fact that the implementation of Japanese language education in Taiwan was far more complicated and difficult than Japanese colonial officials and educators could have anticipated. The role of Japanese language education in conveying the Japanese spirit and the cultivation of Japanese national characteristics was not changed in nature whether it was implemented in Taiwan or Japan. The history

⁷² The story on Kodama was listed in Lesson Fifteen, Volume Twelve of the *Kōgakkōyō Kokugo Tokuhon* (Version One), and stories on Nogi were listed in Lesson Twenty-two, Volume Eleven of the *Kōgakkōyō Kokugo Tokuhon* (Version One), and in Lesson Twenty-six, Volume Seven of the *Jinjō Shōgaku Kokugo Tokuhon*.

⁷³ From Volume Seven of the *Kōgakkōyō Kokugo Tokuhon* (Version One), such lessons started to appear.

⁷⁴ See Monbushō (1937), *Jinjō Shōgaku Kokugo Tokuhon*, Volume Eight, Lesson Three. This story is about Wu Feng, a Taiwanese legendary figure who sacrificed his own life for the eradication of the head-hunting custom of the Taiwanese aborigines of centuries. The motive behind this selection of contents to Japanese children is worth exploring further. The lesson on Wu Feng had originally appeared in Lesson Twenty-four, Volume Eleven of the *Kōgakkōyō Kokumin Tokuhon* published by the Taiwan Sōtokufu in 1914. Komagome has provided a detailed discussion on how Wu Feng's story was politically viable to Taiwanese children, however, no discussion was found on its implications to Japanese children. See Komagome Takeshi (1996), *Shokuminchi Teikoku Nihon no Bunka Tōgō*, pp. 166-185.

of Japanese colonial education in Taiwan unfolded through the commitment and persistence of Japanese language educators who continued to seek ways of improvement to bring out the best results.

In the area of teaching methodologies, pragmatically, teaching the Taiwanese to speak and listen to Japanese directly would not only achieve the best results of Japanese education but also benefit the colonial government in managing the land to its advantage. Politically, the acquisition of the Japanese language among the Taiwanese would to a certain degree manifest the success of Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan as far as assimilation goes. In the area of language textbook compilation, in addition to reflecting developments in formulation and establishment of teaching methodologies, the choice of contents and materials can also reinforce Japanese colonial authorities' political propaganda and ideologies in accordance with different stages of the rule.

Chapter Five Reality and Problems in Japanese Colonial Language Education in Taiwan

Introduction

In the fifty years of Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan, the promotion of Japanese language education went through different stages of development. As has been discussed above, from the initial efforts of Izawa Shūji in the establishment of the *Kōgakkō* in 1898 to the issuing of the New Taiwan Education Ordinance in 1922, Japanese language education had consistently taken centre stage in Japanese colonial education in Taiwan. During that period, school education was still the main area where the colonial government devoted most efforts in promoting the Japanese language. Social education, starting from the early 1900s and intensifying in the 1930s, added limited effects to the popularisation of the Japanese language among the Taiwanese public. Although it was through Japanese language education that Japanese colonial authorities wished to achieve assimilation of the Taiwanese, compulsory education in Taiwan was not achieved until 1943, two years before Japan was defeated by the Allied Forces and ended its fifty-year rule in Taiwan.

While Japanese official statistics boasted school attendance rates as high as 81.8 percent for Taiwanese children in 1942,¹ one year before the implementation of compulsory education, the ideal of a Japanese speaking population in Taiwan, the level of language acquisition that Japanese colonial authorities would like to see, was far from the truth. Together with the intensification of the Second World War, Japanese colonial rulers started to realise the seriousness of their failure to popularise the Japanese language in Taiwanese society as desired. In this chapter I will first explore how compulsory education was established in Taiwan in relation to the socio-political developments during this period. I will also look at the measures taken by Japanese colonial

¹ See Taiwan Sōtokufu Bunkiyōkyoku Gakumuka (1943), 'Gimu Kyōiku Seido', *Taiwan Jihō*, No. 280, p. 17. Among its statistics, 81.8 percent was calculated based among those children who attended the first year of the *Kokumin Gakkō*, *Kōgakkō* renamed after 1941, and 64.81 percent was calculated as the average attendance rate among all *Kōgakkō* students in the same year.

authorities through the *Kōminka* (Japanisation) Movement in an attempt to hastily popularise the Japanese language among the Taiwanese. In addition, I will investigate the validity of these Japanese popularisation schemes during the war and identify problems surrounding the efforts in its promotion. Issues in relation to Taiwanese conscripts and their Japanese proficiency will also be discussed.

As Japanese language education started to take root in Taiwan, from the mid-1930s to the end of the Second World War, the promotion of Japanese language education overseas progressed from a colonial policy to a national goal.² Together with Japanese military expansion, Japanese language education was extended from Taiwan and Korea to China and South-east Asia. When the war intensified, Japanese ultranationalists saw the promotion of the Japanese language in Asia as a grand cultural mission that had to be fulfilled. Japanese was thought to be an effective common agent for mutual understanding of all nations and a stimulus for cultural enhancement of all Asian nations. On the basis of speaking Japanese, people of the greater East Asian region on a coalition front could “rebuild the order in Asia and enhance peace for the world”. Thus, in addition to the promotion of overseas Japanese language education in Taiwan, I will finally explore Japan’s ‘Japanese as a “Greater East Asian” Language’ scheme and discuss its effects and implications.

Compulsory Education in Taiwan

If we exclude Izawa Shūji’s personal ambition of introducing the Japanese model of *kokka kyōiku* to Taiwan when he first came in 1895, compulsory education was first officially advocated by Kimura Tadashi, the then Section Chief of Educational Affairs of the Government-General of Taiwan in 1899. His idea was considered quite revolutionary by Japanese colonial authorities, and a pragmatic colonial administration led by Gotō Shimpei, the then Chief Civil Administrator of the Government-General of Taiwan, did not allow for much consideration of this suggestion. As a result, Kimura

² See Seki Masaaki and Hirataka Fumiya (1997), *Nihongo Kyōikushi*, pp. 184-185.

was removed from the post after less than a year.³ In 1903 in the first education forum hosted by Gotō, among the fifty-seven educators and educational bureaucrats who attended were some who raised the concern of inefficiency in *Kōgakkō* education due to the lack of a compulsory system. As part of his gradualist administrative approach, Gotō again replied that the promotion of the Japanese language remained as a general guideline of Japan's colonial education policy for Taiwan at that stage.⁴ Mochiji Rokusaburō, the then Section Chief of Educational Affairs of the Government-General of Taiwan from 1903 to 1911, in alignment with Gotō's administration, argued that down-stream administration – closely linked to compulsory education – in Taiwan had not developed enough to establish the household registration system necessary for compulsory education. Therefore, the timing for compulsory education in Taiwan was seen to be premature.⁵ Subsequently, this subject matter was silenced for nearly two decades until it was raised once again in 1921 and 1922 at the first and third advisory committee meetings of the Government-General of Taiwan. This time, financial difficulties were the official reasons given by the then Governor-General of Taiwan from 1919 to 1923, Den Genjirō, so that the time of compulsory education for the Taiwanese was not yet seen to be appropriate.⁶ The outbreak of war between China and Japan in 1937 served as a turning point for the development of compulsory education in Taiwan. Compulsory education was seen as an indispensable apparatus for wartime mobilisation by Japanese colonial authorities in Taiwan. In 1939 the proposal made by the then *Rinji Kyōiku Chōsa Iinkai* (The Provisional Education Investigation Committee)

³ For the development of this episode and the speech that Kimura gave regarding compulsory education in Taiwan to a *Taiwan Kyōikukai* convention in 1904, see Yoshino Hidekimi (1927), *Taiwan Kyōikushi*, pp. 130-141.

⁴ See Yoshino Hidekimi (1927), *Taiwan Kyōikushi*, pp. 120-121, 130-131. Also see Chapter One for discussion of Gotō's colonial policy of Gradualism for Taiwan.

⁵ For details of Mochiji's speech, 'Taiwan ni okeru Genkō Kyōiku Seido', made in 1904 to a *Taiwan Kyōikukai* convention, see Yoshino Hidekimi (1927), *Taiwan Kyōikushi*, pp. 142-150.

⁶ Until 1920 when the *Chihō Seido Kaisei* (Amendment of Local Administration System) was introduced to make local governments, *Shū* (equivalent to prefecture), responsible for the funding of education, *Kōgakkō* was funded by the Government-General of Taiwan. According to Ide Kiwata's research, in 1935 among local government budgets, education accounted for 25 percent of their total budgets, including the expenditure on *Kōgakkō* and other levels of schools. From 1936 to 1940, education had only accounted for about 13 percent of the total national expenditure in Taiwan. These figures indicate that even after two decades, the colonial government in Taiwan still did not consider compulsory education a priority in Taiwan's administration. See Ide Kiwata (1937), *Taiwan Chisekishi*, pp. 128-129. Also see Taiwan Sōtokufu Bunkyoōkyoku (1940), *Taiwan no Gakkō Kyōiku*, Taihoku, Taiwan Sōtokufu, p. 87.

appointed by the Government-General of Taiwan was accepted and guidelines for the implementation of compulsory education for the Taiwanese were drafted. In the guidelines, the purpose of compulsory education for the Taiwanese was “in order to train in the fundamental nature of the *kōkokumin* (imperial subjects) who will be carrying the responsibility of supporting the fortune of Japan, elementary education is thus made compulsory”, and compulsory education for the Taiwanese was set to be implemented in 1943.⁷

According to Morita Shunsuke, the then Section Chief of Educational Affairs of the colonial government, there were three fundamental reasons as to why the time of compulsory education for the Taiwanese had come. Firstly, he suggested that the purpose of Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan was to train the *kōkokumin* for the Japanese empire through elementary education. Therefore, the endorsement of compulsory education was the most urgent business in relation to this task. Secondly, he saw that the Taiwanese people had become more eager to learn and be educated in recent years after Japan invaded China in 1937, so the circumstances for compulsory education in Taiwan had matured. Thirdly, he argued that due to the intensity of the war, there was a need to intensify the training of the civic nature of the Taiwanese people through elementary education for the purposes of national defense and wartime production.⁸ He further elaborated.

In order to educate and guide the island people of Taiwan and to obtain their belief in training their characters to become Japanese nationals, basic national education is the most necessary condition. To review the situation of the Taiwanese people, in comparison with the level of *Kōminka* which still falls short of our target, the result of national education carried out in each individual [Taiwanese] family cannot be expected. To reflect on this reality, I think school education has a very significant role.⁹

The implementation of compulsory education in Taiwan by Japanese colonial authorities revealed Japan's great anxiety towards the intensity of the war and its implications.

⁷ See Taiwan Sōtokufu Bunkiyōkyoku Gakumuka (1943), ‘Gimu Kyōiku Seido’, p. 19. Also see Morita Shunsuke (1940), ‘Taiwan ni okeru Gimu Kyōiku Seido no Shōrai’, *Taiwan Jihō*, No. 245, pp. 8-10.

⁸ Morita Shunsuke (1940), ‘Taiwan ni okeru Gimu Kyōiku Seido no Shōrai’, p. 12.

⁹ *Ibid.*

Politically, the importance of compulsory education for the Taiwanese intensified with the war when the Japanese colonial government realised that they could not afford the colonised Taiwanese to have divided loyalty towards Japan, since the majority of the Taiwanese were ethnically Han Chinese. Strategically, Japan saw Taiwan as an important stepping-stone not only for the ambition to encroach on the mainland of China but also potential advancement into ‘*nanpō*’, the ‘southern region’ – South-east Asia.¹⁰ Compulsory education in Taiwan at this stage was expected to politically achieve the total mobilisation of Taiwan for Japan’s national defense and at the same time to strategically use Taiwan’s geographic position to leap into the economic exploitation of South-east Asia’s vast resources. One of the motives behind the establishment of the Taihoku Imperial University in 1928 was to use such a high level institute to conduct research on the resources and ethnicities of the South-east Asian region.¹¹ Succeeding the mission that the Japanese language was to become the ‘Greater East Asian Language’,¹² together with the intensity of the war, the vision of Japanese advancing into the ‘southern region’ began to consolidate in the early 1940s. Whether Japanese would be used as a common, public, educational, military, business, or cultural language in the ‘southern region’ was yet to be decided. However, the ambition was clearly to make the Japanese language take a leading role in Japanese-occupied territories in South-east Asia. Hoshina Kōichi (1872-1955),¹³ a zealous advocate for the promotion of the Japanese language to become the ‘Greater East Asian Language’, campaigned on various occasions that within the ‘Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere’, the Japanese language was at least needed to be used as the language to centralise command among the military forces who came together to defend East Asia, and furthermore, the

¹⁰ See Nakamura Takashi (1988), ‘Taiwan to “Nanshi, Nan’yō”’, in Nakamura Takashi (ed.), *Nihon no Nanpō Kan’yo to Taiwan*, pp. 5-31.

¹¹ See Shimada Shōsei (1940), ‘Nanshin Kyoten Taiwan to Kyōiku’, *Taiwan Jihō*, No. 250, pp. 50-51.

¹² More discussion on Japanese as a ‘Greater East Asian Language’ and the ‘Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere’ will be presented in a later section of this chapter.

¹³ Hoshina Kōichi, a renowned Japanese linguist and Tokyo University graduate, was devoted to research on Japanese language education and Japanese language policies. He was also involved in the standardisation of *tōyō* (modern usage) *kanji* and modern *kana* usage. In 1946, a number of 1,850 *kanji* were selected by the *Kokugo Shingikai* (The Japanese Language Review Committee) as *tōyō kanji* to be learned as the foundation of *kanji* literacy. In 1981, the number has increased to 1,945 and *tōyō kanji* were renamed *jōyō kanji* (frequently used *kanji*). See Matsumura Akira (ed.) (1988), *Daijirin*, pp. 1196, 1712, 2228.

‘southern region’.¹⁴ Tsuru Nagahiko, a researcher for the advancement of the Japanese language in the southern region, further suggested that the Japanese language should be used as a diplomatic language to arbitrate disputes between countries in East Asia. He also predicted that Japanese would gradually replace English to become the business language of East Asia, and in order to establish a new ideal of culture, Japanese should be used in the radio, newspapers, and magazines for the constructions of these tasks.¹⁵

According to Yamaguchi Kiichirō, who had been involved in overseas Japanese language education in Taiwan, Korea, Manchuria, and north-east China for more than three decades since 1896, the promotion of Japanese language education in Japanese-occupied territories had started from Taiwan. Based on the pioneer work in consolidating teaching methodologies and language textbook compilation, he argued, this experience would be able to be applied to Korea and China to successfully perpetuate Japanese language education outside of Japan.¹⁶ Therefore, the proposed implementation of compulsory education in Taiwan could be seen as a preparatory step that Japan had taken in its wartime efforts towards unifying people in its occupied territories through the means of the Japanese language.

The Kōminka Movement and Japanese Language Popularisation

Together with the implementation of compulsory education, the intensification of the war had made Japanese colonial rule take drastic measures to speed up the popularisation of the Japanese language among the Taiwanese as part of its mobilisation efforts. The launch of the *Kōminka* Movement during the war was one of its earnest efforts. As has been argued in Chapter One, the aim of the *Kōminka* Movement was for the total mobilisation of the Taiwanese for Japan’s national defense. Also, as discussed in previous chapters, the *Kōminka* Movement aimed to transform the Taiwanese into imperial subjects of Japan. It was, in nature, a more intensified assimilation policy

¹⁴ See Tsuru Nagahiko (1942), ‘Nihongo no Nanpō Shinshutsu ni taisuru Shomondai’, *Taiwan Jihō*, No. 269, p. 48.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 49.

¹⁶ See Yamaguchi Kiichirō (1939), ‘Wa ga Kuni no Gaichi ni okeru Nihongo Kyōju no Hensen’, *Kokugo Undō*, Vol. 3, No. 10, p. 15. Also see Matsunaga Noriko (1999), ‘Nihon Gunseika no Senryōchi ni okeru Chokusetsuhō to Sokuseihō: Gunseika Maraya no Jirei o Tōshite’, *Nihongo Kyōiku*, No. 103, p. 79.

launched by Japanese colonial rule during the war, or more specifically a total Japanisation scheme to transform the Taiwanese into Japanese in every aspect of their lives.¹⁷ The movement expressed Japan's strong desire to convey the *kokutai* ideology, 'the fundamental character and form of the Japanese empire', to ordinary Taiwanese at all levels of society. The ideology of *kokutai*, as has been discussed in Chapter Three, is a very abstract and difficult concept to understand. In plain words, the concept of *kokutai* can be described as the belief in Japan as a nation with a unique spirit which originated from an uncontaminated bloodline and refined culture that has in turn contributed to Japan's prosperity, success, and dominance in the East Asian region of the day. Even more difficult is the task of conveying the ideology of *kokutai* as admitted by Andō Shōji, the then Chancellor of the Taihoku Imperial University. This is because the Taiwanese people did not share the same culture and history, and most of all, the living experience whereby the Japanese ideology of *kokutai* was fostered and reinforced. As an earnest effort to attempt to help convey such a difficult ideology to the Taiwanese people, Andō suggested:

[no] matter how the ideology of *kokutai* was explained, and quite often, a one-way indoctrination of knowledge-based explanation on such an ideology was done only, to totally convey the ideology of *kokutai*, firstly, the preparation of a new heart of the people, and the creation of a new environment has to be done. Thus, the [Taiwanese] people would be able to feel and touch the traditions of our national emotions; they could then sympathise with what we were talking about. Until then, a way of eliciting such effects has to be discussed. I think things such as books, movies, and plays are very appropriate methods to achieve such results.¹⁸

In reality, the preparation of a new heart and the creation of a new environment turned out to be the most thorough on-going civic exercise generated by the movement for the Taiwanese to gear up for the war. Under the four major schemes, the Japanese language popularisation scheme, the name change (to Japanese) scheme, voluntary conscription, and religious reform, the *Kōminka* Movement aimed to transform the Taiwanese so that they would speak, live, and think in every aspect like the Japanese. Coupled with civic training, the movement stressed order, discipline, and obedience to be observed by

¹⁷ Discussion on the *Kōminka* Movement has been provided in Chapters One and Two.

¹⁸ See Andō Shōji (1944), 'Gaichi ni okeru Kokutai Kannen Tettei no Hōto', *Taiwan Jihō*, No. 290, p. 87.

ordinary Taiwanese people. Civil training involved activities for the improvement of living environments, public service in the field, and militaristic training designed for village youth.¹⁹ Taiwan had never experienced such an intense Japanisation process as this movement during its fifty-year colonial history. Ultimately the movement aimed to create imperial Japanised Taiwanese subjects to die for the Japanese empire unconditionally if necessary, but above all, the most prominent way of manifesting the Japanese spirit associated with the movement, to Japanese colonial authorities, was the integration of the Japanese language into every aspect of Taiwanese life. To Ihara, the most important task that Japanese colonial authorities wished to achieve in the *Kōminka* Movement was the maximum effects of Japanese language education among the Taiwanese.²⁰

To Japanese colonial authorities, the degree of Japanese language popularisation among the colonised Taiwanese indicated the success of the *Kōminka* Movement. The more the Japanese language was integrated into the lives of the Taiwanese, the more convinced were Japanese colonial authorities of the success of the movement. Nakayoshi Shunji, an editor for the publications of the Government-General of Taiwan argued,

[with] respect to the significance of the national language, the ultimate goal of the rule in Taiwan is whether the task of *Kōminka* can be completed. That is, the central issue of *Kōminka* is truly the issue of [the popularization] of the national [Japanese] language which cannot be taken lightly at all.²¹

Thus, among the efforts which were devoted to the *Kōminka* Movement, the promotion of the Japanese language was the most prominent and most visible. The task was no longer to promote the Japanese language among the Taiwanese, but to integrate Japanese into their lives in every possible aspect. For this, Nakayoshi further elaborated.

For anything at all, the national language would be used in thinking and taken in action; this is what a Japanese person would be like. A Japanese who does not use the national

¹⁹ For a detailed discussion of activities involved in the *Kōminka* Movement, see Ihara Yoshinosuke (1988), 'Taiwan no Kōminka Undō', pp. 304-366.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 368.

²¹ See Nakayoshi Shunji (1941), 'Kotoba ni tsuite', *Taiwan Jihō*, No. 253, p. 37.

language to live is unthinkable. Without using the national language to live, there is no *kōmin*'s [imperial subject's] life...therefore, a *kōmin*'s life is to use the national language to live. Thus, to totally carry out a life in the national language is to totally carry out a life of the *kōmin*.²²

And Ōsawa Sadaharu, an army officer, in a convention on how to drill Taiwanese youth to become viable soldiers, also added:

[because] the matter of speaking the national language had to be done in real life, and for the sake of our expectation for a total life instilled in the national language, we should set up national language committees and select the national language committee members and promotion members to truly combine the national language into daily life...and ordinary Taiwanese people are our targets. We should develop in them a vivid national language life centring on their families...²³

For the sake of maximising the result of popularising the Japanese language in the daily life of ordinary Taiwanese, columns printed in Chinese were banned from all newspapers in 1937,²⁴ and every available resource, *Kōgakkō* pupils and graduates, leaders of local male and female youth corps, policemen, local gentry and intellectuals, and enthusiastic volunteers, were all mobilised for the cause of the promotion of the Japanese language among those who had failed to attend the common education system.²⁵ For the ultimate purpose of integrating the Japanese language into the lives of the Taiwanese, a scheme aimed at the frequent use of the Japanese language in the family, *Kokugo Jōyō Undō* (the National Language Regular Use Movement), was launched in 1937. A plaque of '*Kokugo no Ie*' (National Language House) would be granted to a household which met the criteria of this scheme.²⁶

²² *Ibid*, p. 35.

²³ Ōsawa's opinion was recorded in a convention (1944), 'Chōheisei Hodokosu ni Tomonau Tekirei Seinen Rensei no Gutaiteki Jōkyō ni suite', *Taiwan Jihō*, No. 296, p. 28.

²⁴ Until 1937, Japanese newspapers had maintained columns printed in Chinese for the readership of the Taiwanese who had traditional Chinese education. See Wu San-lien, Ts'ai Pei-huo et al. (1971), *Taiwan Min Zu Yun Dong Shi*, p. 566.

²⁵ In the interviews that I present in Chapter Seven, some former *Kōgakkō* graduates verified that people like them sometimes went along voluntarily to places like *Kokugo Kōshūjo* at night time to give Japanese lessons to their elder Taiwanese compatriots. See interviews with Yu Teng-chi on March 5, 2001, p. 6 and Li Teng-fu on March 9, 2001, p. 4.

²⁶ As has been discussed in Chapter Two, despite the incentives, the recognised number of '*Kokugo no Ie*' all over Taiwan was relatively low. By 1942, 9,604 households, involving 77,679 individuals or 1.3 percent of the total Taiwanese population, had been granted such privileges. See Taiwan Sōtokufu (1940), *Taiwan Gakuji Nengan*, pp. 295-296, and Taiwan Sōtokufu (1940, 1942), *Taiwan no Shakai Kyōiku*, pp.

In addition to social education which offered Japanese language education to those who failed to make use of the normal school system, together with the intensity of the war, organisations such as the *Kōmin Hōkōkai* established in 1941 aimed to mobilise the Taiwanese people to a new level. As has been discussed in Chapter Two, the *Kōmin Hōkōkai*, presided over by the Governor-General of Taiwan, sought to mobilise the then six million Taiwanese people with a top-down approach. Many prominent Taiwanese, such as the elite in socio-political circles, were pressured by the colonial government to voluntarily take a leading role in the organisation, which had branches all over major cities and country towns in Taiwan. Underneath the *Kōmin Hōkō Undō*, the *Kōmin Hōkōhan*, the most basic level unit of the organisation made up of ten households in a village, offered Japanese language drilling as part of its basic training.²⁷ For the purpose of national defense and total mobilisation, under the *Kōmin Rensei Undō* (the Imperial Subject Drilling Movement), there were the *Kōmin Rensei* (Imperial Subject Drilling) camps which offered military-style training for enthusiastic youth who comprehended little or no Japanese. According to Tanigaki, the then Section Chief of Social Affairs of the Taihoku prefecture, a normal *Kōmin Rensei* camp normally involved the following activities. Suitable youth from a village were summoned to the camp for one week training every two months. Schedules of these camps applied training for life in the army, such as commands for marching, making their own beds, and placing things in order. All the commands were carried out in Japanese and the youth were made to use the Japanese language in the camp all the time.²⁸

In an attempt to hasten the speed of Japanese proficiency among conscriptable Taiwanese youth, Nakayoshi even suggested that those Taiwanese who had attended the *Kōgakkō* should do public service at Japanese households to facilitate and maintain their

19, 63-64. Figures cited in Wu Wen-hsing (1992), *Ri Ju Shi Qi Taiwan She Hui Ling Dao Jie Ceng zhi Yan Jiu*, p. 362. Also see Chou Wan-yao (1991), 'The *Kōminka* Movement: Taiwan Under Wartime Japan, 1937-1945', p. 80.

²⁷ See Tsuchiya Hiroshi (1942), 'Taiwan no Kōmin Hōkō Undō to Kokugo Mondai', p. 10.

²⁸ Tanigaki's opinion was recorded in a convention on how to drill Taiwanese youth to become viable soldiers, cited in (1944) 'Chōheisei Hodokosu ni Tomonau Tekirei Seinen Rensei no Gutaiteki Jōkyō ni tsuite', p. 26.

Japanese proficiency. Prior to the implementation of the conscription system, he argued that measures to encourage Japanese popularisation in Taiwan should be taken first.²⁹ For Matsui Tōrō, a committee member of the then Taiwan Theatre Association, in order to speed up Japanese comprehension among conscriptable Taiwanese youth, he further added:

[for] the intended conscription scheme to be implemented in 1945 and its related movement of the total comprehension of the national language among conscriptable youth, I would [suggest to] adopt the good old traditional system used in Japan for young people. That is, every one stays at home to carry out their individual duties of labour work and cooking during the day, and at night time after dinner, all the youth should be called together to come to where they will be sleeping for the night and start drilling the military language in Japanese. In this way, their spirit, their bodies, and their national language will be benefiting like real soldiers in duty...for the total comprehension of the national language, especially for the purpose of the total comprehension of the military language, I recommend stage performances with themes centred on life in military service.³⁰

The progress of the *Kōminka* Movement, in the area of Japanese popularisation alone, was successful, according to the ever-optimistic official statistics. However, the zealous movement failed to address some fundamental problems, as argued by Nakamura Satoshi, an Associate Professor in Literature and Politics of the then Taihoku Imperial University. That is, there were problems resulting from assimilating the Japanese culture into a social setting which was dominated by a majority of the Taiwanese people. He argued that one of the problems concerning Japan's *Kōminka* Movement in Taiwan was related to what should have been a cultural policy. In other words, if Japan tried to import its culture to Taiwan by the means of political dominance, then politics had to make use of the power of culture to successfully implement such a policy.³¹ He criticised Japan's clumsiness in handling the *Kōminka* Movement in Taiwan with its failure to recognise that the movement was, in nature, a cultural movement.³² He foresaw problems existing in the movement which intended to assimilate Taiwan into Japan while failing to recognise that the task involved two different cultures. Without

²⁹ See Nakayoshi Shunji's opinion is cited in Fukuda Ryōsuke (1943), 'Chōheisei to Kokugo Mondai', *Taiwan Jihō*, No. 287, pp. 88-89.

³⁰ Matsui Tōrō's opinion is cited in *ibid*, p. 92.

³¹ See Nakamura Satoshi (1941), 'Bunka Seisaku toshite no Kōminka Mondai', *Taiwan Jihō*, No. 253, p. 7.

³² *Ibid*.

formulating a policy which would take the attachment of the Taiwanese people to their existing culture into consideration, Nakamura argued that the *Kōminka* Movement was not only hollow but unworkable. For Japan to establish its influence in East Asia, he suggested that Japan should not implement the much revered old traditional Japanese culture alone, but also allow the existing cultures of its occupied territories to grow.³³ In the area of Japanese language popularisation, he, again, saw the fundamental problem in the fact that the Japanese language was seldom used in the everyday life of ordinary Taiwanese. For some more educated Taiwanese, they might find Japanese useful in absorbing knowledge and they might use it frequently, but for others, they found little reason to use Japanese. He argued that Japanese popularisation schemes should first address these problems before positive results could be expected.³⁴ His arguments thus lead us to explore the reality of Japanese language popularisation in various aspects of life among ordinary Taiwanese.

Japanese and Conscription

With the intensification of the war, Japanese colonial authorities intended to conscript Taiwanese males for the supply of military personnel needs in 1945. However, the intended conscription was directly hit by the reality that most of the conscriptable Taiwanese males had not acquired the necessary proficiency in Japanese to understand commands. For those males who would reach the conscriptable age of seventeen or eighteen in 1945, they would have attended the *Kōgakkō* between the years of 1934 and 1940 when they were from the age of seven to thirteen. The school attendance rates for *Kōgakkō* during those years, according to the official statistics, were between 40 and 57 percent, which means that among the conscriptable Taiwanese males aged between seventeen and eighteen in 1945, about one in two did not receive elementary Japanese

³³ See Nakamura Satoshi (1941), 'Bunka Seisaku toshite no Kōminka Mondai', pp. 9-10.

³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 11. His arguments match the findings of the interviews presented in Chapter Seven. With respect to Japanese language usage, most of the former *Kōgakkō* graduates replied that there was not much need for them to use Japanese in Taiwanese society and they seldom used Japanese as far as day-to-day living was concerned during the colonial period. For more details, see the interviews presented in Chapter Seven.

education.³⁵ Nakayoshi argued that even for those who had completed six-year *Kōgakkō* education, they might not necessarily acquire the level of Japanese to understand the complexity of language used in the army.³⁶ Military jargon, such as ‘cartridges’, ‘shoot’, ‘charge’, and ‘load’, were all written in complicated Chinese characters which were difficult and rarely used in real life situations. Even in Japan in 1940 there was a campaign to simplify jargon used for military equipment and commands in the army to bring down the impact of language problems facing conscripts in Japan.³⁷ Also, before the conscription which was intended to be implemented in Taiwan in 1945, as part of the *Kōminka* Movement from 1941 there were volunteer schemes for ‘patriotic’ Taiwanese youth who wished to devote themselves to the defense of Japan. The number of volunteers, for the years of 1942, 1943, and 1944, according to the statistics of the Government-General of Taiwan, were 425,961, 601,146, and 759,276 respectively, but only 1,020 applicants in 1942, 1,008 applicants in 1943, and 2,497 applicants in 1944 were accepted. The acceptance rate, the lowest among the three, was about one in six hundred in 1943.³⁸ The selection criteria were based on applicants’ physical condition, age, and education (a minimum six-year elementary education was required). It is thus not hard to imagine that educational qualifications, and more so Japanese language proficiency, would be one of the major reasons that so many applications were turned down. If literacy in Japanese was a problem for Japanese conscriptable males, who mostly had finished six-year compulsory education and used Japanese in everyday life, the magnitude of problems in language proficiency without doubt would be much greater in their Taiwanese counterparts.

The most fundamental problem in the popularisation of the Japanese language in Taiwan is that the Japanese language was far away from the daily language used by the majority

³⁵ The statistics used here were school attendance rates. While drop-outs were relatively common among *Kōgakkō* pupils, the percentage of students who had completed six-year *Kōgakkō* could be expected to be less although the statistics were not provided here. Also, considering that male students enjoyed a higher school attendance rate than females, it is then fair to assume that about one in two males would neither have attended or completed *Kōgakkō* education by 1940. Figures cited here are in Taiwan Sōtokufu Bunkiyōkyoku Gakumuka (1943), ‘Gimu Kyōiku Seido’, p. 17.

³⁶ Cited in Fukuda Ryōsuke (1943), ‘Chōheisei to Kokugo Mondai’, pp. 86-87.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

³⁸ See Taiwan Sōtokufu (1945), *Taiwan Tōchi Gaiyō*, p. 72. Also see Hsieh Shen-chan and Furuno Naoya (1996), *Taiwan Dai Zhi*, Vol. 2, p. 302.

of the inhabitants in Taiwan, the Taiwanese. The Japanese population in Taiwan, at its highest level, only accounted for six percent, and most of them were concentrated in the then capital of Taiwan, Taihoku, and other major cities, where they monopolised the socio-political and economic posts at the apex of Taiwanese society.³⁹ According to a 1938 annual personnel report on the employees of the Government-General of Taiwan, out of the 376 colonial governmental posts, only seven positions were taken up by the Taiwanese.⁴⁰ Ng also found that apart from school teachers and doctors, the number of the Taiwanese directly employed by the Government-General of Taiwan in 1943 was eleven.⁴¹ Throughout country towns in Taiwan, Japanese presence was rare apart from a few administrative positions, such as policemen and chiefs in district offices. Taiwanese people hardly used Japanese to go about their daily business. The place where the Japanese language was most used was at Japanese schools of which *Kōgakkō* best accommodated the Taiwanese representation.⁴² By the early 1940s, the school attendance rate for *Kōgakkō* had increased to more than 50 percent. However, out of school, Taiwanese pupils found no need to continue using Japanese. At home they used their native languages to talk to their parents, brothers, sisters, and friends. After visiting Taiwan in person, Horiike Shigeo complained that in the country he only heard the Taiwanese language, not Japanese. Even among the Taiwanese who could speak Japanese, they still carried on their conversations in their native languages, and he found that students did not use Japanese after they went home. He concluded that “the Taiwanese do not live in the atmosphere of the Japanese language”.⁴³ The year he visited Taiwan was 1944, just one year before Japan withdrew from Taiwan. If by

³⁹ According to Chen Shao-hsing, by 1940, 67 percent of the Japanese population residing in Taiwan lived in major cities, such as Taihoku. See Chen Shao-hsing (1979), *Taiwan Ren Kou de Bian Qian yu She Hui Bian Qian*, Taipei, Lian Jing Publishing Co, p. 172. Ng also points out that in 1930, the Japanese who were in governmental posts in areas of colonial administration, military, education, and transportation accounted for half of the total Japanese population in Taiwan, and about one third involved in the areas of businesses. The number of people involved in agriculture and primary industries was the least of the three. See Ng Yuzin Chiautong (1993), *Taiwan Zong Du Fu*, p. 233.

⁴⁰ See Taiwan Keisei Shinpōsha (1938), *Taiwan Dainenpyō*, pp. 277-279.

⁴¹ See *Taiwan Sōtokufu Shokuinroku* (The Employee Book of the Government-General of Taiwan) 1943, p. 667, cited in Ng Yuzin Chiautong (1993), *Taiwan Zong Du Fu*, pp. 241-242.

⁴² These findings can be further verified by interviews conducted with former *Kōgakkō* graduates presented in Chapter Seven.

⁴³ See Horiike Shigeo (1944), ‘Kokugo de Kangaeru Seikatsu’, *Taiwan Jihō*, No. 290, pp. 109-111. More discussion on the usage of the Japanese language among *Kōgakkō* pupils can be seen in Chapter Seven.

randomly visiting Taiwan, he could not feel the presence of the Japanese language in Taiwanese society after so many years of efforts by the colonial rule, the situation that the Japanese language was not prevalently used by the general public is probably not far away from the truth. Even for students, who had attended six-year *Kōgakkō* and who probably had more exposure to the Japanese language than other sections of the Taiwanese population, Japanese did not come near to being the most frequently used language among them. Liao Su-ying, who had been involved in social military education designated for Taiwanese youth during the war, asked his Taiwanese students why this was the case. They replied, “we don’t often use Japanese at home, not at the work place, and the same thing applied among friends”.⁴⁴

The lack of a mass media like those we enjoy today which could be employed to efficiently spread the Japanese language was another contributing factor to the low degree of Japanese popularisation in Taiwanese society. During the Japanese occupation in Taiwan, newspapers were the only major source of mass communication. For Japanese-illiterate Taiwanese, newspapers were certainly not an ideal way to obtain their Japanese language proficiency. Even for Japanese-literate Taiwanese, it is debatable whether reading newspapers formed part of their daily habits or whether newspapers were affordable and prevalent.⁴⁵ Another form of mass communication available during the Japanese occupation was the radio. Radio broadcasting started in Taiwan in 1928 with the network receiving programs broadcast directly from Japan. From 1934 technologies had improved to make the reception of Japanese broadcasting from Japan more reliable.⁴⁶ The contents of radio programs broadcast in Taiwan contained three major categories: news, education, and entertainment. In 1930 Japanese colonial authorities started to broadcast programs designed to popularise the Japanese

⁴⁴ Liao Shu-ying’s opinion is recorded in Fukuda Ryōsuke (1943), ‘Chōheisei to Kokugo Mondai’, p. 96.

⁴⁵ By the end of 1945, the only newspaper in Taiwan, *Taiwan Shinpō*, had a circulation of 167,000 newspapers. If one newspaper were to be read by one person, among the 6.6 million Taiwanese residents (including about 400,000 Japanese), only about 2.5 percent of the population would benefit from reading the newspapers. See Taiwan Sōtokufu (1945), *Taiwan Tōchi Gaiyō*, p. 67. Also see Fujii Shōzō (1998), *Taiwan Bungaku kono Hyakunen*, p. 35.

⁴⁶ See Nihon Hōsō Kyōkai (1931), *Shōwa Rokunen Rajio Nenkan*, pp. 49-50, cited in Lu Shao-li (1998), *Whistle from the Sugarcane Factory: The Transition of Time Cognition and Rhythms of Social Life in Taiwan under the Japanese Rule, 1895-1945*, p. 168.

language and broadcast radio gymnastics every morning from 1933 in Taihoku, Taichū, and Tainan for individual households and through public reception booths.⁴⁷ It would have been an effective tool for the spreading of the Japanese language by colonial authorities if the reception was prevalent among Taiwanese households. However, like everything else, radio was a luxurious item that ordinary Taiwanese households could not afford. Also for its poor reception (due to the poor quality of the radio set) and fees charged, the reception rate per household was reportedly very low. In 1944 at its highest level, the reception rate among Taiwanese households was reported at four percent.⁴⁸

Without much use of Japanese in the daily life of the Taiwanese, even for those Taiwanese who had been highly educated in Japanese, they found speaking in Japanese was optional in accordance with circumstances. According to the account of Chen I-song, a Taiwanese lawyer and city council member who graduated from Tokyo Imperial University, towards the end of the war he recalled that one day when invited by Japanese colonial authorities along with two other prominent Taiwanese for a speech made to appeal to the Taiwanese for propaganda purposes, they travelled in a train bound for Tainan in a second class carriage. Since there was only one Japanese soldier around, they then started to chat in Taiwanese. When they were about to disembark, the soldier apparently got angry over their conversation in Taiwanese, and came over to demand an answer. The soldier asked Chen, “Who are you?” Chen replied, “We are Taiwanese”. The soldier asked again, “What language did you just speak?” Chen replied honestly, “Taiwanese”. The soldier then shouted, “You stupid fools”, “You are Japanese and you must speak Japanese”, “Do you understand?” Chen and others then replied to the soldier sleepily, “Yes, yes”.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ See Taiwan Sōtokufu (1938), *Taiwan no Shakai Kyōiku*, pp. 96, 128.

⁴⁸ See Lu Shao-li (1998), *Whistle from the Sugarcane Factory: The Transition of Time Cognition and Rhythms of Social Life in Taiwan under the Japanese Rule, 1895-1945*, p. 172. Also, according to Taiwan Sōtokufu's statistics, the number of people estimated to have listened to radio broadcasting reached its peak in 1943 at more than 100,000, and among the estimated 97,823 listeners in 1945, more than half were Japanese who made up just over ten percent of the total Japanese population in Taiwan. The remaining 43,891 Taiwanese made up not even one percent of the total Taiwanese population. For statistics, see Taiwan Sōtokufu (1945), *Taiwan Tōchi Gaiyō*, p. 204.

⁴⁹ See Chen I-song (1994), *Chen I-song Hui Yi Lu: Ri Ju Shi Dai Pian*, pp. 234-235.

Social education, as a less official form of education to supplement the unavailability of Japanese language education for other sections of the Taiwanese population, offered little improvement in the reality of Japanese popularisation in Taiwan. Apart from the *Kōgakkō* system which aimed to educate school-aged Taiwanese children, for the majority of over school-aged Taiwanese people who slipped through the official educational channels, there was little chance for them to learn Japanese. As has been discussed in Chapter Two, the form of Japanese social education for Japanese-illiterate Taiwanese started as early as the 1900s when scattered *Kokugo Fukyūkai* and *Kokugo Renshūkai* were established in the Taiwan island. There was no official organisation supporting the movement, and the progress of Japanese popularisation in the form of social education in Taiwan was negligible for the subsequent two decades. A 1920 national census conducted by the Government-General of Taiwan revealed that only 4.9 percent of males and 0.7 percent of females, an average 2.9 percent of the Taiwanese population, comprehended the Japanese language. The rate was slightly higher, 3.9 percent, among those who could read and write in *hiragana* and *katakana*.⁵⁰ It was in 1928 when the Government-General of Taiwan, recognising the importance of social education in relation to the popularisation of Japanese among the Taiwanese public, established a more centralised and government-subsidised system, the *Kokugo Kōshūjo* and the *Kan'i Kokugo Kōshūjo*, to reinforce social education among the Taiwanese who did not comprehend Japanese.⁵¹ With the implementation of both *Kokugo Kōshūjo* and *Kan'i Kokugo Kōshūjo*, in 1931 the official statistics boasted 20.4 percent of the Taiwanese population who comprehended Japanese.⁵² More ambitiously, in 1933 the colonial government had launched a ten-year progression plan which aimed in ten years' time to push the Japanese comprehension rate among the Taiwanese to 50 percent. According to the official statistics, the target had been reached in 1940, three years ahead of the scheduled time frame.⁵³

⁵⁰ These figures were compiled by the Provisional National Census Investigation Department and cited in Statistics Department (1921), 'Kokugo Futatabi Kanamoji no Hontōjin ni Fukyūseru Teido', p. 99.

⁵¹ Detailed discussion of these programmes and their developments can be seen in Chapter Two.

⁵² Taiwan Sōtokufu (1938), *Taiwan no Shakai Kyōiku*, p. 16.

⁵³ See Wu Wen-hsing (1992), *Ri Ju Shi Qi Taiwan She Hui Ling Dao Jie Ceng zhi Yan Jiu*, p. 356. Also see Chapter Two for detailed discussion.

Although the official statistics looked impressive, the reality of Japanese comprehension among people who had received these forms of social education needs more scrutiny. First all of, the rate, especially after 1931, which was reported by Japanese colonial officials as the rate of the Taiwanese who comprehended Japanese in the population should be treated as the attendance rate of those who made use of the formal school systems, such as *Kōgakkō* and *Chūgakkō*, and informal social educational apparatus, such as *Kokugo Kōshūjo* and *Kan'i Kokugo Kōshūjo*. It is debatable whether the attendance rate is equivalent to the comprehension rate. It is fair to say that *Kōgakkō* pupils who had spent six years learning Japanese would obtain a good command of the language. However, Japanese education offered at *Kokugo Kōshūjo* and *Kan'i Kokugo Kōshūjo* was of the nature of supplementary education for people who were often the elder members of families and primarily engaged in the economic operation of the household. They only found free time at night or the agricultural off-season for the luxury of education, and the design of the course was often to reduce their loads of study due to other commitments in life. After a couple of hours a night for a hundred days of study a year with little need to use Japanese in real life situations, their level of Japanese acquisition was truly debatable. Often the teachers who taught at these institutes were the Taiwanese who also taught at the *Kōgakkō* or volunteers, generally the leaders of local youth corps, village chiefs, or even *Kōgakkō* students themselves.⁵⁴ It is not hard to imagine that the degree of direct teaching in the Japanese language carried out in the classroom between Taiwanese teachers and students would be somehow compromised.⁵⁵ The effects of Japanese language education at the *Kokugo Kōshūjo* and the *Kan'i Kokugo Kōshūjo* were hardly comparable to the effects of the *Kōgakkō*. If there is a doubt about the level of Japanese proficiency among *Kōgakkō* graduates, how much truth is there in the boasted rate of Japanese comprehension among the Taiwanese through the means of social education? In the final chapter, I will use the example of the *Yamagami* (Shanshang) *Kōgakkō*, a local Taiwanese elementary school established

⁵⁴ See Interviews with Yu Teng-chi, March 5, 2001, p. 6 and Li Teng-fu, March 9, 2001, p. 4. More analysis of the interviews can be seen in Chapter Seven.

⁵⁵ According to Chen Bi-lan, her mother had also participated in the night school of the *Kokugo Kōshūjo*. She recalled one time that her mother had tried to mimic a phrase which she remembered as 'muroshiki' (sic) as 'Gu-mei-xi-ki' (meaning the cow is going to die) in Taiwanese to help herself remember it, and Chen was quite amused by it. See interview with Chen Bi-lan, March 9, 2001, p. 2.

during the Japanese occupation, and interviews with some of its former graduates to shed more light on the reality of Japanese language education in aspects related to the ordinary life of the Taiwanese.

Japanese: A 'Greater East Asian' Language

As has been discussed in the beginning of the chapter, Taiwan was not only Japan's first colony, it was also where Japanese language education was first implemented overseas through governmental efforts. Strategically, Taiwan was the stepping-stone to China and South-east Asia. Culturally, imperial Japan wanted to prove that it had the influence that could guide and unite the diversity of its colonies and occupied territories. Japanese colonial authorities considered that this power existed in the Japanese language. After examining the reality and problems of the implementation of Japanese language education in Taiwan, here, we will further look at how Japan foresaw Japanese becoming a 'Greater East Asian' language and the implications of this policy. After decades of efforts in promoting Japanese language education in Taiwan and Korea, Japanese language education embarked on a new territory, China, in the 1930s. Together with Japanese military aggression throughout East Asia, Japan was on a mission to consolidate its position as the new leader in East Asia, militarily and culturally. As Japanese-occupied territories expanded, the promotion of Japanese language education emerged from experiments in colonial education to a mission which sought to incorporate the greater East Asian region into the sphere of Japanese cultural influence.

When Japan defeated China and Russia, incorporated Taiwan and annexed Korea into its territory in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these diplomatic victories enhanced Japan's self-image as a nation in East Asia. For the first time, after centuries of subordination, Japan usurped China's position in the East Asian region. The Japanese looked at this success and started soul-searching for what had apparently contributed to this supremacy in the region. It seemed that Japan's uniqueness was in the sacred origin of the Japanese race whereby the Japanese people were seen to be the direct descents of their founder emperor-goddess, Amateratsu Ōmikami – a bloodline said to be unbroken

for two thousand and six hundred years.⁵⁶ The Japanese language was seen as the language of the gods which conserved the sacredness of their lineage and their nation. The Japanese language had been seen as a sacred property of their founder emperor and the royal family. To speak it was to honour their ancestry. The Japanese language was the manifestation of this Japanese spirit, and to use it would in turn revitalise this spirit.⁵⁷

Fuelled by the growing ultranationalism in the 1930s at home, Japanese military aggression throughout East Asia was justified by the great cause of establishing a new order in the East Asian region. The ideology materialised in the scheme of establishing the 'Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere', since Japan's military dominance apparently demonstrated that it had replaced China to become the new leader in East Asia. The campaign for establishing a new order in East Asia and the 'Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere' matured in the early 1940s after Japan occupied north-eastern China and Manchuria.⁵⁸ Ideologies associated with Japan's image as a new leader in the region were disseminated. Japanese ultra-nationalists were eager to perpetuate their fundamental belief in Japan's sacred origin and its cultural superiority to the people in the East Asian region. As has been discussed in previous chapters, the Japanese language was perceived by the Japanese as the means to propagate the Japanese spirit. Japanese language education became a mission to promote these ideologies among the people in this region. Komagome points out that the promotion of the Japanese language in Japanese-occupied territories served not only as an educational policy but as an attempt to incorporate Japan's occupied territories into its cultural sphere.⁵⁹ Japanese ultra-nationalists perceived Japan's military aggression in East Asia as a necessary act for the reconstruction of a new order. In the process of reconstructing a new order by force, a cultural construction based on the Japanese ideologies for the co-prosperity of

⁵⁶ In Japanese history, it is said that the first Japanese emperor, Jimmu, arose to the throne in the area of Yamato (Nara) in 660 B.C., and Amateratsu Ōmikami was the common ancestor of the Japanese emperors who originated the Japanese race. The fifteenth year of the Shōwa period was 1940, which was said to be the two thousand and six hundredth year of Japanese history. See Taiwan Sōtokufu (1936), *Kōgakkō Kokushi* (Version One), Vol. 1, Lessons One and Two, and Monbushō (1913), *Kōtō Shōgaku Shūshinsho*, Vol. 1, Lessons One, Two, and Three.

⁵⁷ Discussion on this aspect of the Japanese language is also provided in Chapter Three.

⁵⁸ For detailed discussion, see Louise Young (1998), *Japanese Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*, Berkeley, University of California, pp. 3-20.

⁵⁹ See Komagome Takeshi (1996), *Shokuminchi Teikoku Nihon no Bunka Tōgō*, p. 297.

the greater East Asian region was underway, and a common language was needed. That language was seen to be the leaders' language, the Japanese language.⁶⁰

Echoing the sentiment that Japanese language education was seen as the indispensable cultural construction for establishing the new order in East Asia, Tsukamoto Katsuzō, a high school teacher, further elaborated.

In the process of building up [Japan's] national power through constructing a new order in East Asia, [our] love and respect for the national language must be emphasised. While the centre of efforts is on political, economic, as well as cultural tasks, I think the substance of the basis of these tasks is the national language...In the establishment of a new order in East Asia, to manifest the great spirit of our nation-building, to carry out our great policies, to make people understand the true meaning of Japan, to spread the Japanese culture, and to create new happy lives for them, for all these purposes, only through the Japanese language could they be made possible. In the beginning of the establishment, imposed military force and politics are inevitable. Nevertheless, to truly unite all the ethnic groups in East Asia, these means alone are not enough and will not hold permanently. Only the complete promotion of the [Japanese] language which connects the soul and life of the people could be the fundamental efforts.⁶¹

Tsukamoto further argued that the unity of the nation, the consolidation of the national education, the creation of indigenous culture, and most of all, the embarkation on the establishment of a new order in Asia, all relied on the love and respect for the national language – the Japanese language. To Tsukamoto, the Japanese language was the blood, the eternal power, to be circulated into the establishment of a new order in East Asia, and the ultimate love for the national language, Japanese, was the cornerstone of this sacred mission which would bring about prosperity for people in East Asia.⁶²

This ultimate love for the national language of Japan is the motivation behind the push to promote the Japanese language overseas in Japanese-occupied territories. After decades of efforts in Taiwan and Korea, as Japanese military aggression in Asia intensified in the 1930s, the promotion of Japanese language education embarked on a

⁶⁰ See Tsurumi Yūsuke (1942), 'Daisenshō to Nihongo no Sekaiteki Shinshutsu', *Kokugo Undō*, Vol. 6, No. 8, p. 3.

⁶¹ See Tsukamoto Katsuzō (1940), 'Kokugo no Aigo', *Kokugo Undō*, Vol. 4, No. 2, p. 6.

⁶² *Ibid*, p. 7.

new field in China, developing from north-eastern China to Manchuria.⁶³ As Japan's occupied territories expanded throughout Asia, the ultra-nationalists became firmer in their belief that the promotion of the Japanese language in East Asia was beneficial to the people in the region. Hosobe Shin'ichirō, an advocate for Japanese language education in north-east China articulated his belief.

Why on earth do we teach Japanese and why do we say that we have to teach Japanese [to this region]? The answers to these fundamental questions cannot be taken lightly. It is not for such minor matters as facilitating employment that we teach Japanese. The answer is that through the Japanese language the new order in East Asia can be established...When we speak Japanese and teach Japanese word by word, the revered Japanese spirit is brought alive...When we spread the living Japanese language, we are developing a heart of loving Japan, loving Asia, and loving the Chinese who are part of East Asia. It is like the burning flames which spread the true Japanese spirit. If we teach Japanese without knowing how to love the Chinese, it would be the same as not loving Japan, teaching the corpse of the Japanese language.⁶⁴

To Hosobe, teaching Japanese to people in Japanese-occupied territories is an act of compassion, of bestowing on them the true Japanese spirit, of sharing the ethnic uniqueness of the Japanese, and more importantly, of bringing them into the cultural sphere of the greater East Asian region led by Japan. The promotion of the Japanese language in this region could also be seen as an effort to ameliorate, or bluntly patch up, relations between China and Japan, though Japanese ultra-nationalists would never acknowledge the fact consciously. Ironically, their belief in the well-intended promotion of the Japanese language in north-east China almost blinded them to the fact that they were the invaders in China. Their rhetoric in the promotion of the Japanese language is hypocritical and self-justified. The one-sided sentiment in believing that the promotion of the Japanese language is a cultural enhancer to reconstruct a new order which would bring about happiness for people in the region, to a least degree, is to justify Japan's ruthless invasion of China. However, underneath the fortified belief of a cultural mission, problems of promoting Japanese in a non-speaking environment started to surface.

⁶³ See Yamaguchi Kiichirō (1939), 'Wa ga Kuni no Gaichi ni okeru Nihongo Kyōju no Hensen', pp. 8-15.

⁶⁴ See Hosobe Shin'ichirō (1939), 'Kitashina no Tōsan ni okeru Nihongo Kyōiku', *Kokugo Undō*, Vol. 3, No. 10, p. 22-23.

According to Komagome, in Japanese-occupied north-eastern China where Japanese language education was implemented from 1938, problems such as the low school attendance rate (less than 30 percent among elementary schools), Japanese being a language that Chinese people had little to do with in everyday life, and the low level of Japanese taught at school which failed to convince the Chinese people of their feelings towards Japan as a culturally rich nation, were ignored, or to be specific overlooked, by Japanese language education instigators. The resentment towards Japanese language education as a gesture of resisting Japan's military and cultural oppression, especially among high school students, was prevalent.⁶⁵ Here is an example of an episode of a high school student recalling what they did during a Japanese class to show their dislike of the class.

When the Japanese class is on, we would deliberately make unexpected noises. One of us would start to sharpen a pencil noisily and later all of us would be doing the same. The teacher who taught us was from Manchuria, he reported to the principal about this and soon left the class. After the war broke out, we had Japanese teachers instead who were very much feared. So during the class, we did not make a noise, did not look aside, and did not say a word until we said goodbye to the teacher when the class was over.⁶⁶

The over-glorified sentiment towards promoting Japanese language education in Japanese-occupied territories meant that they could not contemplate failure. Japanese ultra-nationalists' almost frenetic absolutism in believing that Japanese language education was a cultural enhancer for the people in Japanese-occupied territories intensified with Japan's military aggression throughout Asia towards the end of the Second World War. This absolutism also made Japanese language educators overlook the reality and problems existing in promoting a language in an environment where there were few opportunities to use the language. In an article titled 'Kantōshū ni okeru Nihongo' [On Japanese in the Guandong Region], Ōishi Hatsutarō passionately mapped out a blueprint for achieving the maximum results in promoting Japanese language education in Japanese-occupied north-eastern China.

⁶⁵ See Komagome Takeshi (1996), *Shokuminchi Teikoku Nihon no Bunka Tōgō*, pp. 308-310.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 311.

[To teach Japanese to this region is] not only for the purpose that the study of the Japanese language would cultivate [their] Japanese spirit by making [them] think and sympathise with the Japanese way...but also from the point of view of [Japanese] moral education, training in life, especially the Japanese style of training in life. Teachers should set examples for their students, [they should] be selective in teaching materials and carry out what they believe. They should reflect their retrospective attitudes towards teaching and life in general. That is [what I call] moral Japanese language education.⁶⁷

Ōishi's argument boasted a metaphysical level of Japanese language education in the training of the students – the drilling of Japanese moralistic thinking and behaviour through the influence of their teachers. This explains how crucial Japanese language teachers were seen to be in the promotion of Japanese language education overseas. They held the key to the campaign's success or failure. For the physical level of Japanese language education which aimed to maximise students' Japanese language proficiency, Ōishi further argued that,

Japanese language education should not be accomplished only by application of logical explanation and mechanical practice. Vocabularies of real life situations should be applied in a natural atmosphere. In comparison with the conceptual understanding of the Japanese language, the experience of facilitating the use of the Japanese language is harder. A direct method which would prevent the interference of [their] native languages from experiencing the crude form of the Japanese language is what I advocate. For methodologies to be used in the Guandong region, it will have to be a direct method.⁶⁸

Ōishi foresaw a two-fold methodology for the promotion of Japanese language education in the Guandong area, the north-east part of China – one was the metaphysical level for the training of the mind, and the other the physical level for the drilling of Japanese language proficiency. However, the vocabulary used in the arguments is empty and his teaching logic hard to follow. In a newly Japanese-occupied territory, the promotion of Japanese language education based on these ideologies is hardly viable. In real-life situations, people in this region hardly needed to use Japanese except in Japanese-occupied schools and institutes, the same situation as discussed earlier on Taiwan, not to mention that not many opportunities were allowed for practicing real-life Japanese. Without a dominant Japanese speaking population, the application of learning Japanese in real life situations in a mostly Chinese-populated area was out of the

⁶⁷ See Ōishi Hatsutarō (1943), 'Kantōshū ni okeru Nihongo', *Kokugo Undō*, Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 52-53.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p. 53.

question. Even the optimistic official statistics boasted a mere ten percent of Japanese speaking population in this region.⁶⁹ Without a satisfactory level of acquisition of the Japanese language, the Japanese way of thinking, and most of all, the Japanese spirit, could hardly be assimilated into the minds of the Chinese pupils. Without a natural progression of language acquisition to pave the way for the metaphysical understanding of the Japanese language, the militaristic style of drilling, to impose the Japanese ideologies onto the people of Japanese-occupied territories would only turn their feelings against the campaign rather than earning their support.

This absolutism in the promotion of Japanese language education in the greater East Asian region, in nature, is not what the Japanese ultra-nationalist perpetrators claimed – of enhancing people’s intelligence, but instead was a self-justified exercise in glorifying Japanese military aggression. In a naïve and almost romantic sentiment, Japanese ultra-nationalists, boosted by Japanese military dominance, wanted to believe that the promotion of the Japanese language in the East Asian region was a cultural mission to liberate people permanently from western imperialism under Japanese tutelage. Fukui Suguru, an advocate for overseas Japanese language education, represented such a sentiment. He portrayed the promotion of Japanese language education in Manchuria.

The promotion of the Japanese language overseas [in comparison with Great Britain which promoted English for the sake of trading around the world and Spain which promoted Spanish for the sake of circulating overseas goods back to Spain] was not based on [such] pragmatism. Rather, the act of promoting the Japanese language to the people of other continents is for their happiness...to make them work as hard as the Japanese for the sake of justice, to cultivate such a spirit for the sake of happiness and befriending our neighbour. The promotion of the Japanese language is to be considered as the great spirit of Buddhism.⁷⁰

Matoba Kōzō, a member of the *Kokugo Kyōkai* (the National Language Association), a non-governmental apparatus which pushed reform of the Japanese language in the 1940s, further elaborated.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁷⁰ See Fukui Suguru (1939), ‘Manshūkoku ni okeru Nihongo no Mondai’, *Kokugo Undō*, Vol. 3, No. 6, p. 10.

For hundreds of years, many ethnic groups in the greater East Asian region had been suppressed and exploited by the English, the Americans, and the Dutch. As a result, these peoples have become inactive, withdrawn, lazy, and undisciplined. Therefore, cultural policies, particularly language policies, which will be tailored for them, should be based on compassion and justice and be treated with caution. Further, as far as their indigenous cultures, such as religions, customs, and languages are concerned, we should respect them and even help them to prolong their traditions as long as these cultures and traditions do not contradict ours. We should truly grab their hearts, make them trust us as the leader of the greater East Asian region from the bottom of their hearts. If we can make them obey...while Japan remains at the centre of the greater East Asia, ethnic groups in this region would learn to know each other's religions, customs, and languages...They would hold hands while their hearts are bonded together.⁷¹

Fukui's views pertaining to the respect of the indigenous culture and the enforcement of Japanese language education in Manchuria are not only condescending but also contradictory. If the Japanese were genuinely concerned about the happiness of people who lived in the region, a foreign language, such as Japanese, would not have been imposed on them in the first place, and their resentment towards such enforcement would have been anticipated. Matoba, on the one hand, was articulating respect for the indigenous cultures, including languages, of ethnic groups in the East Asian region. On the other hand, he would like the people in this region to obey Japan as the leader and look up to the Japanese culture and the Japanese language for their own prosperity. Here, goes his simplistic logic: as long as everybody in the East Asian region speaks Japanese, all cultural differences existing in these ethnic groups will disappear.⁷²

Within a few years following Japan's military aggression in this region, the ultra-nationalists were hoping to achieve mutual cultural understanding from the people they had victimised as a result of the war and they expected them to admire Japan wholeheartedly as the leader. This simplistic logic can only portray how arrogantly and ignorantly Japan, as a military power, underestimated the physical and emotional resentment from people who suffered as a result of Japanese military aggression. As the war intensified, Japanese ultra-nationalists more earnestly wished to glorify their invasion of the East Asian region as cultural liberation from western imperial powers in order to seek support from the people. The rhetoric of Fukui and Matoba is hypocritical

⁷¹ See Matoba Kōzō (1942), 'Daitōa Kyōeiken ni okeru Bunka Seisaku to Gengo Seisaku', *Kokugo Undō*, Vol. 6, No. 7, pp. 10-11.

⁷² *Ibid.*

and condescending. Unveiling the mask of hypocrisy, it is for the sake of convenience, the pragmatism of colonialism, that Japanese rule in its occupied territories perpetrated Japanese language education. The over-glorified vocabulary used in the campaign was to dress up a hollow cultural policy whose mere substance was the promotion of the Japanese language.

As the war intensified in the 1940s, some Japanese ultra-nationalists began to envisage that the promotion of the Japanese language would eventually push it to become the language of the world.⁷³ They stubbornly believed that Japan was going to win the war. The spread of the Japanese language worldwide would boost the supremacy of the Japanese culture and symbolise the dominant position of Japan in Asia, in the world. Deep inside the hearts of Japanese ultra-nationalists, it was thought that the Japanese race, and the Japanese spirit could not be completely comprehended in another language, such as English. To Tsurumi Yūsuke, even the internationally renowned scholar-diplomat, Nitobe Inazō,⁷⁴ with his refined ability in English and his efforts in engaging Japan with the western world, efforts like his would still not be enough to achieve the total understanding of the Japanese mind by people speaking a language other than Japanese. To Tsurumi, a foreign language where the Japanese spirit does not dwell could not convey the soul of the Japanese people. Looking up to the spread of English as a world language together with British imperial expansion, and, Latin the language of world literature of the ancient Roman empire, Tsurumi perceived no other way of preserving the soul of the Japanese people in the world than the Japanese language. This is also how he saw the spirit in the founding of a nation, the founding of the Japanese nation.⁷⁵

The movement ushered by Japanese ultra-nationalists in the 1930s and 1940s to promote Japanese to become a greater East Asian language involved a two-fold task. Internally,

⁷³ See Tsurumi Yūsuke (1941), 'Sekai ni okeru Nihongo no Chii', *Kokugo Undō*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 2-11.

⁷⁴ Nitobe Inazō, a renowned Japanese educator and colonial theorist, when he was working for the United Nations, he was known to have been devoted to the cause of the peace of the world. See Matsumura Akira (ed.) (1988), *Daijirin*, p. 1845. More discussion on Nitobe's theory of colonialism can be seen in Chapter One.

⁷⁵ See Tsurumi Yūsuke (1941), 'Sekai ni okeru Nihongo no Chii', p. 15.

the task was to reform Japanese to achieve a standard form to pave the way for the promotion of Japanese language education overseas. Externally, together with the foundation of Japanese language education in Taiwan and Korea, the task was to promote the reformed standardised Japanese language to become the common language used in East Asia and, more ambitiously, to promote Japanese to become a world language. Dating from the Meiji period, the Japanese language, which had borrowed a great number of Chinese characters (called *kanji* in Japanese), was facing problems, such as the un-scrutinised use of *kanji* in written texts and inconsistency in phonetic *kana* pronunciations deriving from historical usage, to an extent that great confusion occurred and there was a call to ‘purify’ the Japanese language. From a pragmatic point of view, the reform of the Japanese language would make it more effective in communication and reduce the burden of learning occurring from such redundancy. However, the nationalist sentiment towards reform in this period often interpreted its mission as the purification of the Japanese language, in an effort to honour the Japanese spirit.⁷⁶ Without a standardised reformed Japanese language prior to the promotion of Japanese language education overseas such a task would not only be foundationless but the efforts would be futile. In the history of Japanese language education overseas, the 1930s and 1940s witnessed the earnest efforts by Japanese ultra-nationalists to present a purer and revitalised form of the Japanese language – the cornerstone of the Japanese leadership – in East Asia, and, the world. Underneath the campaign, issues, such as the choice of a standardised spoken Japanese (the Tokyo dialect), the compilation of language textbooks, teaching methodologies, and the recruitment of Japanese language teachers for Japanese language education in overseas territories started to unfold. Succeeding the pioneer work in Taiwan and Korea, the modern history of overseas Japanese language education continued its chapters on China and other Japanese-occupied territories in Asia until the end of World War Two.

⁷⁶ For detailed discussion, see Nanette Gottlieb (1995), *Kanji Politics: Language Policy and Japanese Script*, London, Kegan Paul International.

Conclusion

The history of Japanese language education in Taiwan started Japan's colonial efforts in promoting the Japanese language overseas. The efforts were further extended to Korea, China, and South-east Asia together with Japanese military aggression and the expansion of Japanese-occupied territories in these regions throughout the Second World War. Problems surrounding the promoting of the Japanese language in a non-speaking environment such as Taiwan, as has been discussed in this chapter, were greater than what Japanese colonial authorities had anticipated in the first place. However, dedicated to the belief in the assimilating power of the Japanese language and colonial pragmatism, Japanese colonial educators were not daunted by the magnitude of the mission. Further, fortified by military dominance during the war, Japanese ultranationalists were even firmer in their belief in incorporating people in the East Asian region into the Japanese cultural sphere through the means of the Japanese language.

Through figures and facts presented in this chapter, we are given a clearer picture of the degree of 'success' of Japan's mission in assimilating the Taiwanese through Japanese language education. Despite the impressive official statistics boasting an 80 percent of Japanese-speaking population in Taiwan towards the end of Japanese rule in 1945, evidence examined in this chapter challenges its validity. The illusion of Japan's cultural mission in building a 'co-prosperity sphere' in the East Asian region based on the Japanese language further leads us to contemplate the true effects of Japanese language education on assimilating the people of Japanese-occupied territories. In the next chapter, I will examine the literary movement in Taiwan from the 1920s to 1945 influenced by Japanese colonial rule, and through the literary expressions of the Taiwanese elite to define their stance on the assimilation issue. It is also through the very process of the literary movement that the search for an identity among the Taiwanese elite, who were mostly Japanese-educated, was told.

Chapter Six The Struggle for Identity among the Taiwanese Elite in the Process of Assimilation

Introduction

As has been discussed in Chapter One, *Dōka Seisaku*, the Assimilation Policy, became Japan's colonial policy for Taiwan during the years 1919 to 1936. Changes in this policy, from the early military rule of 1895-1898 to the Gradualism Policy of 1898-1918, marked an important turning point of Japanese rule in Taiwan. Civilian governors replaced the former governors who were predominantly associated with military backgrounds. In the meantime, after more than two decades of violent resistance, Taiwanese intellectuals of the 1920s renounced their forbears' strategy and continued their opposition movement in the form of a struggle for indigenous social and political rights.

Also discussed in previous chapters is the effect of the promotion of Japanese language education in Taiwan. As mentioned in Chapters Two and Five, with decades of the colonial government's efforts to popularise Japanese among the public, the official rate of the Japanese-speaking population among the Taiwanese remained as low as 2.9 percent in 1920. The statistics indicate that the majority of the Taiwanese back then would still rely on their mother tongues to live, to communicate, and even in writing. On the other hand, along with modern education promoted by the Japanese, the Taiwanese elite in the 1920s, benefiting from the new style of Japanese education, were among the first to advocate equality for Taiwan, whether their opinions were about politics or education. Although most of them were Japanese-educated, there was no lack of ability to express themselves in Chinese.¹ Some made use of the direct means of

¹ According to Shimomura's research, among the seventeen Taiwanese writers whose works were published between 1926 and 1933, ten were using Chinese while seven were using Japanese. Among them, the younger writers used Japanese while their elder counterparts used Chinese. See Shimomura Sakujirō (1994), *Bungaku de Yomu Taiwan*, p. 62. Wu also points out that in 1910, among an estimated 302 Taiwanese elite, nearly half (48.3 percent) had received a traditional Chinese education. By the early 1930s, among an estimated 1,071 Taiwanese elite, the proportion of those who had received traditional education had dropped to less than a quarter (23.9 percent). The majority of the Taiwanese elite received a Japanese style of education, including 17.6 percent who had participated in college and further education

writing to campaign for indigenous rights while others resorted to literature for the refined depiction of Taiwanese people's emotional struggles for survival under Japanese colonial rule.

Assimilation, in the rhetoric of the coloniser, was benevolent and for the betterment of the colonised. Japanese assimilation policy for Taiwan, as discussed in Chapter One, inevitably blended such paternalism with an undeclared sense of superiority. Taiwanese intellectuals, in return, responded to such colonial rhetoric with disapproval, resenting the policy for not being in the best interests of the colonised. Both sides engaged vigorously in arguments for and against the assimilation policy. In addition to Japanese colonial authorities and Taiwanese intellectuals, liberal Japanese academia and politicians also participated in the debate.² Their opinions constitute three-layered arguments to reveal the complexity of the assimilation issue in Taiwan under Japanese rule. Also, among the Taiwanese elite, with their Chinese ethnic and cultural background, while being ruled and educated by the Japanese with the underlying theme of assimilation, there emerged the issue of identity. They did not come to a realisation of Japanese or Taiwanese identity without a struggle. The literary movement in Taiwan, influenced by indigenous socio-political resistance against Japanese colonial rule from the 1920s, manifested this process of the Taiwanese elite's struggle for an identity. And through the writings of the Taiwanese authors in different stages of the colonial rule, we can then gain insight into their realisation and share their journey of soul-searching. Therefore, in this chapter I will also look into the development of this movement and examine some writings of the Taiwanese authors in different stages of the colonial rule.

The Socio-political Setting before the Assimilation Policy

As discussed in Chapter One, Gotō Shimpei, Chief Civil Administrator (1898-1906) under the governorship of Kodama Gentarō was the first colonial official to shape the

in Japan. By the early 1940s, the Taiwanese elite who had not received the Japanese style of education constituted only 4.1 percent. See Wu Wen-hsing (1992), *Ri Ju Shi Qi Taiwan She Hui Ling Dao Jie Ceng zhi Yan Jiu*, pp. 152, 154, 156.

² Their debates were best presented in the *Taiwan Seinen/Tai Oan Chheng Lian* (Taiwan Youth) magazine and will be examined in a later section.

direction of Japanese colonial administration in Taiwan. His gradualism policy was pragmatic with the intention to efficiently manage Taiwan and transform it into an economically productive colony. At that stage, Japanese colonial policy did not set out to impose assimilation upon the Taiwanese. In fact, Japanese colonial authorities were content to maintain the status quo. The Taiwanese were to continue their way of life as new subjects, while the Japanese remained at the apex of the colony. In the area of education, on top of the Japanese language, basic skills for primary production in agriculture and industries were what was provided to the Taiwanese. The early history of Japanese colonial education in Taiwan told of Japanese colonial officials' lack of interest in investing in an education system which they thought would enlighten the Taiwanese intellectually. Nor did they intend to provide a primary education system which would benefit all Taiwanese children.

Inequality in education for the Taiwanese was left unchallenged for nearly twenty years until Taiwan's first self-funded public high school, the *Taichū Chūgakkō*, was established in 1915.³ As discussed in Chapter Two, official regulations imposed excessive hours of teaching of the Japanese language and restricted the duration of education to four years, disqualifying *Taichū Chūgakkō* graduates from advancing into higher educational institutions either in Taiwan or Japan, for they did not have a five-year high school education like their Japanese counterparts.⁴ Inequality in education can be attributed to the fact that a number of rich and able Taiwanese went to Japan to seek better opportunities for secondary education and beyond. Also mentioned in Chapter One, by the early 1920s, in Tokyo alone, the number of Taiwanese students studying in Japan reached more than 2,400, ranging from high school to university levels.⁵ For those who studied at universities, law and politics were among the most popular choices. The intellectual stimulus of these studies had a profound impact on these overseas-educated Taiwanese. They, together with the

³ For detailed discussion of the establishment of the *Taichū Chūgakkō*, see Chapters One and Two.

⁴ This restriction was abolished in 1922 when the New Taiwan Education Ordinance was issued to unify the educational system in Taiwan with that of Japan from secondary education. See Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, p. 110. Also see Chapter Two for detailed discussion of the curriculum and limitation of education in high school for the Taiwanese.

⁵ See Sakane Keiko (1998), 'Ryūgakusei Kyōikushi no Shiten kara Mita "Taiwanjin Naichi Ryūgaku" no Jittai', *Tōkai Daigaku Kiyō*, No. 18, p. 57.

local gentry, were behind the main push towards equality for the Taiwanese under Japanese rule.

The Assimilation Issue

In 1914 the establishment of the *Dōkakai*, the Assimilation Society, marked the beginning of the assimilation movement in Taiwan. As more and more Taiwanese sought intellectual stimulus in Japan, they came in close contact with liberal Japanese politicians. Itagaki Taisuke (1837-1919) was one of these. On one occasion, Itagaki Taisuke, one of the leaders of the Meiji Restoration, chanced to hear Taiwanese activists' complaints about the colonial government's discriminatory administration in Taiwan. Sympathising with the Taiwanese, Itagaki came to Taiwan and formed the *Dōkakai*. The *Dōkakai* was to promote "harmonious relations between Japanese and Formosans [Taiwanese] based on the concept of racial equality".⁶ In spite of the good intentions behind the movement, Itagaki and his Taiwanese followers were pursuing different agendas in relation to assimilation. As his prestige faded in Japan, Itagaki came to Taiwan in a bid to revitalise his career. In the meantime, his involvement in the movement together with his visit to Taiwan demonstrated a high degree of sincerity from Japan about the objective of assimilation, giving the Taiwanese people an equal status through a harmonious and cooperative relationship with the Japanese. The Taiwanese intellectuals, on the other hand, supported the *Dōkakai*, thinking that with the aid of a prominent figure like Itagaki, they would be able to restrain the power of the colonial government and highlight the issue of the unequal status of the Taiwanese under Japanese rule.⁷ Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan had so far not specified an assimilation policy and the colonial government was highly sceptical about Itagaki and the *Dōkakai*. The Government-General of Taiwan was keen to draw a clear line between the *Dōkakai* and itself. Fearing the detrimental outcome of the movement in Taiwan, it interfered

⁶ Article Three of the Charter of the Assimilation Society, cited in Edward I-te Chen (1972), 'Formosan Political Movements', *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 3, p. 479.

⁷ *Ibid.*

with the association's development. As a result, in 1915 *Dōkakai* was abolished after a short existence.⁸

Despite the hostility of Japanese colonial authorities towards the *Dōkakai* – which articulated ethnic equality between the Japanese and the Taiwanese, the episode foreshadowed a change of political climate in Japan, and more generally, in the world. As discussed in Chapter One, under the influence of Wilson's advocacy for the self-determination of nations and peoples after World War I, together with the democratic atmosphere in Taishō Japan (1912-1926), these developments led to the appointment of the first civilian Governor-General of Taiwan, Den Genjirō, and the declaration of the *Dōka Seisaku*, the Assimilation Policy, in 1919.⁹ Based on this policy, the Taiwanese ought to be considered as Japanese nationals and treated by the same rules in the whole of the Japanese empire. Nevertheless, this objective was, in essence, in conflict with the interests of the Japanese colonial government in Taiwan.

To follow on from the discussion presented in Chapters One and Two, we will again look into the real effect of the Assimilation Policy declared by Den Genjirō in the area of education. Until the time of Den's appointment to Taiwan, the Government-General of Taiwan still had the sole legislative power concerning Taiwan. Legislation passed by the Diet in Japan did not directly apply to Taiwan, although, with the introduction of the new policy, revisions were made in the legislation to make it more applicable to Taiwan. This, on the one hand, contradicted Japan's assimilation policy for Taiwan, and, on the other hand, also restricted the Taiwanese in their access to equal rights as enjoyed by Japanese nationals.¹⁰ Under the assimilation policy, clearly a double standard was still in place, and the maintenance of the status quo was preferred. In the process of granting

⁸ For further discussion of the establishment and abolition of the *Dōkakai*, see Taiwan Sōtokufu Keimukyoku (1939), *Taiwan Shakai Undōshi*, pp. 12-23.

⁹ It has also been argued that the Governor-General of Taiwan before Den Genjirō, Akashi Motojirō, had started to advocate an assimilation policy for colonial rule in Taiwan in 1918. See Kiyasu Yukio (1989), *Ri Ben Tong Zhi Taiwan Mi Shi*, Taipei, Wu Ling Publishing Co, p. 124. This book is a Chinese translation from Kiyasu's original Japanese works.

¹⁰ In 1905, the Japanese made up about 2.3 percent of the total population in Taiwan, and by 1935 the Japanese population had increased to 5.2 percent. Statistics from Taiwan Sōtokufu Keimukyoku (1943), *Taiwan Sōtokufu Keisatsu Enkakushi*, Vol. 2, Taihoku, Taiwan Sōtokufu, p. 239, cited in Ng Yuzin Chiautong (1993), *Taiwan Zong Du Fu*, pp. 232-233.

rights to the Taiwanese, education appeared to be an indisputable instrument of assimilation to colonial administration. In order to erase their ethnic consciousness, education, which focused on the Japanese language and Japan-centred ethics, would indoctrinate ordinary Taiwanese with these values and make them submissive to Japanese colonial rule. Granting a minimum concession, the Government-General in Taiwan issued the New Taiwan Education Ordinance in 1922 with the significant clause of *naitai kyōgaku*, Japanese/Taiwanese co-education. *Naitai kyōgaku* officially abolished the Japanese/Taiwanese segregation system in high school and post-secondary education. The gesture was intended to create the impression that the colonial administration was trying to eradicate inequality in education in Taiwan. This, again, had very limited effect. Taiwanese graduates from *Kōgakkō* were seldom able to compete with their Japanese counterparts in gaining a place in Japanese-dominant high schools, for Japanese proficiency was a prerequisite and test subjects such as history and ethics were centred on Japan and Japanese values.¹¹ Underneath the banner of *naitai kyōgaku*, a two-tiered standard system was still in existence in education. *Kōgakkō* education was as much as Japanese colonial authorities were willing to concede to their Taiwanese subjects and assimilation remained inactive as a policy with little effect.

Debates on Assimilation between the Japanese and the Taiwanese

In response to the launch of the assimilation policy, throughout the 1920s, Taiwanese and Japanese intellectuals engaged in the most vigorous debates on the interrelated issues of assimilation and education. Their concerns about the profound implications of assimilation through the means of education were evidenced in their writings of the time. *Taiwan Seinen/Tai Oan Chheng Lian* (Taiwan Youth), a Japanese-Chinese bilingual magazine and the first non-governmental socio-political magazine circulated in Taiwan, provided a forum for these debates. It was published monthly from 1920 by a group of Taiwanese students in Tokyo. Funded by ardent Taiwanese local gentry, the magazine, also, for the first time provided a platform for the Taiwanese to express

¹¹ See Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, pp. 356-358. Also see Chapter Two for discussion of inequality in education for the Taiwanese.

publicly their opinions on Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan.¹² The magazine, thus promoted by Yeh Shih-t'ao, a pioneer researcher in Taiwan's literature development during the colonial period, marked the beginning of the literary movement in Taiwan.¹³ The journal also attracted many contributions from liberal Japanese academia and politicians.¹⁴ From 1920, the most common term articulated by both Taiwanese and Japanese intellectuals in relation to assimilation was *naitai yūwa*: harmonious relations between Japan and Taiwan. Influenced by the democratic atmosphere in Taishō Japan and the trend of thoughts on world peace after the First World War, for a short time, *naitai yūwa* was believed by both Japanese and Taiwanese idealists to be a means of enhancing world peace through a synthesis of the Han (Chinese) and the Japanese races.¹⁵

Apart from the socio-political context in the early 1920s, contributors' occupations and social status allow for some insight into the understanding of their stances on the issue of assimilation. Among the nine Japanese contributors, three doctoral scholars and two university professors all specialised in law, three were parliamentarians, and one was a university student. Among the eight Taiwanese contributors, more than half had received tertiary education in Japan.¹⁶ Three were journalists, two were lawyers, and the occupations of the other three are unknown. The Taiwanese contributors were in their late twenties to late thirties when they voiced their opinions in the journal. Most of them were also active members of the *Taiwan Bunka Kyōkai* established in 1921 in

¹² *Taiwan Seinen* was established on July 16, 1920 and ended in 1944 when it was forced to merge into *Taiwan Shinpō*, a Japanese political propaganda newspaper, together with other newspapers. In its twenty-five-year history, *Taiwan Seinen* had developed from a monthly magazine to a daily newspaper with the names of *Taiwan Seinen*, *Taiwan*, *Taiwan Minpō* (*Taiwan Minpao*), *Taiwan Shinminpō* (*Taiwan Hsin Minpao*), and *Kōnan Shinbun*. From August 1, 1927, *Taiwan Minpō* was issued in Taiwan. From the time of *Taiwan Minpō* in 1923, colloquial style Chinese writings started to dominate the newspaper until 1937. See Wu San-lien, Ts'ai Pei-huo et al. (1971), *Taiwan Jin Dai Min Zu Yun Dong Shi*, pp. 543-554.

¹³ See Yeh Shih-t'ao (1987), *Taiwan Wen Xue Shi Gang*, p. 28.

¹⁴ A series of articles written by both Japanese and Taiwanese authors in this journal were examined to explore their stances on the assimilation issue in this chapter. Among the twenty articles examined, titles directly concerned with 'Japanese rule in Taiwan' were five, 'assimilation' were three, 'colonial policies' were five, 'education' were five, and two were on the usage of the Taiwanese language.

¹⁵ See Chou Wan-yao (1989), *Ri Ju Shi Dai Taiwan Yi Hui She Zhi Yun Dong*, pp. 10-12.

¹⁶ Among the eight authors, one graduated from Tokyo Higher Normal School, one from Waseda University, three from Meiji University, and one from the *Kokugo Gakkō* of the Government-General of Taiwan. The remaining two are unknown.

Taiwan as part of their efforts to raise the awareness of indigenous culture among the Taiwanese public.¹⁷ As discussed in Chapter One, although the activities promoted by the *Taiwan Bunka Kyōkai* were disguised in the name of ‘*bunka undō*’ (cultural movement), in the eyes of the Government-General of Taiwan, the movement represented a revolt with a political motive and a threat to Japanese assimilation efforts on the island.¹⁸

Almost all Japanese contributors to *Taiwan Seinen* criticised inequality in Taiwan’s education imposed by the Government-General of Taiwan. It was seen as the most fundamental obstacle to the belief of *naitai yūwa*. In his article titled ‘*Naitai Yūwa no Konpon Mondai*’ (‘The Fundamental Problem in Harmonious Relations between Japan and Taiwan’), parliamentarian Shimada Saburō argued that “without equality in education, Taiwan cannot be managed on a permanent basis by both the Han and the Japanese races”.¹⁹ Later in the article he stated again that “...if the obstacles [education and marriage inequality]²⁰ were not removed, Taiwan could not be assimilated. If Taiwan were not assimilated, there is no future for the three-million-and-four-hundred-thousand Han race [people]”.²¹ Although Shimada, like many Japanese politicians, stated that equal education for the Taiwanese was fundamental to achieving assimilation between the Japanese and the Taiwanese, his statement also suggested that if Taiwan failed to be assimilated with Japan, it would not have a future of its own. His comments were condescending and again echoed the relentless attitude of Japanese colonial officials towards the indigenous culture of the colonised.

¹⁷ See also Chapter One for detailed discussion of the activities promoted by the *Taiwan Bunka Kyōkai*.

¹⁸ See Wang Shih-lang (1988), *Taiwan She Hui Yun Dong Shi*, Taipei, Dao Xiang Publishing Co, pp. 249-320. This book is a Chinese translation from the original Japanese works of *Taiwan Shakai Undōshi* by Taiwan Sōtokufu Keimukyoku published in Taihoku in 1939.

¹⁹ For the original Japanese text, see Shimada Saburō (1920), ‘*Naitai Yūwa no Konpon Mondai*’, *Taiwan Seinen*, Vol. 1, No. 4, p. 2.

²⁰ In Japanese/Taiwanese inter-marriages of the time, Taiwanese spouses did not necessarily gain eligibility for Japanese citizenship. The legality for Japanese-Taiwanese intermarriages and children under such marriages was ambiguous and the law was only applicable in Taiwan. Not until 1933 was a law introduced to legalise inter-marriages between the Japanese and the Taiwanese. See Ng Yuzin Chiautong (1993), *Taiwan Zong Du Fu*, pp. 152-154.

²¹ See Shimada Saburō (1920), ‘*Naitai Yūwa no Konpon Mondai*’, p. 4.

However, two years later Shimada, in an article on reforming Japanese rule in Taiwan in *Asahi Shūkan* (Asahi Weekly), stated that Japan should loosen its grip over Taiwan in the areas of politics, law, and news publication, and allow for a limited version of autonomy for the colonised.²² He also stated that the imposed assimilation policy was the cause of cynicism among the Taiwanese towards Japanese colonial rule.²³ His version of autonomy was ‘Taiwan ruled by the Taiwanese under Japanese sovereignty’, and he imagined the Taiwanese together with their Japanese fellow countrymen defending their country without divided loyalty. According to Shimada, the Taiwanese should be proud to call themselves “Japanese Taiwanese”.²⁴ Shimada’s ideal of autonomy was still engrained in the superiority complex of Japan as a coloniser nation. How the Taiwanese would refer to themselves remains a subject to be explored if assimilation was to successfully take place in Taiwan. Nevertheless, in the conservative and cautious political climate in Taiwan, the concept of autonomy had a particular appeal to the Taiwanese. Moreover, there was a tendency for the Japanese in Japan to be more liberal than the Japanese in Taiwan. Perhaps, in addressing different audiences in Taiwan and Japan, Shimada’s stance in regard to the assimilation issue had swung from being conservative to liberal. Perhaps, after two years of observation, Shimada had realised that the assimilation policy needed correction.

Shimada was, however, not alone in raising the idea of autonomy in the early 1920s. Izumi Tetsu, a law professor from Meiji University in Japan, who was well respected among Taiwanese intellectuals, was considered a liberal as well as practical theorist of colonialism. He was the most vigorous advocate for autonomy and self-determination in relation to Japan’s colonial policies.²⁵ He was thus seen as a formidable opponent by the Government-General of Taiwan. In his article titled ‘Minzoku Jiketsu no Shin’i’ (‘The

²² The original article was published in *Asahi Shūkan* on June 25, 1922. The text used here was from its Chinese translation. See Lin Pao-deng (1922), ‘Yi Gai Ge Tong Zhi Taiwan zhi Fang Zhen: Fu Lun Wo Zhi Min Di Tong Zhi Zheng Ce’, *Taiwan*, No. 5, pp. 1-8.

²³ *Ibid*, p. 4.

²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 7.

²⁵ See Asada Kyōji (1990), *Nihon Shokuminchi Kenkyū Shiron*, Chapter Three.

True Meaning of Ethnic Self-Determination’), Izumi analysed what he meant by ‘ethnic self-determination’ from the perspective of the coloniser and that of the colonised.²⁶

From the stance of the colonised, regardless of what the coloniser wants, the colonised wants to have their economic, social, and political system maintained. In time, they will have the right to decide on their own political future...[From] the stance of the coloniser, racial self-determination is an extremely dangerous thought. Its ideology is to incite the colonised to revolt, therefore [colonial rule] will use any measure to suppress its spread.²⁷

Izumi further argued that the coloniser tended to link self-determination, as proclaimed by the colonised, with a declaration of independence from the sovereignty of the coloniser nation. Therefore their attitude towards such an ideology was hostile. What the coloniser failed to see was that the colonised were not demanding unlimited socio-political and economic rights, but, rather, equal participation in the administration of the colony. At the conclusion of his article, Izumi emphasised that true self-determination was based on a spirit of independent rule to seek the development and improvement of the colony. Nevertheless, he also pointed out that to achieve autonomy, the colonial subjects should realise the need for compatibility.²⁸ The compatible qualities referred to by Izumi here could mean two things: one, financial self-sufficiency; the other, cultural self-sufficiency, which is often determined by the educational level of the colonised.

In another article titled ‘Taiwan Tōsei Seisaku Henkō no Hitsuyō ni tsuite’ (‘On the Necessity of Change in Colonial Policy in Taiwan’), Izumi urged a change in the colonial government’s self-centred colonialism in the rule of Taiwan. In response to Izumi’s attacks, Tōgō Minoru, Chief of the *Kanpō Chōsa Ka* (equivalent to the Bureau of Statistics) of the Government-General of Taiwan, in another article titled ‘Shokumin Seisaku no Hihyō ni tsuite: Izumi-kun no Shoron o Bakusu’ [‘On the Criticism of (Japan’s) Colonial Policies: A Dispute with Izumi’s Arguments’], in return presented impressive bureaucratic statistics to defend ‘the success’ of Japanese colonial rule in

²⁶ See Izumi Tetsu (1921), ‘Minzoku Jiketsu no Shin’i’, *Taiwan Seinen*, Vol. 2, No. 4, pp. 2-4.

²⁷ For the original Japanese text, see *ibid.*, p. 2.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Taiwan.²⁹ After reading Tōgō Minoru's defensive article, Ōhashi Seiji, a Japanese university student, in support of Izumi, revealed that the 'achievements' of Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan boasted about by Tōgō only reflected a one-sided truth. In his article titled 'Tōgō Minoru no "Shokumin Seisaku no Hihyō ni tsuite" o Yomite' ('A Review of Tōgō Minoru's "On Criticism of Colonial Policies"'), he questioned the 'devoted efforts' of Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan, as claimed by Tōgō, which resulted in 394 *Kōgakkō* being built by 1919, to benefit only 15.71 percent of the school-aged Taiwanese children.³⁰ By comparison to compulsory education given to Japanese children in Taiwan, the Taiwanese were definitely very 'poorly treated'.³¹ Ōhashi further depicted the paternalistic, yet arrogant, attitude of the Japanese coloniser in Taiwan.

For some time, biased patriotism has been advocated in our national education and the negative effects of neglecting cosmopolitanism has made the Japanese firmly believe that they are superior people. It is sad to see that the Japanese now only consider their own interests without having sympathy for people in the newly acquired territory and lack the sincerity and tolerance to embrace and guide our [new] fellow countrymen.³²

This coloniser-centred sentiment was also identified by Lin Cheng-lu, a Taiwanese journalist, particularly in regard to assimilation. In his article titled 'Kinsei Shokuminchi Tōchi ni Kansuru Taijin Seisaku' ('Policies for the Colonised in Contemporary Colonial Rule'), Lin stated that assimilation, as framed by the coloniser, was no more than "a superiority complex of the coloniser who assume their culture and

²⁹ Izumi's article was published in *Taiwan Jihō* (Taiwan Report) in July 1919. In response to that, Tōgō published his article in *Taiyō* (The Sun) in November 1919 to defend Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan against Izumi's attacks. Tōgō had also co-authored a book, *Taiwan Shokumin Hattatsushi*, with Satō Shirō in 1916, which boasted about the history of Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan as Taiwan's 'hattatsushi', 'a history of progress'. See Tōgō Minoru and Satō Shirō (1916), *Taiwan Shokumin Hattatsushi*.

³⁰ By 1919, the number of *Kōgakkō* had increased to 438. The 394 quoted in Ōhashi's article referred to the years before 1918. See Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, p. 409.

³¹ By 1926, only 28.4 percent of school-aged Taiwanese children went to the *Kōgakkō*, while the elementary school attendance rate of Japanese children reached 98.2 percent. See Yanaihara Tadao (1929), *Teikokushugika no Taiwan*, p. 201.

³² For the original Japanese text, see Ōhashi Seiji (1921), 'Tōgō Minoru no "Shokumin Seisaku no Hihyō ni tsuite" o Yomite', *Taiwan Seinen*, Vol. 2, No. 1, p. 40.

social systems are superior to those of the indigenous people”.³³ The import of the colonial system was to “convert the indigenous system and erase the characteristics of the colonised for the coloniser’s own benefit”.³⁴ Lin expressed an intellectual’s ultimate concern for the loss of one’s own culture once assimilation by the coloniser nation had taken place. Autonomy was the last resort that the colonised had to maintain their social and political rights and to ensure equal participation in colonial administration. Lin echoed Izumi’s advocacy for autonomy. Even in a time when assimilation was a necessary colonial policy, Lin argued, it would inevitably be replaced by autonomy.

If autonomy was too much to ask from Japanese colonial authorities, a model of assimilation suggested by Hiranuma Toshirō, a Japanese law expert, attempted to offer a solution for anxious Taiwanese intellectuals. In his article titled ‘Taiwanjin to Shisei Hōshin’ (‘The Taiwanese and Administration Principles’), Hiranuma declared openly the necessity of implementing assimilation in Taiwan. He acknowledged that differential treatment of the Japanese and the Taiwanese had prevented harmonious assimilation between the two cultures.³⁵ He further explained that true assimilation was to reverse the sceptical attitude of the Taiwanese towards Japanese colonial rule, which would then bring the Japanese and the Taiwanese closer together.³⁶ He acknowledged that education was the key to the cultivation of national characteristics, and as such, there should be no difference in methods of educating the Japanese and the Taiwanese.³⁷ Hiranuma pointed out that the foremost task of assimilation for the Japanese colonial government was to achieve equal education for the Taiwanese. His advocacy anticipated the anxiety that the Taiwanese were feeling in response to inequality imposed by colonial rule. In his article he also implied that the Taiwanese should adopt the cautious middle ground – neither reclusive nor radical, a non-resistant yet active approach, in response to colonial rule. Only through participation could the Taiwanese

³³ Lin Cheng-lu (1921), ‘Kinsei Shokuminchi Tōchi ni Kansuru Taijin Seisaku’, *Taiwan Seinen*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 19-26.

³⁴ For the original Japanese text, see *ibid.*, p. 25.

³⁵ See Hiranuma Toshirō (1921), ‘Taiwanjin to Shisei Hōshin’, *Taiwan Seinen*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 1-2.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

continue to exercise influence and voice their concerns to their fellow Taiwanese as well as the Japanese.

Significantly, Hiranuma's non-confrontational, participatory approach was the same strategy adopted by the Taiwanese intellectuals in their struggle towards autonomy until the mid-1930s. This force was largely represented by conservative intellectuals and renowned local gentry. Other radical reform forces, represented by radical students, farmers' and labourers' unions, were either put down or driven out of Taiwan by the colonial police by the early 1930s.³⁸ This approach also signified the ambivalent stance of the Taiwanese intellectuals on assimilation. On one level, assimilation was a non-consultative colonial instrument imposed against their will. The irreversible result of such a mandatory process was the loss of one's culture and ethnic identity. On another level, their participation in assimilation assisted them in prolonging their struggle with the colonial regime for equal treatment. In their view, only when equal treatment was achieved, could they then aim for the next goal, autonomy. It is also worthwhile to point out that the conservative approach adopted by the Taiwanese intellectuals towards autonomy did not involve any claim for independence from Japanese sovereignty. This was categorically different from the approach adopted by Koreans in their struggle against Japanese colonial rule.³⁹

³⁸ The *Taiwan Bunka Kyōkai* split into left and right wing forces in 1927. The left wing was associated with Marxism and the proletarian movement and declared the intention of Taiwan to become independent from Japanese rule. See Ong Yok-tek (1993), *Taiwan: Ku Men de Li Shi*, p. 142. The right wing was constituted by some founding members from the *Taiwan Bunka Kyōkai*. They continued their push towards Taiwan's autonomy by petitioning the Diet in Japan for the establishment of a Taiwan Parliament until 1934. Another right-wing organisation, the *Taiwan Chihōjichi Renmei* (League for the Attainment of Local Autonomy in Taiwan), was dismantled voluntarily in 1937. See Li Hsiao-feng (1996), *Lin Mosei, Chen Sin: he Ta Men de Shi Dai*, pp. 57-59.

³⁹ In 1919, only nine years after Japanese occupation in Korea, on March 1, Korean history recorded the March First Movement, an incident of a claim for independence by Koreans against Japanese colonial rule. For detailed discussion, see Kang Jae Eon (1998), *Chōsen Kindaishi*, Tokyo, Heibosha, Chapter Seven, pp. 225-255.

A Search for Identity: The Taiwanese Literary Movement during the 1920s and the 1930s

Debates on issues such as assimilation and inequality in education presented in *Taiwan Seinen* demonstrate how earnestly the Taiwanese elite would have their opinions heard and how vigorously they would present their views to a wider Taiwanese public. Only in doing so could they start to arouse public awareness of the detrimental effect of Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan, especially the assimilation policy, and project a force of resistance to counter Japanese colonial authorities. If *Taiwan Seinen* was a starting point where indigenous Taiwanese voices could be heard, the literary movement from the 1920s, continuing the tide of voicing the Taiwanese, offered an even bigger forum for the Taiwanese to express their socio-political concerns towards Japanese rule in a more refined way. Through literature not only a total picture of a livelihood under Japanese colonial rule was manifested by Taiwanese authors, but also a common sense of destiny towards a future that they had very little control of was shared by the reading Taiwanese public.

The literary movement in Taiwan from the 1920s is thus argued by Kawahara to be part of the development of Taiwan's social-political movement against Japanese colonial rule.⁴⁰ While the direction of the Taiwanese literary movement was maturing over a home-grown soul-searching sentiment, externally, Taiwanese literature during the 1920s and the 1930s was both influenced by Japanese literature and the new literature movement in China. The campaign of using the colloquial style of Chinese to write and replace 'wen yan wen', a classical style of Chinese used in old texts, which vastly differed from spoken Chinese, started in the 1910s in the new republican China. The traditional bookish style of Chinese was regarded as feudalistic and a thing of the past by reformers. While classical Chinese was still important in terms of literacy and worked as the foundation of Chinese education of the time, its replacement with the colloquial style of Chinese in writing was campaigned for by Hu Shih (the then Chancellor of

⁴⁰ See Kawahara Isao (1997), *Taiwan Shinbungaku Undō no Tenkai*, p. 132.

Beijing University).⁴¹ Through the promotion of Taiwanese students studying in China, such as Chang Wo-chun, the colloquial style of Chinese had started to be adopted by writers in Taiwan from the 1920s.⁴² In Taiwan, while traditional learning was still achieved through classical Chinese,⁴³ the need to use a colloquial style of Chinese to read and write was felt among young Taiwanese intellectuals. When *Taiwan Seinen* was published in 1920 to serve the interests of the Taiwanese, its Chinese section was still partly written in the classical style of Chinese. After 1923 when the magazine was known as *Taiwan Minpao* (Taiwan People's Newspaper), it was mostly written in the colloquial style of Chinese.⁴⁴

Taiwan Minpao was not only the newspaper serving the Taiwanese interests outside of Japanese colonial propaganda, but also the base where the literary movement in Taiwan in the 1920s to 1930s took root. The newspaper was later renamed as *Taiwan Hsin Minpao* (Taiwan New People's Newspaper) and approved to be published as a daily newspaper in 1930. However it was then supervised by Japanese colonial authorities and lost its stance of advocacy for the Taiwanese. In *Taiwan Minpao*, in addition to news reports, columns were dedicated to literary works and their reviews. At the height

⁴¹ The New Literature Movement in China during the 1910s and 1920s, also known as the New Culture Movement, originated as a social movement to oppose old feudalistic ideologies in China and to promote a colloquial style of Chinese, the language spoken by ordinary people, to replace classical Chinese. The timing of the movement coincided with the demonstration led by Beijing University students on May 4, 1919 (known as the May Fourth Movement) who protested western imperialism and demanded Japan waive its control in Shandong, which was a result of secret treaties of 1917 between China and other foreign occupying powers in China. Therefore, the movement had further impacted on the social-political movements against Japan both in China and Taiwan. See Richard T. Phillips (1996), *China Since 1911*, Houndmills, Macmillan Press, pp. 53-53. Also see Vera Schwarcz (1986), *The Chinese Enlightenment: Intellectuals and the Legacy of the May Fourth Movement of 1919*, Berkeley, University of California Press.

⁴² Chang was born in 1902 in Taipei and died in 1955. After finishing *Kōgakkō*, he worked at a Japanese shoe shop and the Shinkō Bank. The bank later opened a branch in Amoy in China, and he was transferred there and started to have contact with Chinese culture directly. In 1922 he went to Beijing where the May Fourth Movement was at its peak, and from 1924 he started to write articles, many of them published in *Taiwan Minpao*, campaigning for the use of colloquial Chinese to write Taiwanese literature. In 1929 he graduated from Beijing Normal University and had translated several Japanese books into Chinese. See Yeh Shih-t'ao (1987), *Taiwan Wen Xue Shi Gang*, pp. 23-24.

⁴³ Classical Chinese was studied by the Taiwanese as a traditional way of education before the Japanese came, and it continued for some time after Japanese rule until it gradually died out in the 1940s. However, classical Chinese texts were studied through the Taiwanese language, instead of the colloquial Chinese spoken by the Mainland Chinese people in China.

⁴⁴ See Kawahara Isao (1997), *Taiwan Shinbungaku Undō no Tenkai*, p. 152.

of the newspaper, on top of its normal news pages there were two literary pages – one dedicated to the Japanese language and the other to the Chinese language.⁴⁵

The campaign of using colloquial Chinese to write in Taiwan in the 1920s was also to raise the concern that Japanese language education as promoted by Japanese colonial authorities was no more than to silence the Taiwanese and to limit the effect of education on them. Huang Cheng-ts'ung, a journalist as well as advocate for the use of colloquial Chinese, who graduated from Waseda University in Japan, elaborated these points.

In Taiwan, although we have *Kōgakkō* education, it is centred on the Japanese language. When a child enters school at seven, he is taught a few Japanese sentences, classical Chinese pronounced in Japanese, and the most basic mathematics. Five or six years later when he begins to speak some Japanese and is taught some basic science and knowledge, he is expected to leave school in a year or two. That's why so many *Kōgakkō* graduates are not as useful as they can be. This is the policy of [Japanese] rule in Taiwan. It aims to assimilate us with traditional Japanese culture. Isn't this also the reason that our society is not progressing? It is not all bad to teach us Japanese, but [they should] also teach us Taiwanese. If we were taught science and other knowledge in our language from the primary school, wouldn't this promote culture [among us] quicker? If we can go a step further to use colloquial Chinese to replace classical Chinese from the first year of school, then after six years of education [in colloquial Chinese], the graduates would be more useful to society. I strongly urge the authorities to implement colloquial Chinese and give up complicated classical Chinese.⁴⁶

In his article, Huang also reminded readers that colloquial Chinese is not only a more efficient tool to learn than Japanese for the Taiwanese people, but also the language of the Chinese people, to which the Taiwanese people belong, to arouse the sense of ethnic identity among the Taiwanese people.

To think back to our Taiwanese culture, it also came from Chinese culture originally...[our languages] vary in sound but are still very close...[colloquial Chinese] is easier to learn than Japanese...China is our motherland, we were part of China before Japanese occupation...In terms of culture, China is the mother and we are the offspring, I don't think that I need to elaborate too much on the intimate relationship of mother-offspring.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ See Kawahara Isao (1997), *Taiwan Shinbungaku Undō no Tenkai*, p. 144.

⁴⁶ Huang Cheng-ts'ung (1923), 'Lun Pu Ji Bai Hua Wen de Xin Shi Ming', *Taiwan*, Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 22.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 20.

Also on the agenda of the literary movement in Taiwan of the time was the advocacy of using the Taiwanese language, not Japanese, and not colloquial Chinese, to write literature which would depict the ordinary life of the Taiwanese. There were heated debates in Taiwanese literary circles over whether the colloquial Chinese used in China or Taiwanese would be the best medium to present the style of literature for the Taiwanese.⁴⁸ One of the first prominent advocates of using the Taiwanese language to write was the journalist as well as editor of the *Taiwan Seinen* magazine, and lawyer, Ts'ai Pei-huo. His model went even further into suggesting using the Roman alphabet to write Taiwanese. To him, the promotion of Romanised Taiwanese would be the way to enlighten the people of Taiwan and from there the base of a civilised Taiwan could be built.

When Taiwan was governed by civilian governors for [the sake of] spiritual enlightenment to replace physical training initiated by militant governors, they aimed to build up the inner side of the Taiwanese people as their new mission. Although authorities have the vision and many plans, we understand that the fundamental difficulty [of the mission] lies in how to educate the Taiwanese people... Thus with careful deliberation of many years, I conclude that to popularise the Roman alphabet [to write Taiwanese] is the only effective measure to enlighten the spirit of the Taiwanese people and to substantiate the build-up of civilisation in Taiwan.

The Roman alphabet that I advocate here is to some degree different from the one used in Japan. The Roman alphabet for years used in Taiwan was adopted by English missionaries for religious purposes. They had reduced the original Roman alphabet down to twenty-four letters after revising and standardising it based on the Amoy dialect spoken in China. Therefore, the Roman alphabet used in Japan, in terms of its number of letters and pronunciations, is different [from the one used in Taiwan]... When I was fourteen, I learned, after three days, to use the Roman alphabet to correspond with my brother when I could not write certain Chinese or Japanese words. It was very convenient. For people who live in the farming villages, if they spend up to three or four hours a day, I think they would be able to learn the system within two weeks.⁴⁹

Further, Ts'ai's advocacy of the use of the Taiwanese language in writing was to resist Japanese language education implemented by colonial authorities. Promoting the

⁴⁸ For a detailed discussion of these debates, see Kawahara Isao (1997), *Taiwan Shinbungaku Undō no Tenkai*, pp. 146-194.

⁴⁹ See Ts'ai Pei-huo (1922), 'Shin Taiwan no Kensetsu to Rōmaji', *Taiwan*, Vol. 3, No. 6, p. 40. It seems that Ts'ai's same article, which has been significantly shortened, also appears in *Taiwan Minpao* in 1923. See also Ts'ai Pei-huo (1923), 'Shin Taiwan no Kensetsu to Rōmaji', *Taiwan Minpao*, Vol. 1, No. 13, pp. 14-16. Another article of Ts'ai's, also touching upon the promotion of Romanised Taiwanese, appears in *Taiwan Minpao* as well. See Ts'ai Pei-huo (1923), 'Bokokujin Dōhō ni Tsugu', *Taiwan Minpao*, Vol. 1, No. 11, pp. 11-13.

Taiwanese language to read and write would make learning more accessible to ordinary Taiwanese and boost literacy among them. His concern was that, due to the promotion of the Japanese language among the Taiwanese, the locals would lose in both ways. Firstly, they would only acquire low literacy since Japanese was a foreign language and more difficult to learn and become educated. Secondly, they would also gradually lose their sense of ethnic identity due to the learning of Japanese instead of their native language.

[For the Japanese who opposed] the use of the Roman alphabet to learn [Taiwanese], saying that it would increase the burden [of learning], and, prevent the opportunities of national [Japanese] language promotion, I cannot agree. As I have said above, it only takes about two weeks to learn [the Roman alphabet], therefore, there is no concern about the increased burden. To understand other people or to express oneself in Japanese, even *Kōgakkō* graduates who had six years of [Japanese] education could not achieve that. Six years to two weeks, even two months [of learning the Roman alphabet], cannot be said to be a burden. In the past twenty-seven years, how many [Taiwanese] people were educated to be able to read in Japanese? Ten thousand...On the contrary, with the same efforts of promoting the Japanese language to promote the Roman alphabet, it is not a difficult task to have a million Taiwanese people who can use the Roman alphabet in three years' time.⁵⁰

With the popularisation of the Roman alphabet, we can introduce modern culture to [the Taiwanese] people and in return they would improve their lives and enhance their intelligence, and the gap between the individual thinking level of the Japanese and that of the Taiwanese would be minimised. That is the movement that I earnestly wanted to devote myself to...It is not only for the development of a national society, but also for the enhancement of the spiritual life of the many illiterate Taiwanese. We would like our national life to be harmonious, and it has to begin from the harmonious relations between the Taiwanese and the Japanese people.⁵¹

Ts'ai's advocacy was significant at the time, although it did not gather a momentum in its development as a result of the intervention from Japanese colonial authorities.⁵² The Roman alphabet was still predominantly used in the churches for religious purposes and was not promoted to the general public. The advocacy of using the Taiwanese language

⁵⁰ Ts'ai Pei-huo (1922), 'Shin Taiwan no Kensetsu to Rōmaji', p. 42.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁵² The promotion of Romanised Taiwanese was listed as one of its missions by the *Taiwan Bunka Kyōkai*. In 1925 the association planned to have lectures on Romanised Taiwanese, but it was rejected by Japanese colonial authorities, accusing of its impediment to harmonious relations between the Japanese and the Taiwanese. In 1929 and 1931, Ts'ai again applied to authorities to have lectures on Romanised Taiwanese, but both times he was rejected. See Huang Shuanfan (1995), *Yu Yan, She Hui Yu Zu Qun Yi Shi*, p. 92. For detailed discussion of Ts'ai's efforts in promoting Romanised Taiwanese and a colloquial style of Taiwanese writing during this period, also see Wu Wen-hsing (1992), *Ri Ju Shi Qi Taiwan She Hui Ling Dao Jie Ceng zhi Yan Jiu*, pp. 341-345.

to write was more aligned with the emphasis of preserving the Taiwanese style of speech in writing and genre which would truly reflect the day-to-day living of ordinary Taiwanese and the efficiency in boosting literacy among the Taiwanese.⁵³ Significantly, Taiwanese literature written during this period presented a mixture of styles combining the usage of classical Chinese, colloquial Chinese, the Taiwanese language, and Japanese.⁵⁴

Until 1937, when Chinese was banned from newspapers, the development of the newspaper, *Taiwan Minpao*, was very closely associated with the cultural, political, and literary movements in Taiwan. It also contributed to the flourishing of the colloquial style of Chinese writing in Taiwan. Sadly, after 1937, the continuous growth in creative writing in Chinese among Taiwanese writers came to a halt. Due to political censure, literature in Taiwan after 1937 had predominantly been written in Japanese with themes associated with the campaign of the *Kōminka* Movement, to serve the colonial interests of Japanese rule. However it did not altogether close the doors to Taiwanese writers who could have their works published in Chinese. *Ōsaka Mainichi Shinbun* in Japan, which had a Taiwanese version in Chinese, offered a *Nantō Bungeiran* ('A Literature Column for the South Island') to Taiwanese writers who could have their works published in Chinese once a week.⁵⁵ This column, nevertheless, did little to remedy the situation whereby Taiwanese literature written in a colloquial style of Chinese began to

⁵³ The movement could be best represented by social reformers, Huang Shih-hui and Kuo Ch'iu-sheng, who campaigned passionately in the magazines, *Wu Ren Bao* ('Five People's Newsletter') and *Nan Yin* ('The Sound of the South'), in the 1930s. See Huang Shuanfan (1995), *Yu Yan, She Hui yu Zu Qun Yi Shi*, pp. 93-94. Also, it is possible to use Chinese characters to write the Taiwanese language. However, there are more phonemes in the Taiwanese language than colloquial Chinese, represented by Mandarin. Therefore, certain sounds in Taiwanese cannot truly be represented by Chinese characters, which makes Romanised Taiwanese an indispensable alternative. Some Taiwanese literature written today presents a mixture of the two systems in texts, and this style of written Taiwanese is also promoted by scholars such as Robert L. Cheng, who is a professor specialising in East Asian Linguistics at the University of Hawaii in Honolulu. For this style of writing, see Robert L. Cheng (1990), *Yan Bian Zhong de Taiwan She Hui Yu Wen*. Also see Hsu Chi-tun (1988), *Taiwan Hua Liu Lang Ji*, Taipei, Taiwan Yu Wen Yan Jiu Fa Zhan Ji Jin Hui; Hsu Chi-tun (1990), *Taiwan Yu Gai Lun*, Taipei, Taiwan Yu Wen Yan Jiu Fa Zhan Ji Jin Hui; and Hsu Chi-tun (1992), *Tai Yu Wen Zi Hua de Fang Xiang*, Taipei, Zi Li Wan Bao Publishing Co.

⁵⁴ Shimomura Sakujirō (1994), *Bungaku de Yomu Taiwan*, p. 62. Interestingly, the mixed use of Japanese and Taiwanese, particularly in speech, was often criticised by contributors to newspapers of the time. See, for example, Lei-tze (1924), 'Wo Du Min Bao Shi Shi Duan Ping Lan de "Nu Zi Xing Han Xue de Xian Sheng" de Yi Duan Hou', *Taiwan Minpao*, Vol. 2, No. 2, p. 12.

⁵⁵ See Shimomura Sakujirō (1994), *Bungaku de Yomu Taiwan*, p. 67.

wane. Taiwanese writers after 1937 were driven to write in Japanese with themes serving the colonial interests of Japanese rule. There will be further discussion of the style of Taiwanese literature during the *Kōminka* period in a later section.

The Emergence of a Literary Taiwanese Public

Newspapers alone were not enough to cope with literary publications which started to flourish from the 1920s in Taiwan.⁵⁶ Together with the emergence of a reading Taiwanese public who availed themselves of publications in both the Chinese and Japanese languages, more sophisticated and dedicated space was needed for literary publications and activities. During the ten years between the appearance of the first prose style of writing by Lai Ho (1894-1943),⁵⁷ who was dubbed the father of contemporary Taiwanese literature, in 1926 and until 1937 when Chinese columns were banned in newspapers, there were enough literary works for Li Hsien-chang to edit a book called '*A Collection of Taiwanese Novels*', which was scheduled to be published in 1940. Since the book was a collection of Taiwanese novels written in Chinese, the publication did not eventually go ahead as a result of political censorship by Japanese colonial authorities.⁵⁸

Literary groups and magazines continued to grow in the 1930s under the literary movement in Taiwan.⁵⁹ The publication of *Taiwan Bungei* ('Taiwan Literary Works'), the journal of the *Taiwan Bungei Renmei* (the Taiwan Literature League), in 1934 marked the height of the movement in Taiwan. The *Taiwan Bungei Renmei*, established in 1934 in Taichū, was the biggest and the most active literary organisation within

⁵⁶ At the height of newspaper publication in Taiwan during Japanese rule, there were six newspapers circulating on the market. In 1944 all newspapers in Taiwan were merged into *Taiwan Shinpō*, the only official newspaper under Japanese colonial supervision. See Wu San-lien, Ts'ai Pei-huo et al. (1971), *Taiwan Jin Dai Min Zu Yun Dong Shi*, p. 570.

⁵⁷ Lai Ho graduated from the *Taiwan Sōtokufu Igakkō* (The Medical College of the General-Government of Taiwan) was one of the members of the *Taiwan Bunka Kyōkai*. Although he was a doctor, his talents had shone through literature. He had his first short novel, *Dao Lao Reh* ('Let's Have a Good Time Together'), published in 1926 in *Taiwan Minpao* (no. 86, pp. 18-19) and was also involved in the development of the Taiwanese literary movement. He always used Chinese in his literary creations. See for example, Chang Heng-hao (ed.) (1991), *Lai Ho Ji*, Taipei, Qian Wei Publishing Co.

⁵⁸ Shimomura Sakujirō (1994), *Bungaku de Yomu Taiwan*, pp. 79-80.

⁵⁹ For a detailed discussion of the development of Taiwanese literary circles, see Kawahara Isao (1997), *Taiwan Shinbungaku Undō no Tenkai*, Chapter Two, pp. 123-236.

Taiwanese literary circles of the time. *Taiwan Bungei* was a Chinese/Japanese bilingual journal attracting both Taiwanese and Japanese contributors. However, among its 400 strong members, Japanese contributors only made up about seventeen percent, which made the *Taiwan Bungei Renmei* truly a literary organisation representing Taiwanese writers.⁶⁰ There are two major factors, as argued by Kawahara, contributing to the establishment of the league. Internally, as part of the social movement resisting Japanese rule, the height of the literary movement consolidated all the literary elite to join the league. Externally, the establishment of the *Taiwan Geijutsu Kenkyūkai* (the Taiwan Arts Study Club) in Tokyo and the circulation of its journal, *Formosa*, had also stimulated the literary waves in Taiwan.⁶¹ The choice of its base in Taichū, in the middle of Taiwan, instead of Taihoku, the traditional social and cultural stronghold of Taiwan, was due to its relatively fresh position in accepting new waves of influence as Taihoku was too close to the grip of the Government-General of Taiwan, while Tainan in the south, a historical capital of Taiwan in the past, was considered too conservative to accept new influences and ideas. Taichū, where the first public Taiwanese high school was established in 1915, was also the hometown where many renowned cultural and social movement leaders, such as the gentry and the Chief of the *Taiwan Bunka Kyōkai*, Lin Hsien-t'ang, came from.⁶²

While literature written both in Chinese and Japanese was flourishing in Taiwan, Taiwanese writers who were capable of composing literature in Japanese also started to make an appearance in literary circles in Japan. Yang K'ui (1906-1985), renowned for his proletarian style of literature, was the first Taiwanese writer to break into Japanese literary circles. His Japanese novel, *Shinbun Haitatsufu* ('Newspaper Delivery Man'), first published in *Taiwan Shinminpō*/*Taiwan Hsin Minpao* in 1932,⁶³ was published in

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 215-216.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, pp. 207-208.

⁶² *Ibid*, p. 208.

⁶³ When *Shinbun Haitatsufu* was first published in *Taiwan Hsin Minpao*, it was banned after the first half was seen. Due to its sensitive depiction of the unequal relationship between the protagonist, the newspaper delivery man, and his boss, which vividly reflected the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised, the publication was suspended by the colonial police in the same year. For more discussion

the magazine, *Bungaku Hyōron* ('Literature Review'), in Tokyo two years later. It caused a stir in literary circles in Japan for the realisation that there were some refined Taiwanese writers who could use Japanese to write at such a high level. The novel was also introduced to the readers in China in 1935 after it was translated and published by Hu Feng, editor of the magazine, *Shi Jie Zhi Shi* ('World Knowledge'), based in Shanghai.⁶⁴ It was, however, nearly forty years after Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan that Yang K'ui made his debut in Japanese literary circles. After him, more Taiwanese talents were discovered and their works introduced to the Japanese public, such as Lu Ho-jo (1914-1950) and Chang Wen-huan (1909-1978).⁶⁵

Whether written in Chinese or Japanese, Taiwanese literature in this period was very much a search for a style which would truly represent the identity of the Taiwanese. As has been discussed above, there were also debates over whether the Taiwanese language, or colloquial Chinese, could best manifest and elevate Taiwanese literature of the time. In opposition to Japanese colonial authorities and their sense of cultural superiority, Taiwanese writers often drew scenes of village living and depicted traditional customs which often seemed incompatible with Japanese rule into their works. Building upon the influences from literary movements in China and Japan, the new style of Taiwanese literature was maturing towards a home-grown soul-searching sentiment.⁶⁶ Upon the coming of the political storm accompanied by the *Kōminka* Movement, the new style of Taiwanese literature was not only challenged by the restriction of language use, but also threatened in the form of expression, in which little freedom was given.

on Yang K'ui's works, also see Leo Ching (2001), *Becoming Japanese: Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*, pp. 126-128.

⁶⁴ The magazine specialised in discovering literary works written by people who were being colonised. See Tsukamoto Akio (1988) 'Taiwanjin Sakka no Me o Tōshite Mita Nihon no Taiwan Tōchi', in Nakamura Takashi (ed.), *Nihon no Nanpō Kan'yo to Taiwan*, p. 397.

⁶⁵ See Lu Ho-jo (1935), 'Gyūsha' ('The Cattle Cart'), *Bungaku Hyōron*, No. 1, and Chang Wen-huan (1935), 'Chichi no Kao' ('Father's Face'), *Chūō Kōron*, No. 1.

⁶⁶ For further discussion, see Sung-sheng Yvonne Chang (1999), 'Taiwanese New Literature and the Colonial Context: A Historical Survey', in Murray A. Rubinstein (ed.), *Taiwan: A New History*, pp. 261-274.

Taiwanese Literature during the Kōminka Period

Since the banning of Chinese in all publications in 1937, only Japanese language texts continued to contribute to this boom of Taiwanese literature. The purpose of literary publications was restricted to serve as political propaganda for the *Kōminka* Movement. The *Kōminka* Movement, as has been discussed in previous chapters, was an intensified process of Japanisation which aimed to assimilate the Taiwanese in every aspect of their lives. As a result of the impact of the movement, literature in this period strongly revealed Taiwanese authors' (most of them young males in their twenties and thirties) complex feelings, emotions, and identities. Their works manifested their struggle to come to the realisation of the fundamental differences between the Taiwanese and the Japanese, though the Taiwanese had been taught that they were to become Japanese.

Using the *Kōminka* Movement as the background, many Taiwanese authors depicted how earnest young Taiwanese males wanted to devote themselves to the cause of the movement to prove that they were as good as the Japanese, or the *Kōmin*, the imperial subjects. Literature with such genres in this period was commonly referred to as '*Kōmin Bungaku*', the depiction of the literature of Japanese imperial subjects.⁶⁷ Readers sympathised with the emotional struggle of the Taiwanese for ethnic and cultural identities under Japanese rule, as portrayed by Taiwanese writers. Externally, the new literature movement in China and the proletarian movement of the time had also impacted on the socio-political movement in Taiwan. Politically and culturally, Taiwanese people were conscious about their ethnicity being suppressed as a result of Japanese colonisation and exploitation. The Taiwanese writers of this period, more sensitive to the confusion and agony of a lost sense of identity, through literature manifested the collective feelings of the young Taiwanese. By examining literature written during the *Kōminka* Movement, depicting protagonists' emotional struggle with identifying themselves between being Japanese and Taiwanese, we will find evidence of how these Taiwanese writers perceived assimilation under Japanese rule.

⁶⁷ Fujii Shōzō (1998), *Taiwan Bungaku kono Hyakunen*, pp. 45, 54-55.

One of the examples used here is the novel written by Chou Chin-po (1920-1996),⁶⁸ *Shigenhei* ('Voluntary Soldier'). His work was first published in *Bungei Taiwan* (Vol. 2, No. 6) in 1941, and is set against the background of the Voluntary Conscription Scheme initiated by Japanese colonial rule in 1941. In *Shigenhei*, Chou vividly depicts how the earnest protagonist, Chō Meiki (Chang Ming-kuei), was troubled by the conflict of identity between being Japanese and Taiwanese. Chō, like the author, went and studied in Japan after *Kōgakkō*. When he returned home for a summer vacation after three years, he complained to his senior classmate, who had also studied in Japan for eight years, how disappointed he was to find out that Taiwan was so much behind Japan in terms of culture. His *Kōgakkō* school friend, Kō Shinroku (Kao Ching-lu), responded to the voluntary conscription scheme and was eager to be drilled with the God-descended Japanese spirit in the army. To Chō, it is not the drill to become a Japanese imperial subject that would give his friend the magical power of the Japanese spirit, but the level of the culture he has seen in Japan. So they argued and tried to determine the truth. While rationalising, Chō thought to himself that "I was brought up with Japanese education. I cannot speak anything but Japanese. I only use *kana* characters to write. If I cannot become a Japanese, I do not want to live".⁶⁹ Ten days later, he read the newspaper which reported that his friend, Kō, had cut one of his little fingers and used the blood to write a letter to volunteer himself in the scheme.⁷⁰ He then stated to his senior classmate that "Shinroku is a Taiwanese who would act for Taiwan's sake. The person who would only act for the sake of Taiwan will become nothing at all".⁷¹

⁶⁸ Chou Chin-po, born in Keelung in Taiwan, was brought along by his father to Tokyo in 1934 and studied in the affiliated high school of *Nihon Daigaku* (Japan University) and continued a degree in Dentistry in the university. His father was also a graduate from the same university. Chou graduated from *Nihon Daigaku* in 1941 after staying in Japan for nine years, and started to have literary works published in the *Bungei Taiwan* magazine. For detailed discussion, see Fujii Shōzō (1998), *Taiwan Bungaku kono Hyakunen*, pp. 159-160.

⁶⁹ Passage cited in Fujii Shōzō (1998), *Taiwan Bungaku Kono Hyakunen*, p. 161. For further discussion on *Shigenhei* and *Kōmin Bungaku*, also see Leo Ching (2001), *Becoming 'Japanese': Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*, pp. 113-125.

⁷⁰ It was quite a common practice among some earnest young Taiwanese males who wanted to volunteer themselves in the scheme of the time. See Chou Wan-yao (1991), 'The *Kōminka* Movement: Taiwan under Wartime Japan, 1937-1945', pp. 168-170.

⁷¹ Passage cited in Fujii Shōzō (1998), *Taiwan Bungaku kono Hyakunen*, p. 161.

The novel vividly depicts the emotional struggle of some Taiwanese who were standing in the threshold of identifying themselves between being Taiwanese and Japanese. On the one hand, they thought they were Japanese because they were educated in Japanese, like the protagonist, and on the other hand, they knew they were not Japanese when their fellow Taiwanese reminded them of who they were. It also ironically depicts those young Taiwanese males who were naïve to think that once they became a Japanese conscript, they would be recognised as Japanese, since there was no other way that they could wipe out the lineage difference between them and the Japanese.⁷² Assimilation, whether the Taiwanese chose to embrace it or escape from it, was something that they could never really achieve. The ambivalent position that Chō and Kō were in as depicted in the novel, no doubt, would have won a lot of sympathy among its Taiwanese readers.

Themes related to the launch of the Volunteer Conscription Scheme by Japanese colonial authorities in 1941 were represented in the style of literature in Taiwan during this period. Taiwanese voluntary conscripts were portrayed as self-identified young ‘Japanese’ soldiers who would sacrifice themselves any minute for the sake of Japan just like their Japanese counterparts.⁷³ While they marched onto the battlefields in southern China, they could clearly see that their culture as developed under Japanese rule was superior to the one that they came in contact with.⁷⁴ The intertwining of their emotional struggle with their identities, compounded by their superiority complex, as depicted in literature during this period, was often regarded as popular and published by literary magazines such as *Bungei Taiwan* for public consumption. As a result, *Kōmin Bungaku* had stirred up the literary circles and the reading public in Taiwan of the time. It is argued by Fujii that the popularity of literature with such themes, together with the reinforcement of positive criticism in the market, had stimulated its production and publication. A reading Taiwanese public, who appreciated and sympathised with their literary themes, would in turn come back for more. This writing-critical reinforcement-

⁷² *Ibid*, pp. 55-56.

⁷³ For detailed discussion of Taiwanese voluntary conscripts during this period, see Chou Wan-yao (1991), ‘The *Kōminka* Movement: Taiwan under Wartime Japan, 1937-1945’, pp. 166-219.

⁷⁴ Fujii Shōzō (1998), *Taiwan Bungaku kono Hyakunen*, p. 63.

publication-readers' feedback-reproduction cycle had really fuelled the literary market and in return a bigger reading Taiwanese public was bred.⁷⁵

It is also noteworthy that many of the authors of this period were not only Japanese-educated, but they also went to Japan proper for further education. The author of *Shigenhei*, Chou Chin-po, and the author of *Honryū* ('Torrents'), Wang Ch'ang-hsiung, both studied in Japan.⁷⁶ Like Chou, after finishing *Kōgakkō* in Taiwan, Wang went and studied in a high school and graduated from *Nihon Daigaku* (Japan University) in 1942. Although both authors majored in Dentistry, their talents and passion shone through their literary works. The fact that they had been educated in Japan also helps to explain their refined ability in writing in Japanese. These authors directly or indirectly reflected their emotional struggles through the protagonists for an identity between being Taiwanese and Japanese. Under Japanese rule, through the depiction of literature we see how the Taiwanese were troubled by the call for assimilation, which to a great degree was a reflection of the Taiwan colonised by Japan. It is also interesting to point out that those Taiwanese who had further Japanese education might tend to have a stronger attachment to Japan than those who had less Japanese education. It is thus reasonable to speculate that those Taiwanese who had further Japanese education might put more thought into the cause of assimilation and the issue of identity, and they did not come to such a realisation without going through an emotional struggle as depicted in their literary works, such as *Shigenhei* and *Honryū*.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, p. 64. According to Japanese colonial official statistics, by 1941, the Taiwanese population who comprehended the Japanese language reached 50 percent. As has been discussed in Chapter Five, these figures were calculated based on the number of people who made use of formal and informal Japanese education, which cannot be used exclusively to determine their level of Japanese proficiency. However, it does indicate that a substantial portion of the Taiwanese population would be able to appreciate such literature.

⁷⁶ Wang started to contribute to *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shinpō*, the official newspaper of the colonial government of the time, from 1940, writing articles comparing Japanese theatre arts, *Kabuki*, and Chinese theatre arts. In 1943, his novel, *Honryū*, was published in the *Taiwan Bungaku* magazine, featuring his disillusion over younger generation Taiwanese who found no other ways of becoming Japanese but blindly devoting themselves to the cause of the *Kōminka* Movement. By vividly depicting how younger Taiwanese were rejecting anything of Taiwanese origins and the friction between them and the older Taiwanese generation who spoke little Japanese, Wang intended to appeal to the reader concerning the respect for Taiwanese customs and traditions. For detailed discussion, see Chang Heng-hao (ed.) (1991), *Weng Nao, Wu Yung-fu, Wang Ch'ang-hsiung He Ji*, Taipei, Qian Wei Publishing Co, pp. 321-323.

Even for some Taiwanese writers who could write fluently in Japanese owing to their Japanese education, they sometimes felt that they could not express their thoughts and feelings in the most direct way in Japanese since it was an educational language rather than a mother tongue. This dilemma is also reflected in their Chinese literary creations when they were made to write in Chinese after the colonial period.⁷⁷ The Japanese version of the Nationalist government-run newspaper, *Chung Hua Jih Pao* ('Chinese Daily'), was banned in October 1946 after the Nationalist government took over Taiwan from Japanese colonial rule in 1945. Significantly, the newspaper started publishing in February 1946, and the Japanese version was kept as a strategic measure to keep Taiwanese people informed of what happened in China. But it only lasted about seven months before the Nationalist government required all newspapers in Taiwan to be printed only in Chinese.⁷⁸ Responding to this drastic change, voices opposing the immediate ban of Japanese versions of local newspapers raised the concerns of Taiwanese people being blinded and deafened without contact with Japanese texts.⁷⁹ Until the arrival of the Nationalist government, Japanese language texts were the sources where the Taiwanese absorbed knowledge and connected themselves to the intellectual world. However, the Nationalist government, resenting Japan's military aggression in China during the war and its colonial legacy, was eager to eradicate any residue of Japanese influence in Taiwan after fifty years. Their plea inevitably fell on the deaf ears of the Chinese Nationalist government. Chapter Seven will continue the discussion on the socio-linguistic change in Taiwanese society in the post-colonial period.

This move had closed the doors to Taiwanese writers who used to make a living by producing works in Japanese, especially those who started to make headway in the early 1940s, and forced them out of the business altogether.⁸⁰ There was thus a big gap in the history of Taiwanese literature before and after the Second World War, and the ultimate

⁷⁷ Statement by Chung Chao-cheng, a contemporary Taiwanese author, quoted in Shimomura Sakujirō (1994), *Bungaku de Yomu Taiwan*, p. 4.

⁷⁸ See Yeh Shih-t'ao (1987), *Taiwan Wen Xue Shi Gang*, p. 75.

⁷⁹ Shimomura Sakujirō (1994), *Bungaku de Yomu Taiwan*, pp. 185-186. Also see Ho I-lin (2000), "'Guo Yu" Zhuan Huan Guo Cheng Zhong Taiwan Ren Zu Qun zhi Zheng Zhi Hua', in Wakabayashi Masahiro and Wu Mi-cha (eds), *Taiwan Zhong Ceng Jin Dai Hua Lun Wen Ji*, Taipei, Bo Zhong Zhe Publishing Co, p. 462.

⁸⁰ See Huang Shuanfan (1995), *Yu Yan, She Hui yu Zu Qun Yi Shi*, p. 107.

victim was the burial of the legacy of the Taiwanese literary movement, especially after 1937.⁸¹ Since many writers were shy of producing Chinese literary works due to the language shift, during the early post-colonial period in Taiwan, a lot of literary works written in Japanese by Taiwanese authors were translated into Chinese to supplement the market.⁸² The ban also made political propaganda and the Nationalist government become the only voice in publication in the post-colonial period in Taiwan. As a result, the Taiwanese literary movement came to a halt after 1945.

Conclusion

Whether it was the vigorous style of writing presented in *Taiwan Seinen* opposing a one-sided assimilation policy or through *Kōmin Bungaku* where the belief of the Taiwanese and their journey towards an obscured destiny were narrated, the Taiwanese elite under Japanese rule were crying out for an identity that was ruthlessly crushed under the force of assimilation. While struggling for an identity, the Taiwanese elite were in the meantime trying to survive in this political current of assimilation which tossed them in and out of their belief and realisation. As has been said before, assimilation, whether the Taiwanese chose to embrace it or escape from it, was something that they could never really achieve.

Japanese colonial interests saw assimilation as a means of enhancing the colonised; they saw that a colony such as Taiwan could not be as culturally civilised (as Japan) without the process of assimilation. Their perceptions ignored the proclamation of ethnic and cultural identities by the colonised. Here we see another Taiwanese intellectual, while prepared to accept the cause of assimilation, drew a bottom line between what model would be acceptable to the Taiwanese and what would not. The process of assimilation,

⁸¹ Yeh Shih-t'ao (1987), *Taiwan Wen Xue Shi Gang*, pp. 75-76. Also see Shimomura Sakujirō (1994), *Bungaku de Yomu Taiwan*, p. 172.

⁸² These literary works written by Taiwanese authors in the late 1940s had a collective theme of criticism and disappointment over the chaotic situation resulting from the Chinese Nationalist rule. Some of these writers were reported to be persecuted during the February Twenty-eighth Uprising, or left Taiwan to avoid the persecution. See Yeh Shih-t'ao (1987), *Taiwan Wen Xue Shi Gang*, pp. 78-79. Also see Sung-sheng Yvonne Chang (1999), 'Literature in Post-1949 Taiwan, 1950 to 1980s', in Murray A. Rubinstein (ed.), *Taiwan: A New History*, pp. 403-418, for discussion on the Taiwanese literary movement during the post-colonial period.

as Ts'ai Shih-ku, a Taiwanese lawyer, argued, involved two elements: physical and metaphysical.⁸³ He first explained his preference for metaphysical assimilation.

For metaphysical assimilation, it does not mean that once Japan and Taiwan were harmoniously assimilated, the original culture and racial [ethnic] characteristics of the two would be extinguished. More specifically, the newly acquired people [the Taiwanese] would benefit from the promotion of [Japanese] culture and would be happily embraced by the Japanese. They together are educated to fight for the country and share the responsibility, respect each other's culture and tradition and learn from each other to improve themselves...This is what I mean by metaphysical assimilation.⁸⁴

Ts'ai further elaborated on why he opposed physical, or superficial, assimilation.

Physical assimilation neglects the culture of the newly acquired people and imposes customs from the mainland [Japan] on them. To be more specific, [physical assimilation] would destroy the multi-thousand-year long culture and history of the newly acquired people and erase their original racial [ethnic] belief and good traditions, and make them forget their language by switching to the language of the mainland...The Taiwanese are of Han Chinese origin. The Han race has obtained a history of civilisation for more than four thousand years...It has only assimilated other races in its history; never has it humiliatingly been assimilated by others. This is why we are rejecting the superficial physical assimilation.⁸⁵

Perhaps the metaphysical assimilation advocated by Ts'ai was meant to be a voluntary process of cultural integration between the Japanese and the Taiwanese, not one imposing on the other. At this level of assimilation, Ts'ai articulated a dual process – mutual respect for each other's culture and equality given from the Japanese to the Taiwanese and vice versa, if harmonious relations between the two cultures were to be achieved. Ts'ai expressed hopes for a better outcome of assimilation – a cultural integration between the coloniser and the colonised through benign cooperation, which would benefit both sides and double the effect. Perhaps the physical assimilation argued here by Ts'ai was the mandatory one-sided assimilation process imposed by Japanese colonial authorities - from being Taiwanese to becoming Japanese, allowing no room for natural integration of the two cultures. Or to be more specific, a coloniser nation like Japan considered that there was nothing to be learned from the colonised. Ts'ai argued that Japan should not presume racial/ethnic superiority and expect the newly colonised

⁸³ See Ts'ai Shih-ku (1921), 'Dōka Seisaku ni tsuite', *Taiwan Seinen*, Vol. 2, No. 3, pp. 20-21.

⁸⁴ *Ibid*, p. 20.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, p.21.

people, the Taiwanese, to appreciate such a position. Japan had a long history of culture and civilisation; so did the Taiwanese of Han Chinese descent. As an emotional plea, he expressed the ultimate concern, as has been echoed by many fellow Taiwanese, over the deprivation of one's indigenous cultural and ethnic identities – a cultural genocide – by a coloniser's assimilation scheme. He further strengthened his arguments about the discriminatory nature of the Japanese assimilation policy by citing Izumi Tetsu's criticism of Japanese colonial rule.

Japan's assimilation policy looks like a non-conscious policy, which has never provided a consistent example. [Its rule in the colony,] on the outside, looks like imitating the system of the host country [Japan], but inside, a particular colonial system is adopted. Accordingly, in situations which are favourable to the host country, the host-country system would be adopted; in situations which are not favourable to the host country, then the local [colonial] system is adopted. That is why, often, in time of obligations, assimilation is applied [to the colony], but in time of rights, [assimilation] is not necessarily used.⁸⁶

For the Taiwanese, assimilation was an inevitable transition which could lead them to equal treatment in education and political participation. Only on this basis could autonomy be built. Autonomy would then enable them to maintain a self-proclaimed ethnic and cultural identity. That a sufficient level of culture, more so than economic sufficiency, was the key to determining autonomy was realised by earnest Taiwanese intellectuals. Given the fact that Taiwan had become financially self-sufficient since 1905, the only measure which could reduce Taiwan's eligibility for autonomy was the cultural level of its people, or to be more specific, their level of awareness towards the outcome of assimilation under Japanese colonial rule. The anxieties of the Taiwanese intellectuals increased as they saw that inequality had set back the chances of the Taiwanese to attain adequate education. If inequality in education persisted, the colonised Taiwanese would never have the consciousness to challenge their inferior status and assimilation would be voluntarily accepted by the complacent Taiwanese public. Therefore, participation in assimilation became the first step for the Taiwanese intellectuals to demand an education equal to that of the Japanese. Only if equal

⁸⁶ The passage was from Izumi Tetsu's article titled 'Shokuminchi Tōchiron', cited in Ts'ai Shih-ku (1921), 'Dōka Seisaku ni suite', p. 25.

education were achieved could the required cultural standard alerting the Taiwanese public for autonomy be viable.

Ironically, education was only made compulsory towards the end when Japan realised that the total mobilisation of the Taiwanese allowed for no divided loyalty. Perhaps being a lucky few who benefited from the new style of education brought in by the Japanese, the Taiwanese writers in the final stage of Japanese rule, acquiring the highest possible standard of education, with their clear conscience and turbulent emotions through literature summed up the collective feelings of the Taiwanese towards their destiny. Through the journey of belief, confusion, resistance, and disillusion, a Taiwanese identity was reinforced, and with the effect of education, a quest for the revival and maintenance of the mother tongue was aroused. Assimilation of the Taiwanese through Japanese language education was a political model that Japanese colonial authorities would like to think worked. To some degrees, effects did take place among some Taiwanese people, on forming their attachment to the legacy of the colonial rule and that era. Ultimately, while speaking fluent Japanese, the Taiwanese elite were forever manoeuvring between bending to Japanese colonial authorities and searching for their own identity.

In comparison to the views and emotional struggles represented by the Taiwanese elite towards Japanese assimilation during the colonial period, in the next chapter, I will further present views and sentiment represented by ordinary Taiwanese in the post-colonial era, who mostly had acquired the level of *Kōgakkō* education. By examining their retrospective perspectives and emotions towards Japanese rule, the Japanese style of education, and the issue of assimilation, and discussing the socio-linguistic situation in post-colonial Taiwan, I hope to present to the reader a more complete picture of the effects and legacy of Japanese colonial language education in Taiwan.

Chapter Seven Japanese Language Education and Assimilation in the Kōgakkō - the Example of the Yamagami Kōgakkō

Introduction

In previous chapters, I provided an overview of Japanese colonial policies, the history of *kokugo* (Japanese language) education, and the Japanese colonial position on language education and assimilation in Taiwan. I also discussed Japanese teaching methodologies in the *Kōgakkō* and identified problems in the colonial government's efforts to promote Japanese language education in non-Japanese speaking environments. Based on the above understanding, I further looked into the effects of Japanese language education on assimilation in Japanese-occupied territories such as Taiwan and the ideology behind Japan's ambition in incorporating the East Asian region into its cultural sphere. This realisation then leads us to explore how colonised people such as the Taiwanese elite survived under the political force of assimilation and how they struggled to obtain an identity of their own.

So far, I have discussed the process, the method, the ideology, and the effects of Japanese language education in Taiwan during the colonial rule based on an analysis of Japanese language textbooks and published writings on language and assimilation. To add another dimension to the research, in this chapter I will present the views on the implementation of Japanese colonial education in Taiwan of ordinary Taiwanese in the post-colonial era, in comparison to the perspectives of the Taiwanese elite presented in the previous chapter. In this chapter I use the example of the *Yamagami (Shanshang) Kōgakkō* as a case study. Based on interviews with its graduates, who mostly had received *Kōgakkō* education during Japanese rule, I will explore their experience of Japanese colonial education. Also, through their retrospective memories and insight into the post-colonial socio-linguistic situation, I will consider the legacy of Japanese language education in Taiwan in the post-colonial era.

A Brief History of the Yamagami Kōgakkō

Yamagami Kōgakkō was located in the Shanshang district of Tainan Prefecture, an area in the southern part of Taiwan.¹ *Yamagami Kōgakkō* was first established as a branch school of *Daimokukō* [also known as Shinka (Hsinhua)] *Kōgakkō* in 1907. In 1908 it became an independent school and was officially named *Yamagami Kōgakkō* in 1921. A branch school affiliated to it was briefly set up in 1923, but by 1925 it was merged into *Yamagami Kōgakkō*. The school was established in the area of Shinka where 1,256 households accommodated a population of 5,539 people. When *Yamagami Kōgakkō* first operated in 1907, out of 1,387 school-aged students, there were only 108 attending, none of them being girls, and many of them withdrew before the school year ended. The number of school-aged children who did not attend the *Kōgakkō* in this area was ten times more than those who did.²

For most of the students who enrolled, they were sent to the school by their parents who were curious to find out what a Japanese style of education was like. However, it proved that curiosity soon wore out.³ Only five students managed to graduate after six years of education. Even with a lot of effort from school authorities to try to encourage the school-aged children in the district to enrol, a decade after its establishment the number of graduates had only increased to a mere sixty-eight students.⁴ However, the attendance rate among those who enrolled had improved from 60 percent to 85 percent.⁵ What were the effects of *Kōgakkō* education on those who were lucky enough to receive it? According to a report in 1919 on the sixty-four graduates between 1917 and 1918, all

¹ Tainan was the historical capital city of Taiwan in its early settlement history. Situated in the southern part of Taiwan, it was the second most populated city next to Taipei during Japanese rule and had a population of 109,887 in 1934. See Ide Kiwata (1937), *Taiwan Chisekishi*, p. 19.

² Among the 1,279 children who did not attend the school in the district, 678 were males and 601 were females. See 'Yamagami Kōgakkō Gakkō Enkakushi', an undated hand-written manuscript by Fu Ying et al., p. 10, held in the current Shanshang Elementary School in the Tainan Prefecture of Taiwan.

³ During the early years of the school's operation, a few of the more senior interviewees verified that back then school teachers often came to individual houses to coax parents to send their children to school. Cookies and treats were also used to entice children to go. See interviews with Yu Teng-chi, March 5, 2001, p. 4, Tien Tien-shang, March 8, 2001, p. 2, and Tien Te-chang, March 8, 2001, p. 2.

⁴ By 1927, the number of graduates had increased to 234 with nine of them being females, and by the end of the Japanese occupation in 1945, the number had increased to 946 with 192 being female students. See 'Yamagami Kōgakkō Gakkō Enkakushi', attached statistical chart, unpaginated.

⁵ See 'Yamagami Kōgakkō Gakkō Enkakushi', p. 12. The peak attendance rate was recorded as 97.91 in 1940.

of them being males, following up their personal development after graduation, twenty engaged in farming, eleven chose business, three went on to further vocational education, seven took up teaching positions, three worked for organisations such as banks, and two were involved with shop-keeping. One did not have a clear occupation classification while seven were deceased. Among the graduates, only one had advanced to secondary education.⁶

It is not surprising that further education was not a desired goal by most of the graduates in a predominantly farming community like the Shanshang district. Also, judging from the ultimate purpose of education provided at the *Yamagami Kōgakkō*, which was to educate ‘loyal and obedient farmers’ as stipulated in its school history, we are given an idea of the nature of *Kōgakkō* education formulated by Japanese colonial authorities in the example of the *Yamagami Kōgakkō*. On the other hand, when education was still a luxury in Taiwanese society during those years, for those who could manage to finish the six-year *Kōgakkō* education, as argued by Wu Wen-hsing, a renowned researcher in the colonial history of Japanese language education in Taiwan, they were truly the elite in Taiwanese society of the time.⁷ By the end of 1926, only 28.4 percent of school-aged Taiwanese children had managed to attend *Kōgakkō*, while 98.2 percent of school-aged Japanese children in Taiwan had attended *Shōgakkō*.⁸

Aims of the Interviews

As has been said in the introduction, in order to compare the views represented by ordinary Taiwanese to those of the Taiwanese elite presented in Chapter Six, in this chapter I interviewed some former graduates of the *Yamagami Kōgakkō* for their oral accounts and experience of how Japanese language education was implemented in the *Kōgakkō*. The choice of the *Yamagami Kōgakkō* where most of the interviewees studied

⁶ The statistics were produced based on the reports in the ‘Yamagami Kōgakkō Gakkō Enkakushi’, unpaginated. The number of graduates who had advanced to secondary education had increased to ten among the 234 graduates by 1927.

⁷ For detailed discussion, see Wu Wen-hsing (1992), *Ri Ju Shi Qi Taiwan She Hui Ling Dao Jie Ceng zhi Yan Jiu*, pp. 95-196.

⁸ Figures were based on the *Taiwan Sōtokufu Daisanjū Tōkeisho* (the Thirtieth Statistical Data of the Government-General of Taiwan), cited in Yanaihara Tadao (1929), *Teikokushugika no Taiwan*, p. 204.

and the Nanchou village within the Shanshang district where most of the interviewees live is due to their appropriate representation in the general socio-economic setting of Taiwan between the 1920s and 1945.⁹ The Nanchou village was a conservative agrarian community back then, and the residents are still predominantly farmers today although members of the younger generation are gradually leaving their hometown to seek different employment opportunities.¹⁰

The interview questions were designed to gain insight into interviewees' first hand experience of Japanese education offered by colonial authorities and their perspectives on the values and effects of Japanese education during the colonial period. Furthermore, the questions sought to explore the central issue of this study – Japanese language education and assimilation. Based on interviewees' verbal accounts, the aim is to determine how assimilation through Japanese language education had taken effect on the interviewees and the discrepancy in the realisation of assimilation between the education provider, the Japanese, and the receivers, the Taiwanese. Interviewees' views on the effects of Japanese colonial rule are also explored. Interviews also include questions pertaining to the immediate post-colonial socio-linguistic situation for an understanding of their socio-linguistic behaviours. Each interview contains questions related to these specific areas. Interviews lasted between forty-five minutes and one and a half hours. All the interviews were conducted at the individual interviewee's home and tape-recorded with their consent. Interviewees were provided with the option of using a pseudonym. Pseudonyms have been indicated with quotation marks.

⁹ It is estimated that between 1920 and 1930, 80 percent of the Taiwanese population engaged in tenant farming. See Yeh Shih-t'ao (1987), *Taiwan Wen Xue Shi Gang*, p. 25.

¹⁰ From 1895 to the 1930s, under Japanese rule Taiwan was predominantly an agrarian society while primary industries, such as the sugar mills, were gaining a strong footing in Taiwan's economic development. From the 1930s, other light industries started to take off, and with Japan's ambition of building Taiwan as the entrepôt for Japan's southern advancement, infrastructure, such as the round-island railway and port constructions, was laid as a primitive form of modern development in Taiwan. For detailed discussion, see Hsu Shih-kai (1972), *Nihon Tōchika no Taiwan*, Tokyo, Tokyo University Press; and Tu Chao-yen (1975), *Nihon Teikokushugika no Taiwan*, Tokyo, Tokyo University Press. Also see Ng Yuzin Chiautong (1993), *Taiwan Zong Du Fu*, pp. 193-201.

The Analysis of the Interviews

Interviews were conducted in Taiwanese with occasional Mandarin and Japanese, and all the interviewees used the Taiwanese language to answer the questions. The texts have been translated into English as accurately as possible by author and the transcripts are held by author. A sample consent form and an English version of question sheets are also attached in the appendix. I will analyse the perceptions of the interviewees towards Japanese language education during the colonial period and the post-colonial socio-linguistic situations in the following aspects:

- 1) The profile of the interviewees
- 2) Japanese proficiency based on level of Japanese education
- 3) Experience of Chinese education in addition to Japanese education
- 4) Socio-economic background of the interviewees
- 5) Use of Japanese in various circumstances
- 6) Japanese education and individual identity
- 7) Influence of Japanese education
- 8) Thoughts on Japanese rule
- 9) Language shift and socio-linguistic behaviour in the post-colonial era
- 10) Thoughts on the experience of Japanese education

The Profile of the Interviewees

There are a total of eighteen interviews, consisting of five female and thirteen male interviewees. All of them had finished at least six years of *Kōgakkō* education except one female interviewee – whose education was interrupted in the fourth year when Japan was defeated in 1945 and withdrew from Taiwan. Of the eighteen interviewees, two continued two more years of education in the advanced section of the *Kōgakkō*, the *Kōtōka*,¹¹ four continued high school education with three being females, two continued further education in agricultural vocational high school, and one continued education to university level after the Japanese occupation. Most of the interviewees are in their

¹¹ *Kōtōka* was an extension of *Kōgakkō* education which lasted two years, and will be considered as part of *Kōgakkō* qualification.

seventies and eighties with the oldest born in 1914 and the youngest in 1933. The age range among the eighteen interviewees was between sixty-eight and eighty-seven in 2001, the year that the interviewees were conducted. The years that they attended *Kōgakkō* would have been between 1922 and 1945.

Japanese Proficiency Based on Level of Japanese Education

The level of interviewees' Japanese proficiency correlates with their level of Japanese education. The more years the interviewees were educated in Japanese, the more proficient they were with Japanese. Most of the interviewees claimed that they had a good grounding in the Japanese language after six years of elementary education with a few being more modest about their Japanese proficiency. For those who had studied further, such as in the *Kōtōka* within the *Kōgakkō* system, the secondary vocational high school, high school and onwards, they claimed that they were very fluent in Japanese in terms of speaking, listening, reading, and writing. However, all the interviewees agreed that language proficiency depended on individual ability and the degree to which Japanese was used by them in different situations. Also, as has been discussed in Chapter Five, although Japan had ruled Taiwan for fifty years, Japanese had never become a dominant language among the ordinary Taiwanese, including most of the interviewees. Outside of the school system, they found little use for Japanese in real life situations, although some had utilised Japanese in their employment.¹² Most of the interviewees responded that they had very minimal direct contact with the Japanese people other than school teachers. Yu Teng-chi verified this.

Although there was promotion of the Japanese language at the time, the place where Japanese would be used was at public institutions. For the general public, there was not much need to use Japanese.

The only place that we were required to speak Japanese was at school. In other public places, Taiwanese was predominantly used.

¹² Among the eighteen interviewees, two had taught at the *Kōgakkō*, two were employed by the Japanese, and one worked as a handyman at a police station. They all had made use of their Japanese in work situations during the colonial rule.

The Japanese were all working in the city. They would not come to a country town like ours. The only Japanese people in our town were the school teachers themselves.¹³

‘Huang’ also added:

[there] were very few circumstances where Japanese had to be used. Most of the people in my father’s generation were illiterate. It was only in my generation that education had become more available to people. Even Japanese authorities encouraged education, but due to the weak economy, most people could not afford to study. They had to work in the fields to make ends meet.¹⁴

Echoing ‘Huang’'s statement above, *Kōgakkō* students were fortunate to have learned Japanese through school education in a socio-political background where limited resources were distributed to the majority of the Taiwanese. Due to their relatively small number in the general Taiwanese population, there was little impact of Japanese education in Taiwanese society, especially in the first half of Japanese rule in Taiwan.¹⁵ Education became more accessible to ordinary Taiwanese from the second half of the colonial rule, but it was too scarce and too late. As has been discussed in Chapter Five, only in 1943 was elementary education made compulsory in Taiwan, just two years before Japan withdrew from Taiwan.¹⁶ Japanese language education was not consolidated in the most fundamental level of the Taiwanese population. Almost all the interviewees agreed that Taiwanese was predominantly used in nearly all aspects of their lives and little inconvenience was experienced as a result of lacking the ability to use Japanese in their day-to-day living. More discussion on Japanese usage among the interviewees will be dealt with below.

As has been discussed in Chapter One, when the Japanese first came to Taiwan, in addition to their mission of promoting the Japanese language, they had also endeavoured to learn the Taiwanese language due to practicability. Izawa Shūji himself had compiled books on features of the Taiwanese language, and efforts were made to translate Japanese language textbooks into Taiwanese as soon as Japanese colonial education

¹³ Interview with Yu Teng-chi, March 5, 2001, pp. 2, 6.

¹⁴ Interview with ‘Huang’, March 6, 2001, p. 4.

¹⁵ Less than 30 percent of school-aged Taiwanese children were attending the *Kōgakkō* in the 1920s. More discussion on the development of *Kōgakkō* education in Taiwan can be seen in Chapter Two.

¹⁶ For more discussion on the development of compulsory education in Taiwan, see Chapter Five.

began in Taiwan.¹⁷ Feeling the inconvenience of not knowing Taiwanese, Japanese colonial authorities also conducted special Taiwanese lessons from 1895 for soldiers and policemen who had the most contact with ordinary Taiwanese people upon arrival.¹⁸ Kung Chin-in, one of the more senior interviewees, also recalled that most of the Japanese policemen at that time could speak Taiwanese.¹⁹ In 1896 the first forty-five specially trained Japanese language teachers brought along by Izawa from Japan also learned the Taiwanese language in their two-and-a-half months intensive training before being dispatched to the *Kokugo Gakkō* and *Kokugo Denshūjo*.²⁰ The second Governor-General of Taiwan, Katsura Tarō, also made learning the Taiwanese language one of his administrative priorities among colonial staff.²¹ According to Japanese colonial statistics, by 1905 about 10.3 percent of the Japanese residing in Taiwan (6,710) could speak at least one of the local languages, including Hokkien and Hakka spoken by the Taiwanese of Han Chinese origin and the aboriginal languages spoken by indigenous Taiwanese aboriginal tribes. The rate peaked at 12.2 percent in 1915.²²

Experience of Chinese Education in addition to Japanese Education

Only a few of the interviewees had participated in classical Chinese study privately in addition to their Japanese education. They were generally a few years senior in their ages in comparison with the younger interviewees and had experienced a transitional time when in the 1920s the traditional Chinese style of education was gradually being phased out by the Japanese style of education. Those who had participated in the traditional Chinese style of education agreed that in comparison with the Japanese style of education it was less systematic and organised. The knowledge they learned from

¹⁷ See Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, pp. 37-38. Also see discussion in Chapter Four on Japanese language textbook compilation.

¹⁸ See Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, p. 165.

¹⁹ Interview with Kung Chin-in, February 27, 2001, p. 2.

²⁰ See Taiwan Kyōikukai (1939), *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*, pp. 540-542. In the language department of the *Kokugo Gakkō*, Taiwanese language studies together with Japanese were set up in the then highest educational institution in Taiwan established by Izawa. Chapter Two has provided detailed discussion on the *Kokugo Gakkō* and *Kokugo Tenshūjo*.

²¹ See Ide Kiwata (1937), *Taiwan Chisekishi*, p. 254.

²² Discussion on the linguistic diversity of Taiwan before Japanese rule has been provided in Chapter One. Statistics provided here are based on the official report of the Provisional Taiwan Household Census (p. 232) in 1905 and in Taiwan Sōtokufu (1924), *Taiwan Gensei Yōran*, p. 45, cited in Ng Yuzin Chiautong (1993), *Taiwan Zong Du Fu*, pp. 236-237.

these private teachers was one-dimensional and no teaching methodologies were involved other than reciting the textbook with teachers. They could join in and pull out of the class at any time and this made it a very casual learning experience for the students who had participated in it. Kung Chin-in, who attended private Chinese lessons for increasing Chinese literacy at night, admitted that there was not a time frame put in class, and he also felt that the students sometimes did not understand what the texts that they were reciting were about.²³ Chou Ts'an, who received classical Chinese education on top of his Japanese education, also explained.

The classical Chinese study that I had was offered by private teachers. They were individuals not like Japanese teachers who were better trained and qualified. The teacher at the classical Chinese class simply recited the textbook and made us follow, and then explained each sentence gradually. Their style was boring and disorganised. I remember by the end there were only three students left in the class.²⁴

Most of those who did so, such as Kung and Chou, participated for the purpose of increasing their Chinese literacy. Some said it had helped them in learning Japanese *kanji* as well. Although the interviews did not touch upon interviewees' Chinese literacy, Chapter Six has presented discussion on the relative importance of the Chinese and Japanese languages in the literary movement in Taiwan during the colonial period.

Socio-economic Background of the Interviewees

The socio-economic backgrounds of the interviewees correlate with their level of Japanese education: the better-off their families, the higher levels of education they were able to achieve. For those who had finished the *Kōgakkō* and did not study any further, their families were predominantly engaged in farming, and the graduates were expected to help out in family farming after finishing school. The village where most of the interviews were conducted had and still has a predominantly farming population. At a time when education was a luxury for most Taiwanese families, those who could complete *Kōgakkō* education were considered fortunate and further education was seldom viable. This was the case for most of the families in the Nanchou village. For

²³ Interview with Kung Chin-in, February 27, 2001, p. 2.

²⁴ Interview with Chou Ts'an, March 7, 2001, p. 4.

those who had studied further after *Kōgakkō*, their families were in other occupations, such as businesses, and three of the interviewees' fathers were doctors with one being a Chinese herbalist. The interviews also found that for those families who did not live on farming, they had resided in a bigger town or city outside the farming village of Nanchou.

One female interviewee, 'Shio-tze', whose father ran a store in Tainan city and who had also completed high school education, when asked about whether most of the girls in her neighbourhood went to school, described what life was like back then.

I think most of them went to school. It probably had something to do with the area where I lived. It was in a very busy area in the city and people might have a higher standard of living. Among my neighbours, regardless of whether they were boys or girls, everyone seemed to have very good education as long as they wanted it.²⁵

As has been discussed above, school attendance rates in the Shanshang district in the early years of establishment were low, and according to the interviews with those who lived in the Nanchou village during their childhood, most girls in the village did not attend *Kōgakkō*. Another Interviewee, Chen Yi-jen, who now manages a food-processing factory in the Shanshang district and whose father was a doctor, told me how he managed to study all the way from elementary school to high school during the Japanese occupation and to university after Japanese occupation. Chen was asked:

Back then even to study in high school was rare, under what circumstances were you able to study all the way to university?

Chen answered:

It probably had something to do with our family financial situation. Since my father was a doctor, I could study in the university if I wanted to.²⁶

²⁵ Interview with 'Shio-tze', March 9, 2001, p. 2.

²⁶ Interview with Chen Yi-jen, March 10, 2001, p. 1.

Wu Chun-hai, whose father also was a doctor and who lived in Tainan city while studying in high school during Japanese rule, gave an example of how his family's social-economic background affected his life during that time.

My father was a doctor and my family was quite well-off, so we received perhaps better treatment from the Japanese due to my father's social status. I know there was discrimination in the way that the Japanese treated the Taiwanese. Perhaps we did not have harsh treatment from the Japanese, so I did not bear any grudge against the Japanese.²⁷

From the examples of the families of 'Shio-tze', Chen, and Wu, we see that some Taiwanese people of the time who lived in a bigger town or city had wider choices for making a living other than farming, which, would in turn contribute to their better socio-economic status. Nevertheless, as has been discussed above, like the majority of the residents in the Nanchou village, 80 percent of the Taiwanese population in the 1920s and 1930s engaged in farming, and these families were truly a few of the exceptions.

Use of Japanese in Various Circumstances

Most of the interviewees agreed that apart from being at school, they found little need to speak Japanese at home, and most of them did not often speak Japanese to their family members even if they could understand it. In other socio-political settings, such as at public places – the bank, the post-office, the police station, and the local district office, Taiwanese was still predominantly used since most of the employees at those places were Taiwanese. These findings are consistent with what has been presented in Chapter Five. There were also few opportunities to face the Japanese or deal with them directly apart from school teachers.²⁸ This, in turn, diminished their use of Japanese in a wider social setting. Interviewees explored their Japanese ability mostly through school life, either through studying Japanese or speaking Japanese to interact with their teachers and schoolmates.²⁹ However, a few interviewees were able to continue to employ Japanese

²⁷ Interview with Wu Chun-hai, March 8, 2001, p. 4.

²⁸ According to Chen Shao-hsing's research, in 1940, 67 percent of the Japanese population residing in Taiwan lived in major cities. See Chen Shao-hsing (1979), *Taiwan Ren Kou de Bian Qian yu She Hui Bian Qian*, p. 172, cited in Huang Shuanfan (1995), *Yu Yan, She Hui yu Zhu Qun Yi Shi*, p. 38.

²⁹ Interestingly, when asked about whether they spoke Japanese to each other when they were playing outside of classrooms, most male interviewees replied rarely while almost all the female interviewees

after finishing school through work situations, such as working with the Japanese or teaching Japanese at school. Chen Yi-jen, manager of a food-processing company in the Shanshang district, a Taiwanese/Japanese joint venture, was chosen for this position by local entrepreneurs based on his Japanese education background.³⁰ Tien Te-chang also recalled that “there were families in which Japanese was used among family members, especially rich families and those ones with both parents having received Japanese education”.³¹

Chen Yi-jen’s family was awarded the plaque of ‘*Kokugo no Ie*’ (National Language House) during the *Kōminka* Movement, in which all the family members had to be able to speak Japanese except children under four years of age and elderly over sixty as one of its selection criteria. According to Chen, whose father was a Japanese-educated doctor and whose mother also had Japanese high school education, they used Japanese at home to communicate among themselves, which was quite a rare case in Taiwanese society back then.³² He reported that he grew up in a Japanese-speaking environment since his parents spoke Japanese at home and he naturally picked up Japanese from them. He also uses Japanese at home to communicate with his wife and maintains it as a learning tool. When I asked whether he still felt attached to the Japanese language, he further elaborated.

I think so, since I have learned it since I was a child. We lived in an environment where Japanese was used in life, so Japanese sayings or phrases appeal to me. Mandarin is more of a communicative language to me. I also have a very thin foundation of classical Chinese...In comparison, Japanese is my stronger language in terms of formal study.³³

replied that they would try to speak in Japanese as much as they could. See interviews with ‘Shio-tze’, March 9, 2001, p. 3, Chen Bi-lan, March 9, 2001, p. 2, Fu Ts’ai-yun, March 10, 2001, p. 3, and Li Chang Yu-yen, March 10, 2001, p. 3.

³⁰ Interview with Chen Yi-jen, March 10, 2001, p. 3.

³¹ Interview with Tien Te-chang, March 8, 2001, p. 4.

³² As has been presented in Chapters Two and Five, fewer than ten thousand Taiwanese households were awarded such plaques during the *Kōminka* Movement between 1937 and 1945, involving 1.3 percent of the total Taiwanese population who spoke Japanese regularly at home. See Taiwan Tsūshinsha (1943), *Taiwan Nenkan*, p. 469. See also Chou Wan-yao (1991), ‘The *Kōminka* Movement: Taiwan under Wartime Japan, 1937-1945’, p. 80.

³³ Interview with Chen Yi-jen, March 10, 2001, pp. 3, 4.

From his example, we see how the differences in interviewees' socio-economic backgrounds affected their use of Japanese in day-to-day living. That is, the closer their socio-economic backgrounds were to the ruling elite of the Japanese, the more opportunities for using their Japanese at school, at work, and even at home. Also, with his background, Chen's perception of how frequently or necessarily Japanese was used in public places is very different from those who grew up in a sparse Japanese-speaking environment. Chen perceived that Japanese was used most of the time in public places during Japanese rule, and only occasionally Taiwanese had to be used among those who could not speak Japanese. As for most of the interviewees, whose families were predominantly engaged in farming and who did not share similar socio-linguistic experiences, they considered that very little Japanese was needed in public places in Taiwan during Japanese rule.

Japanese Education and Individual Identity

When asked about whether they thought of themselves as Japanese due to their Japanese education, most of the interviewees clearly identified themselves as being 'not Japanese'. A few admitted that when they were studying at school and believed in what teachers told them, without the ability to think independently, they thought they were the same as the Japanese. However, such a belief was quickly replaced by reality when they finished school and entered society and saw what was really happening to the Taiwanese. Yu Teng-chi described how he came to this realisation.

When I was young, I did not think of those things [identity issues]. But when I was older, I started to see how the Japanese were mistreating and discriminating against the Taiwanese. There was a huge difference in the treatment between the Taiwanese and the Japanese, and I thought we should not become the slaves of the Japanese.³⁴

It is clear that when the interviewees gained the ability to think independently, they knew there was a difference between themselves, to whom they often referred as the

³⁴ Interview with Yu Teng-chi, March 5, 2001, p. 8.

Taiwanese, and the ruling class, the Japanese.³⁵ Chen Bi-lan, who had studied in elementary and high schools during the Japanese occupation, also recalled this.

We knew that we were the ones who were ruled, so we felt rebellious against the Japanese.
We knew that we were different from the Japanese, and we were the Taiwanese, of course.
We would refer to the Japanese students that we studied with as 'dogs'.³⁶

Also in the environment where most of the interviewees lived, a predominantly farming village, the interviewees seldom had any direct contact with the Japanese apart from their Japanese teachers at school. So, there were no incentives to elicit a sense of Japanese identity among themselves since their families, their neighbours, and the people they associated with every day were Taiwanese. Chang Chao-ching, a retired elementary school teacher who had also taught at the *Kōgakkō* during Japanese rule, related his experience.

I was influenced by the Japanese ways of thinking in some ways due to my education, but underneath I knew we were different from the Japanese. I knew we were Taiwanese. We came home to our Taiwanese parents, and we lived in Taiwanese-style houses without *tatami*. There was a great distance between the Japanese and us.³⁷

In contrast to the Taiwanese elite who articulated well-defined anti-Japanese assimilation sentiment or the complex psychological struggle for an identity manifested in literature, as has been presented in Chapter Six, ordinary Taiwanese such as the interviewees Yu, Chen, and Chang use their most crude feelings and language to defy a Japanese identity. Even those who had longer years of Japanese education (secondary high school and onwards) did not identify themselves as being Japanese either. They knew they were different from the Japanese. Based on their own accounts, the effects of assimilation through Japanese language education as claimed by Japanese colonial

³⁵ However, during a personal meeting between the former Taiwanese president, Lee Teng-hui, who lived through Japanese colonial rule and obtained a university degree under the Japanese educational system, and now deceased Japanese author and historian, Shiba Ryōtarō, Lee admitted to Shiba that until the age of twenty-two he thought that he was a Japanese. See Shiba Ryōtarō (1994), *Kaidō o Yuku, Yonjū: Taiwan Kikō*, Tokyo, Asahi Shinbun, p. 104.

³⁶ Interview with Chen Bi-lan, March 9, 2001, p. 3.

³⁷ Interview with Chang Chao-ching, March 8, 2001, p. 5.

authorities were minimal among the interviewees. Wu Chun-hai, who had attended high school and technical college during Japanese rule, explained.

Japanese rule in Taiwan aimed to assimilate us into becoming Japanese, but I did not think of myself as Japanese. Take the high school that I attended for example. It was called the 'second' high school [in Tainan] in which most of us were Taiwanese. In my class, only five were Japanese...but we were better in academic achievement. At the 'first' high school the majority of the students were Japanese, and there were a few Taiwanese as well. But they [the Taiwanese] were really distinguished students themselves. I think Taiwanese students work harder, and we had to in order to compete against each other.³⁸

Chen Yi-jen, who also studied in high school during Japanese rule and the only interviewee who had a university degree, recalled:

[we] were educated as Japanese, of course, but sometimes when teachers were cross with us, they would then call us the '*shinajin*' (the Chinese), the selfish people. I remember the phrase very well, and today when I look back, I think they were right. But I knew there was a difference between the Japanese that we learned to be and the Japanese who looked down on us.³⁹

While there is no confusion of identity for the interviewees, under the influence of Japanese education, some interviewees have formed a strong attachment to Japan, or things related to Japan, and most of the interviewees were in favour of Japanese colonial rule in comparison with Chinese Nationalist rule after the war. They commented that Taiwanese society back then was in better order with higher security and that had made them worry less about crimes and theft than today. However they also resented the harsh treatment handed down to the Taiwanese by Japanese authorities. Discrimination against the Taiwanese in opportunities for education and inferior social status in comparison with the Japanese were most unforgivable. Chou Ts'an lamented this incident.

I think the Japanese were too harsh on us. Take one of my neighbours, for example. He was chopping sugar canes in the field but failed to clean them thoroughly by stripping the

³⁸ Interview with Wu Chun-hai, March 8, 2001, pp. 3-4.

³⁹ Interview with Chen Yi-jen, March 10, 2001, p. 5.

extra dry leaves. For this, he was dragged away and beaten badly by the Japanese. The Japanese simply looked down at the Taiwanese.⁴⁰

Yu Teng-chi also added his views on Japanese discrimination against the Taiwanese in education.

The Japanese were cautious about the Taiwanese getting too much education, especially higher education. They did not have any incentives to encourage the Taiwanese to pursue higher education at all. They simply let students with good potential fall out of the system. I know it was due to their selfishness; they wanted the Taiwanese to remain complacent and submissive to Japanese rule. They did not want Taiwanese elite in society.⁴¹

On the other hand, some interviewees still hold strong attachment to and memories of some of their Japanese teachers in the *Kōgakkō*. A few of their teachers have also returned to visit their students in the village since Japan withdrew from Taiwan. Overall, their nostalgic sentiment towards a Japanese era in the past can be strongly felt in some of the interviews.

Influence of Japanese Education

Most of the interviewees agreed that the influence of Japanese education on them was positive in terms of its applicability and philosophy. Yu Teng-chi related his experience.

In *Shūshin*, the selection of the contents was always about great people or model figures in Japanese history. I remember one lesson about a teacher who is blind, and one day when the teacher was teaching, the wind blew out the oil lamp, but without knowing it, the teacher kept teaching. The students then said to the teacher, “we need to rekindle the light to be able to read”. The teacher then said, “you thought that a blind person would not have as much freedom as a normal person, but now you have less freedom than I do”. I was truly impressed by this story, and I found such education was very beneficial to the general public in society.⁴²

Some commented that the influence of Japanese education had made them more morally conscious in comparison with those who did not receive the Japanese style of education. Yu further replied that he himself had benefited from the Japanese style of education in

⁴⁰ Interview with Chou Ts'an, March 7, 2001, p. 4.

⁴¹ Interview with Yu Teng-chi, March 5, 2001, p. 9.

⁴² Interview with Yu Teng-chi, March 5, 2001, pp. 9-10.

terms of “righteous behaviour and manners, which were quite a focus of Japanese education”, and he was quite impressed by “the way they [the Japanese teachers] were serious about it”.⁴³ ‘Huang’ added:

[Japanese] education had made my heart finer and I speak with a certain degree of sophistication with knowledge in comparison with those who did not have any education at all. In general, I feel people who had Japanese education were finer in their hearts... Well, take me for example, I would not lie or try to fool around with people. Basically we [the Japanese-educated] are more righteous in our dealing with people.⁴⁴

Tien Te-chang also told how the Japanese style of education influenced him.

As far as Japanese education goes, I think it influenced me a lot in terms of behaving righteously. Especially those models used in the textbooks as to how they grew up and how they behaved, I still remember them vividly. They really set a good example for me.⁴⁵

Others commented that the Japanese style of education was more applicable in real life and more liberal in spirit in comparison with the education offered by the Chinese Nationalist government after Japanese rule. Several admired the Japanese style of education that emphasised honesty, commitment, and patriotism. Chang Chao-ching further elaborated.

Since I have taught at school before and after Japanese rule, I can certainly feel that there were merits in the Japanese style of education as compared to our current style of education... The merits in Japanese style of education, in short, emphasised a lot on the essence of things. They meant what they said. As our style of education was influenced by the Chinese culture, we emphasised formality instead of the essence of things. I am more or less influenced by the Japanese way and have a more sincere attitude towards everything.⁴⁶

While most of the interviewees were quick to identify the positive effects of the Japanese style of education, upon the correlation of Japanese education and the Japanese spirit, they were often left to ponder the question. One of the stated aims of *Kōgakkō* education was the inculcation of what was called *Nihon seishin* (the Japanese spirit). I

⁴³ Interview with Yu Teng-chi, March 5, 2001, p. 9.

⁴⁴ Interview with ‘Huang’, March 6, 2001, p. 6.

⁴⁵ Interview with Tien Te-chang, March 8, 2001, p. 6.

⁴⁶ Interview with Chang Chao-ching, March 8, 2001, p. 6.

asked the interviewees how they perceived this aspect of their education. Chou Ts'an explained:

[the] Japanese spirit to me was Japan, the nation, before yourself, the individual. On the other hand, the Taiwanese would think about themselves first. If the Japanese were serving their country in any way, they could sacrifice themselves at any cost. The Taiwanese or the Chinese, they would do this for themselves only.⁴⁷

Li Teng-fu also expressed his views on this respect.

I feel that the Japanese people were very loyal to their emperor, especially the soldiers, and they would sacrifice themselves for their country. I greatly admire such Japanese spirit. When we were young, we were also influenced by such spirit and wanted to serve in the army, in the air force for the country. I guess such dreams disappeared when Japan was defeated in the war.⁴⁸

Another female interviewee, 'Shio-tze' offered her understanding of the Japanese spirit.

It is very hard to say. I guess honesty is one of the features. Take my elder brother for example. He is a very honest man since he had Japanese education as well. He would not cheat on people on anything at all. I suppose this is one aspect of the Japanese spirit.⁴⁹

Chen Yi-jen also revealed that honesty was seen as one strong feature of the Japanese spirit.

To me, it is like an uncompromisable principle. Once the rule was set, it could not be changed. Not even the young Japanese generation can do it today. Only those who lived through the same generation like mine would understand this. The Japanese spirit makes the Japanese honest, and of course not every Japanese is honest. But in comparison with us, they are and they admit to making mistakes. We Taiwanese would argue to deny what we have done wrong. This is based on real experience through contact with both the Taiwanese and the Japanese...I think this nature [honesty] is ethnic, but through education, it can be conveyed and improve a person's nature even if he is not of the ethnic origin. We are of Chinese origin, if we only have the influence of Chinese style of education, I think the ethnic nature of being honest, like the Japanese one, cannot be implanted in our nature.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Interview with Chou Ts'an, March 7, 2001, p. 5.

⁴⁸ Interview with Li Teng-fu, March 9, 2001, p. 6.

⁴⁹ Interview with 'Shio-tze', March 9, 2001, p. 4.

⁵⁰ Interview with Chen Yi-jen, March 10, 2001, p. 7.

While views presented by the above interviewees endorsed a positive legacy of Japanese education among them, a small number of the interviewees commented that there was no profound influence upon them from their experience of Japanese education, and they were less concerned about this issue than basic living. Tien Tien-shang, the most senior interviewee, replied that “at the end, it [Japanese education] did not give me anything, no employment, nothing, only a certificate”.⁵¹ Fu Cheng-ba, also more senior in his age than most of the interviewees, commented that there was nothing in particular that he could draw upon his experience of Japanese education and he goes along with his farming activities day after day.⁵²

Equally interesting, when asked about whether they would like their children or grandchildren to learn the Japanese language based on their experience, nearly all of the interviewees replied negatively although most of them claimed that they had benefited from the Japanese style of education. Instead, they replied that English would be more desirable and useful for their children and grandchildren today.⁵³ Although the importance of Japanese has been recognised due to the economic power of Japan after the Second World War, the Nationalist government, resenting Japan’s colonial legacy in Taiwan, was sceptical about Japanese influence and was indifferent to the promotion of Japanese language education in the post-colonial era. Not until 1990 was a Japanese Language Department added to the faculties of national universities which are largely funded by the government, and not until 1992 was a Japanese Language Department added to Taiwan University, the first university in Taiwan, which ironically was established by the Japanese in 1928 and still today is considered the most prestigious university in Taiwan.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Interview with Tien Tien-shang, March 8, 2001, p. 6.

⁵² Interview with Fu Cheng-ba, March 9, 2001, p. 4.

⁵³ Among the eighteen interviewees, no one replied that they would directly influence their children or grandchildren to learn Japanese due to the heavy load of study that they already encounter under the current educational system in Taiwan. Their attitudes are also affected by the fact that unlike English, Japanese is not a compulsory subject at school, so no great urgency was felt among the interviewees for their children and grandchildren to learn Japanese. However, the importance of Japanese has increased in recent years in Taiwan and more discussion on this respect will be provided in a later section of this chapter.

⁵⁴ For detailed discussion of the establishment of Japanese language studies in tertiary education in Taiwan between 1945 and 1977, see Ts’ai Mao-feng (1977), *Chūgokujin ni okeru Nihongo Kyōikushi no*

Thoughts on Japanese Rule

Most of the interviewees agreed that in comparison with Taiwan today, the Taiwan ruled by the Japanese was in better social order, and there were fewer worries about crimes and theft. There was also, however, strong resentment towards the oppressive nature of Japanese rule to the Taiwanese – one of the contributing factors to the well-maintained social order by the Japanese. Yu Teng-chi summed up this ambivalent emotion.

The good thing about Japanese rule in Taiwan was actually their oppressive measures in maintaining social order. For example, in the Shanshang district, there was only one policeman, but theft was hardly a problem. But today, even a locked motorcycle would be taken away by thieves...No theft and good social order were the merits of Japanese rule in Taiwan. But it was also the oppressive measures that made Japanese rule in Taiwan unforgivable. In those days, by hearsay, authorities could torture any Taiwanese to death for their confession.⁵⁵

Li Teng-fu also related his thoughts about Japanese rule in Taiwan.

The merits about Japanese rule in Taiwan were good social order and security. You felt safe to leave doors unlocked while sleeping at night. Today we have all sorts of crimes, which was unimaginable during the Japanese occupation. Some say that the Japanese were too severe on the Taiwanese; they would beat and torture people when they suspected any wrong-doing. On the other hand, as long as you did not do anything wrong, there was no fear that such harsh treatment would fall on you.⁵⁶

While most of the interviewees were positive about the good social order maintained by the Japanese, some interviewees were particularly unforgiving of Japanese rule in terms of its discrimination against the Taiwanese in opportunities for higher education. When I asked one of the interviewees, Li Chin-cheng, how he chose to study in the then agricultural vocational high school after *Kōgakkō* since his family was not farming, he told how discrimination in education against the Taiwanese under Japanese rule affected him.

Kenkyū, pp. 645-706. For a broad discussion of the development of Japanese Language Education in Taiwan and current Japanese language education at Taiwanese schools, see the official website of the Japan Foundation, www.jpf.go.jp/j/urawa/world/kunibetsu/1999/taiwan.html, date accessed: May 20, 2003.

⁵⁵ Interview with Yu Teng-chi, March 5, 2001, p. 9. Reports on tortures and mistreatment by Japanese policemen on Taiwanese suspects were often published in *Taiwan Minpao*. See for example, Opinions (1925), 'Jing Cha Kao Wen Zhi Ci Shi Jian', *Taiwan Minpao*, No. 53, pp. 2-3.

⁵⁶ Interview with Li Teng-fu, March 9, 2001, p. 5.

Back then, to continue study after elementary school [*Kōgakkō*], there were only a few options. One was to continue high school which would then lead to university. But it was pretty hard for the Taiwanese to be eventually able to study in the university. There was discrimination against the Taiwanese in education; opportunities for higher education were reserved for the Japanese. So, other choices, including vocational high schools like the one that I attended, were very popular among the Taiwanese who wished to pursue further education after elementary school.⁵⁷

Further, during the war, the tight control by Japanese colonial authorities over the circulation of goods and resources belonging to the Taiwanese also made them resentful of Japanese rule. The Japanese were receiving preferential treatment over the Taiwanese, particularly at a time when goods and resources became scarce. Yu Teng-chi recalled:

[because] Taiwan was a colony, the intensity of the war had made the Japanese more discriminatory and oppressive to the Taiwanese in terms of resource distribution. For example, everyone was supposed to hand in whatever authorities required, and whatever the Taiwanese handed in was never seen again. While we were all starving, the Japanese were getting fat.⁵⁸

Wu Ching-feng also verified how discrimination took place and what life was like for the Taiwanese during the war.

The Japanese who lived in Taiwan often looked down on the Taiwanese and often called us names, the '*chinkoro*' (the slaves of Qing China). Some Japanese policemen had only the qualification of elementary education, but I had high school education, and they still looked down on us and thought that they were better human beings. Another reason that the Taiwanese were resentful of the Japanese was the tight control of foodstuff circulation during the war. Produce like rice, which was produced by the Taiwanese, could not be freely distributed among the Taiwanese themselves. There were so many 'economy policemen'⁵⁹ who spied on people and implemented harsh treatment onto the Taiwanese people whom they found possessing rice without permission. Materials such as metal or brass in ordinary households were all confiscated by the Japanese for the sake of war, even the brass knob attached to my front door...⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Interview with Li Chin-cheng, March 11, 2001, pp. 2-3.

⁵⁸ Interview with Yu Teng-chi, March 5, 2001, p. 8.

⁵⁹ *Keizai Keisatsu*, or 'economy policemen', were set up in 1938 as part of the *Kōminka* Movement by Japanese colonial authorities to place strict surveillance on the Taiwanese. Their main duties involved supervising and regulating the circulation of goods and monetary resources during the war. See Taiwan Sōtokufu (1945), *Taiwan Tōchi Gaiyō*, pp. 109-111.

⁶⁰ Interview with Wu Ching-feng, March 9, 2001, p. 4. This testimony was given by the interviewee's husband, who sat through the interview with Chen Bi-lan, the scheduled interviewee.

To make the matter even worse, during the war, Taiwan was virtually totally mobilised by Japanese colonial authorities in the cause of Japan's war against the Allies. School education was often interrupted, and students, such as the interviewees, were given extra-unexpected tasks. Wu Chun-hai recalled one episode.

The war had quite an impact on school education then...for example, some teachers were even conscripted for military service. When I was at high school, we were targeted to become apprentice soldiers as well. When the conscription order came, and it was normally on red paper, whoever was conscripted had to report to the authorities. I was also conscripted, but I did not go to the army since that year [1945] Japan ended its rule in Taiwan...Also, our education was greatly affected, because we were sent to do public service, such as working in the fields or in the airplane factory. This interrupted our education greatly.⁶¹

Another female interviewee, Fu Ts'ai-yun, who had studied in high school during Japanese rule, also revealed what high school life was like during the war.

In normal class hours, we would [be made to] repair damaged soldiers' uniforms, sewing bits of materials to military garments, disinfecting cotton for medical use and so on...Yes, very often [we were made to do those chores], especially in the third and the fourth years. The whole school stopped normal classes and devoted time to such chores initiated by the Japanese military. Also, sometimes we had to run and hide in the shelter right in the middle of the class when there was an air-raid. I remember at the end, the school dormitory was destroyed by an air attack, and my high school education disintegrated...⁶²

According to the accounts of several male interviewees, including Wu Chun-hai, above, who reached the conscriptable age of seventeen or eighteen during Japanese rule, the Voluntary Conscript Scheme discussed in Chapter Five was, in nature, a compulsory scheme since all of them were forced to go instead of choosing to go. Tien Tien-shang, the most senior interviewee in age, was conscripted to fight for the Japanese in China against his will during the war. The harsh treatment that he received in the army still makes him resentful of Japanese rule today. He told of his experience in serving in the Japanese army.

⁶¹ Interview with Wu Chun-hai, March 8, 2001, p. 3.

⁶² Interview with Fu Ts'ai-yun, March 10, 2001, p. 4.

When we were in Keelung [before leaving for China], there were women's groups who came to visit us as a gesture of good will, and they brought us gifts, such as sticky rice cakes. One of the soldiers under my command distributed the cakes for me, and he put one packet into my pocket. This was seen by a Japanese soldier who suspected that I tried to save extra cakes before my name was called. He got angry and beat me with an iron bar several times. You could imagine how sad I was. I would have liked to cry, but I had no tears. The Japanese like him would not listen to my explanation at all. Once they think you have done something wrong, that's it. There is no room for leniency, and they can treat you any way they like.

He continued:

[when] I returned to Taiwan from China, I never spoke one single Japanese word again. I hated the Japanese who beat me then. When I was in China, there was another incident that I will always remember. One day, it was the duty of my troop to cook. When cooking, there was a Chinese boy who helped us chop the wood for fire. After cooking, I gave some food to the boy, which sparked another beating binge by a Japanese soldier who got angry over me for putting food into a lunch box which belonged to the Japanese troops to the boy. I once again really hated the Japanese; they simply treated us like slaves.⁶³

From the interview, it seemed that his bitter experience in the Japanese army has also erased all possible positive effects of the Japanese style of education that he received under Japanese rule. For younger interviewees whose life had not been greatly affected by the war while still studying at school, with a few admitting that they did not have clear memories of life under 'war time', they did not seem to hold such a strong grudge against Japanese rule as some of their elder counterparts. Generally, interviewees were ambivalently in favour of the good social order and security that they enjoyed under Japanese rule, but they equally disapproved of the oppressive measures taken by Japanese authorities against the Taiwanese to achieve this tight social control.

Language Shift and Socio-linguistic Behaviour in the Post-colonial Era

Although most of the interviewees did not use Japanese in their day-to-day living, it was nevertheless their first educational language over their mother tongue, Taiwanese. After six or more years of study, to a certain degree, most of the interviewees would still use Japanese among those who had a similar level of Japanese education and through work and necessary situations, or even at home, in the immediate post-colonial period. When

⁶³ Interview with Tien Tien-shang, March 8, 2001, pp. 4-5.

the Chinese Nationalist government came after the Japanese and switched the official language from Japanese to Mandarin, in a while the interviewees found that they had lost the tools to learn, to build on the knowledge that they had already possessed under Japanese education.

Since there was not much use of Japanese after the Chinese Nationalists came, most of the interviewees gradually stopped using Japanese while Mandarin remained a distant language to them. Only a few lucky ones were able to study further after Japanese rule through the education system provided by the Chinese Nationalist government, and they strived to learn Mandarin. Chang Chao-ching explained how this was achieved.

When Taiwan was first returned to the Nationalist government, I knew Japanese was not going to have much use at school. While I was teaching at school, I was learning Mandarin at the same time. I did some intensive courses during the school holidays as well under the government-initiated programs. I had to learn and teach at the same time, so I had to learn Mandarin quickly. I gradually picked up Mandarin and was able to teach Mandarin at school eventually.⁶⁴

Chen Yi-jen, who had studied in the official school system both during Japanese rule and Nationalist rule, also told the experience of how he learned Mandarin in the process of education. Chen was then asked:

You had been studying in Japanese until the third year in high school before the Japanese withdrew from Taiwan, and after the Nationalists came, you had to study in another language, Mandarin, in high school and university. Was there any difficulty in terms of learning in two different languages?

Chen replied:

Yes. I started using Japanese when I was a child, and before I went to university, I only had three years of learning in Mandarin, basically learning from scratch, the phonetic system, in high school and university after the Nationalists came, so the process of learning was pretty hard. We had to do a lot of self-study to make up for our [language] insufficiency. When we were in university, the contents of study were much harder, of course, so we often had to

⁶⁴ Interview with Chang Chao-ching, March 8, 2001, p. 5.

stretch our limits to learn based on our knowledge in Japanese and English as well. I do not know how I eventually overcame the problem, but I did at the end.⁶⁵

Another female interviewee, 'Shio-tze', who also became a school teacher after finishing high school in 1946, also recalled how she managed to learn Mandarin in the post-colonial period.

We basically had to learn [Mandarin] fast while we were teaching. When I first started teaching, I would have used some Taiwanese in teaching as well, but I guess I gradually could handle teaching in Mandarin better. I think it also has a lot to do with the environment that you live in. Like my sister-in-law, she did not learn Mandarin at school at all, but she can speak Mandarin well because she lives in Taipei where many Chinese mainlanders also live. My husband, his Mandarin is no good simply because he did not live in a city like Taipei and he was not a teacher as well, which did not give him the stimulus to learn Mandarin like me.⁶⁶

For those who did not study further in the new educational system, they mostly ceased formal forms of learning due to not knowing Mandarin while some had done a short period of classical Chinese study as transitional learning. The Taiwanese language became even more dominant in their lives since Japanese gradually lost its representation in Taiwanese society while Mandarin was still quite foreign to the Taiwanese community.⁶⁷ Li Chin-cheng told his experience of how the language shift affected his life after Japanese rule.

We could conduct all business in Taiwanese back then, I think. I was quite annoyed by people who used Mandarin instead of Taiwanese in public places, such as in the bank or at the restaurant. I would normally tell them that I would prefer not to be spoken to in Mandarin even if I could understand it.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Interview with Chen Yi-jen, March 10, 2001, p. 2.

⁶⁶ Interview with 'Shio-tze', March 9, 2001, p. 3.

⁶⁷ In 1949, the Taiwanese population was estimated at 6.6 million, and the exact number of Chinese mainlanders who migrated to Taiwan in the immediate post-colonial period was unknown. There was a surge of Chinese mainland arrivals to Taiwan, most of them being male soldiers, during the 1949-1950 period. The number of Chinese mainlanders in Taiwan during that period was estimated at 1.21 million, or about 18 percent of the total Taiwanese population. The fact that many of them would speak other Chinese dialects than Mandarin indicated that Mandarin-speaking population back then in Taiwan was likely to be relatively small. See Huang Shuanfan (1995), *Yu Yan, She Hui yu Zu Qun Yi Shi*, p. 25.

⁶⁸ See Interview Li Chin-cheng, March 11, 2001, p. 6.

Taiwanese has long been a language which has not had a standardised writing system. Thus it failed to become a convenient tool for most of the interviewees to learn, especially through printed materials.⁶⁹ Furthermore, the Chinese Nationalist government was taking the same approach as the Japanese and took over the implementation of an official language by suppressing the Taiwanese language. In 1976 the notorious *Guang Dian Fa* (Radio and Television Broadcasting Law) was promulgated in Taiwan to officially limit the percentage of programs broadcast in the Taiwanese language. Clause Nineteen of this legislation read:

In radio and television broadcasting, locally produced programs should account for no less than seventy percent of total programming. In the broadcasting of foreign language programmes, Chinese subtitles or Mandarin interpretation should be used. In necessary cases, the Government Information Office can mandate Mandarin dubbing of foreign language programs.⁷⁰

Clause Twenty of this legislation read:

The national language [Mandarin] should be used in radio and television broadcasting, and the use of dialects [Hokkien and Hakka] should be decreased gradually yearly. Its percentage [in broadcasting] would be mandated by the Government Information Office in accordance with practicability.⁷¹

The law not only limited the broadcasting of foreign language programs but also suppressed the broadcasting of local programs in the Taiwanese language. According to Huang's research, in the early 1970s, the broadcasting of Taiwanese language programs accounted for about half of total programming on the television. Eighty percent of the Taiwanese population spoke Taiwanese and the three television stations back then were operating in accordance with the commercial market. However, intervention by Chinese Nationalists soon reduced the total broadcasting of Taiwanese language programmes to less than twenty percent after 1972. It is not surprising that such a result was attributed

⁶⁹ There are a few phonetic writing systems developed by the Presbyterian Church, now deceased scholars, and current researchers using either the Roman alphabet or part Chinese characters and part Roman alphabet to write the Taiwanese language. However, none of these systems has reached a consensus among its supporters, and the Taiwanese public is seldom aware of their existence.

⁷⁰ See Hsin Wen Chu (1976), *Guang Bo Dian Shi Fa*, Taipei, Hsin Wen Chu, passage cited in Huang Shuanfan (1995), *Yu Yan, She Hui yu Zu Qun Yi Shi*, p. 370.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

to the fact that all television stations back then were controlled by the Chinese Nationalist government. The 1976 law further suppressed the survival of Taiwanese language programmes, and by 1992, less than ten percent of television programs were in the Taiwanese language.⁷²

When the law was debated in the parliament in 1975, it is estimated that between 30 to 35 percent of the Taiwanese population was either illiterate or understood no Mandarin,⁷³ so the passing of the legislation was a blow to those Taiwanese who relied on Taiwanese language programs for either education or leisure purposes. Li Chin-chang recalled this episode of ridicule of such a language policy.

I remember there was one time that Taiwanese was not allowed to be used in the Taiwanese style of opera on TV, and Mandarin was used instead. It was a total disaster. The programme did not survive after that of course.⁷⁴

Thus, for those interviewees who did not have the chance to study further in the formal educational channels provided by the Chinese Nationalist government, they lost the incentive (such as the aid of television programmes) to learn through the means of their mother tongue as well.⁷⁵ To make matters even worse, as has been discussed in the previous chapter on post-colonial socio-linguistic situations, the Chinese Nationalist government also banned the use of Japanese, Japanese materials, and movies in Taiwan in the post-colonial era, which again deprived those who could use Japanese as a tool to learn. Chen Yi-jen told how he regretted the decision made by the Nationalist government to ban Japanese in the early post-colonial period.

⁷² Due to strong opposition and the booming of the then underground TV networks, Clause Twenty of the law was finally scrapped in 1993, and no mandatory limitation was placed on the broadcasting of programmes spoken in Taiwanese languages. See Huang Shuanfan (1995), *Yu Yan, She Hui yu Zu Qun Yi Shi*, pp. 369-370.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 367.

⁷⁴ Interview with Li Chin-chang, March 9, 2001, p. 5.

⁷⁵ Immediately after the Japanese occupation, Taiwanese was used at school to educate children since there were not many Taiwanese teachers who could speak enough Mandarin to teach. There were also no Mandarin textbooks brought along by the Nationalist government for the first two years, so Taiwanese teachers were using old texts published in the early 1910s and taught them in the Taiwanese languages, including Hokkien, Hakka, and the aboriginal languages. It is said that this transitional teaching method lasted about a decade. See Huang Shuanfan (1995), *Yu Yan, She Hui yu Zu Qun Yi Shi*, pp. 108-109.

The biggest failure of Chiang Kai-shek's rule in Taiwan was to ban Japanese written materials and Japanese films for a period of time. This resulted in a gap in which the Taiwanese were not able to catch up with the development of new knowledge in the outside world. The only source to absorb new knowledge from the outside world was from America and Europe. The Taiwanese back then were very poor with English; to absorb knowledge through English was much harder than Japanese. So we fell far behind the scientific development of the world at that time. If Japanese materials were available then, we would have absorbed more and caught up with what happened in the world back then or even gone beyond.⁷⁶

The result of the language shift after Japanese rule was that Taiwanese became the dominant language and continued to be used by the interviewees among themselves and in their communities. Japanese survived in those who had strived to maintain it and used it to their greatest advantage. Chen Yi-jen, who considers his Japanese was better than his Taiwanese during Japanese rule, recalled how the language shift affected his life after Japanese rule.

I guess once the Japanese left Taiwan, more and more Taiwanese was used in society, so it was not hard to pick it up again. Also we were Christians and we attended the church service on Sundays and the service was given in Taiwanese as well. That was beautiful standard Taiwanese. It helped me a lot with my Taiwanese.⁷⁷

Mandarin remained an authoritative and distant language to those who did not have the chance to learn it through the official educational system. Language differences had thus formed a communication barrier between the Taiwanese and the Chinese mainlanders. Differences in their views and values of the world due to different living experiences and socio-economic backgrounds also created friction between these two ethnic groups residing in Taiwan under the new Chinese Nationalist rule. This friction eventually led to the great tragedy of the February Twenty-eighth Uprising soon after the Chinese Nationalists came.⁷⁸ Wu Chun-hai also related his personal experience.

⁷⁶ Interview with Chen Yi-jen, March 10, 2001, p. 8. In the early years of the promotion of Mandarin, the Chinese Nationalist government had also suppressed Christianity by confiscating bibles that were transliterated into the Taiwanese, Japanese, and aboriginal languages written in Romanised characters as a measure to maximise the effects of Mandarin implementation. Thanks to the persistence of the Presbyterian missionaries in their efforts in transcribing these bibles today we can at least have some basis in the study of indigenous languages in Taiwan. See Huang Shuanfan (1995), *Yu Yan, She Hui yu Zu Qun Yi Shi*, p. 52.

⁷⁷ Interview with Chen Yi-jen, March 10, 2001, p. 5.

⁷⁸ The February Twenty-eighth Uprising happened on the Twenty-eighth of February, 1947, when in a few days, tens of thousands of Taiwanese people, many of them the elite in society at the time, were either

How the February Twenty-eighth Incident [Uprising] happened was due to the legacy of the Japanese spirit [influence] in Taiwan. When the mainlanders came, their dealing with things was one hundred and eighty degrees different from the Japanese. They took over Taiwan from Japan. We were used to the Japanese way of dealing with things, so when some mainlanders forced themselves into some government housing which they were not entitled to, we were shocked. Society then became chaotic since whoever would take advantage of the situation would get what they wanted.⁷⁹

He continued:

[although] we would rather not be ruled by the Japanese, but in comparison with the mainlanders, I would prefer to have the Japanese. The mainlanders, probably because they always lived in civil unrest, tended to be suspicious about people; they lacked the sense of security. When there was a car accident, even if they were the one who made the mistake, they would try to get on top of you, and they would not reason with you. Of course, not every mainlander is like that.⁸⁰

Li Teng-fu also added his views on the comparison between Japanese rule and the post-colonial political situation.

When I look at the chaotic political situation in Taiwan today, sometimes I wish we were still ruled by the Japanese, since Taiwan is not [politically] recognised internationally. We might have a better sense of dignity by calling ourselves Japanese.⁸¹

Today, with the availability of the mass media and the groundwork of more than fifty years of school education laid by the Chinese Nationalist government, Mandarin is not

arrested or massacred by the Chinese Nationalist army headed by the first post-colonial Taiwanese Governor, Chen I. The incident was sparked by a Chinese Nationalist policeman bashing a Taiwanese woman who was selling illegal cigarettes on the street. A group of Taiwanese bystanders chased him into the headquarters of the then Wine and Tobacco Bureau of Taiwan and demanded his release. In chaos, the guard of the Bureau opened fire and killed one Taiwanese bystander, which infuriated the crowds who stormed into the Bureau. In a few days, more troops were sent from China to help suppress the upheaval, and Chen's troops took the subsequent actions to arrest and execute those Taiwanese who were thought to be the source of trouble-making to the Chinese Nationalist government. The main cause contributing to this incident, agreed by many researchers, is due to the different perspectives of the Taiwanese and the Chinese mainlanders towards themselves and their surroundings, which were shaped by their different living experiences. For the socio-economic situations leading up to the incident and the friction between the Taiwanese and the Chinese mainlanders after Japanese rule, see Lai Tse-han, Ramon H. Myers, and Wei Wou (1991), *A Tragic Beginning: The Taiwan Uprising of February 28, 1947*, Stanford, Stanford University Press. Also see Wu Mi-cha (1993), 'Taiwanjin no Yume to Ni Nihachi Jiken', in Iwanami Kōza: *Kindai Nihon to Shokuminchi, Ajia Reisen to Tashokuminchika*, Vol. 8, Tokyo, Iwanami Shoten, pp. 39-70.

⁷⁹ Interview with Wu Chun-hai, March 8, 2001, p. 5.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁸¹ Interview with Li Teng-fu, March 9, 2001, p. 5.

only the official language, but has also become a dominant language among the Taiwanese people who have attended the normal school system since 1945. For younger generations (under thirty), even those who were born of Taiwanese-speaking parents are more fluent in Mandarin than in Taiwanese. According to Huang, who conducted a survey among 267 Taipei residents, averaging twenty-three years of age and born of a mixture of mainland Chinese/Taiwanese/aboriginal parents in 1990, he found that 71.5 percent of those surveyed learned Mandarin as their first language, and 85.7 percent identified Mandarin as their mother tongue. If divided by groups of mainland Chinese lineage (one of the parents being mainland Chinese, 43 percent) and Taiwanese lineage (one of the parents being Taiwanese, 44 percent), he found that among the former, 71.5 percent learned Mandarin as their first language, while among the latter, only 27.7 percent learned Taiwanese as their first language.⁸² Huang also found that the priority of language acquisition among those surveyed was dominated by fathers, instead of mothers, in their families.⁸³ This survey, to a certain degree, helps to explain why Mandarin as an official language has socio-political dominance over other Taiwanese languages, including Hokkien, Hakka, and the aboriginal languages, and has a preference among the Taiwanese public as far as language acquisition goes.⁸⁴ Among the interviewees who are more senior in their age than those surveyed and who mostly did not learn Mandarin through formal education, some also confessed that they have to use Mandarin in order to communicate with their grandchildren today, since their grandchildren cannot speak much Taiwanese. Li Chang Yu-yen, a grandmother who completed supplementary elementary education in Mandarin during the Chinese Nationalist rule told of her experience.

When I go and visit my grandchildren in America, I have to speak Mandarin to them, because they cannot speak Taiwanese. The more I speak the better I get. My listening is better than my speaking [in Mandarin], I think.

⁸² For the details of Huang's survey, see Huang Shuanfan (1995), *Yu Yan, She Hui yu Zu Qun Yi Shi*, pp. 244-247.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 433.

⁸⁴ Discussion on linguistic diversity in Taiwan before the Japanese arrival can be seen in Chapter One.

All four of my children are in America now, and all my grandchildren were born there. I cannot speak English and they cannot understand Taiwanese, so we end up communicating with each other in Mandarin.⁸⁵

However, Mandarin has never gained a strong footing among the interviewees who lived through both the Japanese and the Chinese Nationalist eras. Taiwanese is still the language that they are most comfortable with since it is their mother tongue. To some, Japanese remains a sentimental language, and to others, Japanese is still the tool that they use to learn and gain knowledge.⁸⁶

Today, the first-time elected DPP (Democratic Progressive Party) government, the then opposition party which has gained central political power from the Chinese Nationalist regime since 2000, has a more tolerant language policy for all residents living in Taiwan. Taiwanese society today is also more aware of its linguistic diversity. There are even voices in the Taiwanese parliament to legislate for Taiwanese to become a second official language in addition to Mandarin. All these phenomena indicate that Taiwan is heading towards a society with multi-lateral values and more accommodating language policies. Although the Chinese Nationalist government was indifferent to the promotion of Japanese language education since the post-colonial era, in economy, Taiwan had heavily relied on Japan for imports of capital, technologies, and industrial products until the 1980s.⁸⁷ Today, Japan still plays an important role in Taiwan's economic development. In the meantime, we see a rush of Japanese popular culture in Taiwan in recent years. Japanese music and TV dramas have accounted for a very important part of the entertainment market in Taiwan since the lift of the ban on Japanese TV dramas in 1993. By 1997 there were five Japanese programme channels on the cable TV network which offered seventy channels, entertaining about 75 percent of

⁸⁵ Interview with Li Chang Yu-yen, March 10, 2001, pp. 4, 5.

⁸⁶ Chen Chiu-tze, whose Japanese education was interrupted towards the end of the war, can still read all the Japanese *kana* based on her four years of Japanese education, and she loves singing Japanese *karaoke*. See Interview with Chen Chiu-tze, March 10, 2001, p. 4. As revealed in the interview, Chen Yi-jen still uses Japanese to communicate with his wife at home and he admits that Japanese is his strongest language in terms of learning. See interview with Chen Yi-jen, March 10, 2001, p. 2. Another interviewee, Li Teng-fu, was watching NHK news through the satellite TV when I arrived at his place for the scheduled interview. See interview with Li Teng-fu, March 9, 2001, p. 1.

⁸⁷ See Chen Ying-chen (1998), 'Taiwan no Hichūgokuka: Taiwan no Amerikaka to "Nihonka" no Tokushitsu', in Igarashi Akio (ed.), *Henyōsuru Ajia to Nihon*, pp. 125-126.

the Taiwanese households. Iwabuchi's investigation revealed that in 1996 alone the popular Japanese drama channel, TBS, broadcast more than a thousand hours of programming on cable TV in Taiwan.⁸⁸

While the Taiwanese who were ruled by the Japanese learned Japanese with a compulsory nature, the younger generation Taiwanese in the post-colonial era learn Japanese for the sake of self-improvement in employment and the appreciation of Japan being the second strongest economy in the world. Japanese has become the second most popular foreign language next to English taken up by the Taiwanese at school or as a form of social learning. According to the estimation of the Japan Foundation, by 1998 there were 161,872 Taiwanese people learning Japanese either through formal school education or social education. As Japanese is still an elective subject as compared to English which is made compulsory from the fifth grade in the elementary school, the interest expressed in learning Japanese among students is overwhelming.⁸⁹ Chang Chao-ching, a retired school teacher who taught at elementary school from 1943 until 1980, summed up the phenomenon of the popularity for Japanese in Taiwan today.

There are so many people who want to learn Japanese today for the sake of traveling and employment. I was also asked to give Japanese lessons at the public library in the village. Since Japanese culture is quite popular in Taiwan now, I am admired by many people because I can speak and read, and even sing in Japanese.⁹⁰

The pursuit of Japanese popular culture is not only occurring in Taiwan but also spreading to most of the Asian region, countries such as Korea and China, and to South-

⁸⁸ As has been discussed earlier, the Chinese Nationalist government was hostile to Japanese rule and its legacy in Taiwan, and it endeavoured to put restrictions on Japanese language education in Taiwan, broadcasting of Japanese TV programmes and music, and Japanese publications in the post-colonial era. However, the Taiwanese public were well aware of the existence of Japanese popular culture and were fond of Japanese products for their finer qualities. Underneath the official restriction, the trend towards a pursuit of Japanese popular culture and products among the Taiwanese public has never stopped. Also according to his research, Iwabuchi found that these TV dramas are mostly popular, not among those who can understand Japanese, like the interviewees in this study, but among the teenage and young adult generations, especially female viewers. See Iwabuchi Kōichi (1998), 'Bunkateki Mushūsei: Soretomo Aijan Modanitii no Hōkō?', in Igarashi Akio (ed.), *Henyōsuru Ajia to Nihon*, pp. 64-68.

⁸⁹ For more details see www.jpf.go.jp/j/urawa/world/kunibetsu/1999/taiwan.html, date accessed; May 20, 2003. Also see Kai Masumi (1995), 'Taiwan ni okeru Atarashii Sedai no naka no Nihongo', *Nihongo Kyōiku*, No. 85, pp. 135-150.

⁹⁰ Interview with Chang Chao-ching, March 8, 2001, p. 6.

east Asia. Accompanied by Japanese economic success and advancement in technologies, Japanese products were highly regarded and the by-products of Japanese popular culture, including music, fashion, TV dramas, comics, and animations, were all accepted by enthusiastic pursuers.⁹¹ Although through political propaganda and campaigns Japan was presented with an image of military aggression and ruthlessness, according to my observation, the younger generations in Taiwan do not seem to bear such grudge against Japan. The Taiwanese today are less concerned about what happened in the past, but more about what the future can bring them. They embrace Japanese popular culture with a non-ambiguous positive attitude.

Thoughts on the Experience of Japanese Education

Most of the interviewees cherished their experience of Japanese education at a time when education did not come easily. While they were sincere and committed to their study just as their teachers were to education, their memories of Japanese education were mainly sweet and positive. ‘Shio-tze’, who graduated from the then *Tainan Daini Kōtō Jogakkō* (Tainan Second Girls’ Senior High School), recalled:

I still remember the slogan of our high school. It goes like this: ‘*Haki haki nigō nigō, akaruku...*’ It taught us to be gentle, honest, polite and so on, and I feel most of our classmates were like that, very polite and gentle. That was the style of education of that time...Still today whenever we have a high school reunion, I can see those elements reflecting in most of us.⁹²

Li Teng-fu also told this story when I asked him what they did during the physical education class which was a new subject introduced through the Japanese style of education as compared to traditional education in Taiwan before the Japanese arrival.

⁹¹ See Igarashi Akio (1998), “‘Japanaizēshon’ to wa nanika?’, in Igarashi Akio (ed.), *Henyōsuru Ajia to Nihon*, pp. 7-8.

⁹² Interview with ‘Shio-tze’, March 9, 2001, p. 4.

We had running, gymnastics, and tug-of-war. I remember every Wednesday was the physical education day. The whole school would participate in all kinds of sport events. We also learned *kendō* when we were at the fifth grade, and we also learned *sumō*.⁹³

The style of Japanese education also offered them a chance to see the differences between modern education and the traditional education available in Taiwan before and after the Japanese came. The content of Japanese education also offered the interviewees a new perspective on values and merits, such as honesty, righteous behaviours, and patriotism, as thought by some of the interviewees to be what made their Japanese education different from others. The model of Japanese education, considered to be the forerunner of modern education in Taiwan, was still greatly followed by the Chinese Nationalist government when they first came to Taiwan in 1949. The legacy of the Japanese educational system can still clearly be seen in the educational system in Taiwan today.⁹⁴

Conclusion

All the interviewees were delighted to share their experiences and enthusiastic to speak out. The interviews went smoothly and positively. The data in the areas of school history of the *Yamagami Kōgakkō* during the Japanese occupation and students' academic records are well kept although repair work needs to be done to better preserve these fragile documents. Nanchou is a village where people know each other well. Qualified interviewees were not hard to locate through the help of people in the village who know well who had received Japanese education during the occupation. At a time when education was a luxury for ordinary Taiwanese families, the experience of Japanese education had made most of the interviewees strongly attached to the era of Japanese occupation. Their sentiments towards Japanese rule are ambivalent and nostalgic, which is in great contrast to the Taiwanese elite who dignified their

⁹³ Interview with Li Teng-fu, March 9, 2001, p. 2.

⁹⁴ When I was studying in the elementary and high schools in Taiwan from mid-1970s to mid-1980s, during morning assemblies all the students were assembled in the school ground doing gymnastics, a kind of warm-up exercise, on a regular basis. Also, every day, we would have two duty persons, who had their names written on the blackboard, to do their share of chores for the class in rotation. We also cleaned our own classroom and public areas at school every day as part of school routines. These traditions were part of school life originating from the Japanese educational system, and I believe that these practices are still carried out at school in Taiwan today.

autonomous pursuit in direct contest with Japanese colonial authorities. Unlike the Taiwanese elite who might take their Japanese education for granted, whether in Taiwan or Japan, most of the interviewees cherished the time that they were educated at school and the memories deriving from their experience of Japanese education.

The style of education offered by Japanese colonial rule was in many ways foreign to the traditional style of education that the Taiwanese were familiar with.⁹⁵ The Japanese introduced the public school system, teaching subjects which were not available to them before, the style of education that they had not come across, and most significantly of all, the teachers spoke a language that they initially had little understanding of. Having heard so many stories from their parents and grandparents about how severe the Japanese were to the Taiwanese, everything seemed 'spooky' about the Japanese, and the thought of going to the Japanese school could be very intimidating for them.⁹⁶ Once they took the first step and settled in the system, learning the Japanese syllabary and participating in school activities, they soon found friends and started to know and enjoy what school life was all about. It was perhaps the process of growing up with school peers, and, especially in a regular place where they spent a lot of time learning and doing things together, dominating a very major part of their childhood memories. Chang Liao-ts'an told this story.

I remember when I was in my sixth grade [at the *Kōgakkō*], we had a teacher named Fukada, who was said to be the strictest teacher in school. One day during the morning assembly, one student in our class who could not stand still was picked up by him, and the teacher then made us run around the school yard a few times. We were made to run like this very often as a form of discipline...When we were studying at the factory [as apprentices], we were made to run about three thousand meters each morning. No matter how cold it was, we were only allowed to wear underwear and bare-topped with only a hand towel draping over the shoulders. I was deeply impressed by the way that the Japanese put so much emphasis on physical strength. It has benefited me a lot, and that's why I am still so fit and healthy at my age.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ For detailed discussion of the forms of traditional education in Taiwan before the Japanese arrival, see Chapter Two.

⁹⁶ Yu Teng-chi revealed in the interview that his father was so afraid of the Japanese that his father eventually did not go to *Kōgakkō*. See interview with Yu Teng-chi, March 7, 2001, p. 2.

⁹⁷ Interview with Chang Liao-ts'an, March 8, 2001, p. 5.

School life, which makes them sentimental, has become their favourable part of memories of the whole experience. Some can still recite songs that they learned at the *Kōgakkō* and remember the faces of teachers who had praised or scolded them.⁹⁸ Tien Te-chang also recalled this episode.

When I was in the fourth grade, one day after lunch and before nap time, everyone was playing ball games outside of the classroom. One of my classmates, who was also the class representative, with no apparent reason, kicked the ball towards me. As a reaction, I picked up a stone and threw it at him, which caused injury on his face and blood was dripping down on his face. I tried to avoid my responsibility by arguing that I threw the stone at him in retaliation for him kicking the ball at me. But the teacher knew what happened. He did not punish me other than having me stand up in front of the class, [the interviewee flooded tears at this stage]...and his name was Shimada.⁹⁹

Li Teng-fu also had this story to tell.

I feel quite attached to Principal Nakajima. He was really a great teacher. He was so committed to his job. He would take us to the field [to do chores such as weeding or picking up stones] and asked us to follow him. When it came to the pronunciation of Japanese, such as the syllabaries of 'ta', 'da', 'ra', and 'za', he would spend a long time on each student to make sure they acquire the most perfect pronunciations of those syllabaries. The phrase 'gogeraga' [sic] that he emphasised in one of the mathematics lessons was often imitated and repeated by students themselves for amusement. I can still remember that today.¹⁰⁰

For most of the interviewees, their experience of Japanese education was the only formal school education that they ever had, so it was particularly precious to them. Some would even loathe the past to come back because even if they had the chance to be educated again, they would probably not fit in the current system well. By the same token, to a few, the experience of Japanese education offered no more than a part of life in which they lived, grew, and proceeded. And to some, the reality outside the school realm, the inegalitarian treatment that the Taiwanese were receiving under the colonial rule, was also part of the memories that they wished they could erase. Wu Ching-feng,

⁹⁸ When asked whether they could sing songs that they learned at the *Kōgakkō*, a few interviewees reached the consensus of the 'Momotarō' song, and they all sang it out for me without fail. See interviews with Li Chang Yu-yen, March 10, 2001, p. 2, Li Teng-fu, March 9, 2001, p. 2, and Chen Chiu-tze, March 10, 2001, p. 4.

⁹⁹ Interview with Tien Te-chang, March 8, 2001, p. 7.

¹⁰⁰ Interview with Li Teng-fu, March 9, 2001, p. 6.

who graduated from high school and had also taught at the *Kōgakkō* during Japanese rule summed up.

The resentment [of the Taiwanese] towards the Japanese rule, in my opinion, only resided in the Japanese ruling class. As for us, who had been taught by Japanese teachers, we still have a strong attachment to our teachers of those days. Even today, some of our elementary school teachers come to visit us in Taiwan, and they would always receive the warmest welcome from us. There is no doubt that politically the Japanese oppressed us. When I was teaching at the *Kōgakkō* during Japanese rule, I received 60 percent less salary than what my Japanese colleagues got.¹⁰¹

With the first-hand experience from the interviewees, we are able to gain another dimension of understanding into how Japanese colonial education was implemented in Taiwan and how it was received and perceived by ordinary Taiwanese. Together with the review of the socio-political and economic background that Taiwan has developed during and after the colonial period, we gain further insight into the Japanese colonial legacy and the socio-linguistic adjustment that the interviewees had to make to cope with the new language policy prescribed by the Chinese Nationalist regime. In contrast to the Taiwanese elite introduced in the previous chapter, most of the interviewees were from farming backgrounds (73 percent), and a small number of other families were involved in occupations such as business (11 percent) and medical professions (16 percent). The profile of the interviewees represented a true fraction of what Taiwanese society was like demographically during the colonial period. Their level of (Japanese) education acquisition also correlated with their socio-economic backgrounds. Among the five interviewees who had obtained high school education (28 percent, three of them being females), two of their families were in medical professions, two were in business, and one's father was the then Chief of the Shanshang district. The rest of the interviewees graduated from either *Kōgakkō* or secondary vocational high school which in nature was the extension of *Kōgakkō* education.

On the relationship between Japanese language education and individual identity, I found that no great effects of assimilation were identified among the interviewees as far

¹⁰¹ Interview with Wu Ching-feng, March 9, 2001, p. 4. The testimony was provided by the interviewee's husband, who sat through the interview with the scheduled interviewee, Chen Bi-lan.

as their Japanese language education goes. In comparison with the Taiwanese elite, interviewees' socio-economic backgrounds had made their attitude towards the assimilation issue more clear-cut and less troubled by a deep emotional struggle for an obscured identity. It can be argued that most of the interviewees received the minimum level of Japanese education, which does not provide a solid base for Japanese identification. Evidence also shows that even among those who had obtained a higher level of Japanese education, high school and onwards, the interviewees did not identify themselves as Japanese either. This is also consistent with the stance of the Taiwanese elite on the issue of assimilation and identity as has been discussed in the previous chapter. Secondly, apart from a few well-off families, most of the interviewees had very little interactions with the Japanese, and Taiwanese society back then was segregated categorically into one class which ruled and the other being ruled. Japanese population made up only a fraction of the total Taiwanese population, at its peak at six percent in 1943,¹⁰² the mostly urban-residing Japanese had very little to do with the ordinary Taiwanese people who mostly lived in the country areas like the interviewees. As has been concluded in Chapter Five, the mandated process of assimilation, intensified by the *Kōminka* Movement, dressed up only the physical and superficial level of Japanese control. Underneath, the interviewees were reminded of their Taiwanese origin due to inferior treatment by the Japanese in every aspect of their life.

Although nearly all the interviewees were conscious about their inferior status to the Japanese and had a clear sense of identity, the majority spoke highly about their experiences of Japanese education and preferred the good social order maintained under Japanese rule. They did not seem to be troubled by the assimilating effects as feared by the Taiwanese elite under Japanese rule, which can be attributed to the different social status of the two groups and issues that concerned their lives of the time. Further, in comparison with Chinese Nationalist rule in the post-colonial period, a great number of them seemed to suggest that they had a more decent and orderly life under Japanese rule. On the one hand, they were unfortunate to be manipulated time after time by political dominance that swung them to learn and speak a language other than their mother

¹⁰² See Ng Yuzin Chiautong (1993), *Taiwan Zong Du Fu*, p. 233.

tongue, first Japanese, then Mandarin. On the other hand, they were fortunate to have survived through different regimes and be able to judge how effective or detrimental these language policies were. The experiences, the memories, and the legacy are all parts that contributed to their inner strength as they showed during the interviews.

Conclusion

When Japan possessed Taiwan as her first colony in 1895, issues of how to govern this island remained a challenge to Japan. Japanese colonial policies for Taiwan had profound implications in determining the outcome of the colonial rule. Therefore before we explore the focus of this study, Japanese colonial language education and assimilation in Taiwan, in the beginning I have first investigated the overall nature of Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan by reviewing its policies in different stages of rule. This understanding has enhanced the continuing analysis of its colonial ideologies in education and brought insight into the social and political development of Taiwan under colonial rule. Further, the examination of how and when the assimilation policy came to be incorporated into Japanese colonial policies and its significance in Japanese language education consolidates my pursuit in determining the effects of assimilation among the Taiwanese.

The early phase of Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan recorded Japanese military suppression of social unrest led by the stubborn resistance of the Taiwanese rebels. Highly oppressive measures, together with the *hokō* and the policing systems, were taken to curtail civil upheavals. Civilian rule was first established by the Kodama-Gotō administration of 1898-1906, which also set the direction of Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan – to become a self-sufficient economy. In the area of education, as admitted by Gotō himself, there was no particular direction for the Taiwanese other than the promotion of the Japanese language. This largely represented the attitude of Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan. The view was consistent with the vision of Japanese colonial educators such as Izawa Shūji, who saw the Japanese language as the essence of Japanese national education and the means to assimilation.

As has been explored throughout this study, Japanese language education remained a strong feature in Japanese colonial education in Taiwan from the perspectives of history, colonial ideologies, effects, and influences on Taiwanese society. From the establishment of the *Kōgakkō* system to the social education programmes during the *Kōminka* Movement which aimed to mobilise the Taiwanese, every instalment in

colonial education was to materialise the ideology of assimilating the Taiwanese through Japanese language education. Japanese colonial statistics had proven a successful case of assimilation by stating that about 80 percent of the Taiwanese population spoke Japanese by 1945. The face value of the official figures has been examined and its validity contested in this study. Through the accounts of the Taiwanese and some conscientious observations by the Japanese, I have argued that the effects of assimilation through Japanese language education in Taiwan, depending on the interplay of history, politics, and human factors, were limited, contrary to what Japanese colonial authorities had claimed or would like to believe.

As we examined the pioneer work in searching for ways to deliver the best results and to achieve the goal of Japanese language education in Taiwan, we see the sincerity and enthusiasm of Japanese language educators and their fundamental belief in the power of the Japanese language. If the mission of assimilation of the Taiwanese through Japanese language education was to succeed, compulsory education should have started much earlier and more integration between the Taiwanese and the Japanese should have been encouraged. However, differential treatment between the Japanese and the Taiwanese persisted under a colonial system which constantly reminded the Taiwanese of the one being ruled. The reality is: compulsory education for the Taiwanese did not happen until 1943, just two years before the end of Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan, and the Japanese, who sat at the apex of Taiwanese society throughout the colonial rule, remained distant and authoritarian to the Taiwanese masses. The imposed assimilation policy failed to take into consideration the adaptation and attachment of the Taiwanese to their indigenous culture and languages. Instead, the intensity of the *Kōminka* Movement and the extreme measures taken to ensure an expected outcome had revolted the feelings of the Taiwanese against the movement and turned their sentiment into a search for an identity and the reinforcement of being Taiwanese.

As opposed to a Japanese identity through assimilation orchestrated by the colonial rule, what has expanded the scope of this study is that in the process of determining the effects of assimilation through Japanese language education in Taiwan, the link between

a Taiwanese identity and Taiwan governed under Japanese rule has been established. I have also found that through the interviews with the Taiwanese who lived through Japanese colonial rule, the Japanese legacy evidently exists in them and Taiwanese society and still today interplays with the current socio-political development in Taiwan.

Cutting Taiwan off from direct Chinese cultural influences, the fifty-year Japanese colonial rule accounted for a very significant part of Taiwan's contemporary history both in its physical development and the shaping of a collective Taiwanese perspective among its residents. The law and order imposed under Japanese rule led to the peaceful merging of the sub-ethnic groups in Taiwan, and to some degree, the Japanese language served as a common language between the Hoklo and the Hakka, and the Taiwanese of Han Chinese origin and the Taiwanese aborigines. Further, through the Japanese language, the Taiwanese pursued in higher education and found inspiration both in eastern and western ideologies. Having obtained a higher standard of living and benefiting from a modern education system introduced by the Japanese, it can be argued that the Taiwanese would have developed a different way of thinking from their Chinese forebears. With the interplay of domestic and international politics, it in turn transformed into a new collective Taiwanese perspective among themselves and towards the world of the time.

The change that Taiwanese society underwent in the first half of the twentieth century by far exceeded its prior three-hundred-year documented history in magnitude and significance. Its significance lies in the emergence of a common Taiwanese identity developed under Japanese rule. This identity is without doubt a quest of the Taiwanese people for self-existence, an identity struggle against the Japanese assimilation ideology, which is contrary to what Japanese colonial language education set out to achieve in Taiwan. The issue of a Taiwanese identity emerging under Japanese colonial rule has enticed many studies and will continue to entice more research. Without the foundation of Japanese colonial history in Taiwan, the continuing studies on post-war Taiwanese society would not have been possible. This is why this study is dedicated to the area of Japanese colonial language education in Taiwan and hopes to contribute to the

understanding of the Japanese colonial legacy in post-colonial Taiwan and studies on Taiwan's subsequent socio-cultural and political developments.

Glossary

Chūgakkō: Middle school. High school education was not established for the Taiwanese until 1915 when the first Taiwanese-funded public high school, the *Taichū Chūgakkō*, was established. However a primitive form of high school education for Taiwanese female students, centring on handicrafts and Japanese language education, started considerably earlier than their male counterparts.

Dōfūkai: Assimilation of Customs Club. Established in 1914 under the influence of the establishment of the *Dōkakai*, it aimed to contribute to the harmonious relations between Taiwan and Japan, the reform of social customs, and the promotion of the Japanese language.

Dōkakai: The Assimilation Society. Founded in 1914 by liberal Japanese politician Itagaki Taisuke in Taiwan, it was a joint effort of liberal Japanese and Taiwanese intellectuals to devote to the cause of harmonious relationship between the Japanese and the Taiwanese. However, it received a hostile reaction from Japanese colonial authorities in Taiwan and was soon abandoned in 1915.

Fūzoku Kairyōkai: Reformation of Customs Club. Established in Taichū in 1914, it aimed to rectify notorious old social customs such as foot-binding and superstition in Taiwanese society.

Kan'i Kokugo Kōshūjo: Supplementary National (Japanese) Language Study Institute. It was a supplementary form of its sister institute of *Kokugo Kōshūjo*. Together with *Kokugo Kōshūjo*, they had been used as the most important apparatus to promote the Japanese language outside of the school, especially during the *Kōminka* period, in colonial education in Taiwan.

Kōgakkō: Common schools designated for Taiwanese children during the colonial period. Established in 1898 and centring on Japanese language education, it was the base of primary education provided by Japanese colonial authorities to cultivate loyal imperial subjects in Taiwan. It was also the primitive form of modern elementary education in Taiwan introduced by the Japanese. Elementary education in Taiwan was made compulsory in 1943 by the Japanese.

Kokugo Denshūjo: National (Japanese) Language Teaching Institute. Established in 1896 by Izawa Shūji as part of his urgent educational programmes for Taiwan, it contained two parts – one to train young Taiwanese adults to become bilingual

colonial staff, and the other to provide a basic form of elementary education for Taiwanese children. It was replaced by *Kōgakkō* in 1898.

Kokugo Fukyūkai: Japanese Popularisation Club. Established in 1905, similar to *Kokugo Yagakukai*, it was part of the initial efforts of Japanese colonial authorities in promoting the Japanese language through the form of social education.

Kokugo Gakkō: The National (Japanese) Language School. Established in 1896 by Izawa Shūji as part of his permanent educational programmes for Taiwan, it was the highest educational institute in Taiwan at the time. Consisting of language studies and normal education, it was also the cradle for Japanese/Taiwanese bilingual colonial staff and educators in colonial education.

Kokugo Hoikuen: Japanese-language Kindergartens. Established in 1937 as part of the Japanese popularisation scheme during the *Kōminka* Movement, they targeted children under elementary school age.

Kokugo Kōshūjo: National (Japanese) Language Study Institute. Established in 1929 as part of Japanese social education to supplement normal school education, it was a more organised and efficiently funded apparatus for Japanese popularisation in Taiwan. Its role in the popularisation of Japanese during the *Kōminka* period had been intensified.

Kokugo Renshūkai: Japanese Practice Club. Established in the early 1910s, it was part of social education designated for the promotion of Japanese language in Taiwan.

Kokugo Yagakukai: National (Japanese) Language Night School Club. Established in 1905, it was the initial efforts of Japanese colonial authorities in promoting social education in Taiwan. It used venues like *Kōgakkō* for after-hour adult Japanese language education.

Kokumin Gakkō: Public elementary school. From 1941 all elementary schools in Taiwan, including *Kōgakkō* and *Shōgakkō*, were renamed as *Kokumin Gakkō*.

Kōmin Hōkōhan: The Imperial Subject Public Service Unit. The most grassroots unit of the *Kōmin Hōkōkai*, its main mission was to promote the Japanese language in every village in Taiwan.

Kōmin Hōkōkai: The Imperial Subject Public Service Association. Established in 1941 by the Government-General of Taiwan, it aimed to exercise its down-stream organisations such as the *Kōmin Hōkōhan* and local youth and women's organisations to contribute earnest efforts towards Japan's war campaign.

Kyōka Rengōkai: The Education-Culture United Association. From 1930, all *Dōfūkai*, youth, and women's groups within local communities were united as *Kyōka Rengōkai* to promote custom reforms. To popularise the Japanese language was one of its priorities. It mobilised its subordinate leaders and members, including district and city council members, school teachers, and representatives of social groups to devote to the *Kokugo Fukyū Jūnen Keikaku* (Ten Year Plan for the Popularisation of Japanese) summoned by the Government-General of Taiwan in 1933.

Shōgakkō: Elementary schools designated for Japanese children in Taiwan. Established in 1897, it intended to provide the same style of elementary education as the one in Japan to Japanese children residing in Taiwan. Until 1922, Japanese and Taiwanese children were segregated in *Shōgakkō* and *Kōgakkō* for respective elementary education.

Taiwan Bungei Renmei: The Taiwan Literary League. Established in 1934, it was the biggest and most active literary organisation during the height of the literary movement in Taiwan in the 1930s. It published its own journal, *Taiwan Bungei*, a Japanese/Chinese bilingual journal, and attracted more than 400 Taiwanese as well as Japanese members.

Taiwan Bunka Kyōkai: The Taiwan Culture Society. Established in 1921 in Taiwan by local gentry and social-political leaders, it aimed to raise the awareness of indigenous culture and ethnic identity among the Taiwanese. The society held lectures and seminars and offered public reading rooms to promote their campaign in resistance to the assimilation policy imposed by Japanese colonial rule.

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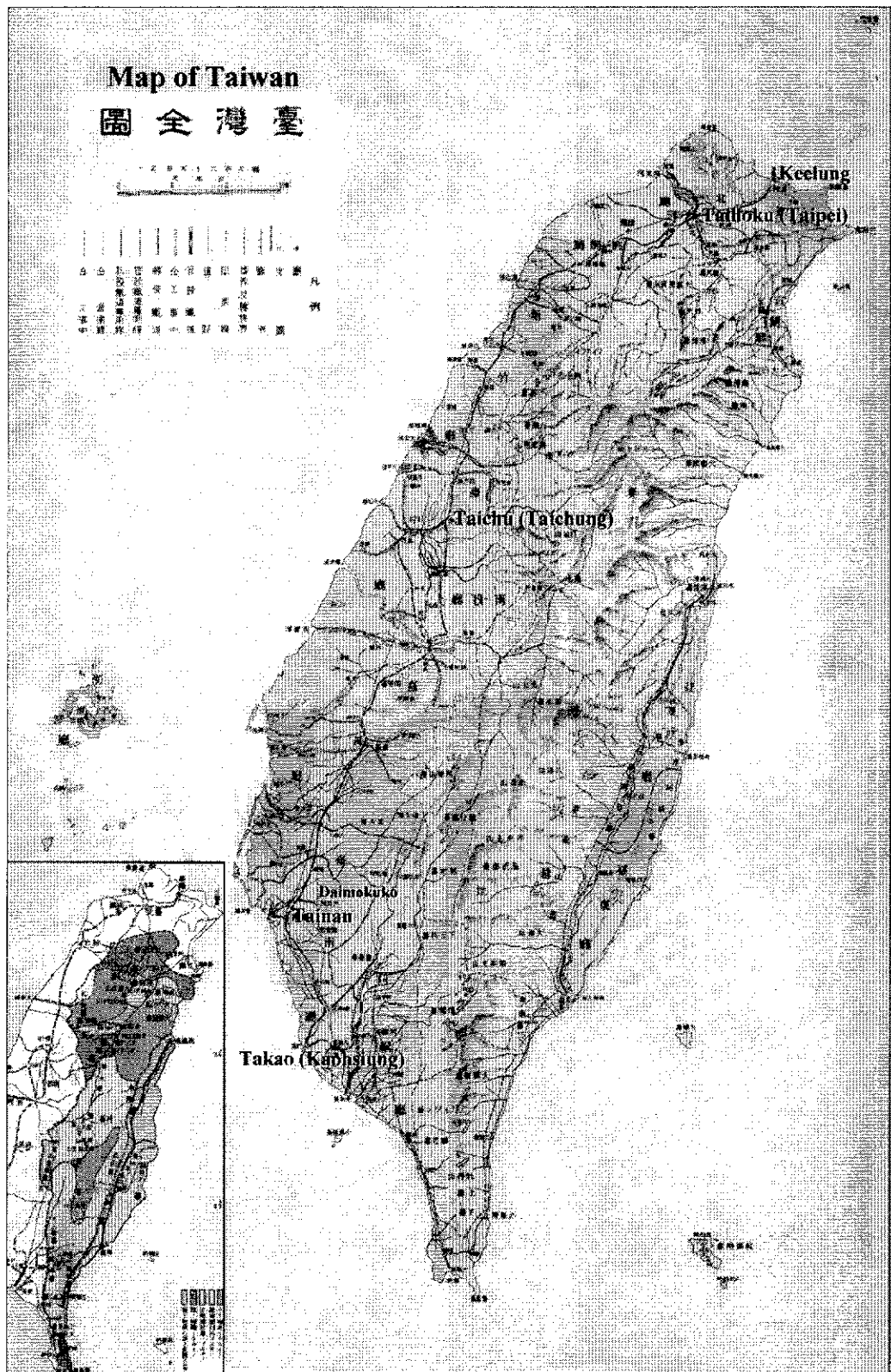
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Appendix 1 Map of Taiwan



Map extracted from Mochiji Rokusaburō (1912), *Taiwan Shokumin Seisaku*, Tokyo, Fuzambō, p. 440.

**Appendix 2 Extract from *Taiwan Kōgakkō Kokugo Kyōju*
Yōshi, pp. 34-49**

勿論決シテ、一種ノ讀書期ヲ生ゼザル様注意セザルベカラズ、
 第五、凡ソ、本島兒童ニ國語ヲ授クルニハ、本國人トノ交際ニ資スル
 ノミナルトキハ、其必要ナキ僻陬ノ地ニ至リテハ、或ハ實益ナキヲ
 以テ倦怠ヲ生ゼンコトヲ恐ル故ニ、本科ニ於テハ成ル可ク早ク讀
 書ノ力ヲ養ヒ、之ニヨリテ新知識ヲ授ケ、彼等ヲシテ國語ノ必要ヲ
 知ラシムルコトヲ務ムベキハ勿論尙、豫メ兒童ノ力ニ適應セル國
 文ノ書籍ヲ集メ置キ、之ヲ貸與ヘテ、課外ニ讀マシムル等ノ手段ヲ
 用ヒ、彼等ヲシテ國語ヲ學バザレバ、到底人世必要ノ知識ヲ得ル
 コト能ハザルコトヲ感ゼシメテ國語ノ普及ヲ助クルノ效頗ル大
 ナルベシ。

話方科教授例 (國語學校教諭山口喜一郎實驗録ニ據ル)

(一) 第一學年前半期第一週

一 教題 校內用語

二 教材

(イ) センセイ、ハイ、レイ、
 (ロ) テ オ アゲマス、
 テ オ サゲマス、
 (ハ) タチマス、
 レイ オ シマス、
 コシ オ カケマス、

三 教程

第一日 (イ) ノ教授
 第二日 (ロ) ノ教授
 第三日 (ハ) ノ教授
 第四日 全體ノ教授
 第五日 同 上

第六日・全體ノ應用教授

教程第一日

豫備 (一) 生徒ヲ導イテ教場ニ入り、各自ノ席ニ着カシメ、其日ノ何月幾日ナルコトヲ黑板ノ右邊ニ記ス。(二) 全生ニ向ヒ、汝等學校ニテ物ヲ教フル人ヲ何ト稱スルカト問ヒ、一生ヲシテ土語ニテ先生ト答ヘシム。(三) 然ラベ此余ヲモ先生ト稱スベキニヤト問ヒテ、然リト答ヘシム。(四) 其先生若汝等ヲ呼ブコトアラバ何ト應フルゾト問ヒテ、一生ヲ指シテ唯ト云フト答ヘシム。(五) 汝等其先生ニ對シテ禮ヲ施スコトアリヤト問ヒ、有リト答フル生徒ヲシテ、其動作ヲ擬セシム。(六) 汝等余ヲ先生ナリトセバ余ニ對シテモ先生ト呼ビ唯ト應ヘ、先生ニ對スル禮ヲ行ハザル可カラズ、サレドモ余ハ本國ノ人、汝等モ日本國ノ兒童ナレバ本國ノ語ヲ用ヒ本國ノ禮ヲ行ハザル可カラズ、今其先生禮

唯ニ代フベキ本國ノ語ヲ教フベシ、注意シテ學ブベシト告グ。
授與 (一) 汝等ガ先生ト稱スル人ヲ本國ニテハ「センセイ」ト呼ブト教ヘ、明晰ニ「センセイ」ト唱フルコト數回ノ後、一生ヲシテ發語セシメ、全生ニ及ボス。(二) 一生ヲ呼ビ唯ト應フルヲ待テ、ソノ唯ト云フ所ニ國語ニハ「ハイ」ト云フト教ヘ「ハイ」ト唱フルコト數回ノ後、一生ヲ指シテ「ハイ」ト言ハシメ、逐次全生ニ及ボス。但シ此際敬語ノ調子ヲ失ハザルヤウ注意スベシ。次ニ一人毎ニ呼ビ試ミテ、後各生互ニ呼應セシム。(三) 教師汝等ノ禮ハ此ノ如シト禮ヲ擬シテ、サレドモ本國ノ禮ハカクスルナリトテ其動作ヲ示ス。即チ先ヅ直立シ、次ニ兩手ヲ垂下シ、次ニ對スル人ノ面ヲ見、次ニ首ヲ下ゲテ如此スルヲ「レイ」ト云フト教ヘ「レイ」ト唱フルコト數回ノ後、一人ニ發語セシムルコト前例ノ如シ。(四) 一人毎ニ禮ヲ爲サシメ、而シテ後全級一齊ニ行ハシメ、而後實

際ニ禮ヲ施コス場合ヲ教フ(五)ハイ、レイ、セン、モイ、ノ三語ヲ唱
ヘテ土語モテ譯セシメ其土語ヲ唱ヘテ國語ニ譯セシメテ授
與ヲ了ス。

應用 教師ト生徒トノ間及ビ生徒相互ニ禮ヲ實行セシメテ第
一日ノ教程ヲ結ブ。

教程第二日

豫備 (一)當日ノ月日ヲ記スルコト前ニ同シ以下ノ日程(二)昨日ハ
如何ナル事ヲ學ビシカト問ヒ其記憶ヲ試ム(三)教師手ヲ示シ
テ土語ニテ何ト云フヤト問ヒテ次ニ國語ニテト云フコトヲ
教フルコト前例ノ如シ(四)教場ニ在リテ先生ニ對テ問フヘキ
コト訴フベキコト答ヘ得ベキコト等アルトキハ手ヲ舉ゲ先
生ノ許可ヲ得テ後ニ發言スベシトテ手ヲ舉グル仕方ヲ授ク
(五)是レヨリ其手ノ動作ノ國語ヲ授ク可シト告グ。

授與 (一)教師自ラノ手ヲ示シテ「トイヒ」其手ヲ少シ搖リナガ
ラ「オトイヒ」次ニ手ヲ舉ゲナガラ「アゲマス」「トイフ」コト數回ノ
後各生ヲシテ之レニ倣ハシム(二)動作ノミヲ示シテ各生ヲシ
テ發言セシメタル後齊誦セシム(三)「アラサゲマス」ノ語ヲ授ク
ルコト前ニ同シ(四)「テオアゲマス」「テオサゲマス」ノ語ヲ動作ト
共ニ引キ續イテ授クルコト數回(五)「テオアゲマス」「テオサゲマ
ス」ノ意ヲ土語ニテ言ハシメ其土語ヲ國語ニテイハシム。

應用 (一)先生ニ對シテ物ヲ問フトキ如何ニスルゾ國語ニテ答
ヘヨトイヒテ「テオアゲマス」ト答ヘシム次ニ先生ガ許可シタ
ルトキハ手ヲ如何ニスルゾト問ヒ「テオサゲマス」ト答ヘシメ
テ後此二語ヲ各齊唱セシム。

教程第三日

豫備 (一)昨日ハ如何ナルコトヲ學ビシヤト問ヒテ復習ヲ行フ。

(二) 教師直立シ禮ヲ爲シ椅子ニ倚リタル後、余ハ今何事ヲ爲セ
ルカ、國語ヲ知リタルモノハ手ヲ舉ゲヨト命ジテ、一生ヲシテ
「レイ」ト答ヘシメ、裁決、汝可ノ後、齊誦セシム。(二) 一生ヲシテ禮ヲ
爲サシメテ後、全生ニ向ヒテ汝等禮ヲ爲スニ、初ハ先ヅ如何ナ
ル動作ヲ爲スゾト問ヒ、一生ヲ指シテ土語ニテ起立スルノ答
ヲ得次ニ禮ヲ終テ後ハ如何ニスルゾト問ヒテ椅子ニ倚ルノ
答ヲ得、(四) 全生ニ向ヒテ禮ヲ爲ストキノ動作ヲ始メヨリ終リ
マデ續ケテ言フベシト云ヒテ、土語ニテ立ツ禮ヲ爲ス椅子ニ
倚ルノ三語ヲ語ラシム。(五) 禮ヲ爲ストキノ動作ノ國語ヲ授ク
ベシト告グ。

授興 (一) 教師自ラ立テナガラ「タチマス」ト云フコト數回次ニ動
作セズシテ「タチマス」ト云フコト數回ノ後、一生ヲ發語セシメ
テ全生ニ及ボシ、終リテ齊唱セシム。(二) 教師禮ヲ爲シ「レイ」

オシマス」ト云ヒテ授クルコト前語ノ如シ。(三) コシオカケマス」
ノ語ヲ授クルコト亦同シ。(四) 教師自ラ立テ禮ヲ爲シ椅子ニ倚
リ、其動作ニツレテ語リナガラ循環幾回ノ後、一生ヲ牧壇ニ招
キ、如此セシムルコト數回、二三生ニ及ボスノ後、齊唱セシム。

教程第四日

授興 (一) 前日學ビシコトラ問ヒ記憶ヲ試ム。(二) 一生ヲシテ全生
ニ向テ直立シ禮ヲ爲シ椅子ニ倚ラシメ、他ノ一生ヲシテ其動
作ニツレテ語ラシムルコト一二回ノ後、齊唱セシム。(三) 教師動
作ヲ離レテ「タチマス」「レイ」「オシマス」「コシオカケマス」ト續ケテ
語ルコト數回次ニ一生ヲシテ之レニ倣ハシメ、全生ニ及ボシ
テ後齊誦セシム。

教程第五日

全體ノ授興 (一) 汝等入學シテ以來昨日マデニ學ビシハ如何ナ

ル事柄ト如何ナル國語ナリシカヲ問ヒ種々ナル答ヲ得其答
 フ整理シテ學校ニテ日々必要ナル動作ト國語ナルコトヲ知
 ラシム。(二)右ノ動作ヲ一續キニシテ之レニヨリテ國語ノ響古
 フ爲スベシト告グ(三)先ヅ椅子ニ倚リ手ヲ舉グ手ヲ下シ起立
 シ禮ヲ爲シ椅子ニ倚リテ其動作ト共ニ發語シテ示シタル後
 一生ヲシテ之レニ倣ヒテ動作セシメテ教師其動作ニツレテ
 語ルコト數回次に他ノ一生ヲシテ語ラシメ順次全生ニ及ボ
 シテ後齊誦セシム(四)教師動作ヲ離レテ逐次語ルコト數回一
 生ヲシテ語ラシメ全生ニ及ボシテ後齊唱セシム。

教程第六日

全體ノ應用 (一)椅子ニ倚リタル直立セル禮ヲ爲ストコロ手ヲ
 舉グタル等ノ畫ヲ用意ス（註）黑板上教師ノ略 (二)前日ノ如ク動作
 ト共ニ逐次語ラシムルコト一回動作ヲ離レテ語ラシムル一

回(三)畫ニヨリテ動作繼續ノ順ヲ破リテ問答ヲ爲シ又石筆白
 墨等ヲ卓上ニ立テ自ラ物ニ腰ヲカケ物ヲ高ク舉グ低ク下グ
 ナドシテ「タチマス」「コシオカケマス」「サゲマス」「レイオシマス」等
 ノ諸語ヲ語ラシメ種々實際ニ應用センコトヲ工夫ス。

此教授例ハ概テ五段教授ノ順序ニ由ルト雖モ全ク其段別
 フ守ルトキハ却テ煩冗ニ亘ルガ故ニ大凡ソ豫備授與應用
 ニ三別シタルノミ。教授者機ニ臨ミテ取捨斟酌シテ可ナリ、
 下ノ諸例皆之レニ倣フ。

(二) 第一學年前半期第二週

一 教題 禮ヲスル話

二 教材

タチマス、
 テ オ サゲマス、

センセイ オ ミマス
 アタマ オ サゲマス
 アタマ オ アゲマス
 コシ オ カケマス

三 教 程

第一日 豫備
 第二日 授與
 第三日 同
 第四日 同
 第五日 同
 第六日 應用

教 程 第 一 日

豫備 (一) 月日ヲ記シ前週間ニ學ビタル事柄ヲ問答ス下、做之。(二)

汝等前週ニ於テ禮ヲ爲スコトヲ學ビタリ、而シテ禮ヲスルニ當リ、如何ニ其身ヲ動スカ考ヘミヨトテ暫時默考セシム。
 (三) 動作及ビ其順序等土語モテ問答シテ其答ヲ教材ノ順序ニ整理ス(四) 汝等禮ヲ爲ス動作ノ中ニ國語モテ語ルコトヲ得ルモノ、何レノ動作ゾト問ヒテ「タチマス」「テオ、サゲマス」「コシオカケマス」ノ答ヲ得、次ニ教師動作ト共ニ國語ヲ語ルコト數回ノ後、明日ヨリ此國語中、未ダ知ラザルモノヲ、已ニ知リタルモノニ引キ續ケテ授クベケレバ已ニ知リタル國語、一層ヨク語ルコトヲ得ルヤウ、整古シテ來ル可シト告ゲ
 第一日ノ教程ヲ了ル。

教 程 第 二 日

授與 (一) 一生ヲシテ禮ヲ施コス一聯ノ動作ヲ土語モテ言ヒ續ケシメ、裁決教可ス。(二) 教師動作ト共ニ國語ヲ語リ續クル

「數回」(三)教師動作シナガラ國語ヲ言ヒ聞カスコト數回ノ
後一生ヲシテ之ニ從ヒテ語ラシメテ全生ニ及ボス。次ニ教
師自ラ動作シテ一生ヲシテ語ラシメ未知ノ語ニ至レバ數
回教ヘテ數生ニ及ボシ齊唱ノ後次ノ語ニ移リ未知ノ語ニ
至レバ又此ノ如クシテ一聯ノ教材ヲ授ケ了ル。

教程第三日

授與 (一)教師動作ト共ニ語ル「數回」ノ後教師ノ動作ニツレ
テ各生ヲシテ語ラシメ終リテ齊唱セシム。(二)一生ヲシテ動
作セシメ各生ヲシテ一人ニ語ラシメテ後齊唱セシム。

教程第四日

授與 (一)一生ヲシテ動作セシメ教師語リ聞カスル「數回」ノ
後各語齊唱ヲ行フ。(二)動作ヲ離レ其順序ニ從ヒテ逐次問テ
起シテ語ラシメ全生ニ及ボシテ後齊唱セシム。

教程第五日

授與 (一)教師動作ノ順序ニ語リ續クル「數回」次デ各生ヲシ
テ一人一人ニ語ラシメテ齊唱セシム。(二)教師順序ヲ破リテ
一ツ／＼錯綜シテ動作シナガラ逐次指名シテ語ラシム。(三)
土語ヲ唱ヘテ國語ニ譯セシメ又國語ヲ唱ヘテ土語ニ譯セ
シム。(四)動作ノ繼續ノ順序ニ齊唱セシメテ授與ヲ終結ス。

教程第六日

應用 (一)一生ニ命ジテ動作繼續ノ順序ニ語ラシメ一二生ニ
及ボシ齊唱スル「一二回」(二)教師一生ニ對シ手眞似ト共ニ
「タチナサイ」「エシオカケナサイ」等ト命令シテ動作セシメ全
生ニ及ボス。(三)生徒相互ニ發令應答セシム。(三)教師自身ノ手
ヲ見テ「オミマス」「トイヒ」一生ヲ見テ「誰カオミマス」「トイヒ
テ之レニ倣ヒテ種々ノ物體ニ應用セシム其他ノ「アゲマス」

「サゲマス」「カケマス」等皆此ノ如クシテ、廣ク實際ニ應用セン
コトヲ工夫スベシ。(四)全體ノ教材ヲ齊唱セシメテ一週間ノ
教ヲ終結ス。

讀方科教授例

(國語學校第一附屬教諭前田五雄實驗録二編ノ)

(一)第一學年前半期第三週

一 教題 五十音字

二 教材

(イ) カ、キ、ク、ケ、コ、サ、シ、ス、

(ロ) カ、ウ、コ、エ、イ、イ(土語)

三 教程

第一日 カ、コ及イ、イヲ授ク、

第二日 ケ、ク及カ、ウヲ授ク、

第三日 キ、セ、茂、コ、エヲ授ク、

第四日 シ、スヲ授ク、

第五日 全體ノ應用

教程第一日

豫備 (一)生徒ヲシテ發音ノ教授ヲ受クルニ適當ナル姿勢ヲ
トラシメ、今日ハ何月幾日ナルコトヲ告ゲ、黑板ノ一隅ニ記ス。
(二)教師自ラノ面ヲ指シ、コレハ國語ニテ何ト云フカラ問ヒ
「カオ」ノ答ヲ得、(三)教師自ラノ腰ヲ指シテ國語ニテ何トイフ
カト問ヒ「コシ」ノ答ヲ得、(四)汝等ハ「カオ」「コシ」ノ語ハ何ナル音
ト何ナル音トニナレルカラ問ヒ「カ」ト云フ音ト「オ」ト云フ音
トニナレリト答ヘシメ「コシ」ノ語ヲモ同様ニ問答ス、(五)汝等
ハ「カ」「オ」「コ」「シ」ノ四音中書キ取り得ベキモノアリヤ否ヤヲ問
ヒ「オ」「シ」ノ答ヲ得テ之ヲ書キ取ラシム、(六)是ヨリ汝等ノ未ダ
書クコト能ハザル「カ」「コ」ノ二音ヲ授クベシト教授ノ目的

Appendix 3 Sample of Consent Form

I, _____

(Full Name)

of _____

(Address)

agree to be interviewed on

(Date)

and agree for this to be taped.

I understand that I can withdraw at any time.

I agree that this information may be used for the purposes of

_____ *research only.*

_____ *research and publication.*

_____ *I request that a pseudonym be used.*

_____ *My real name may be used.*

(Delete those not agreed to)

Signed _____ *(Interviewee)*

Date _____

Interviewee's Signature _____

Appendix 4 Sample of Question Sheets

Section One Personal information

1. What year were you born?
2. Where did you attend the school?
3. What was (were) the name(s) of the school(s)?
4. From what age to what age did you attend school under Japanese rule?
5. What level of Japanese education did you receive under Japanese rule?
6. What do you think of your Japanese proficiency in terms of listening, speaking, reading, and writing?
7. In addition to Japanese education, did you receive the traditional form of Chinese education?
8. If so, what was (were) the reason(s)?

Section Two Experience of Japanese education in the Kōgakkō

1. How many students were there in one class?
2. How many of them were boys and how many were girls?
3. Were most of the children in your neighbourhood attending the Kōgakkō?
4. Did you have to pay for your tuition?
5. What subjects were taught in a particular day?
6. What subjects related to the Japanese language were taught?
7. What other subjects were taught?
8. What years and subjects were Taiwanese teachers in charge of?
9. What years and subjects were Japanese teachers in charge of?
10. How was Japanese taught in the classroom?
11. In what language were things explained?
12. Was there a difference between Taiwanese and Japanese teachers in ways of teaching?
13. When and where were you supposed to speak Japanese?
14. To whom were you supposed to speak Japanese?

13. What positive or negative thoughts do you have towards Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan?
14. Can you make comments on your experience of Japanese education?
15. Do you still use Japanese now or have done so at any time since the colonial period?
16. Do you think that it is useful or desirable for your children or grandchildren to learn Japanese?