

## **Dress up the Nation: Taiwan under Japanese Rule**

Part of the project: Design of Remembrance, When Artists go to War:

Constructing Japanese History and Memory

Part 6

**Manuel Schilcher**

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*Portuguese sailors, struck by the towering, forested peaks and magnificent beaches that they saw as they sailed past Taiwan, called it "Ilha Formosa" the beautiful Island.*

*In the 14th century Japanese established a settlement near the present-day city of Tainan. Attracted by Anping harbor, the Japanese called the island "Tai Wan" or Big Bay.*

## Expedition to Taiwan

Since the late nineteenth century the Japanese government actively enforced the idea of a somehow controlled mobility to educate its people by promoting the ideology to launch themselves abroad, as Tokutomi Sohō (1863-1957) stated in an article produced in 1890 entitled “We Must Sally Forth into the World” *Kaigai ni yuhi subeshi*.<sup>1</sup>

The first attempt to establish colonies on eastern Taiwan in order to civilize the savage inhabitants of the region was in the spring 1874, when a Japanese military ship departed the port of Nagasaki.<sup>2</sup> In order not to provoke unnecessary foreign opposition the official reason was the response of the murder of fifty-four sailors from Ryukyu by Paiwan aborigines near the southwestern tip of Taiwan in December 1871. In public the expedition denied any colonial intent as the memorandum of Charles LeGendre (1830-1899), a former American consular official and since 1872 Japan's Foreign Ministry principal advisor on Taiwan, stated. He submitted detailed memoranda with plans of attack and to colonize eastern Taiwan in the name of bringing civilization to the savages and to establish a profitable enterprise between them and the Japanese government.<sup>3</sup>

With ōkuma Shigenobu as head of the Bureau of Savage Affairs (Banchi Jimukyoku), the "Colonization Office" and LeGendre, acting on his orders, they laid out a plan for a permanent presence in the aboriginal territory. After five months of fighting and still denying the colonial intent of the expedition the Japanese government feared that the expedition would cause war with China and the risk of Western intervention that war would invite. Having a series of negotiations in Beijing they withdrew from Taiwan and returned home.

On the part of propagating modernisation and civilisation the expedition was no failure at all. To overcome the Western view of Japan as semi-civilized, upfront the expedition public media exaggerated the savagery of the aborigines and their violent nature in a way that underscored Japan's status as a civilized nation. Racial hierarchy had not been clear to most Japanese at the time, and so the newspapers used concepts from the Edo period to explain the Western concept. In Japan savagery was no defining characteristic of foreign barbarism and instead the media stressed the ignorance of civilization *kyōka* and the lack of ethics *jinn* or reproduced the Chinese distinction between “raw” and “cooked” barbarians.<sup>4</sup>

Reports of cannibalism among the aborigines by Japanese newspapers endured as a defining feature

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1 Kokumin Shinbun, September 1890

2 Based on archaeological evidence, it is estimated that human settlements have existed in Taiwan for at least 10,000 and perhaps as long as 50,000 years. The Austronesian ethno-linguistic family to which they belong is distributed over a vast area stretching half-way around the planet, from Madagascar in the west to Easter Island in the east, and from New Zealand in the south to Taiwan and Hawaii in the north.

3 LeGendre served as American consul in China and as part of his duties he negotiated with Chinese officials the murder of several American castaways by a group of Taiwanese aborigines in 1867. In his opinion the Chinese government had an obligation to exercise its jurisdiction over the aboriginal territory and to punish the acts of the aborigines. He left China and his position as consul without having resolved the dispute. On his way to the United States he stopped in Yokohama where he impressed Japan's foreign minister, Soejima Taneomi with his knowledge of southern Taiwan, and was hired to advise the Japanese government about how to deal with problems raised by the massacre of the Ryukyians in 1871. Robert Eskildsen: Of Civilization and Savages: The Mimetic Imperialism of Japan's 1874 Expedition to Taiwan, in *American Historical Review*, April 2002, pp. 288-418

Another reason may have been his warning of a possible German invasion of Taiwan as in the 1850s and 60s, some Americans, British, and Prussians thought of constructing a colony in the aboriginal territories, though their home governments were not at all interested in colonization. See Earnest L. Presseisen, “Roots of Japanese Imperialism: A Memorandum of General LeGendre,” *Journal of Modern History*, XXX-2 (June 1957): pp. 108-111.

4 See Emma Teng: *Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures 1683–1895*, Harvard Univ Asia Center, 2006, p.125

of Taiwanese savagery for years after the expedition. Artists as Ochiai Yoshiiku (1833-1904) produced a number of sensationalist woodblock prints for the newspapers that depicted the Taiwan Expedition as a glorious victory for the Japanese. The stories picked up the bad reputation Taiwanese had among the Chinese settlers in the area, and mixed those reports with sensationalized Western stories and even exaggerated them to create that perceived cultural distance that separated the Japanese from the aborigines, which helped them to claim for higher status in the Western-dominated international order. The external 'mission' was captured by the newspapers with a slogan: "The expedition to punish the barbarians is the first step to diffuse civilisation on this island." Which intertwined with Japan's inner 'mission' for civilisation. Depicting the aborigines as barbarians, signified by dark brown skin and long hair, an adoption of the European concept of physical differences and race categorizations, showed the conjunction of modernizing efforts and imperial expansion.<sup>5</sup>

Giving each village a Japanese flag to guarantee its protection, a symbol the aborigines would not have understood, was more of a colonial gesture towards the attending American military adviser Douglas Cassel and the American newspaper correspondent Edward House who responded enthusiastically.<sup>6</sup> Distributing the flags throughout over fifty villages in Southern Taiwan, the flags were seen by the Japanese as colonial symbols of their jurisdiction enforced by an according certificate.

The Japanese government's argument for intervening in Taiwan based upon the colonial logic to bring civilisation to the savage and took place as part of its own process of appropriation and adaptation of Western civilization. The reproduction of Western imperialism meant also a denial of solidarity with East Asia to commit its dominance over others and to contest its engagement with the Western civilization. The mimetic imperialism helped to shape Japan's national identity after the Meiji Restoration and defined the political authority of a modern nation.

Defined as the study of other cultures in the West, modern anthropology started 1884 in Japan with a group of researchers around Tsuboi Shogoro (1863-1913), the first professor at the University of Tokyo's Department of Anthropology, from an interest in the Japanese self and the Japanese culture.<sup>7</sup> That Meiji anthropologists adopted Western methods wholesale as kind of the mark, as explorer Mōgami Tokunai (1754-1836) undertook a survey to the Kuriles, Hokkaido, and Karafuto (Sakhalin) already in 1785-86. With modern imported Western ideologies Japanese scholars soon "nationalized" this science.

When after the first Taiwanese expedition savagery found acceptance in Japan, anthropology offered a scientific model to explore these cultures of exotic societies. With its new colony as a field of research, anthropology was redefined by Torii Ryuzo (1870-1953) as "Asian ethnology" *Toyo jinshugaku*, or "Asian race-studies." Assuming that Japanese could understand Asian peoples and cul-

5 Tokyo nichi nichi shinbun, no. 753, October 1874, in Nadin Heé: Japan's Double Bind: 'Civilised' Punishment in Colonial Taiwan, p.74

6 Robert Eskildsen: Of Civilization and Savages: The Mimetic Imperialism of Japan's 1874 Expedition to Taiwan, in AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, April 2002, p.409

7 Akitoshi Shimizu: Colonialism and the development of modern anthropology in Japan, in Jan van Bremen, Akitoshi Shimizu eds.: Anthropology and Colonialism in Asia and Oceania, Richmond Surrey Curzon Press, 1999, p.124

In 1884, the Anthropological Society of Tokyo (the present. Anthropological Society of Nippon) was founded by Tsuboi Shogoro.

From the 1920s to the end of the war, 'anthropology' in the universities was nearly always 'physical' anthropology. Social and cultural anthropology did gain an academic foothold in the imperial universities that were established overseas, in Japanese Korea in 1924, and in Japanese Formosa in 1927. During the Fifteen Years War, anthropology obtained a place in the Manchurian National University, founded in 1938. And then, near the end of the war, it gained a foothold in Tokyo Imperial University in 1943.

tures better than Westerners, Japanese anthropology faced the dilemma projecting themselves as advanced in a Western discourse of modernity which still rendered Japaneseness as backwards. In this special form of Orientalism, Japanese humanists and social scientists denied any equality to other Asians depicting them as literal ancestors of the vanguard Japanese. This kind of 'extended self' was most evident in colonial Taiwan, acquired from the Qing dynasty in 1895.

## Learning Colonialism

Following the nation's triumph of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, Japan obtained permanently its first overseas colony Taiwan.<sup>8</sup> Being less than thirty years earlier in danger to be colonized itself, now the proper approach was to be found to handle the new task. Colonial officials were asking advice from foreign consuls soon after Taiwan's incorporation into the Japanese empire and the style of government in Taiwan was debated in intellectual circles like the Taiwan Association *Taiwankai* or the Taiwan Society *Taiwan Kyokai*.<sup>9</sup> Suggestions of French advisors of integrating Taiwan into the Japanese empire by following Japan's laws and eventually eliminating dissimilarities between the countries were also followed as the British suggestion of emphasising prestige. In special William Kirkwood (1850-1926) and Michel Revon (1867-1947) played a key role as special advisers hired by the Meiji government.<sup>10</sup> Japanese media promoted the assimilation policy but finally it was a geopolitical decision. The Japanese military, especially the navy, saw Taiwan as a "gateway to the south," as a base for Japan's future expansion to China and South East Asia, demanding direct control over the island.

As part of the modernisation policies to become an empire just like the Western nations the government faced the dilemma to create an benevolent Asian counter-version of colonial rule to differ from the West but also to implement the approved model of Western colonialism in a very short time.<sup>11</sup> The self-appointed task was to demonstrate equality with the West and to transcend Western respectively modern rule to the colony and to bring welfare and Japanese civilisation. Having success in the colony would legitimize Japan as a worthy imperialist and solidify its version of manifest destiny.

As the West created a dichotomy of the West versus the East, and attributed specific characteristics to each, including civilized versus barbaric, advanced versus backward, and others, Japan created a similar dichotomy between its nation and other Asian countries. But to overtake the Sino-centric cultural leadership and to create an new Asian identity, Japan's Orientalism was in many ways more com-

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8 The Treaty of Shimonoseki ceded Taiwan and the associated Pescadore Islands to Japan on April 17, 1895; a Dominion Inauguration Ceremony was held in Taipei on June 17, and the next day an Office of Educational Affairs was established. By the treaty, which marked the end of the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), the Qing government acknowledged the independence of Korea and ceded the Liaodong Peninsula, Taiwan and the Pescadores Islands to Japan permanently. Japan was paid an indemnity of 200 million taels of silver, accorded Japan most favored nation status, and opened new treaty ports where Japanese nationals were granted trading, manufacturing and residency rights. Under the Triple Intervention by Russia, Germany and France, Japan was forced to renounce claims to the Liaodong Peninsula and Port Arthur in November 1895, in exchange for an additional indemnity from the Qing government of 30 million taels of silver.

9 On 18 April 1897, Fukushima Yasumasa, Mizuno Jun, Okura Kiha-chirō, Yokoyama Magoichirō, and Nagata Tadaichi gathered at the Momijikan in Tokyo's Shiba Park and established the Taiwan Association *Taiwankai*. On 2 April 1898, Mizuno, Okura, Taguchi Ukichi, met to form an offshoot organization, the Taiwan Society *Taiwan Kyokai*.

10 Due to the high population density of the island, the question of the treatment of the inhabitants, the question of whether the inhabitants of the new territory could be regarded as "Japanese" or be educated or assimilated to them, was a highly sensitive issue. Kirkwood advocated respect for local customs and denied an assimilation policy. The French recommended to turn Taiwan into a prefecture integrated into the Japanese empire.

11 Modernity in Japan was not contiguous to the European idea, as it related to a different time period, and had a different basis. Modernity in the West was a self-description whilst in Japan it was an aspiration and a changeable objective.

plex than Western ideology. The Asian model, beginning with Taiwan, was not only a transfer from the colony to the Japanese metropole, interlacing Western concepts, it was foremost a interdependence within the context of the alternative of a Chinese notion of civilisation. China had been the epitome of civilisation in Japan for centuries, but the colonial enterprises were accompanied by a completely new connotation of a backward China. Under the idea of modernity, the transfer of knowledge and practices between the Japanese metropole and its colony was paralleled with the self civilisation in Japan and the construction of a barbarous Chinese identity. Generating this new picture of Chinese society where the commoners became the main characters and the state receded into the background, contrasted the idea of creating an Asian counter model to Western colonialism.

In the same manner as Japan needed China and other Asian countries to distinguish its own idea of *bunmei* civilisation, the engagement with the concept of *kindai* modernity required an engagement in the process of distinguishing from the non-modern. The concept of modernity imported into Taiwan was modelled on, scientific investigation of the local customs and institutions, persuasion through impressing the locals with architecture and manners, and what was Civil Administrator Gotō Shinpei (1857-1929) called biological principles.

### **Biological Principles**

In the year the Japanese military took over the island, the ethnographer, Inō Kanori (1867–1925) and short after the anthropologist Torii Ryūzō (1870–1953), arrived in Taiwan using different methods in their theoretical approaches to write the Taiwanese narrative. In the taxonomy of Inō the Taiwanese aboriginal tribes were described along an evolutionary axis from savages to Han Chinese history. Torii on the other hand studied the aboriginals as Polynesian migrants with ethnographic fundamentals shaped prior to Chinese settlers. Inō, who was a literate, had become an internationally known expert on Taiwan ethnography, being used as main source information by the most quoted authorities on Taiwanese history and Japanese colonial rule, James W. Davidson (1872-1933) and Takekoshi Yosaburo (1865-1950).<sup>12</sup> Torii, who exerted himself in the methodology of field investigations created in a far more modern manner the scientific foundations of the discipline with his interpreter and apprentice Mori Ushinosuke (1877–1926).

In a common concern both started their research in Taiwan devising a modern system of classification for Taiwan's non-Chinese population to overcome the Qing system of naming Taiwan's ethnic groups.<sup>13</sup> Shortly after Inō forged institutional links between the Taiwan Government General and the Tokyo Anthropological Society he established the Taiwan Anthropological Society in December of 1895.<sup>14</sup> Soon after Inō began to publish in the “Journal of the Tokyo Anthropological Society,” demonstrating a Western approach to research methodology, by obtaining population data and notes on local customs to supplement the eyewitness reports of his fellow Japanese colonial officials. Considering his research

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12 James W. Davidson, *The Island of Formosa: History, People, Resources and Commercial Prospects*, London and New York: Macmillan, 1903; Takekoshi Yosaburo: *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, trans. George Braithwaite, New York and London: Longmans, Green, 1907

13 They both announced the formation of the Anthropology Study Association in Tokyo in December 1894.

see Paul D. Barclay: An Historian among the Anthropologists, *Japanese Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 2001, p.123

14 Along with Tashiro Antei, who had written several ethnological descriptions of Okinawa.

upon other people's observations, he collected available references to Aborigines from Dutch and Chinese records, like observations on house construction, material culture and the administrative structure of Qing government in the non-Han areas of Taiwan.

Instructed by the Industrial Development Bureau, Torii Ryūzō was also concerned with racial, ethnic identification and taxonomy as a goal to collect on his travels to the Taiwanese outback. Other than Inō, who studied Taiwan's Han population as equal important, Torii spent many days in the field to determine racial affiliation by statistical measurements like the cranial index. Familiar with the most important Western studies, he found a population to be measured for anthropometric analysis on the small island then known as Botel Tobago (Orchid Island). The anthropometric tables, supplemented by photographs were issued as "Report on the Ethnological Survey of Orchid Island" by the Tokyo Anthropological Research Institute as "the oldest example of a recognized ethnography in Japan." The population, which he named Yami, provided a key to Japan's past, becoming an evidence of his theory of Japanese racial origins.<sup>15</sup>

Under the order of the Bureau of Education, Inō undertook a 6-month survey with fellow Bureau of Education commissioner Awano Dennojō between April and December of 1897. Two years after, the Bureau of Industrial Development published *Taiwan Banjin jijō* "Conditions among the Taiwan Aborigines", based on the research and other reports by Japanese officials. As a result the aboriginal tribes were classified as eight different ethnic categories, which formed the basis for the Taiwan Government General for over a decade.<sup>16</sup> Despite that the eight-tribe taxonomy was an attempt to describe aboriginal culture and history without the Chinese influence, in the concluding chapter of his report *Taiwan banjin jijō*, Inō re-attached the ethnic differentiation and identity in Taiwan to Han-Chinese history as the process of Sinicization.<sup>17</sup> Short after the Meiji restoration, when many bureaucrats were educated in classical Chinese literature, Inō's eloquent style and his function within the colonial bureaucracy promoted the narrative of Chinese–Aborigine interaction and regarded Taiwanese civilization as a regional variant in the larger sphere of Chinese culture.<sup>18</sup> Following the Chinese lead, by distinguishing the tribal people culturally and linguistically into two groups of untamed barbarians (literally raw, uncooked bar-

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15 By the Taisho period Torii used four types of migrants to explain the variation in physical types to be found in Japan: Asians from China via the Korean peninsula, Indochinese from the Vietnam/Chinese borderlands, Ainu from Hokkaido, and Indonesians from the Pacific Islands.

Torii Ryūzō 1870–1953 was the premier authority whose racial theories supported the Colonial Government policies of the education and assimilation of Koreans as Japanese citizen. The first with a camera he made his native subjects conducting activities such as hunting, weaving, fishing, and pottery making, in staged scenes. Torii consciously manipulated his subjects and background scenery to make the aborigines look more like living primitive specimens. His photographs mostly depict young men in active poses while native women remain objects of desire and romance typically engaged in passive activities such as day dreaming, waiting, watching, or doing female chores like weaving and washing. Throughout his career, there are dozens of self-portraits of Torii in many native costumes or in a Japanese soldier's uniform.

See Hyung Il Pai: Capturing Visions of Japan's Prehistoric Past: Torii Ryūzō's Field Photographs of "Primitive" Races and Lost Civilizations (1896–1915), in J. Purtle, H. B. Thomsen eds.: Looking Modern: East Asian Visual Culture from Treaty Ports to World War II, Center for the Art of East Asia, University of Chicago, 2009, pp.266–293

16 When Taihoku Imperial University was established in 1928 Inō's personal collections of artefacts and specimens formed the basis of the university's ethnographic department.

17 Sinicization is a process whereby non-Han Chinese societies come under the influence of dominant Han Chinese state and society.

Since the 1990s a set of exhibitions, publications, and scholarly projects appeared in Taiwan and Japan, resurging interest in Inō's Taiwan anthropology. *Taiwan banjin jijō* was reissued by a Tokyo publisher in the summer of 2000 (Inō Kanori and Awano Dennojō, *Taiwan banjin jijō* Tokyo: Sōfukan, 2000), which can be partially explained by the contours of modern Taiwanese nationalism.

18 But with the rise of currents in Western anthropology in Japan, his short duration of his field work and mistakes in interpreting Qing documents marginalized him and Awano Dennojō as amateur civilians, reduced his role in the history of Japanese anthropology to that of foil to Torii. Mary Louise Pratt, 'Fieldwork in Common Places', in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), pp. 27–50.

barians, *seiban*) and tamed barbarians (literally ripe, cooked barbarians, *jukuban*) in accordance with the degree of their civilization, the terminology fulfilled colonial ideology of the day. The hierarchy of terminology were used to colonial subjects.<sup>19</sup> Torii, by contrast, represented the destruction of that Sino-centric world and dedicated his analysis to the processes of migration and blending among aboriginal groups.<sup>20</sup>

In the first three years chaos characterised the administration, when Governor-Generals were rotated quickly and Japan crushed the short-lived Republic of Formosa and other rebellions. Things changed with the arrival of the fourth Governor-General of Taiwan, Kodama Gentarō in 1898 and his appointed Civil Administrator Gotō Shinpei. To gain a better understanding of Taiwan, Gotō Shinpei conducted soon after he was appointed in 1898, a first survey.<sup>21</sup> In November 1900 the *Taiwan kyukan seido chosa ippan* "Provisional Report on Investigation of Laws and Customs in the Land of Formosa" was published as a result of the investigation.

Derived from the difficulties at the beginning of the colonial period, such as military conflicts caused by the Taiwanese, Gotō's concern to investigate the local customs and institutions in such scientifically method was to not adopt any policy that would provokes the locals.<sup>22</sup> The survey was produced over a seven year period which involved more than one and a half million personnel, and gave the Japanese a comprehensive review of both the land and people.

One issue of the extensive research was to advocate the colonial administration in the possible adoption of the legal structure from the Qing or from the Japanese Empire. A medical doctor trained in Germany (1890–1892), Gotō Shinpei described Taiwan as a colonial laboratory, and the Governor-General's office as a sort of research university.<sup>23</sup>

Much of what he and his administration did in controlling the political and economic environment of the colony, were experiments in social engineering based on his emphasis on 'biological principles'. Therefore it was necessary to know local customs and manners very well in order to propose proper policies as the first step of colonial governance. In Japan's first experiment in colonial rule, Taiwan was foremost to demonstrate that Japan was the equal of Western imperialists and second to transcend

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19 Kleeman, Faye Yuan, *Under an imperial sun: Japanese colonial literature of Taiwan and the South*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003, p.31

20 The Chinese were placed on a similar level of civilisation to the Japanese when compared to the aborigines. One example of this is the use of the tale of Wu Feng (1699-1769) who was purportedly an ethnic Han Chinese resident of Taiwan. He had befriended the aborigines and attempted to persuade them to give up their practice of headhunting. The story, which first appeared in the seventeenth century in Taiwan, ends with WU Feng sacrificing himself, dying in order to prove his point about the evils of the practice. The Japanese government translated this tale into Japanese and taught it to Taiwanese school children and in Primary schools in Japan. According to Faye Yuan Kleeman, this story was useful to both the colonial administrators and in mainland Japan itself, though serving different purposes: "In the colony, it reaffirmed the prejudices of the Taiwanese of Chinese descent against the aborigines and left them grateful for the empire's protection. In Japan, it justified the colonial civilizing mission and portrayed the majority of the colonized populace as willing partners in this project." Kleeman, Faye Yuan, *Under an imperial sun: Japanese colonial literature of Taiwan and the South*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003, p.27

21 In the 1880's Kodama had achieved recognition for his attempts to introduce German military organisation to the Japanese ground force, before touring Europe in 1891 to observe German military training.

22 Yao, Jen-To, 'The Japanese colonial state and its form of knowledge in Taiwan', in *Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule, 1895-1945: history, culture, memory*, 1st edn, ed. by Ping-Hui Liou and David Der-Wer Wang, New York: Columbia University Press, 2006, p.46

23 Goto had attended Sukagawa medical school when he was seventeen, and practised as a doctor after graduating. Later he served as a government medic, and was president of the Nagoya Medical School. In 1890 he was sent to Germany for further studies and became the head of the Department of Health in the Home Ministry on his return in 1892. Goto became later chairman of the South Manchurian Railways and head of the Bureau of Trade and Plantations, which was patterned on Great Britain's office governing colonial affairs. While he was mayor of Tokyo, the Great Kanto Earthquake struck in 1923. For the recovery, Goto came up with grand urban planning, but Japan didn't have enough resources and his plans had to be scaled down.

Western rule in bringing welfare to the conquered territory.<sup>24</sup> To underscore the importance of academic investigation and systematic analysis an interim survey society of the old Taiwanese manners and customs, the *Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai* was created in 1901 by an imperial edict and established by the office of the Governor-General of Taiwan in 1902, and was subsidized until its end in 1919. The Commission pre-dated the research on mainland China, conducted by the “Mantetsu Research Department” by some eight years, and represented Japan's first systematic effort to generate authoritative knowledge on contemporary Chinese society on the basis of information obtained in the field.<sup>25</sup> Just five years after the departure of the Civil Administrator Gotō Shinpei, his policies were overturned in favour for state and private companies to exploit the Aborigine territory. Getting access to economic resources Japanese declared all land not under cultivation officially as state property. By the year 1915, 122 aborigine villages had been destroyed for the price of nearly 10,000 soldiers of Japanese colonial forces and numerous lives of aborigines lost through warfare and starvation.<sup>26</sup>

Besides a series of research projects commissioned by the Governor-General, such as a land survey (1898-1904), a population survey (1905) and a forest survey (1910-1925), to support the effectively control of the population and natural resources in Taiwan, the *kyūkan chōsa* referred mostly in utilitarian terms as “the basis for engineering of the domination of the new land”.<sup>27</sup> Purpose was to understand

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24 The term *mission civilisatrice*, used by the French especially in the second half of the 19th century as a doctrine in their colonies, as well as the adapted English phrase, civilising mission, were later also used by Japanese colonial politicians. H. Fischer-Tiné / M. Mann (eds.), *Colonialism as Civilizing Mission: Cultural Ideology in British India*, London 2004, p. 4.

In Japanese: Bunmei no shimei. See for example: Shinpei Gotō, *Nihon shokumin seisaku ippan* “The colonial policy of Japan”, Tokyo 1914, p. 47

25 The South Manchurian Railway Company - Mantetsu - was famous for large-scale accumulation of open source information since the prewar period. Many of its open source intelligence reports were released at the bimonthly magazine *Contemporary Manchuria*. The company recruited Russians, Germans, and Americans as agents and also was involved in joint projects with the Kwantung Army, though these were not directly related to its intelligence gathering and operational activities.

See Akihiko Maruya: *The South Manchuria Railway Company as an Intelligence Organization*, Report of the csis Japan chair, Center for Strategic and International Studies, February 2012

26 Friedman, P. Kerim, ‘Entering the Mountains to Rule the Aborigines: Taiwanese Aborigine Education and the Colonial Encounter’, in *Becoming Taiwan: From Colonialism to Democracy*, ed. by Ann Heylen and Scott Sommers, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010, p.25

The Beipu Uprising, in 1907 was one of the first of an armed local uprising against the Japanese rule, and led to others over the following years. A group of insurgents from the Hakka and Saisiyat indigenous groups in Hokuho, Shinchiku Chō (modern-day Beipu, Hsinchu County), attacked Japanese officials and their families. In retaliation, Japanese military and police killed more than 100 Hakka people.

The Truku-Japanese War of 1914 was the culmination of Japan's 20-year campaign to disarm and assert sovereignty over Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples. This 100-postcard set provides an intimate photographic portrait of camp life, logistics, battles, terrain, and Japanese interactions with Taiwanese conscripts, allies, enemies, and objects of ethnographic interest. From May to August of 1914, the government deployed 3108 soldiers, 3127 police, and 4840 laborers (over 11,000 people) against a Truku population of roughly 10,000 people. The goal was to avenge previous uprisings and to finalize the conquest of the island colony. After burning several Truku villages, taking prisoners, confiscating rifles, and killing countless combatants, the Japanese declared victory on August 23, 1914.

The Tapani incident in 1915 was one of the biggest armed uprisings by Taiwanese Han and Aborigines against Japanese rule in Taiwan. The similarities between the rhetoric of the leaders of the Tapani uprising and the Righteous Harmony Society of the recent Boxer Rebellion in China were not lost on Japanese colonial authorities, and subsequently, the colonial government paid more attention to popular religion and took steps to improve on colonial administration in southern Taiwan. The aborigines carried on with violent armed struggle against the Japanese while Han Chinese violent opposition stopped after Tapani.

The massacre of 134 Japanese by Seediq Aborigines on October 27, 1930, in what is now referred to as the Wushe Incident, shattered illusions that the Mountain Aborigines had become willing Japanese subjects. The leader of the rebellion was Mona Rudao (1882-1930), who was one of many Aborigine leaders who had been taken on tours of Japan in order to impress them with the power and superiority of the Japanese state. Wushe, Nantou County, where the Aborigine uprisings in 1930 claimed 134 Japanese lives, including 60 children under the age of 13. Along with two Taiwanese people who were mistakenly killed because they were wearing Japanese dress.

Hanaoka Ichirō and Hanoka Jirō – two “model aborigines” who had been given Japanese names and educated by the Japanese since they were children – were thought to have played central roles in the uprising. If such civilized aborigines – who had experienced years of cultural assimilation policies – could still rise up against the Japanese colonizers and become “violent natives,” then perhaps the colonial government was overconfident about its achievements.

See: Paul Barclay: *Outcasts of Empire: Japan's Rule on Taiwan's "Savage Border," 1874-1945*, University of California Press, 2017

27 Cheng-chen Cheng: *Tai Wan Da Diao Cha Investigations of Taiwan: Researches on the Rinji Taiwan Kyuukan Chousakai*, Taipei County: BoyYoung, 2005, p.13.



and investigate the old Taiwanese manners and customs as an essential part to the successful administration and development of the Empire's newly acquired territory. The intention of the investigation was to help making economic policies, and coordinating the executive branch, legislature, and judiciary. The first branch of the survey was led by Okamatsu Santarō (1871-1921) and addressed Taiwanese manners and customs, the food, dress, houses, activities, folk customs, and religious beliefs of the island's inhabitants.<sup>28</sup> The investigation of Taiwan's legal customs would help the authorities to strengthen its control over the island's population and to clarify especially property rights to trade and tax that land under the new regime.

Naoya Aihisasawa organized the second division by investigating the economy in the *Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai*.<sup>29</sup> The second division was to concentrate on economic activities. The information the commission gathered was to aid not only the collection of commercial tax but also to help identify areas of potential growth. During the period of its operation, the *kyūkan chōsa* produced multiple volumes on internal security and financial viability as indigenous people, habits and customs, and investigations of the economy. But the main purpose, making specific colonial law in Taiwan, was eventually ended by a new policy, which considered Taiwan not as colony but as an extension of Japan not requiring its own legal system.

In terms of traditional Japanese Sinology the research methodology differed substantial when beside the collection of historical records an intense field research to ascertain customs was not subordinated to historical or archival sources. Nevertheless the reports reflect the interests of its political patron with its main topics regarding property *zaisan* and kinship *jinji*, showing the Government-General's interest in maintaining a firm control over the land and the people of Taiwan.

It was a contradicting debate, if Taiwan should be treated as an extension of the inner country, as an outer country or as a colony. The General Government enforced the idea of an assimilation policy and subsequently, the island population were generally understood as "Japanese" but not equated with "domestic" naichijin Japanese. Especially in the Chinese population resistance to discrimination developed, and Taiwanese intellectuals increasingly demanded the recognition of at least the Han-Chinese part of the island as "Japanese".<sup>30</sup>

Soon after the annexation the Taiwanese government abolished the punishment of flocking from Qing dynasty for its barbarous nature.<sup>31</sup> But the aim to adapt the Japanese law to Taiwan was postponed

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28 Another task of this institute was to interpret the legal relations in old customs in Taiwan through the Western concept of legal rights derived from Western Roman law so that the "old customs" could be incorporated into the whole Westernized legal system of Japan.

29 Liang-Ping Yen: *Oriental Orientalism: Japanese formulations of East Asian and Taiwanese architectural history*, The University of Edinburgh, 2012

30 In 1914 the Jiyūtō, the "Taiwan-Assimilation Society" Taiwan Dōka-kai, was founded to advocate an acceleration of the assimilation of the population of Taiwan, thereby speeding up the concession of political equality and the establishment of a Taiwanese local parliament.

31 The "Three Vices" considered by the Office of the Governor-General to be archaic and unhealthy were the use of opium, foot binding, and the wearing of queues.

In 1921, the Taiwanese People's Party accused colonial authorities before the League of Nations of being complacent in the addiction of over 40,000 people, while making a profit off opium sales. To avoid controversy, the Colonial Government issued the New Taiwan Opium Edict on December 28, and related details of the new policy on January 8 of the following year. Under the new laws, the number of opium permits issued was decreased, a rehabilitation clinic was opened in Taihoku, and a concerted anti-drug campaign launched.

Foot binding was a practice fashionable in Ming and Qing dynasty China. Young girls' feet, usually at age six but often earlier, were wrapped in tight bandages so they could not grow normally, would break and become deformed as they reached adulthood.

In concert with community leaders, the Colonial Government launched an anti-foot binding campaign in 1901. The practice was formally banned in 1915, with violators subject to heavy punishment. Foot binding in Taiwan died out quickly afterwards.

when the General Governor reinstalled the “Fines and Flogging Ordinance” in 1904, subjected only to Chinese and Insulars. The temporal backshift concerned many scholars that the barbarous punishment would provoke barbarous behaviour. Disciplining itself remained in the discussion in the framework of modernisation, as it was part of the civilising mission and furthermore aimed at the control of each individual.

Relying on Western science evaluation, as many Japanese scholars argued, Taiwan was established as a disciplinary society with parallels to the British colonial criminal codes.<sup>32</sup> With the research by the “Commission for the Investigation of Laws and Customs” under Okamatsu Santarō about flogging practices in China, and the description by scientist Kobayashi Rihei about new scientified and modernised instruments for flogging, the Japanese Colonial Government did not simply take over the punishment model from the British colonial rule, nor did they modify Chinese knowledge on flogging. Rather, they undertook the strategy of the West of legitimizing certain punishment modes through the civilisation of native practices and adapted a very Japanese approach to it.<sup>33</sup>

Having been trained by German legal education, Okamatsu Santarō led the Survey Commission to develop the “Taiwanese Private Law” in accordance with the concepts and categories of Continental law tradition derived from Roman law. Consequently, from January 1 of 1923, the greater part of Japanese law was directly implemented in Taiwan and had finally been applied to the Taiwanese and all of the resident Japanese in Taiwan.

## Never Back to Red

Although Chinese bureaucrats, who claimed Taiwan as part of Qing Dynasty for hundreds of year attempted prior to Japanese occupation to introduce some modern facilities, such as railway in the 1880s and 1890s, it did not have very significant results until very end of their rule.<sup>34</sup> However, soon after the Japanese colonial enterprise started the Japanese introduced various modern infrastructures despite some resistance of the colonial rule. In the concern of sanitation and health, which had the functional reason of problems to adopt to the climate, the British sanitation expert William K. Burton, who was employed by the Japanese government since 1887 to teach in Japan, was transferred from 1896 to 1899 to colonial Taiwan.<sup>35</sup> In 1898 Gotō Shinpei invited Tsuboi Jirō to conduct an official investigation of hygienic conditions in Taiwan, which indicated in his report that the environment and human habits in Taiwan presented a great opportunity to study many diseases such as cholera, plague, or malaria. In

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The Colonial Government took comparatively less action on queues. While social campaigns against wearing queues were launched, no edicts or laws were issued on the subject. With the fall of the Qing dynasty in 1911, the popularity of queues also decreased.

32 D. Botsman: *Punishment and Power in the Making of Modern Japan*, Princeton 2005, p. 212.

33 R. Kobayashi: *Shina reiritsu ni okeru chikei shi* [History of flogging in Chinese law], in: *Taiwankanshūkiji* 4, 23 March 1904, pp. 10-26. He presented a modernised whip and a kind of cruciform construction which was also a modernised version of its Chinese predecessor and remodelled in Japan itself after intense investigations by an appointed team of scientists. To avoid problems with the execution a Japanese scientist even suggested constructing machines which would take over the execution of flogging and make it even more ‘modern’.

Taiwansōtokufu (ed.), *Taiwan sōtokufu keisatsu enkaku shi*, *Journal on the history of the governmental police in Taiwan*, 5 vol., Tokyo 1986 [1933–1944], v. 4, p. 938. in Nadine Heé: *Japan’s Double Bind: ‘Civilised’ Punishment in Colonial Taiwan*, *Comparativ | Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 19, 2009, Heft 1, p. 71–87.

34 The railway was re-arranged and laid since the beginning of the colonization. A concern in which Japan secretly investigated even before colonialism. See T. Yanaihara and M. Lin. *Taiwan under the Japanese Empire*, Wu San-Lian *Taiwan Shihliao Jijin Hwei*, 2004

35 C. Lue: *Research on the Influence of Modernity by Sanitation Engineer William Kinninmond Burton in Taiwan’s Cities during the Japanese Governance of Taiwan*, Christian Chung Yuan University Master Thesis, 1999.

questions of acclimatization this was of great political significance to conduct the long-term presence of Japanese in such an tropical disease environment. How was it possible for Japanese to acclimatize their bodies to the new surroundings, and in what ways their medical practices could be adapted to suit the new environment to assess their own lifestyle in relation to that of their subjects.<sup>36</sup>

According to the worries about sanitation in the tropics by European physicians in following years, the public health investigations were extended from general observation to specific studies, from supervising living habits to physical measurements of population. Stricken from the loss of soldiers during the Sino-Japanese War due to epidemic reasons the Japanese were eager to install medical reforms to improve the survival chances of the Japanese in Taiwan, which on the other hand the Taiwanese gradually enjoyed as benefits of advanced modern medicine.<sup>37</sup>

With Colonial Governor-General Kodama Gentaro and Civilian Governor Goto Shinpei the island was incorporated into the economy of Japan, its enhanced concept of nation-state and the Japanese modernisation process which took place. First, there was an efficient organisation and carefully planned policies to control the people and the territory, which was accompanied by an intense scientific research effort. The second investment was the organized production of capitalism, a process of industrialization that created a new urban experience for administration, distribution and consumption. The urban construction of the colonial cities began by building the required infrastructure, taking on the British colonial style. More than seventy "modern" cities and towns based on Western prototypes and their derivative models, as roads and train tracks were built and reconstructed. Underpinning these policies with social Darwinism, Taiwan was made a model within the Japanese colonial empire.

Dominating the urban space, the new colonial structures transformed the city in the constitution of modernity, and optimized the territory for commodity exchange and industrialisation. The monumental space, surrounding the new administrative buildings, characterized by Western classical tradition, advocated the reasons of modern civilization and civilized life. The city planning, the spectacular building and the urban facilities, comforting Japanese, were necessary conditions for colonial rule, and to invite immigrants to settle permanently. Despite the undeniable contribution to the foundation of Taiwan's modernisation, after all, these physical constructions by the Japanese government were beside there functional purpose a statement to secure the ultimate goal of establishing an inalienable overseas colony. For Gotō, the adopted British colonial style of impressing the natives was to distinguish the present colonial authority from the past authority in Taiwan as one of the main methods of persuasion. Further than the impressive public architecture offset by large streets and parks he even suggested that all civilian officials wear uniforms and live in a designated compound under proper health supervision to enhance the former's status and authority.<sup>38</sup>

In an creative destruction of consisting living structures and mentality the new urban forms expressed

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36 Tsuboi Jirō: Sanitation in Taiwan, *Journal of Taiwan Association* 1:4, 1899, p.5-15

37 Gotō joined the Home Ministry's medical bureau in 1883 and was sent in 1890 by the Japanese government to Germany for further studies. While at the ministry, he published his *Principles of National Health* and took part in the creation of new sewage and water facilities in Tokyo. After his return, then Army Vice-Minister Kodama Gentarō, made Gotō chief of the Army Quarantine Office looking after the return of more than 230,000 soldiers from the First Sino-Japanese War (1895-95).

38 Chang, Han-Yu and Myers, Ramon H., 'Japanese Colonial Development Policy in Taiwan, 1895-1906: A Case of Bureaucratic Entrepreneurship', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 22:4, 1963, p.438

the new national spirit and transformed drastically the city by erasing its memories. An administrative centre with key buildings located at the north and facing the south during the Qing Dynasty, was changed by the Japanese to facing the new buildings toward east, for worshipping the rising sun, in a Japanese manner. The area surrounding the Governor General House was completely restructured as directions of the roads within the city were reformulated, temples were replaced and traditional buildings were decomposed. To control the public space, police stations were strategically positioned, dominating civil society, and excluding politics as well as its protagonists.<sup>39</sup> From this point of Japanese rule onwards the status and numbers of police were very high. In this concern with control the police chief was empowered in emergencies to direct the prefectural heads in his area.<sup>40</sup>

Mainly used to house the Japanese royal family when they visited Taiwan, the construction costs of the Governor General's Office generated quite a debate at the Imperial Diet in Japan who had to fund the building. With its European looking red brick Renaissance style, designed by Japanese architect Moriama Matsunosuke (1869-1949), the structure was more grandiose than the Imperial Palace of Japan.<sup>41</sup> The ancestral temples of the the two largest families in Taiwan had to be relocated for the project, as it was a pure demonstration of power to gain the respect of the people as part of official propaganda of the Japanese colonialism.<sup>42</sup>

The authority of the classical forms and building materials represented in the Asian context a form of constructed modernity, paralleling the authority of the military regime. This variation of architectural language was the specificity of the double transplantation from Western standard and its Japanese interpretation as a way of considering architecture as a communication framework of colonial and imperial dominance, a visualisation of political change.<sup>43</sup>

Brick use existed before the Japanese colonial period, but the new government, used it in the way which was practiced in westernised Japan despite its real constructional need. Although many construction built by the Japanese shows the surface of bricks themselves, some had structural frames of reinforced concrete or other structures. The tiles, used for these projects were the same kind of material as actual bricks, with similar size of 110mm by 60mm, and an also unglazed surface. Difficult to distinguish it from actual brick, when applied on the surface. The classical red brick design was used as a colonial shell, hiding the new techniques of reinforced concrete which became the fashion in construction as well as a symbol of modernity for those who favoured progress in building development. The method was many years ahead of its time and was a pioneering feat for the whole of Asia. It was used as early as 1901 in the structure of the colonial governor-general's residence in Taipei, at the recom-

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39 Taipei's former Public Hall was rebuilt in 1931-1935 as a memorial to the ascendancy of the Japanese Emperor. Although it was called the Public Hall, with a hall, restaurant, VIP room and assembly hall, it had the police headquarter on its left side, performing the colonial state function of monitoring the public. Chu-joe Hsia: *Theorizing colonial architecture and urbanism: building colonial modernity in Taiwan*, *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, Volume 3, Number 1, 2002, p.12

40 Ts'ai. Hui-Yu Caroline, 'Engineering the Social or Engaging "Everyday Modernity"?: Interwar Taiwan Reconsidered', In *Becoming Taiwan: From Colonialism to Democracy*, ed. by Ann Heylen and Scott Sommers, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010, p.100

41 Goto Shimpei's son-in-law Tsurumi Yusuke: "How can you know the nobleness of the emperor without seeing his mansion?" In order to rule this species, grand of cial building has the pacifying function', quoted from Chen Zhiwu. Chen analysed this issue in detail (Chen Zhiwu 1988a, 1988b, p 244-248.

42 In fact, the governor general himself lived in a Japanese-style house built right next to the residence.

43 As colonial expressions of power, the Korean Governor House and the Taiwan's Governor House were different. The vertical and grand building in Seoul represented an authority characterized by the western classical tradition, and created an impression of direct confrontation and violent repression, which persistently stimulated Korean nationalist nerves.

mendation of the building's civil engineer, Togawa Yoshitarō, who helped also in 1905 to design the first reinforced concrete floor in Taiwan in the Government-General's Research Institute. In 1908 the Taipei Telephone Exchange became the first building completely constructed from reinforced concrete.

When the use of red brick-like tile resulted from convenient consideration of facade design and structural arrangement the change to yellow and/or brown surface had another reason. In colonial Taiwan, the change of tile colour was an index of the modernization of material uses in terms of seismic consideration, owed to the Kanto earthquake and the architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright. His famous Imperial Hotel in Tokyo, which was finished short before, was one of the few remaining buildings which survived the disaster. Cladded with yellow scratched brick, it became a role-model of modern construction which affected not only Japan but also Taiwan, as the buildings finished after the late 1920s in the colony had yellow or brown surface. They went almost never back to red.<sup>44</sup>

In generally these new facilities have been erected for the sake of the Japanese in Taiwan, to persuade the citizens and impress the foreigners, but once the policy of assimilation had been adopted the Taiwanese became able to participate equally in activities held in these new buildings. Compared with traditional Taiwanese buildings, the formal expression of these public building had not only in aesthetic terms a new meaning. Also the political level of the public space changed when the lifestyles of the people became diversified and enhanced.<sup>45</sup>

## **Economical Maturity**

When Japan was building up its own infrastructure, the colony was estimated to be too costly for poor Japan, and demands were made that the government should sell Taiwan back to the Chinese or France, which was interested.<sup>46</sup> Japan was seen as an imperialist without capital, and the heavy subsidies would impose a weighty burden on the finances of the domestic government. The acquisition of Taiwan was described by some as a luxury that Japan could ill afford and the large expenditures during the early years of colonial rule proofed Taiwan as a burden on the national treasury.

With the economy and military in Japan still under development, the acquisition of colonies had to supplement their own slender resource base, giving a boost to the economy of the homeland. Therefore economically, Taiwan was an agricultural supplier with its industries and markets under Japan's control. The improvement of Taiwan's infrastructure and communication were founded on the basis to fa-

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44 Also the Tokyo Station, which was built in reinforced brick, survived the earthquake.

The original main library of the Taihoku Imperial University (now the Gallery of NTU University), completed in 1931, and the Chia-Yi Station, completed in 1933, were built in reinforced concrete and clad with yellow respectively brown tile. Reinforced concrete was the construction method not only for the frame but also for the walls.

See Nan-Wei Wu and Chao-Ching Fu: Tile Application as the Indication of Modernization in Colonial Taiwan, DOI: 10.7763/IPEDR. 2012. V54. 44, pp.215-219

45 Other than the Western buildings which shaped the identity of the colony, the colonizer and the colonized on different levels, the Japanese authorities erected memorials in places that bore historical or spiritual meaning to the colonialists. Monuments in places where Japanese troops landed in their effort to conquer Taiwan in 1895, where the Ryukyans were murdered by the Aborigines in 1871, or 38 monuments were erected in memory of Prince Kitashirakawa Yoshihisa who died in Tainan after coming down with malaria. Due to his affiliation with the royal family, all major battlefields and places he stayed overnight became sacred sites for the Empire. The visit of Crown Prince Hirohito in 1923 led to several more memorials. Even in places where many construction workers lost their lives. By 1942 613 Shinto shrines were built, but most of these were removed through anti-Japanese policies put in place after colonization ended. Most of them were rebuilt as National Revolutionary Martyrs Shrines.

46 Taiwan regularly consumed 7 percent of the Japanese national budget from 1895 to 1902. To reduce the colony's fiscal drain on Japan, the Taiwan governor-generalship established a government monopoly on camphor, opium, and salt. In subsequent years camphor alone supplied from 15 to 25 percent of the revenue of the colonial state. Robert Thomas Tierney: *Tropics of Savagery: The Culture of Japanese Empire in Comparative Frame*, University of California Press, 2010, p.39

cilitate the production and export of farming and later, industrial goods. This was not done out of benevolence. Since Kodama headed the office, the export of food and raw materials to Japan, was developed to augment Japan's power for economic warfare. This mechanism of unequal exchange between producing agricultural products and demanding industrial products shaped the commercial and industrial dependency between the colonized and colonizer. The ties between the coastal ports of the two countries became stronger than those within Taiwan's own territory. Colonial capitalism formed a dual structure of society with a relatively unchanged productive relation among Han people and oppressed indigenous people who took not part at agricultural labour. However, by the time Gotō left office, the colony was economically independent and by 1905 no longer required the support of the home government, despite the numerous large-scale infrastructure projects being undertaken.

Despite the modernisation by inviting eminent scholars and specialists in various fields, Gotō promoted an iron policy. Nitobe Inazō, famous author of *Bushido*, who studied economics and political science for three years at Johns Hopkins University and completed his doctorate degree in agricultural economics after three years in Halle University in Germany, was recruited by Gotō to develop long-range plans for forestry and sub-tropical agriculture in Taiwan. Short after he published "Bushido, The Soul of Japan" Nitobe headed the Sugar Bureau in 1901 as technical advisor to plan sugar-cane production in Taiwan.<sup>47</sup>

However, after Goto's departure, his gradualist policies were overturned in favour of a more aggressive military intervention that would allow for state and private companies to profit from the exploitation of the Aborigine territory. In 1920 the Taidong Exploitation Corporation was established with the goal of bringing in 1,300 settlers within the next four years. These settlers entered into contracts with the sugar corporation which guaranteed the factories a steady supply of raw materials and the farmers a guaranteed market for their produce. The settlers were also expected to take part in military campaigns against the Aborigines.<sup>48</sup>

While under Gotō no formal "reservations" were established, the Japanese government built an armed guard line around most of the central mountain core of the island. The guard line kept the aborigines out of the region where Chinese workers were growing camphor and other. In 1931, over 5,000 policemen (nearly half of the entire police force) were stationed in this areas, with most of them being Chinese.<sup>49</sup>

The modernity Gotō imported into Taiwan was based on scientific investigation of the local customs and institutions, persuasion through impressing the locals, and what was called 'biological politics', his Japanese interpretation of social Darwinism adapted for colonisation.

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47 Considering Colonialism as component of internationalism, Nitobe introduced in his writings a new form of knowledge about the country's imperialist expansion. Nitobe Inazō (1862-1933) was together with Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901) and Okakura Kakuzō (1863-1913) one of the main leading intellectuals shaping Japanese identity at that time. Short after the end of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905 he was dispatched to Korea on October 9, 1906.

48 Christopher L. Salter: *The geography of marginality: A study of migration, settlement, and agricultural development in the rift valley of eastern Taiwan*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis University of California, Berkeley, 1970, p. 64-65

Due settlement policies between 1903 and 1939 some 23% of the total Aborigine population moved.

John F. Thorne: *Pangcah: The evolution of ethnic identity among urbanizing pangcah aborigines in Taiwan*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis University Of Hong Kong, 1997, p.129f

49 Ching-chih Chen: *Police and community control systems in the empire*. In *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*. Ed. Ramon H Myers and Mark R Peattie. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1984, p.229

As many of his contemporaries, he had a programmatic notion of modernity as a project of steady improvement. His colonial policy was serving a broader purpose of a forced evolution on the part of the colonised. Bringing civilisation to the moribund Chinese as seen through the eyes of a doctor, meant to establish institutions such as technical and medical schools and public health agencies. Promoting education and public health was an integral part of Japan's assimilation policy as cultural development and political behaviour. With the colonial government as a civilizing force the colonies would foster human progress and with time they could become a part of the main body of Japan. But to become genuinely Japanese, Taiwanese would have to adapt progress on both material and cultural fronts, implying a special relationship with a divinely descended emperor. This goal entailed a process that destined them to be culturally incorporated over a period of time and served the purpose of liberating the native population from their backwardness and prepare them to participate in the modern world that Japan promised.<sup>50</sup>

Japanese developed their own cosmology with themselves at the centre of the civilized universe, as part of escaping Asia and resisting the West by hybridizing Japanese identity. As result Asia was seen inferior to the hybrid Japan.<sup>51</sup>

### **Educational Principles**

Whilst education on all levels became an important tool of control for the colonial government, it gave many Formosans benefits they never previously enjoyed. Primary education became mandatory for the entire native population, irrespective of class and gender but differed in the mandatory curriculum.<sup>52</sup> Therefore education, the means to becoming 'Japanese,' was necessarily segregated between the Taiwanese (Han Chinese) and the aboriginal population from the Japanese children.

Goal was to equip the students with the disciplines, skills and attitudes required to become an efficient workforce that could advance Japan's national goals of modernization and on the other side to turn them into loyal subjects of the empire. Within the educational curriculum, the Japanese national language *kokugo* and imperial morals *shūshin* were the most important subjects. Traditionally for girls, the most common way to be educated was home schooling, aimed at cultivating their womanly virtues of obedience and chastity through study of classical texts. Some educational opportunities for lower-class and aboriginal women were provided by missionaries, where they also followed an educational model to train women for domestic tasks as wives and mothers.

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Since the aim of colonial education was to improve productivity and secure obedience, the education-

50 Heylen, Ann, 'Reflections on Becoming Educated in Colonial Taiwan', In *Becoming Taiwan: From Colonialism to Democracy*, ed. by Ann Heylen and Scott Sommers, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010, p.149

51 Sakamoto, Rumi, 'Japan, hybridity and the creation of colonialist discourse', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 13:3, 1996, p.114

52 The Japanese believed that it was necessary to institute different schools for aborigines and the mandatory curriculum for aborigine schools only included ethics, Japanese, and arithmetic, with agriculture, manual training, and singing as electives. Compared to the curriculum for Taiwanese children, the aborigines "have no need of Chinese classics, Science, and Commerce." Thus, the education imposed on aborigines was consistent with the Japanese view of them as needing to be initiated into basic "civilization" through Japanese mediation. After graduating from primary schools, the aboriginal population, girls and boys, had limited, if any, choices in continuing their education. Taiwanese boys had more options than Taiwanese girls and the aboriginal population: middle school, high school, vocational schools, professional schools, and later the Taihoku Imperial University, in which they were at first segregated from the Japanese but later officially mixed with the Japanese boys.

Department of Educational Affairs of the Government-General of Formosa, Japan: *A Review of Educational Work in Formosa*, 1916, p.39

al system comprised primary, secondary, vocational schools, and institutes of higher learning only on a limited scale. Education for native Taiwanese was ordered upon arrival of the second Governor-General, Katsura Tarō in 1896, and primary education became mandatory for the entire native population, irrespective of class and gender. Compared to the curriculum for Taiwanese children, the aborigines were only initiated into basic “civilization” through Japanese mediation.<sup>53</sup> The first school for aborigine kids opened in 1904 and was run by the police. Their mandatory curriculum only included ethics, Japanese, and arithmetic, with agriculture, manual training, and singing as electives. While Mountain Aborigines received only the most basic education, for the most part they did little more than teach the Japanese language to children of the Aborigine leaders. Despite that the secondary and post-secondary educational systems were established primarily for the Japanese, with an increasing number of the native population entering the public educational system, a growing portion of students became familiar with Western cultures and values.

In 1919 the “Taiwan Education Rescript” was issued under the edict of integration and equality designed to make the colonized useful subjects to the Japanese emperor, the arts and humanities were increasingly emphasized as a means to tame the Taiwanese. The Ordinance on Education of 1922, also called the Integration Ordinance, revised the Ordinance of 1919. The main transformation was the desegregation on all levels of schools so that both Taiwanese and Japanese children could attend. Theoretically, the curriculum between common schools for Taiwanese children and elementary schools for Japanese children became the same, except for the language of instruction. From now on Taiwanese children could also attend elementary schools and Japanese children could attend common schools. Compared to the highly selective trial admission in the 1919 Ordinance, the 1922 Ordinance actually allowed more Taiwanese students into Japanese elementary schools, although the number was still low.

In contrast to the espoused colonial ideal of assimilation articulated in policies such as the integration edict of 1922, modernization of the education system was designed to maintain Japanese ascendancy, with emphasis on fostering loyalty to Japan through moral education and Japanese language training. The Japanese language was used as an effective measure to promote Japanese ideas and to raise the loyalty of the Taiwanese population. The island-wide language education was a prerequisite for Japanese administration and one of the most obvious targets for Japan’s social reform. Education became an instrument of colonial rule both for turning the islanders into loyal subjects of the empire and for equipping them with the disciplines, skills and attitudes required to create an efficient workforce that could advance Japan’s national goals of modernization.

Inspired by the liberal spirit of the 1912-1925 Taisho era wealthy Taiwanese were encouraged to study in Japan. This was a subtle attempt by the Japanese to encourage the Taiwanese gentry to identify with Japan whilst allowing them to see the superiority of the mainland first hand. After living in Japan the students were supposed to begin their own process of modernization in their homeland, a concept quite approved by Japanese students going in the West on governmental sponsorship since

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<sup>53</sup> The Provisional Office for the Department of Educational Affairs was established two weeks after the first Governor-General landed on Taiwan in 1895. Several days later, Izawa Shuji (1851-1917), the first Director of the Department of Educational Affairs for the colonial government, founded the first Japanese language school in Taihoku, targeting elite children and young men.



Meiji restoration. In many ways, those students left traces on modern Taiwanese public culture, particularly in the print media, art movements, lifestyles, social thought, and political institutions. Taiwanese intellectuals of the period often used Japanese as a means to acquire skills and knowledge for modernisation, while at the same time cultivating their Chinese identities in order to resist Japanese influences. Prior to the outbreak of full war with China the approach of the colonial administration changed again towards full assimilation. Teaching of classical Chinese in common schools was repressed, as were Chinese newspapers and Taiwanese style clothes, while Japan aimed to build a *Shintō* shrine in every village. During the assimilation phase, the campaigns were accelerated to de-emphasise the cultural and historical roots of Taiwan in China to turn Taiwan into a strategic bastion against southern China and Southeast Asia. Following Japan's attack on China in 1937, the colonial government would redouble its efforts at patriotic education and mobilize the Taiwanese people in earnest. As a result, even the literati, who had been able to remain relatively disengaged in the colonial enterprise so far, would find themselves having to choose a side.

### **Cultural Transfer**

Forcing the Taiwanese to become Japanese and imperial subjects, still labeled them politically and socially as second-class citizens. Therefore they were deprived of their natural development of identity, mimes, and nationhood. Imposing Japanese culture and customs onto the Taiwanese and the aborigines was a gap between cultural identification and political discrimination, in terms of becoming Japanese and not having the rights of a Japanese citizen. This was beside the struggle against colonial violence and political and economic exploitation, a main issue which was forced by both, *dōka* assimilation and *kōminka* imperialisation.<sup>54</sup>

In this context two other players had an important role in forming and deforming Taiwanese self-consciousness and its equivocal relations to Japan. A residual Chinese culturalism loomed large in the consciousness of Taiwanese intellectuals throughout the colonial period and on the other hand the colonial Taiwanese identity formation had to deal with a more indirect source of the West as a cultural and political imaginary. Those "Others" were included in the construction of the Taiwanese consciousness. Japanese colonialism had to contend with these preexisting layers of cultural identities. Although Japanese culture was undeniably influenced by China, cultural policies were strategically deployed to construct and claim Japanese superiority. In the Japanese education of Taiwanese people during the period of assimilation, official actions in the cultural sphere frequently sought to restructure Taiwanese conceptions of identity. To legitimize Japanese rule, existing concepts about similarity and difference between Taiwan and Japan, respectively between Taiwan and China were revised. After the assimilation period, which lasted until 1937, cultural policies not only enabled but also encouraged colonized Taiwanese people to participate in activities that had tended to be reserved for Japanese citizens before. Emotional loyalty became idealized through iteration by the Japanese state, repeatedly manifested in stories, textbooks, cultural activities, and other tangible or intangible marks upon Taiwan's memory and landscape. Positioning the exercise of power in the social relationships expressed and

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<sup>54</sup> Leo T. S. Ching: *Becoming "Japanese": Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*, University of California Press, Jun 30, 2001, p.7

lived by everyday discourses and routine practices, Japanese regulated education, the arts, the media, literature, religion, language, even changing public rituals and spectacle.<sup>55</sup> Traditional customs were abolished, and local and health facilities were reformed to transform or change the social life of the Taiwanese. In addition to the spiritual cultivation, the Taiwan government also paid attention to the assimilation of external forms to shape the Taiwanese's identity of the imperial subject. The government began to encourage the Taiwanese to change their Chinese name into Japanese name. The "National Language Family" *kokugo katei* program started in 1937, and the "Name Changing Campaign" *kai-seimai* started in 1940. To speak Japanese was a privilege, not a requirement which carried a number of significant benefits and privileges, but the conditions for gaining certification were quite stringent. To gain this privileges they had to have demonstrated an enthusiastic commitment to becoming Japanese.<sup>56</sup>

To define identity by constructing history the established self-confidence of Taiwanese-Chinese culture was proofed by the commemorative exposition *Taiwan bunka sanbyaku nen* "Taiwan's Three Hundred Years of Culture." Held by the Tainan prefectural government in 1930, it displayed the earliest calligraphy of the island in addition to documents, artefacts and artworks of the previous three hundred years since the Dutch built *Casteel Zeelandia* in the 1630s. Taiwan's membership in the Japanese Empire was narrated by a variety of objects featuring Japan's colonial achievements in education, public health, industry, agriculture and the arts.<sup>57</sup>

In the mid-18th century, a small list of local painters and calligraphers who had studied at Confucian schools came to the fore. Lin Zhaoying (1739-1816) was considered the most renowned among native painters of the Qing period, equivalent to the predominating literati painters, visiting from China. In the early years of Japanese rule, Chinese-style schooling and art education were continued, but gradually the Japanese supremacy reconstructed Taiwan's cultural values and social frameworks. New cultural institutions redefined with colonial expositions and Western-style art salons the cultural identity of Taiwan between the competing influences of China and Japan.<sup>58</sup>

Art training was never a major concern in Japan's colonial education, despite that a handicraft and drawing course had been included as early as 1897 in the curriculum of one school and in 1912

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55 Improvements in quality of life as medical services and public hygiene came in hand with urban attractions, especially in the cities, where the Western practice of a seven-day week with regular days off created new concepts of leisure and new demands for weekend diversions.

In 1940 a Taiwanese women's clothing reform was propounded that enjoined women to adjust their changshan long garment into Western-style dresses and provided detailed instructions on how to make such alterations. According to these instructions, the collar could be cut low and altered to a Western style, the garment could be shortened, the sleeves could be elongated, the slits could be sewn closed, and a belt could be added, resulting in a Western-style one-piece.

Chinghsin Wu: Icons, Power, and Artistic Practice in Colonial Taiwan: Tsai Yun-yen's Buddha Hall and Boys' Day, *Southeast Review of Asian Studies* Volume 33 (2011), p.81

56 Wan-yao Chou: The kominka movement: Taiwan under wartime Japan, 1937- 1945, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis Yale University, 1991, pp.115-117

57 Taiwan shiryō shūsei, Collection of Historical Materials on Taiwan, Tainan Shiyakusyo, 1931

58 Sinologist Ozaki Hozuma (1874-1949) who lived in Taiwan more than forty years, included in his *Taiwan bunka shi setsu*, published in 1935 only two Taiwanese painters worthy of inclusion in his discussion of Taiwan's culture in the Qing period, Lin Jue and Lin Zhaoying. In his view, even prehistoric Formosan aboriginal art was more appealing than that of Qing-era Taiwan. He would point three Western-style Taiwanese painters, Chen Chengpo, Lan Yinding and Chen Zhiqi, along with sculptor Huang Tushui, as exemplifying the cultural achievement of Japanese colonization.

Ozaki Hozuma: *Shinchō jidai no Taiwan bunka* "Taiwan's Culture during the Qing Period". *Zoku Taiwan bunka shisetsu* "On Taiwan's Cultural History". ed. Taiwan bunka san byaku nen kinenkai. Taipei, 1931. pp.94-114, in Jen-Yi Lai: *Cultural Identity and the Making of Modern Taiwanese Painting during the Japanese Colonial Period (1895-1945)*, The University of Michigan 2008, p.39

in all common schools, its goal was to promote utilitarian skills.<sup>59</sup>

After 1910 drawing became an independent course, to that in Japanese primary schools, and by 1919 the aim of drawing courses was to foster the capacity of observation and to cultivate aesthetic sentiments and designing ability.

With Ishikawa Kinichirō (1871-1945), one of the most influential and esteemed art teacher arrived in October 1907. Hired as an interpreter for the colonial Governor-General he moved to Taiwan and stayed during two separate periods for a total of over eighteen years<sup>60</sup>. Starting as a part-time art and language teacher, he was the first Western-style painter to introduce the art of watercolour and the practice of sketching *en plein air*. To facilitate his teaching, he translated Japanese art textbooks into Chinese and found various art associations, among them the "Taiwan Watercolors" 1927, the "Graduate Institute of Western Painting" 1929, and "Studies in Taiwan Art" 1930. In his own watercolours done in the period, he glorified the conquest of the native in colonial encounters with realistic details of his exotic memories of aborigine peoples and objects.

Promoting cultural exchange, he expanded the artistic and cultural horizons of his pupils and organized in 1914 one of the first public exhibition with his artworks. Even after he left Taiwan in 1932 he was well remembered not only because his teaching, but that he also played the influential role of a juror for the Western Painting Division of the yearly official colonial salon founded in 1927.<sup>61</sup> After Ishikawa returned to Japan, Shiozaki Tōho (1886-1954), who taught art from 1921 to 1945, and served on the jury of all sixteen official salons, became the most influential Western-style painter in Taiwan.<sup>62</sup> Two other Japanese artists who became part of the Taiwanese art circle were Gōhara Kotō (1892-1962) and Kinoshita Seigai (1889-1988), both of whom were nihonga painters and arrived in 1917 respectively 1918.<sup>63</sup>

The first group exhibition were held in 1909 by the Western-style painting society *Shilankai* and by Taipei's high school faculty and students, showing their watercolours as there was no art school. Those early shows remained small in scale and appealed only to a small audience of mainly Japanese residents in Taiwan. This changed with a series of initiatives in colonial policy to create closer ties between Japanese occupiers and its colony. In 1927 a new official exhibition, modelled on the system of the large-scale Bunten exhibition held in Japan, respectively on the French Salon, was opened for the first time. In Korea, the same concept was inaugurated in 1922 as the *Senten* "The Korean Art Exhibition" (formally called *Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai*) and held until 1944. First entitled as "Taiwan Fine Arts

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59 The Fourth Primary School of Governor-General's National Language School established in 1897, had a curriculum designed exclusively for Japanese children and included subjects as reading, composition, calligraphy, arithmetic, natural sciences, singing, gymnastics, ethics, Japanese geography, Japanese history, drawing and sewing (for girls). Lin Manli, "Rizhi shiqi de shehui wenhua jizhi yu Taiwan meishu jiaoyu jindaihua guocheng zhi yangjiu," p.176 in Jen-Yi Lai: Cultural Identity and the Making of Modern Taiwanese Painting during the Japanese Colonial Period (1895-1945), The University of Michigan 2008, p.69

60 From 1907 to 1916, Ishikawa served as a translation officer at the colonial Army and taught part-time at Taipei High School and Taiwan Governor-General's National Language School. He escorted Governor-General Sakuma Samata on expeditions to the rural and mountain districts of Taiwan and produced numerous sketches of Taiwanese landscapes.

Yen Chuan-ying: Shuicai, zilan Ishikawa Kinichirō, Taipei Xiongshi, 2005, p. 36-38 in Jen-Yi Lai: Cultural Identity and the Making of Modern Taiwanese Painting during the Japanese Colonial Period (1895-1945), The University of Michigan 2008, p.71

61 Ishikawa sat as a juror from the first to the fifth salon until, in 1932.

62 He was teacher at Taipei First Middle School and Taiwan Governor-General's High School, with primarily Japanese students.

63 Kinoshita served on the jury of every colonial salon except those in 1932 and 1935. He was the only of the four who did not teach art in Taiwan schools.

Exhibition" *Taiwan Bijutsu Tenrankai* or Taiten, it opened on October 28, 1927 in an auditorium of an elementary school and became a major cultural event for the following sixteen years.<sup>64</sup> It was interrupted in 1937 when the second Sino-Japanese War began and was restored one year later as "Fine Arts Exhibition of Taiwan" *Sōtokufu Bijutsu Tenrankai* under direct supervision of the Education Bureau of the colonial government. It was the first exhibition including traditional *nihonga* style and modern *yōga* painting, open to Taiwanese and resident Japanese painters.<sup>65</sup> Well covered by newspapers, commented by serious art critics and awarded with various prizes, the show drew a great deal of attention. Furthermore the Japanese tradition of paying high respect to successful competitors and accordingly high status to notable artists was transplanted to Taiwan. The exhibition became the main channel prior to any institutions of private galleries for artists to be well known.

Despite its satisfying success for the participating artist, the framework so well established in Tokyo, was mainly a representation for Japan's cultural hegemony in Taiwan, creating a positive image of colonial rule and distracting Taiwanese from subversive political activities or cultural movements. A concept which failed at this time in Japan, when Proletarian Art, Surrealism and other Western influences questioned the cultural policy already.

For Taiwanese artists, the sole institutional authority, produced by the yearly governmental exhibition and held sway over the Taiwanese art scene, was another form of paternalism. Lacking a solid training and advanced art education, the art-sponsoring colonial government had at no point the intention to invest in a solid foundation, such as institutions of advanced art education and fine arts museums. To homogenize the artistic production even more with the imperial motherland, from the Second *Taiten* onward a faculty member of the Tokyo Fine Arts School was invited as jury member along with expatriate Japanese art teachers in Taiwan. Renowned *nihonga* painters including Matsubayashi Keigetsu (1876-1973), Yūki Somei (1875-1957) and Western oil painters as Kobayashi Mango (1870-1947), Umehara Ryūzaburō (1888-1986), Araki Jippo (1872-1944), Kawasaki Shōko (1886-1977), Wada Sanzō (1883-1967) and Fujishima Takeji (1867-1943) came from Japan to judge among mainly Japanese artist teachers who resided in Taiwan.<sup>66</sup> In 1932 and the following two years three young Taiwanese artist who had studied in Japan, Chen Jin (1907-1997), Liao Jichun (1902-1976) and Yan Shui-long (1903-1997) were appointed to serve as jurors.<sup>67</sup>

Nevertheless, for aspiring Taiwanese artists it was a chance to obtain official recognition and attract attention from both official and private circles, cutting across the colonial divide between Japanese and Taiwanese. With the rise of Western-style painting the technical knowledge of sketching, composition and the use of watercolour and oil pigments became the most significant nascent stage of Taiwanese modern art. Concepts, aesthetics and values originated from Japan during this period and imported like art books and magazines were completely new to first-generation Taiwanese novices. However, new

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64 Organized by the Taiwan Education Society, a semiofficial organization.

65 Sculpture, calligraphy and ink painting were excluded. The Western Painting (*Yōga*) Division exhibited watercolors and oil paintings. Traditional oriental paintings, such as "four gentlemen paintings" and paintings of the Northern and Southern schools were excluded.

66 Matsubayashi was jury member in 1928,29,34 and 39

67 Due to different reasons they were replaced by Fujishima and Umehara. See Wang Hsiu-Hsiung: *The Development of Official Art Exhibitions in Taiwan during the Japanese Occupation*, in Marlene J. Mayo, Thomas Rimer: *War, Occupation, and Creativity: Japan and East Asia, 1920-1960*, University of Hawaii Press, 2001, p.98

Encouraged by her Japanese art teacher, Chen Jin studied at the Tokyo Woman's Art School from 1925 to 1929 and exhibited at the first official exhibition in 1927 with three of her works. Also exhibited at the Teiten Imperial Art Exhibition in Tokyo from 1934 on, she earned reputation as talented youth artist.

genres, styles and the new paradigm of artist-as-creator with relative liberty and personal autonomy emerged through the official cultural filter well behind contemporary Western-style Japanese artists, with little access to Western sources.

For Taiwan's first generation of Western-style painters the introduction to new categories of Western-style and Japanese-style painting at the colonial art salons made clear that it was extremely difficult to pursue a painting career without a solid education in modern art. Denied by the colonial government and an imperialist discourse that favoured the metropolitan mother country over the indigenous colony, sojourns to Japan became a deep desire for aspiring Taiwanese youth, to get a training in the techniques of Western art, especially in the medium of oil pigments.

With a more enlightened civil governance giving way in 1919 and a young population with proper Japanese-language skills, more students left the colony to study in Japan. As the colonial government was not supposed to encourage the Taiwanese society to higher education, it was easier for Taiwanese to enter Japan's first-rate colleges and universities than to gain admission to the ethnically segregated institutions at home. In the short Teisho era (1912-1926) the modern Japanese cities found themselves in a cultural turmoil, absorbing Western influences like a sponge. Taiwanese students who just had learned to serve the interests of the Japanese regime, now had to come to terms with their identity issues as their self-consciousness was proved by Japan's society and its preconceptions of Taiwan.<sup>68</sup> Challenged to bridge the gap between themselves and their Japanese peers, those students found themselves in a state of oscillation and contradiction. With China as a remaining alternative, their desire for modernity was monopolized by Japan and many felt stronger attraction to the modern world epitomized by Tokyo. For the few art students who attended Japanese art schools, as thirty of them enrolled Tokyo School of Fine Arts, their lack of previous academic training in art, kept their thematic spectrum quite narrow as they had to work very hard in order to catch up with their Japanese classmates on a technical level.<sup>69</sup> In contrast, Taiwanese literati expressed themselves with a broader thematic spectrum and more explicitly addressed the contradictions and dark side of the colonial reality. Being in Japan, the earlier students been confronted with stereotypes, discrimination and predicaments stemming from the ignorance and ethnocentrism of the Japanese toward their colonial subjects. Between assimilation and stigmatization, many questioned their cultural identity and some tried to balance those experiences in their artwork.

Huang Tushui (1895-1930) became a legend and a Taiwanese culture hero when his work "Aboriginal Boy" was exhibited at the Second *Teiten* in Tokyo 1920. Categorized as a Japanized Orientalism, this honour was for many aspiring Taiwanese artists who shared a common conviction in making their way

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68 As the Japanese spoken by the Taiwanese sounded like a Kyushu accent, Taiwanese often pretended not to be a colonial subject and instead to be from outlying regions of Japan, like Fukuoka or Kyushu.

See the novels: Wu Zhuoliu: *Yaxiya de guer* (Orphan of Asia) ed. Chang Liangze, Taipei, Yuanjing, 1993, p.69 Wang Changxiong, "A Torrent," Yanji (Capon), ed. Zhong Zhaozheng and Ye Shitao, Taipei Yuanjin, 1979, p.279

69 During the colonial period, a total of 30 Taiwanese students studied at the Tokyo Fine Arts School. Eight students studied in the Sculpture Division, one in the Architecture Division, along with 21 students of painting, including 15 in the Western Painting Division and 6 in the "Zuga Shihan" Division (Art Teaching Division). Yoshida Chizuko: *Foreign Students at Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō, Part 2* Bulletin of the Faculty of Fine Arts, Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music 34 (1999), pp.118-24

For a survey of major Japanese art teachers in whose classrooms or studios the Taiwanese students studied during the period, see Li Qinxian, *Taiwan Meishu Licheng, Tracks of Taiwanese Art*, Taipei, Zili Wanbao, 1992, p.61-75.

into Japan's art institutions a great motivation. On the other hand, the sculpture of a naked boy playing a nose flute corresponded to the very concept of exotic taste, the curious Japanese eye expected from the colonized Other.<sup>70</sup> The combination of educated skills, like Western techniques, combined with a choice of local subject of matter, realistic observed, engaged and synthesized by academic idealization. For Huang, who was Han Chinese with only little experience in aboriginal life, the thematic colonisation of Formosa natives was borrowed from the Japanese interest on researching those natives with scientific methods. For his approach to express a Taiwanese distinctiveness he relied on the data and samples collected by the Japanese anthropologist Mori Ushinosuke hosted at the Taipei Museum, the predecessor of the National Taiwan Museum.<sup>71</sup> Despite or because his experiences in Tokyo, being put on a level with native aborigines of his homeland, he presented and represented the uncivilized, exotic Other to the Japanese audience. But he also imitated the colonial gesture, domesticating the savage by mastering modern art techniques.

The work "Street of Jiayi" by Chen Chengpo (1895-1947) exhibited at the Seventh *Teiten* in 1926 was the first painting by an Taiwanese artist to be accepted at an Imperial Salon. The simple composition of a townscape impressed the Japanese audience with its image of rural idyl combined with rows of modern electricity poles that flank the street. The painting was an antithesis to the consisting image of an uncultured rural society showing a leisure street life and the economic advancement of the colony.

Chen Chengpo was like most Taiwanese painters in Japan thrifty and determined to make the most of his time in Tokyo to enhance professional skills as modern artists. Concentrated on his academic pursuits he steered clear of Taiwanese student associations of a political nature and represented a imagery endorsed by the government which underpinned his professional credentials as modern artist.<sup>72</sup>

Liao Jichun (1902-1976), who graduated as art teachers at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts in 1927, presented at Taiwan's first colonial salon in the same year the first nude oil painting and in 1928 his "Courtyard with Banana Trees" was accepted at the Tokyo *Teiten*. For Japanese spectators, the luxuriant tropic verdancy of Taiwan's vegetation was new contrast, which became a prevailing theme in official, commercial and tourism-oriented portrayals of the island. Such stereotypical motifs of natural characteristics such as fauna and flora constructed mainly a Taiwanese distinctiveness with cultural ideologies embedded in Japanese colonialism.

For his first submission to the Imperial Salon in Tokyo, Chen Zhiqi (1906-1931) submitted a canvas showing a scene of his hometown Xizhi, formerly known for its scenery landscape and tea growing. In his painting the colonial transformation is depicted by industrial buildings referring to the coal mining and iron works industries which transformed the economic life and outlook of the town.

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70 On January 25, 1925, the president of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts Masaki Naohiko (1862-1940) gave a lecture at Taipei Government-General Business Academy entitled 'Exotic Tastes and the Culture of the Mother-land', where he said: What is it when we speak of exotic taste? It refers to whatever is alien to our eyes when we leave our native country and go to other countries.

Chuan-Ying Yen: *The Demise of Oriental-style Painting in Taiwan*, in Yûko Kikuchi: *Refracted Modernity, Visual Culture and Identity in Colonial Taiwan*, University of Hawaii Press, 2007, p.83

71 Designed in the Neoclassical style, the Taiwan Governor-General Museum was built to commemorate the completion of the first north-south longitudinal railway in 1908. The museum housed over 10,000 artefacts on Taiwan and was relocated to the new building in Taipei Park in 1915.

72 In contrast Taiwanese literary counterparts expressed themselves with a broader thematic spectrum and more explicitly addressed the colonial reality.

Together with Chen Chengpo, Chen Zhiqi founded with five other art students the first Taiwanese native artist association in Taipei in 1926, called *Seven Stars* (1926-1929).<sup>73</sup> After a merger with the art association Red Sun, they renamed the group Red Island, consisting of the major Taiwanese artists of Western painting. With most of them, trained at the Tokyo Fine Arts School they worked under the distinct impact of Impressionism and Post-impressionism, with annual exhibitions until 1933.<sup>74</sup> In November 1934 several artists, mostly Yoga painters, formed the Taiyang Fine Arts Association to held annual exhibits with solely Taiwanese jurors.

Only a couple of Taiwanese artist had the opportunity to visit and study in the West. Most of their understanding was filtered by Japanese perception, reproductions in art books and magazines and a few exhibitions of original works. When the more progressive artists in Japan, discuss Surrealism, Dada, Constructivism and Avant-garde, often based on self-experience in Berlin and Paris, the Japanese-educated Taiwanese artists found themselves in the dilemma of constructing cultural identities by acquiring the new culture in order to revitalize the old and the native. Even after a couple decades of implementing assimilation policy with the adoption of languages, name, and behaviour, only a small fraction among six million Taiwanese were incorporated into the Japanese Empire. Those upper class elites faced a misplaced identity, differentiated from the other classes. The second hand modernity transferred from Japan, combined with the privilege to travel back and forth between colonizers and colonized, shaped a dilemma of ambivalence but also formed those complex cultural interactions that characterized colonial Taiwan. To be on the periphery of a rising empire, which also struggled to find identity and purpose, raised more questions than answers for Taiwan's intellectual life. Taiwanese artists revealed the coexistence of those influences in their consciousnesses of multiple identities. As an aspiring modern artist, as an educated modern human, as a Taiwanese, as a Han Chinese or, in some instances, as a Japanese subject. The reflection of this multiple influences was to become a significant attribute which had to be given concrete form by modern artists.

### **Trapped in Stereotypes**

Taiwan as "Oriental Other" to modern Japan was either preconceived as a degenerate version of China's glory or fell under the category of an tropical island, inhabited by headhunting savages. The construction as an primitive outland was rendered by postcards for official propaganda, showing exotic customs and festivals. For the main period of colonisation the focus of the uniformed occupants was to show Japanese efforts in domestication for imperial exploitation, civilising an unspoiled habitat.

Photography served as the most powerful scientific tool for permanent and systematic classification of races to be measured, rituals to be recorded, and exhibited like biological specimen. The promotion of

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<sup>73</sup> The seven members of the Seven Stars were Chen Zhiqi, Chen Chengpo, Ni Jianghuai, Chen Yingsheng, Lan Yinding, Chen Chengfan and Chen Yinyong.

<sup>74</sup> In 1933 the group was dissolved for political reason. Led by Chen Zhiqi, Red Island consisted of major Taiwanese painters of Western painting. Except Ni Jianghuai, ChenYingsheng and Lan Yinding, 13 of them studied art in Japan, including 11 at the Tokyo Fine Arts School: Chen Zhiqi, Chen Chengpo, Liao Jichun, Yen Shuilong, Chen Chengfan, Guo Bochuan, Li Meishu, Chen Huikun, Chang Qiuhai, Fan Hongjia, Chang Shunqing.

See Jen-Yi Lai: Cultural Identity and the Making of Modern Taiwanese Painting during the Japanese Colonial Period (1895-1945), The University of Michigan 2008, p.108

this new technology followed the assumption that a photograph could stand in as a prototype for the visual representation of races, which added scientific credence to curatorial efforts to preserve them for eternity as factual knowledge. Those anthropological photography came along with material objects to be regarded as objective raw data to be analysed and displayed. Japanese scholars, who learned the science of anthropology in the late nineteenth century soon “nationalized” this science to bear on the aboriginal population of Taiwan.<sup>75</sup>

The “Journal of the Tokyo Anthropological Society” *Tōkyō jinrui gakkai zasshi* published its first image beside written text in June 1903 and its first Taiwan related photograph in February 1907. The scientific research in Taiwan as a whole relied heavily upon illustrations to convey information about material culture, archaeology, customs and manners. With his images anthropologist Torii Ryūzō who was the premier authority supported the Colonial Government policies of racial theories. Being the first with a camera he made his native subjects conducting activities such as hunting, weaving, fishing, and pottery making, in staged scenes. Torii consciously manipulated his subjects and background scenery to make the aborigines look more like living primitive specimens. His photographs mostly depict young men in active poses while native women remain objects of desire and romance typically engaged in passive activities such as day dreaming, waiting, watching, or doing female chores like weaving and washing. Mori Ushinosuke, former assistant of Torii Ryūzō became later the pre-eminent Japanese photographer of Taiwan Indigenous Peoples. His photographs were published in a number of commercial and official publications intended for foreign consumption.<sup>76</sup>

With the Russo-Japanese War commemorative sets of postcards boomed and by end of the war over 4,000 distributors in Tokyo alone promoted the regime’s accomplishments to both domestic and international audiences.<sup>77</sup> The Taiwan Government-General issued two series of postcards to commemorate a decade of Japanese rule in 1905 and continued production in Taiwan into the late 1930s. For the Chief of the “Division of Aborigine Affairs”, Suzuki Hideo (1898–1987), photographer Segawa Kōkichi (1906–1998), publisher and printer Katsuyama Yoshisaku (ca. 1900–?), and watercolorist Lan Yinding (1903–1979), Taiwan became a lucrative enterprise, especially when preparations for the 1935 Taiwan Exposition to “Commemorate Forty Years of Japanese Rule” began. Their interpretation of colonial culture on postcard editions left behind not only documentary traces but positioned them with the lion’s share of commercial and official mass circulation imagery of Taiwan Indigenous Peoples in the 1930s. The immense circulation of these souvenirs and memories made them to producers of an imperial image.

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75 As early as May 1872, the Ministry of Education sent out a team to conducted a 4-month search and survey of valuable old artefacts that could be used as evidence of the ancient origins of the imperial line. American zoologist Edward S. Morse was one of the key figures in the introduction of anthropology through his teaching at Tokyo Imperial University in the years 1877–1879. Tsuboi Shōgorō (1863–1913), who is often credited with establishing anthropology in Japan, studied ethnology in Paris and London from 1889 to 1892 before he introduced ethnology courses at the University of Tokyo in 1893.

See Morris Low: Physical Anthropology in Japan, *Current Anthropology* Volume 53, Supplement 5, April 2012, pp.57-68

76 He photographs were included in Fujisaki Seinosuke’s official history *Taiwan no banzoku kenkyū* “Taiwan’s Indigenous Tribes” (1931), Suzuki Sakutarō *Taiwan no banzoku kenkyū* “Research on the Indigenous Tribes of Taiwan” (1932), and Riban gaikyō “A Summary of Aborigine Administration (1935), a government-issue statistical and administrative digest.

See Paul D. Barclay: Peddling Postcards and Selling Empire: Image-Making in Taiwan under Japanese Colonial Rule, *Japanese Studies* 30, May 2010, p.81-110

77 Sato, ‘Postcards’, 116–124. According to art historian John Fraser, some 96 million postcards were mailed in Japan in 1890, while 1.5 billion were sent in 1913. Fraser, John, ‘Propaganda on the Picture Postcard’, *The Oxford Art Journal*, October 1980, pp.39–47



With the presentation of those “civilized” warriors the postcard distributors met consumer tastes for romanticized, timeless ‘noble savages’, quite similar to American Indian postcards, which emerged in the memory of frontier wars. The promotion of these records in Japanese magazines, museums and postcards produced a world completely different from that which they inhabited A “pre-modern” world which they approached with ambivalent feelings of disdain, fear, pleasure, excitement and fantasy. By relegating the colony to the margin of civilization in both visual and discursive representations, Japan constructed its dominance and embellished its colonial undertaking in the name of a civilizing mission. Many took delight in observing the apparent disparities, between the backward colony and their advanced homeland, between the uncivilized indigenes and themselves. Kindly ignoring the Han Chinese majority of the population, who determined society so far, the main interest and pivot for promoting the island would be the furious aborigines and a lush landscape.

When Ishikawa Kinichirō worked as a translator in the Army of the Governor-General he was commissioned in 1909 to portray views of Taiwan’s aboriginal tribal regions. Accompanied by soldiers and police, he visited different areas in search of aboriginal subject matter. With a sense of the exotic, archaic he completed a sample of drawings and watercolours which were presented to the Japanese emperor as “pictures of lands of Taiwan’s savages. His watercolour Little Stream became the first landscape painting of Taiwan shown at the Second Buntan in Tokyo in 1908.<sup>78</sup>

The nostalgic approach to a primitive society attracted many Japanese painters and artists who time travelled to Taiwan on the search for an bygone era, distinctive to the rapid modernisation of Japan's metropolis. The Japanification of Taiwan offended their exotic expectations as a visual dissonance, insulting their romantic aesthetics. Inspired by a fresh subject matter those artists perceived their object of desire in reflection of the imperial canon, presenting narratives of a dominant culture from an ethnocentric perspective.

Ozawa Akishige (1886-1954) came to Taiwan as a juror in the Seventh *Taiten* in 1933, he was commissioned by the Kaohsiung City Government to portray views of the newly developed harbour city. Later they also ordered a ten-piece set of postcards of cityscapes depicting houses, woman and flowers of a Japanized city. Another Japanese visitor was Umehara Ryūzaburō (1888-1986), one of the most prominent Western-style painter, whose painting of Sakurajima was displayed at the Ninth *Taiten* in 1935, inspiring young Taiwanese painter.

Describing the island as a virgin soil, many painter showed their fascination with Taiwan’s aborigines, whose lifestyles seemed to them even more interesting as Taiwan’s “primitive” landscape did.<sup>79</sup> Many of them manifested their Orientalist fantasies in their work, and as a consequence, both the Eastern and Western Painting Divisions of the colonial salons included those paintings wherein “civilized men” could imagine and construct a romanticized Other, regardless of style or technique.<sup>80</sup>

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78 Jen-Yi Lai: Cultural Identity and the Making of Modern Taiwanese Painting During the Japanese Colonial Period (1895-1945), Phd University of Michigan 2008, p.139

79 Fujishima Takeji (1867-1943) manifested his Orientalist fantasy describing the island as “a virgin soil reserved for us painters”, when taking a painting trip to Taiwan. in Fujishima Takeji: Taiwan’s Scenic Poetry that Shines into Artistic Eyes: Fujishima Takeji Discusses his Painting Tour, Taiwan Shimbun 3 Feb. 1935, in Yen Chuan-ying: Fengjing xinjing, trans. Yen Chuan-ying, pp.98-99

80 Painters such as Kawai Shinzō (1867-1936), Kawashima Riichirō (1886-1971), Akiyama Shunsui and Miyata Yatarō, depicted accurate details of costumes, accessories to idealized scenes of the aboriginal people.

“Mountain Girl”, painted by one of the most influential oil painters who worked in Taiwan, art teacher Shiotsuki Tōho (1886-1954) was the first oil painting of a Taiwanese aborigine shown at a colonial salon, namely at the First Taiten in 1927. Shiotsuki stayed since 1921 in Taiwan, was a regular jury member at all sixteen official exhibitions and was a leading force in describing romanticized projections of “the noble savage” as uncontaminated by the desires and ugliness of modern society. At the Tenth *Taiten* in 1936, he presented a romantic colourful expression of three Tayal girls dressed in traditional finery, playing the mouth harp in a flowering meadow under a rainbow. Transformed into an aesthetic object of innocence, contentment and harmonious relationship with nature, the artist dodged modern society and still mirrored the imperial self-image.

The story of a Tayal aborigine girl named Sayon, who lost her life in 1938 while carrying the luggage of her Japanese teacher across a river, was widely popularized by the Japanese government for war-time propaganda. Turned into a legend through songs, movies and primary school textbooks, the portrait of Sayon by Shiotsuki Tōho was exhibited at the Fifth *Futen* in 1942. In honour of her memory a bell had been presented in 1941 by the Governor-General to her tribe. The painting of the girl with the bell was first on display at the second “Holy War Fine Arts Exhibition”, held at Ueno Park in Tokyo in 1941. Depicting her as a icon of bravery and sacrifice for the “holy war”, was contextualised with a prominent positioned large bell in her hands, telling less about the incident and more about her gratitude.

## Depicting the War

Japanese actively engaged in the cultural modification of Taiwan that made it easier for foreign rule to take hold. Even before the outbreak of the Sino Japanese War in 1937, the government described normative standards of what it meant for a Taiwanese person to be more like the Japanese and to live in the Japanese Empire. Propaganda played a significant role for further reinforcement of Taiwanese loyalty to the Imperial cause and in mobilizing the people. To grasp the hearts and minds of the people it appealed almost exclusively to the emotions and encouraged one to live *toward* death in devotion to the Japanese war effort.

One example in the first years of colonial rule was the use of the Go Hō legend (Wu Feng in Chinese) (1699-1769). An ethnic Han Chinese who had befriended the aborigines and attempted to persuade them to give up their practice of headhunting. The historic story ends with Go Hō sacrificing himself, dying in order to prove his point about the evils of the practice. Japanese colonial officials extensively reworked the narrative to serve the purposes of the new regime as the original story derives from Chinese sources of the eighteenth century. Their interpretation united Chinese civilization with the Japanese to reinforce a tactical alliance between those two gentry in Taiwan opposing the savages. Taught to Taiwanese school children the story reaffirmed the prejudices of the Taiwanese of Chinese descent against the aborigines and left them grateful for the empire’s protection. In primary schools in Japan, were the story also was thought, it justified the colonial civilizing mission and portrayed the majority of the colonized populace as willing partners in this project.<sup>81</sup>

81 Faye Yuan Kleeman: Under an imperial sun: Japanese colonial literature of Taiwan and the South, Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2003, p.27

With increasing mobilization for the war the Japanese government was eager to promote the sacrifices aborigines were willing to make for the Japanese emperor. An actual incident of one young girl was therefor dramatized and illustrated to emotionalize the populace in the Empire. Set in 1938, the story idolizes a seventeen year-old Atayal girl named Sayon. When her Japanese teacher was drafted to fight in China she helped him carry luggage down from a mountain on a stormy day. She lost her life when she slipped and fell into a river and was never recovered. Her dedication was honoured by Governor-General Hasegawa Kiyoshi (1883-1970) with a bronze bell presented to the Ryohen settlement in 1941. Inscribed with the phrase: "The Bell of the Patriotic Maiden Sayon", the story generated a media sensation with a number of paintings of Sayon, a popular song, and a film based on her story. Soon afterwards, the story about the civilized aborigine girl was published in textbooks with great emotional embellishment.<sup>82</sup>

Another perfect example of Japanization used for propaganda was the story "The National Anthem Boy" *Kimi Ga Yo Shōnen*. A 15-year-old Taiwanese boy named Chan who was mortally injured in a massive earthquake in 1935 singing the national anthem to his teachers when he was on his deathbed. The fictionalized story was circulated by newspapers and in textbooks as an act of patriotism that was ultimately self-effacing.<sup>83</sup>

By 1937 all Chinese language publication were banned and many Taiwanese artist followed the assimilation policy by choosing Japanese names. With the forced transformation into loyal subjects of the emperor, many of them volunteered for war related labor work as the art supplies had to be rationed. Exhibitions were continued by the government and most of the works depicted war themes of different types. Akiyama Shunsui's "Soldiers in Mainland China", exhibited at the first *Futen* in 1938, was one of the first war paintings. Chen Jinghui (1901-1968) who later renamed himself Nakamura Yoshiteru, produced more paintings depicting the war than most others. Works by Chen Junghui, Weng Kunde or others reflected the awareness of war by documenting the embodied propaganda or productivity, showing bystanders with waving flags or industrial scenery. With Mizuya Munemitsu and Tokuhisa Tokuharu appeared paintings at third (1940) respectively at the fifth *Futen* (1942), which showed local sceneries from new occupied territories. Guo Xuehu successfully exhibited at the first *Futen* in 1938 with a painting of an woman working at the spinning wheel, titled "Guarding the Rear of the Frontline".

Nevertheless, without the influence of Japanese painters as teachers, jury members or visitors during the occupation the Taiwanese artist of this generations would not have faced much of an outside artistic stimulus and maybe would not have made that progress as seen in the official exhibitions sponsored and promoted by the colonial government. Japanese cultural policies convinced many that it was in Taiwan's best interest for its citizens to be fully aligned with Japanese military and support operations.

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82 The movie "Sayon's Bell/Sayon" no kane (Shimizu Hiroshi, 1943), was a co-production of the Taiwan Government-General Office, Manchurian Film Association (Man'ei), and Shochiku Company. Leading actress was Yoshiko Yamaguchi (1920-2014), a Chinese-born Japanese actress and singer who made a career in China, Japan, Hong Kong, and the United States. In the fifties she was married to sculptur Isamu Noguchi (1904-1988).

83 Winifred Kai-wen Chang: Strategies of Japanese Mobilization in Colonial Taiwan, University of California, 2012, p.199

## Dress up the Nation

The Taiwan Exposition, in commemoration of the first forty years of Colonial Rule in 1935 was the last but the most important display of the cultural and political achievements to be shown to the world by the Japanese government. The exhibition celebrated in its nationalistic approach not only the success of colonial rule but was also projecting a point to the future of the country.

Taiwan was presented by Japan in pavilions at exhibitions and fairs before, as in the Japan Peace Commemorative Exhibition in Tokyo 1922, or at the fifth industrial exhibition in Osaka 1903. Osaka was also the first exhibition on Japanese soil with Western nations presenting their own goods in national pavilions and Taiwan was for the first time shown as whole with its culture and economy as a colonial model. Beside its political agenda the decision to present Taiwan was an advertisement of Japanese efforts to promote Taiwan's public culture and folk tradition as a new Japanese territory, which also shaped a new Imperial identity. In the years before Taiwan was imagined in Japanese society as an island of endemic diseases, ghosts and headhunters. This projected identity was quite common and had now to be transformed into a success story of colonial enlightenment which formed a safe paradise with potential in trade and commerce.<sup>84</sup>

Organized by the colonial authorities of Taiwan with support of the Taiwan Customs Research Society and the Taiwan Association, the pavilion was situated at a remote corner of the area aside the pavilions for foreign products it replaced its position as an outer territory. This changed with the Japan Peace Commemorative Exhibition in Tokyo 1922, when Taiwan, Korea and Manchuria-Mongolia were presented in own spacious pavilions next to each other in a central position. Those various representations were done in authentic architectural styles, suggesting the still traditional, non-progressive state of these areas. Different from other buildings the construction represented a south Chinese style gate and shrine in various colours, satisfying the vanity that Japan acquired a part of China. The display of foot binding of women, opium smoking, and Chinese queue, the "Three Vices" which were considered by the Office of the Governor-General to be archaic and unhealthy, presented a good opportunity to show Japan's civilisation efforts towards a Chinese barbaric past. But instead of exposing those customs with actual objects and models as anthropologist Inō Kanori suggested, the official considered the presentation as being shameful and feared to deteriorate their dignity.<sup>85</sup> Instead the showed only a few pictures not to be related to more barbarous images and satisfying only an exotic image. Other than that the Taiwanese tea shop gathered large crowds as a main attraction, with waitresses walking gracefully because of their bound feet and ticket selling clerks with Chinese queues. What was minimized in the official space was exaggerated in the commercial space.<sup>86</sup>

Not far from the teahouse indigenous groups were put together in a "Pavilion of Mankind" *Jinruikan* on display next to the zoo. Anthropologist Tsuboi Shōgorō (1863-1913) organized the parading of Ainu from Hokaido, Taiwanese aborigines and Koreans in mock recreations of their traditional clothing and

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84 An image that still existed at the Colonial Exhibition in Tokyo 1912.

85 Inō Kanori: *Fuzokujō yori mitaru taiwankan* 1, Taiwan Pavilion View from Customs p.315, in Sae-bong Ha: Taiwan and its Self-images: The Case of Osaka Exhibition in 1903, Academia Sinica, Volume 14, Number 2, Jun., 2007, p.22

86 The work "Perfume of Orchids" of Chen Jin, which was exhibited in the Sixth Taiten in 1932, showed a Taiwanese bride in her Chinese-style wedding robe still having bound feet, as a traditional symbol of the social rank and the sexual appeal of Chinese women.

homes as Japan's own set of particularized exotic Others.<sup>87</sup> A group of Okinawans successfully refused to expose themselves, and the original plan to include China, represented by an opium smoker and a woman with bound-feet, was dismissed due hefty protests of the Chinese Student Union and governmental interventions.<sup>88</sup> In an artistic statement to the Japan's colonialism, the theatrical troupe of Kawakami Otojirō (1864-1911) performed in 1903 an adaptation of Shakespeare's *Othello*. Entitled *Osero*, the popular writer Emi Suiin (1869-1934) transposed the dramatic action from Renaissance Venice to twentieth-century Japan and Taiwan. In his version a Japanese general, is sent by the Japanese government to crush a rebellion in Taiwan led by bandits in league with a foreign power.<sup>89</sup>

In May 1910 the Japan-British Exhibition opens in London, with a Taiwanese contribution. The Governor-General Office of Taiwan organizes twenty-two Paiwan aborigines to head to England and put on a show entitled "The Sentiment of Wild Aborigines." They lived there together with an other subjugated minority Ainu group from Hokkaido on display in mock up villages, a kind of pseudo educational side-show. While Japanese industries and cultures were widely introduced, some Taiwanese aborigines performed their war dance and mimicked battles in front of visitors. In the Formosan contingent there were twenty-one men and four women, and two of the new arrivals were contracted to provide the attraction of a wedding at the village before the end of the season. Portraits of most of the man were produced on postcards to be sold throughout the show. Formosa was described as inhabited by specimens of one of the fiercest and most intractable race on the globe before the Japanese occupation.<sup>90</sup> A correspondent with the *Mainichi Shinpo* newspaper said, "the Japanese Village is a mere sketch of life of the lowest class of peasants in the north-east of Japan and is a sight which must fill Japanese gentlemen with nothing but displeasure and shame. He also felt that it raised a question of personal rights for the aboriginals living in the huts<sup>91</sup>

After a long series of trade shows and expositions held on the Taiwanese island, with the decadal anniversaries of the establishment of colonial rule in 1915 and 1925, the "Taiwan Exposition" in 1935 was a tremendous success by any estimation. For a span for nearly two months (October 10–November 28) the pavilions and performance sites in Taipei associated with island-wide exhibitions in other cities and towns were dedicated to the presentation of colonial culture and contemporary accomplishments of Taiwan as well as to propagandise the advanced development in Japan.

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87 A commonly practice by many colonial powers at that time. The 1878 and 1889 Parisian World's Fair presented a Negro Village (village nègre), as at the latter 400 indigenous people of Africa were displayed as a major attraction. Apaches and Igorots, from the Philippines were displayed in 1904 at the St. Louis World's Fair, a tradition which was upheld until the early twentieth century.

Tsuboi Shōgorō founder of Japanese anthropology, who studied in France and Britain, established the department of anthropology at the Tokyo Imperial University in 1893.

88 With the arrival in Tokyo of thirteen students at the end of the Sino-Japanese War in 1896, the Chinese student population had progressively swollen to number over 800 people.

On February 24th, Cai Ju, the Chinese Minister in Japan, dispatched a translator to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan in order to criticize the plan of including China in Jinruikan and to demand its withdrawal.

Hyungju Hur: *Staging Modern Statehood: World Exhibitions and the Rhetoric of Publishing in Late Qing China, 1851-1910*, diss. University of Illinois, 2012, p. 64, p.74

89 See Robert Tierney: *Othello in Tokyo: Performing Race and Empire in 1903 Japan*, *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Vol. 62, No. 4 (Winter 2011), pp. 514-540

90 Five men, four women and two children aged 2 and 10 years old represented the race of the Ainu.

Yūko Kikuchi: *Refracted Modernity: Visual Culture and Identity in Colonial Taiwan*, University of Hawaii Press, 2007, p.205

91 Ayako Hotta-Lister: *The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910: Gateway to the Island Empire of the East*, Japan Library, Surrey UK, 1999, p. 133

Over thirty exhibition buildings on four sites, most of which were built in the international modernist art deco style designed for the occasion, displayed the nation's political, economic and cultural power. The latest exhibition technology, including robotic humanoids, dioramas, three dimensional maps, anthropological villages, amusement rides, recorded music, and sound films fulfilled the pursuit of pleasure for over 2,5 millions visitors in this temporary festival venue.<sup>92</sup> Two in the downtown area, one in the suburban mountains and on the initiative of local business leaders a fourth site was established in a Taiwanese commercial neighbourhood. Taipei Park which reached its definitive construction with the completion of its colonial museum in 1915 hosted a dramatic exhibition hall of the Monopoly Bureau. An open air arena where such as the welcoming ceremony for the aboriginal chieftains was held, and the Governor General Kodama Gentarō statue, dating from 1908 was placed. Other official buildings included halls for cultural displays, halls for promoting industry, achievements in railway construction and urban planning, civil engineering, and prefectural affairs. A large National Defense Hall, featured equipment, models of the growing Japanese militarism, as one diorama of an female parachutist descending from the ceiling. According to a designated future with Taiwan as an emerging member of the modern world, those military displays presumed a tropical warfare with according military uniforms and food rations for those climates. Built by private associations with official support, agriculture and industries of Taiwan and Japan were presented and brief profiles offered an overview of the other colonies such as Korea, Manchuria, southern China and Southeast Asia, to compare the colonial developments with that in Taiwan. The neoclassical Colonial Museum, formerly dedicated to display flora and fauna of the empire, was now the centre of colonial triumphs with the "Number One Cultural Display Hall". Along displays of modern life on the island as panoramic and landscape bird's-eye maps, the education system was a special feature of the museum site.<sup>93</sup>

In general, the Japanese government tried to avoid adopting a traditional architectural style and instead transformed the urban space into a panorama with most exhibition halls representing a design toward modernism. Asymmetrical arrangement of space of the exhibition halls, for example "Halls of the Sugar Industry" and "Encouraging New Industry", designed in Art Deco style with straight lines and sculptural elements, contrasted specific Japanese sites who celebrated traditional culture with panoramas of temple grounds and mannequins in kimonos.<sup>94</sup>

However, for certain people the exhibition was only a model of modernity, manipulated by foreign powers. Visiting the Taiwan exhibition, was seen as commitment and appreciation of the achievements of Japanese colonization. Only few critique contrasted the positive image propagandised by the colonial authority.<sup>95</sup> Not handed down are the estimations of the aboriginal peoples, who were throughout the venue presented in authentic villages and tribal dwellings. Working in small groups on their own hand-crafts, the authorities distanced them as potential members of the Japanese nation.

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92 The Taiwan Exhibition in Taipei and others cities in Taiwan was in total visited by 3,346,972 people, with a vast majority of Taiwanese and Japanese from the island. The sites in Taipei were visited by 2,738,895 people. The opening ceremony ended with fireworks, about 15,000 pigeons, and fighter planes overhead the area.

See Shaoli Lu: *Exhibiting Taiwan: Power, Space and Image Representation of Japanese Colonial Rule*. Taipei: Rye Field Publications, 2005

93 The Japanese were heavily engaged in topographic projects of their new colonial possession with an array of modern cartographic tools. A collection of maps is reproduced in Zhuang Yongming: *Taiwan niaokan tu*, Taipei: Yuanliu chuban gongsi, 1996.

94 A common colonial semiotic system where the woman display the tradition, while the men bear the task of modernity.

95 In his short story entitled *A Letter in Autumn* (1936), Dian-Ren Zhu (1903-1951), a Taiwanese writer in the Japanese colonial period, took different viewpoints regarding this event.

Focusing the displays on the ideology of colonialism rather than modernity, this largest exhibition initiated by the imperial government outside Japan, became a specific venue to communicate the successful colonial governance as well as civilization and enlightenment to the Taiwanese people.<sup>96</sup> On the eve of the aggressive military expansion into the Chinese mainland and Southeast Asia the visionary promotion of the of a colony becoming a nation came on the last burst of Japanese colonial power. The presentation of the aborigines in a sort of living museum can be interpreted as reflection of the heterotopia of deviation between the colony and the empire.

## Resistance

Other than artists who could benefit from the introduction of Western art and new educational possibilities, writers had to struggle with the language policy of the Japanese. The space for anti-colonial resistance was built up in cultural speeches, study groups and cultural bookshops, escaping police surveillance. With the governmental control of the media, the voices of literature through the nascent public sphere of publishers, were consolidated into the identity of the colonized. As proletarian ideology evolved the regionalist literature promoted writing in the Taiwanese dialect to contribute to the narrative of Taiwan during the early period.<sup>97</sup> For writers it was a multitude of discomfort of nativism, colonialism, modernity, social classes, and a fight for political independence. To avoid the confrontation of censorship, various elements of collective consumption, such as restaurants, parks, roads, streets, markets and bookshops provided spaces for resistance, while the representative texts aroused the emotions and experiences of the oppressed. One of the first author to have turned his attention to the aborigines was Loa Ho (1894-1943), who described the pure land of the aborigines, and expressed his sympathy for the 1930 *Musha* Incident.<sup>98</sup> Among the Japanese writers who wrote in the spirit of investigating realism as a modernism were Satō Haruo (1892–1964), Ôshika Taku (1898–1959), Nakamura Chihei (1908– 1963), Sakaguchi Reiko (1914-2007), and Nishikawa Mitsuru (1908–1998).

The text of Satō Haruo is an outstanding example of this genre of writing about primitive societies. He traveled in 1920 to Taiwan where he met with anthropologist Mori Ushinosuke, then deputy director of the Taipei Museum. In October 1923, short after the Kanto Earthquake, he published Machō “Demon Bird”, a short work based on his travel experiences. In the story a narrator impersonates an anthropologist who is studying an episode of persecution in an unnamed barbarian village and attempting to explain their customs to his civilized audience. At the same time, the target of Sato’s criticism in “Demon Bird” is the violence directed toward leftists and Korean residents after the Great Kanto Earthquake, when citizens killed an estimated 6,000 Koreans. “Demon Bird” is among the few prewar literary works that offer a highly critical perspective on Japanese colonial policies and discourses.<sup>99</sup>

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96 It was none other than the Kuomintang that paid the greatest praise to Japan’s accomplishments in modernizing Taiwan. The Kuomintang, at the time in a state of war with Japan, sent a mission to the 40th anniversary exhibition and wrote a laudatory 12-point report. Hiroaki Sato: Colonial management was never a ‘charity’, *The Japan Times*, July 30, 2015

97 During the 1920s and 1930s, most of the literary works were written by Taiwanese writers in Chinese; Japanese and Taiwanese writers who wrote in Japanese began to emerge in the second half of the 1930s.

98 The massacre of 134 Japanese by Seediq Aborigines on October 27, 1930, shattered illusions that the Mountain Aborigines had become willing Japanese subjects.

99 The title refers to an aboriginal legend, of a magical bird called the hafune. It looks like a dove, with white feathers and red feet. The savages believe the bird has magical powers and that anyone who sees it is certain to die. If a man is suspected of being a ma-hafune, he and all the members of his family will be massacred. In Sato’s story a young woman called Pira is mistaken as bird manipulator

With unequal economical prosperity in the 1920s a bourgeois class was formed supporting the flourishing of nationalist movements, and on the other side the spread of poverty among rural villages caused a class struggle and the formation of ideologies. Taiwanese students in Tokyo formed the *Qifahui* "the Society of Enlightenment" in 1918 and began to publish their first Chinese language journal, *Shin minpō*, in 1920. In the flow of trends in Europe and Japan at that time, organizations such as the Cultural Association (1921), Taiwan's People Party (1927), Taiwanese Communist Party (1928), or the Taiwan Local Self-Government League (1930) were founded.<sup>100</sup> Public speeches and assemblies left their traces in the "urban spatial cracks" accordingly to an international movement with traces to Tokyo and Shanghai. Most of the leaders of the Chinese leftwing movement were largely returned students from Japan, who met in Shanghai, a meeting place for international Communists and also gateway for Japanese radicals. It was common for Chinese, Taiwanese and Korean intellectuals and revolutionaries to follow the developments of proletarian movement in Tokyo, as many of them translated and adapted Japanese proletarian articles and creative works. Even before the Bolshevik revolution, Japan was looked as an example of successful nation and state building and now Japanese proletarian thinkers demonstrated how to resist Japanese imperialism. The everyday presence of Japanese colonial power in Taiwan was apparent, but still not intrusive before the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in July 1937. The governmental assimilation movement was transformed into the imperialisation *kōminka* movement, which attempted to remake the Taiwanese people into loyal subjects of the Japanese Empire. This was in accordance to the progression in Japan an integral part of the wartime mobilization of the Japanese empire as a whole.

Due its geographical advantages Taiwan became a base to the imperial strategy to occupy South China including the provinces of Fujian, Guangdong and Guangxi. The successful implementation of Japanese rule was a role model to put them under colonization similar to Taiwan and develop their mineral resources for Japan's military purpose. In support of this policy the Government-General of Taiwan sent its police, its economic and cultural agents, and even thousands of Taiwanese people including young interpreters and military porters and more than 50 Taiwanese and Japanese companies like the Taiwan Development Company Limited to organize colonization and industrial development. Within the Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere Taiwan became a major assistant in the southward expansion and provided considerable technologies, labour and raw materials to the development and pacification of Hong Kong, Philippines, Indochina, Thailand, Malaysia, East Indies and Burma. Taiwan's experience of governing different race, implementing advanced production technologies, as well as consolidating the colonial rule was substantial to the newly occupied southern territories.<sup>101</sup>

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because she refuses to tattoo herself. Rumours start to fly when villagers witness the young Pira wandering around after the civilized soldiers. The villagers massacre Pira and her family as substitute victims when the colonial military gathered eighty aboriginal men in a building and set them on fire. As use of hidden language and code in the work Sato names the three main aboriginal characters: Satsusan (morning 朝), Kōre (fish 魚), and Pira (sheep 羊) together they form the cipher Chōsen 朝魚羊 (Korea).

See Robert Tierney: Violence, Borders, Identity, in Reading colonial Japan: Text, Context, and Critique, eds. Michele M. Mason and Helen J.S. Lee, Stanford University Press, 2012, pp.124-141

100 In 1920 Taiwanese students studying in Tokyo form the "New People Association." It carries on the political reform movements of its predecessor, the "Enlightenment Association." Its official publication, Taiwan Youth, begins publication in July of the same year. Inspired by the Samil Movement in Korea in 1919, Taiwanese college students in Japan further developed their craving for an independent Taiwan.

101 Kondō Masami: Sōryokusen to Taiwan: Nihon shokuminchi hōkai no kenkyū, Tōkyō Tōsui Shobō, 1996, pp.109-133



In terms of practical mobilisation the assimilation process of the preceding years gained success, as Taiwanese civilians were devoted to the Japanese war effort their roles in logistical support, and Taiwanese soldiers participated in Japanese theaters of battle in Southeast Asia, with varying degrees of voluntariness. In 1938, Japan legislated the “National Mobilization Law” *kokka sōdōinhō* and formulated the “Productivity Expansion Plan” *seisanryoku kakujyū keikaku* and “Resources Mobilization Plan” *bushi dōin keikaku* to economically integrate Japan, North-east China and Taiwan. In 1941, the “National Language Mobilization Guide” *kokugo dōin shidōsho* was published to merge the teaching of Japanese language education with the needs of mobilization. Training schools were set up to train and enlist the Taiwanese aged from 17 to 30 in the Japanese army, and the Imperial “Subject Public Service Society” was installed as a branch of the “Imperial Rule Assistance Association”, to serve “One Hundred Million into one body.”<sup>102</sup>

By 1942 the military volunteer program was officially instituted and the Taiwanese who were intoxicated by Japanese battle victories were galvanized by the new recruitment system. Young men, asked to perform their patriotic duty found themselves bestowed with great honour by the Empire when answered the call. Taiwanese in their 20s who had been socialized as Japanese for their entire lives, were eager to be enlisted in the Japanese army. Due economical reason and patriotic identification an increasing number wanted to support their families and communities.<sup>103</sup>

In response to the first call 425,921 Taiwanese, or 14 percent of the male population, turned in applications for one thousand or so volunteer slots. The second round of the army volunteer program had even more applications, with 601,147 applicants for the same number of slots.<sup>104</sup>

Native Taiwanese youth made no exception and were mobilized for labour and warfare mainly in special forces operations in tropical areas. Their commanding officers were mainly trained by the Nakano school, a primary training center for intelligence operations by the Imperial Japanese Army. Around one third to half of the 8,000 men who volunteered were enlisted to fight in the Philippines, New Guinea, East Indies and other parts of the South Pacific theatre. Referred as *Takasago Giyūtai*, the “Takasago Volunteers” used Japanese names during the war, making it difficult to distinguish them from the genuine Japanese soldiers afterwards.<sup>105</sup>

As far as the imperialisation *kōminka* movement permeated the daily lives of Taiwanese people, its various cultural mandates covered everything from dress and improvement of hygiene to religion, ceremonies, and the arts. With affections on language, religion, or family names, to follow the assimilation

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102 The “Imperial Rule Assistance Association” Taisei Yokusankai?, or “Imperial Aid Association”, was Japan's fascist organization created by Prime Minister Fumimaro Konoe on October 12, 1940 to promote the goals of *his Shintaisei* “New Order” movement. David C. Earhart, *Certain Victory*, M.E. Sharpe, 2008, p.142

103 The Imperial Subject Public Service Society was established in 1941, the Special Volunteer system in 1942, and the conscription of Taiwanese youth in 1944.

104 Wan-yao Chou: *The Kōminka Movement in Taiwan and Korea: Comparisons and Interpretations*, *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931-1945*, eds.: Duus, Myers, Hawley, Peattie, Chou, Princeton University Press, 1996, p.64

105 Due their abilities to withstand the tropical climate, and their history in combat they were likely hired by the Japanese. Towards the final stage of the war, 15 officers and 45 Takasago Volunteers participated in a suicide mission on Leyte island. The aboriginal volunteers were organized in Taiwan in the Kaoru Special Attack Corps, a special force installed ahead of the Kamikaze Attack Corps. The enlisted members attacked a landing strip in the Philippines islands on advancing Allied troops.

See Chih-huei Huang: *The Yamatodamashi of the Takasago volunteers of Taiwan*, in *Globalizing Japan* eds.: Befu and Guichard-Anguis, Routledge London, 2001, p.222-250

policy was rewarded with educational possibilities, bureaucratic advantages and public acknowledgment. In control of the media and education specially-instituted social programs were elaborated to promote the official policies and beliefs about the Japanese spirit, and specified the prescribed performance expected of the colonized Taiwanese people. Social organizations tailored their messages to their constituent members, and as a supplement to the school system, they were able to generate overlapping influence covering a vast portion of Taiwanese society.<sup>106</sup> Despite the persisting colonial hierarchy, the emotional, social, and economical reward system under the unified concept of the “Japanese imperial subject”, glorified patriotic feelings from any social group including aborigines. This patriotism was promoted by mythical narratives, based on children and aborigines, to construct an emotional reality in their terms. Distributed through a network of cultural policies and a common base for all segments of Taiwanese was created, at least towards the final stage of war. Employing methods on intrinsic motivation, the performative and genuine patriotism of the Taiwanese sometimes even exceeded Japanese expectations.

As the war continued many Taiwanese volunteers were given training courses in Min, Cantonese and Mandarin languages, to serve as translators for the Imperial Japanese Army operating in China. The number of Taiwanese on duty was classified, and remains unknown.

Being a Japanese colony and secure base, Taiwan served as a haven for many ships carrying goods and men en route to Japan, as well as a prime destination for P.O.W. prisoners of war being used as slave labour here for the Japanese war effort. The highest ranking British, American, Australian and Dutch military officers who were captured in East Asia by the Japanese troops were held on the island in one of the 14 camps. The first 179 officers and men arrived in August 1942 at the Karenko camp at the east coast of Taiwan. Until September 1945 around 4350 Allied prisoners of war were held in fourteen P.O.W. camps on the island. More than 400 Allied servicemen died in Taiwan’s notorious camps during World War II, most of them at Jinguashi. Many of them suffered in the Kinkaseki Copper Mine, which had the largest output of copper in the Japanese Empire. There was no ventilating system whatsoever and when due heat and humidity the Chinese labourers refused to work, British prisoners were forced to.

When Japan surrendered, there were 126,750 non-combatants and 80,453 Taiwanese soldiers and sailors serving in Japan's military. Roughly 16,000 of them having been recruited through volunteer programs. A total of 30,304 servicemen, of those recruited and conscripted, were killed or presumed killed in action. Additionally, 173 Taiwanese who served in the Imperial Japanese military were found guilty of Class B and C war crimes.

On September 9, 1945, Japan formally surrendered to China. Chiang Kai-shek decided to renounce the right to ask compensation from Japan.

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106 The “Taiwan Imperial Subject Public Service Reader” *Taiwan kōmin hōkō dokuhon* discussed the work of the “Imperial Subject Public Service Association” *Kōmin Hōkōkai*, the “Taiwan Imperial Subject Reader” *Taiwan kōmin dokuhon* of 1943 was a general reader for anyone literate, and the “Taiwan Volunteer Soldier Reader” *Taiwan shiganhei dokuhon* of 1942 ocused on the martial ideals of volunteers and included sample test questions for the volunteer’s oral examination.

Winifred Kai-wen Chang: *Marshaling Culture: Strategies of Japanese Mobilization in Colonial Taiwan*, University Of California, 2012, p.212



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The phrase 'Taiwan Indigenous Peoples' is adopted in this paper as a translation of the proper noun Yuan-zhumin

Kōminka initiative comprised four main programs: religious reform, the –national language movement, name- changing campaign, and the military volunteer program

The Japanese colonial government did not directly utilize Taiwanese as soldiers on the front lines, but it did establish a –military volunteer program to recruit Taiwanese in support of wartime needs. Compared to the religious reform that aroused so much criticism and protest from the Taiwanese, the military volunteer program was considered very successful.

Some of these young men may have been pressured by their families, but these statistics do suggest a widespread inclination to participate in the war effort. One reason, according to Chou, was that the authorities framed the admission into these programs as a high honor. Moreover, local authorities actively promoted these programs, creating a sense of competition and peer pressure to participate

The Kōminka initiative in Taiwan focused not only on religious reform and military conscription, but also on Taiwanese attire. For example, the head of the Education Section of the Taipei city government, Tokunaga Hideo 徳永秀夫 (date unknown), criticized the qipao (called the changshan 長衫 or long garment in Taiwan during this period) for being too long and constricting, and for having overly revealing slits and sleeves. The changshan was not appropriate for true kōmin 皇民 (citizens of the Empire), Tokunaga argued, because it both hampered women's activities and lowered the moral tone (Tokunaga 1940, 40). Tokunaga propounded a Taiwanese women's clothing reform that enjoined women to adjust their changshan into Western-style dresses and provided detailed instructions on how to make such alterations. According to these instructions, the collar could be cut low and altered to a Western style, the garment could be shortened, the sleeves could be elongated, the slits could be sewn closed, and a belt could be added, resulting in a Western-style one-piece (Tokunaga 1940, 41, 43).

As the war continued, there was an increasing need of translators for conducting military operations in China, and many Taiwanese volunteers were given training courses in Min, Cantonese and Mandarin languages, and served as translators for the Imperial Japanese Army operating in China. The number of Taiwanese serving in this capacity was classified, and remains unknown.[1]

Before Japan's surrender, there were 126,750 non-combatants and 80,453 soldiers and sailors serving in Japan's military, with roughly 16,000 of them having been recruited through volunteer programs. A total of 30,304 servicemen, or 15 percent of those recruited and conscripted, were killed or presumed killed in action. Additionally, 173 Taiwanese who served in the Imperial Japanese military were found guilty of Class B and C war crimes.

In this hyperbolic rhetoric, Nitobe defines all aborigines by the single custom of headhunting, which is detached from any social context. Implicitly, headhunting is defined as a cultural practice associated with weddings and funerals, but the aborigines are said to practice it to consecrate "any" auspicious occasion.<sup>39</sup> However, Nitobe's description of the practices of civilized peoples, rather than those of savages, is the most revealing part of this passage. Nitobe juxtaposes "our" civilized practices and "their" grotesque customs, banquets graced with bouquets of flowers and "their" feasts decorated with "freshly cut" heads, "a gentleman's hall" and "their" gruesome skull cabinets.

Beginning in 1940, however, a new wartime policy proposed milder treatment of colonial cultures. Conceived by the Imperial Rule Assistance Association (Taisei Yokusankai 大政翼賛会), the new policy construed each colony as part of the –Greater East Asia Co- Prosperity Sphere and emphasized the importance of understanding the unique elements of regional cultures (Kitagawa 2000, 6–8). The Imperial Rule Assistance Association, which had been established by the new prime minister, Kono Fumimaro 近衛文麿 (1891–1954), oversaw the reorganization of the Japanese colonial government in Taiwan, which pursued under Hasegawa Kiyoshi a softer colonial policy than that of the previous governor- general, Kobayashi Seizō. In addition to this milder cultural policy, there was a new interest in Taiwanese local culture in the 1930s, as well as a burgeoning local identification among the Japanese who lived in Taiwan. These new power structures and ideologies merged and promoted a brief renaissance of local culture in the fields of ethnographic research, literature,

the arts, music, and performance art, beginning in 1940 and lasting until 1943 (Liu 2008, 20).

One of the most emblematic manifestations of this trend was the publication of *Ethnic Taiwan* (Minzoku Taiwan 民俗台灣) 1941-1945. It was the work of Japanese intellectuals residing in Taiwan, including professors at Taiwan Imperial University, bureaucrats in the Japanese colonial government, artists, and photographers, all of whom had great enthusiasm for Taiwanese culture. Many of them had married Taiwanese, wore Taiwanese clothes, and cultivated Taiwanese friends (Wu 2008, 56). The purpose of this journal was to chronicle and research Taiwanese local culture, especially those aspects that the Kōminka program was actively destroying. Although the journal was largely a Japanese enterprise, it accepted articles from the general public on any subject related to Taiwanese folk customs (Wu 2008, 52– 53). The journal particularly emphasized objects used by the Taiwanese in daily life. For example, a recurrent feature in the magazine was a large photo of a cultural object, accompanied by a short explanation. Featured objects included decorative elements in traditional Taiwanese architecture, Taiwanese musical instruments, common household implements, and ritual objects for the worship of local deities or ancestors. The authors recorded the functions of the objects and often described their appearance in great detail, including materials, texture, and color.

## A

Japanese authorities were able to construct an emotional reality in their terms which was distributed through a network of cultural policies and create a common base for all segments of Taiwanese, at least towards the final stage of war.

Mythical narratives, based on children and female aborigines, constructed and promoted by the Japanese government, inspired sentimental patriotism of the Taiwanese people who were still classified as infant imperial subjects.

by using the smallest and weakest members of society

as total war engulfed civilian life.

In February, 1938, air strikes on Taiwan by the Nationalists and Russians began, and steadily became more frequent and indiscriminate.

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After several local uprisings in mainland China the 1911 the Qing dynasty was finally overthrown and on December 29, 1911, Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925) was elected as the first provisional president of the newly established Republic of China. As part of this revolution a Taiwan uprising was initiated by the Tongmenghui, the Chinese United League, which was suppressed by the Japanese police and ended in the execution of its leader Luo Fu-xing.

, like receiving the “1000-stitch belt” (senninbari), a soldiers’ charm.

It was none other than the Kuomintang that paid the greatest praise to Japan’s accomplishments in modernizing Taiwan, Ito says. The Kuomintang, at the time in a state of war with Japan, sent a mission when the governor-general of Taiwan mounted an exhibition to mark the 40th anniversary of the office’s governance in 1935 and wrote a laudatory 12-point report.

But after its takeover of Taiwan following Japan’s defeat in 1945, the Kuomintang condemned Japan’s education, for one, for “having turned the Taiwanese into slaves.” Education in Taiwan, in fact, had made great strides. Enrollment rates reached 92.5 percent in 1944, probably among the highest in the world at the time.

In 1935 Taiwanese were allowed to vote for the first time (though not many: only 0.7 percent of the population voted and only half the parliament was elected). However, for Catherine Shu-Fen (Yu) Fewings, the differential treatment of Taiwanese continued and genuine assimilation remained shallow. (Fewings, 2004: 20-21)

Western Painting Division faculty—such as Okada Saburōsuke (1869-1939), Fujishima Takeji (1867-1943), Tanabe Itaru (1886-1968), and Kobayashi Mango (1870-1947)—made significant contributions to modern Taiwanese painting through the influence they exerted on young Taiwanese who became

the pioneers of modern Taiwanese painting.

Japan had implemented an emigration plan but the Japanese immigrants failed to compete with the Han people in Taiwan. Most of them failed to settle in Taiwan permanently and all of them returned to Japan after the Second World War (Wakabayashi Masatake, see Matsunaga Masayoshi *et al.* 1995: 43–45)

Despite its colonial purpose in Taiwan, it was also a search for Japan's architectural identity and origins in the context of its emerging nation.<sup>107</sup>

### Tourism

In the case of Taiwan, sites related to Prince Kitashirakawa Yoshihisa 北條 時宗, who had led the campaign against local resistance to Japan's seizure of Taiwan following Japan's victory in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95 only to die (of malaria) during the operation, became attractions visited by Japanese tourists.

In 1896, Koyama Shōtarō, a leader of the *yōga* completed a panorama of a battle from the Sino-Japanese War (1894) in which Japan had defeated China and acquired Taiwan. The panorama, *Nisshin Sensō Heijō kōgeki no zu (Scene of the Sino-Japanese War battle of Pyongyang)*, was installed in the Nihon Panorama building in Asakusa.

Grass Mountain Exhibition Hall located in the Beitou hot springs area. It showed Taiwan's famous tourists attractions, blueprints for the future Datun National Park (now known as the Yangmingshan National Park) and images of Japanese national parks.

Advertising and special promotions were also directed at people overseas, especially the Japanese homeland: "Come to Treasure Island and see the Taiwan Expo," "Autumn Travel: To the Taiwan Exposition," read the slogans that had been selected in popular competitions.

### woman

Representations of women laboring in colonial factories in Korea, for example, reveal the dynamics of sexual harassment inflected by sexual and colonial inequality. For many Korean proletarian writers, Ruth Barraclough compellingly argues, female factory workers in colonial Korea symbolized the failures of the transition from traditional patriarchal society to a rapidly changing industrializing society in which women are "free" to be used as laborers and as sexual objects, "how authors of proletarian literature depicted factory girls as the sexual victims of capitalism, in a searing critique of the costs of Japan's industrializing project."

### CHINA ROC

In 1911, reformers overthrew the Ch'ing Dynasty and established the Republic of China. By the 1920s, two parties dominated its political life; the Kuomintang (KMT), or Chinese Nationalist Party, which sought to uphold the spirit of 1911, and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). The rival parties established an uneasy new alliance in the 1930s to fight the Japanese, but full-scale civil war broke out between them after World War II.

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<sup>107</sup> Another sort of new constructed buildings were educational facilities which attempted to create a spatial aura for the educated class, excluding all others due its building's authority.

Prior to 1943, both the KMT and the CCP repeatedly stated their concern that Taiwan should be liberated from the Japanese and become independent. In 1925, on his death bed, KMT founding father Sun Yat-sen stated his support for an independent and democratic Taiwan. In 1938, his successor as party chairman, Chiang Kai-shek reiterated this policy. Between 1928 and 1943, the CCP passed at least 20 resolutions in support of an independent and democratic Taiwan. In 1936, party leader Mao Tse-tung endorsed Taiwan independence in an interview with journalist Edgar Snow.

In 1942, Chiang began to express an interest in "recovery" of Taiwan. He demanded promises of territory from the Allied powers as the price of his continued participation in the effort against Japan. In addition, he evidently saw the island as a strategic base from which to resume his struggle with the CCP after the war. Interestingly, during the same period, the KMT refused to allow representatives of assemblies, insisting that the island was not part of China.

By 1943, the United States and Great Britain feared that China, whose military forces proved both corrupt and incompetent, would surrender to Japan. In November of that year the allies issued the "Cairo Declaration," the first of several wartime communiqu s promising to "restore" Taiwan and the Pescadores to China. Ever since, despite their earlier support for Taiwan independence, both the KMT and CCP have pointed to these declarations to justify their view that "Taiwan is a sacred and inseparable province of China."

As Yale University legal scholars Michael Reisman and Chen Lung-chi have pointed out, wartime declarations by one side cannot legally dispose of an enemy's territory. The Cairo Declaration was simply a piece of propaganda, part of the Allies' "psychological warfare." It does not have the legal effect of a post-war treaty.

The peace treaties between Japan and the Allied powers, including the KMT government, do not "re-store" Taiwan to China. On the contrary, these documents leave Taiwan's status unsettled. A number of delegates to the San Francisco Conference of 1951, where Japan signed the main peace treaty with the Allied Powers, explicitly stated that the status of Taiwan should be decided according to the wishes of the people living on the island. So far, that promise remains unfulfilled.

Under international law, an act of self-determination by the affected people, such as a vote in a plebiscite on their political future, is the normal procedure for resolving unsettled status. In the case of former colonies--and this clearly applies to Taiwan as a former Japanese colony-- such a vote is mandatory. Moreover, the right of all peoples to self-determination is stated explicitly in the Charter of the United Nations and many subsequent UN resolutions.

Unfortunately, when Japan surrendered to the allies in 1945, key policy-makers in the U.S. State Department insisted that good U.S-China relations far surpassed in importance the Taiwanese right to self-determination. The KMT was insisting on claiming the rich prize promised in the Cairo declaration. And so, the Allies Far Eastern Commander, the American general Douglas MacArthur, instructed the KMT government of China to accept the surrender of the Japanese forces in Taiwan, and to exercise administrative control "as a trustee on behalf of the allied Powers." According to both the KMT and the CCP, this directive constituted Taiwan's "retrocession" to China. Yet MacArthur also asked the KMT temporarily to occupy Northern Vietnam; no one argues that this justifies any Chinese claims to this nation.



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