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The Turtle Woman's Voices: Multilingual Strategies Of Resistance And Assimilation In Taiwan Under Japanese Colonial Rule

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**THE TURTLE WOMAN'S VOICES:
MULTILINGUAL STRATEGIES OF RESISTANCE AND ASSIMILATION
IN TAIWAN UNDER JAPANESE COLONIAL RULE**

A Thesis Presented

by

HUANG-WEN LAI

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Destructive and Creative of Japanese Colonialism

After the sixty-five-year Japanese Occupation of Taiwan (1885-1945) the people of Taiwan were turned into “Chinese” again, indicating that, despite this long-awaited liberation from Japanese colonial rule, Taiwanese national identity was still not fully recognized. The influence of Japanese domination over Taiwan is still present today. Not only did the Japanese leave a legacy of architectural monuments and other buildings in Taiwan, the period of Japanese domination in Taiwan also changed the everyday life and the culture of the Taiwanese. The Taiwanese people were forced to speak and write in Japanese during the period of colonization so as to facilitate the smooth assimilation of Japanese values. Japanese values permeated -- slowly but effectively -- the entire fabric of Taiwanese culture. For example, the Taiwanese at that time were purged of “the three bad habits,” originally adopted from the Qing Dynasty in mainland China.¹

In chapter two of this thesis, I will examine the political and social realities that informed the literature produced in two Japanese colonies, Korea and Okinawa, in order to establish a context for examining the Taiwanese response to Japanese colonialism. In the Japanese colonial period, Koreans, Okinawans, Taiwanese, and others were forced to follow Japanese rule. Korea and Okinawa went similar paths, but Taiwan’s history turned out to be different from theirs. Through my analysis of the lives and literatures of the colonized, I hope to suggest some of the differences between the Korean and Okinawan situations and the situation of Taiwan. Since the focus of my Master’s thesis is Taiwan

¹ The three bad habits were to have opium, footbinding, and queue (hairstyle).

under Japanese colonial rule, I cannot probe as deeply into the Korean and Okinawan colonial experience as would be necessary for a full comparison. Since my chapter on Korea and Okinawa is intended as a comparative aid to exploring the main target of my investigation, Taiwan, the angles and aspects I use to approach Korean and Okinawan literature consequently differ somewhat from my more comprehensive approach to Taiwanese literature in this thesis, reflecting different historical conditions. In chapter three, I briefly introduce and explain the Japanese domination of Taiwan in order to establish the foundation for a more detailed discussion. In chapter four, I explore the work of Taiwanese writers who lived and wrote during the Japanese Occupation with the goal of showing how they depicted life under Japanese domination. By looking at a variety of texts -- fiction, newspaper reports, cultural essays and diaries -- I paint a picture of the complex feelings, stemming, for example, from the ambivalence about collaboration or resistance that Taiwanese felt at this time in regard to their nationality, identity, and self-identification. By combining my analysis of several famous Taiwanese authors' works with that of writers with a Japanese colonial cultural background, my selective portrait of these writers and my sketch of colonial Taiwan benefit from the juxtaposition of a whole variety of turbulent colonial experiences, thus becoming more vivid to the readers. In chapter five, I conclude this thesis with my explication of the impact of Japanese colonial rule in Korea, Okinawa, and Taiwan and my exploration of the issue of Taiwanese identity and self-identification. I use the two words "identity" and "self-identification" frequently in this thesis. In my definition, which may differ from definitions in dictionaries, "identity" refers to the perception that others have of you; whereas "self-identification" refers to how one recognizes and knows oneself.

The goal of this thesis is to explore several writers' feelings about Japanese domination and determine their "destructive" and "creative" aspects. In order to explore this paradoxical approach to colonization, I examine the socio-political situation, certain incidents involving Taiwanese/ Japanese clashes in Taiwan and similar clashes elsewhere in the world where national identity and self-identification are threatened by colonial rule. A comparative and theoretical approach will not only help situate the literary works under scrutiny in their historical context but also serve as a reality check.

Albert Memmi has famously asserted that "The bond between the colonizer and the colonized is both destructive and creative."² The Taiwanese certainly lived this paradox; indeed, the conflicted way of life at the heart of this paradox is what makes colonial experiences so fascinating. I have tried to capture the mysteriousness inherent in the struggle of colonized people to find terms of coexistence with the colonizer in the title of my thesis, "The Turtle Woman's Voices," which refers to the wisdom of a charismatic character in Shima Tsuyoshi's *Bones*. The old turtle woman is a symbol of the old generation of Okinawans surviving in modern Okinawa. She crosses irreconcilable spaces and times (past and present), thereby transcending the destructive and creative ideologies in Japanese colonialism.

² Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1991), 89.

Chapter 2

Korea and Okinawa under Japanese Rule

2.1. Korea

2.1.1. Introduction

In the late 19th century and the early 20th century, Korea became the first target of the Japanese colonialism and imperialism in Asia because of its geographic position between Japan and China,. The Korean Peninsula was seen as a gangplank for the Japanese nation to expand its influence, territory, and colonial power to the continent. After the Japanese won the first Sino-Japanese war (1894) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5), China and Russia's influence were forced to recede from Korea. As a result, the power of the Japan's government of Japan came to completely control Korea. In 1910, Japan forced Korea to sign the Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty. Thereafter, Korea officially became one of Japan's colonies for the next 35 years.

Korea, like Taiwan, was one of the most important colonies of Japan. However, there was a critical difference between the two colonies. Bruce Cumings indicates the most critical difference in his book: *Parallax Visions: Making Sense of American-East Asian Relations*. He asserts, "The critical difference between Korea and Taiwan begins with Korea's millennium-long history of continuous, independent existence within well-recognized territorial boundaries, combined with startling ethnic homogeneity and pronounced ethnic, linguistic, and cultural difference from its neighbors."³ This difference was also the reason that the resistance of the colonized towards Japanese imperialism and colonialism was much more severe in Korea than in Taiwan during the

³ Bruce Cumings, *Parallax Visions: Making Sense of American-East Asian Relations* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002): 74.

colonial period. Because of Korea's geographical position amid Japan, China, and Russia, Korea's integral role in Japan's administrative guidance was "a bridge linking the metropole to the hinterland economies."⁴ The Korean industry would be "integral to the overall planning been done in Tokyo and would require some protection if it was to accept its proper place in "a single, coexistence, coprosperous Japanese-Korean unit."⁵ That is to say, most of Korea's developments during the Japanese colonial period were in favor of its suzerain: Japan.

Japan focused primarily on developing industry in Korea. According to Cumings, heavy industry accounted for 28 percent of the total industrial production and half a million Korean people worked in industry in Korea by 1936. Moreover, the number of Korean employees even tripled by 1945. Compared with Taiwan, Korea's industry expanded to at least double the rate of Taiwan.⁶ It can be said that Korea's modern industrial development was established during the Japanese colonial period. Not only was the industrial development established rapidly, but also the Koreans' living standards rose apparently at that time. Kimura Mitsuhiro indicates,

Among the many factors that directly affect a person's well-being, I have focused on nutrition, literacy, and mortality or survival. Within that framework, living standards appear to have risen: First, literacy and survival rates rose. Second, given that average stature reflects nutritional status more directly than does per capita calorie intake, Koreans' nutritional status does not appear to have suffered.⁷

However, the fact that Koreans' living standards rose during the Japanese colonial period does not mean that the Korean mental health became better as well. Actually, it can be

⁴ Ibid., p. 74.

⁵ Ibid., p. 75.

⁶ Ibid., p. 76.

⁷ Kimura Mitsuhiro, "Standards of Living in Colonial Korea: Did the Masses Become Worse Off or Better Off under Japanese Rule?" *The Journal of Economic History* 53, no. 3 (1993): 649.

said that the Korean mental health deteriorated during that time because of the strict Japanese colonial rule. Kimura further claims, “It seems unlikely that every element of Korean living conditions improved under colonial rule. For example, Japanese deprivation of Korean national sovereignty and self-esteem through colonization and the strict Japanese-first colonial policy depressed most Koreans. As a result, Korean mental health may have deteriorated.”⁸ Although the fact that the Japanese made many contributions to Korea’s modernization can not be denied, the depression of the colonized Koreans was also true. The other colonized subjects, such as the Taiwanese and the Okinawans, also faced the same situation as the Koreans did, but the Koreans could be one of the colonial subjects who felt the most depressed and frustrated under Japanese rule because they had been the most independent.

2.1.2. Frustration, Trauma, and Violence

During the colonial period, the Koreans were oppressed by the Japanese colonial policy. They were under the strict control of the Japanese. Their social status was forced to change. There was no way for them to escape from the colonial society. As I mentioned earlier, because of Korea’s millennium-long history of continuous, independent existence within well-recognized territorial boundaries, the Koreans’ national identity and identification were relatively firm and solid. Therefore, unlike Taiwan and Okinawa, the Japanese assimilation policy could not be easier executed in Korea. Consequently, rather than struggling with the issue of recognizing their national identity, the Koreans had their own difficult issues during the colonial period. One of the most difficult issues that the Koreans faced was the changes within the Korean society.

⁸ Ibid, p. 649.

Under Japanese colonial authority, Koreans' social ranks were inferior to the Japanese everywhere in Korea. This social hierarchy and unfair systems extremely troubled the Koreans, especially elite Koreans and middle class Koreans. Many elite Koreans went abroad to study in Japan at that time. However, these elite Koreans could not benefit from their Japanese education because of their colonized identity. In addition to these elite Koreans, Korean women were in a sad plight during the Japanese colonial period.

Although Korea became modernized under the Japanese rule, most Korean women could not receive higher and better education at that time. Korean women were only allowed to maintain their traditional roles in Korean society. Compared with Korean men's physical frustrations, Korean women suffered relatively worse mental conditions during the colonial period. Korean women did not benefit intellectually from Korea's modernization, but suffered violence under the Japanese colonial power. The Korean women's colonial experience, such as their experience as comfort women, was epitomized by their sexual and violent traumatization during the colonial period and even until today. In order to find out the influences of the Japanese colonial power on the Koreans' lives, I will analyze the Korean colonial work, *The Society That Drives You to Drink* (1912), that focuses on the Korean people's frustration, trauma, and helplessness during the Japanese colonial period.

2.1.3. *The Society That Drives You to Drink*

“The Society That Drives You to Drink” first appeared in a literary journal, *Kaebiyik*, in 1921. This short story was written by Hyōn Chin-gōn (1900-1943). Hyōn Chin-gōn was born in Korea and educated in Korea and Shanghai. He worked for several

newspapers later in Korea. Hyōn Chin-gōn first published his literary work, *Sacrificial Flowers*, in 1920. Following *Sacrificial Flowers*, Hyōn wrote many fictions such as *The Destitute Wife* (1921), *The Society That Drives You to Drink* (1921), *The Degenerate* (1922), *A Lucky Day* (1924), and *Fire* (1925). As Kim Chong-un and Bruce Fulton mentioned in their introduction to *The Society That Drives You to Drink*, Hyōn's writing style is to "depict the forbidden problems faced by an intellectual class whose society struggles to modernize."⁹ Moreover, Kim and Fulton also indicate, "These slices of life in colonial Korea are peopled almost uniformly by individuals oppressed by forces beyond their control."¹⁰ The society that Hyōn lived in during his whole life was a Japanese colonized society. Therefore, his literary works represented the real lives and plights of Korean under Japanese colonial rule. *The Society That Drives You to Drink* is one of Hyōn's best-known works and reveals the realities that Koreans faced at that time.

The Society That Drives You to Drink begins with a scene of a Korean woman who stabs her left thumbnail with a needle while doing a solitary sewing work at home. The author precisely draws the detailed reactions that the woman has after she has been stabbed herself. The woman is a traditional Korean woman who did not receive higher education in the colonial period. Her husband is an elite Korean who has excellent educational backgrounds in both Korea and Japan. He married the woman right before he goes to study abroad in Tokyo. They were separated for at least 7 years. When the man comes home for good, his behavior seems not consistent with the woman's expectations. She originally expects her husband to do some great jobs and bring her a happy life after coming back from Tokyo. However, her husband is no different from those who do not

⁹ Hyōn Chin-gōn, "The Society That Drives You to Drink," *KOREAN LITERATURE TODAY* 3, no. 1 (1998): 7.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

study. At first, he always stays at home and keeps saying that he is aggravated. The situation remains unchanged for several months. The husband is sometimes sobbing. Then, several months pass, and the only change the husband makes in his behavior is that he frequently drinks outside at night. He gets drunk and comes home almost every night with a strong smell of liquor. The wife does not know what is happening to her husband. Every time she asks her husband about this, her husband just keeps silent. One day, her husband comes home with a stink of liquor as usual. The wife suddenly flares up and she asks her husband about his behavior. After having a huge quarrel, the husband finally tells the wife that it is the wicked Korean society that drives him to drink. The wife does not understand her husband's answer. When the wife is still thinking about her husband's words, the husband suddenly bolts out of the house. The wife can not stop her husband. She just stays alone in the empty house and whispers: Why does this wicked "society" drive him to drink?

The story reveals the reality that elite Koreans faced at that time. Like many elite Koreans, the protagonist's husband chooses to go to Tokyo for study. However, the protagonist is a traditional, uneducated Korean woman. It was hard for an uneducated Korean woman to fully understand that the only way to be successful in the colonial Korean society is for her husband went to study in Japan. In order to have more opportunities to succeed in Korean society, the man had no choice but to leave his wife for a long time. The author depicts the wife's feelings about her husband's leaving,

What was her husband doing in Tokyo? Well, he was studying. But what did that mean? She wasn't really sure. Nor did she need to bother herself to learn. Whatever it was, it was supposed to be the best, the most valuable thing in the world. It was like the goblin's spiked club that granted all wishes, as related in that tale from the old days: if he wished for clothing, then clothing would appear; and the same with food, money.... Her

husband could wish for anything—no request was impossible—and he would return with it from Tokyo.¹¹

The wife senses that it is supposed to be best if her husband studies in Japan.

Nevertheless, she endures loneliness and pressure because of her husband's absence. The author describes the wife's feelings as follows,

How anxious, how lonesome she had been during that long period! In spring she would breathe in the scent of the laughing flowers, in winter hot tears would cover her icy pillow. How she missed him the times her body ached, the times her soul despaired! But all this she endured stoically, indeed welcomed. For one day he would return. This thought consoled her, gave her courage.¹²

It can be said that the wife's feelings reflect the traditional Korean women's feelings in the colonial period. The wife has no chance to receive a higher education and succeed in the colonial Korean society. The only thing that can console her and give her courage is her husband's return and success in the Korean society. Precisely speaking, it is clear that the wife has no personality in the story. Her happiness depends on her husband's performance in society. When the husband comes home for good but disappoints her expectations, she wonders about this. "What's bothering him? his wife wondered. And she too grew troubled. She made various attempts to restore what was wasting away. She tried as best she could to add tasty dishes to his meals, and she made things such as oxtail soup. But it was all in vain. Her husband took little food, saying he had no appetite."¹³ Moreover, when the wife finally flares up and she quarrels with her husband about his bad behavior, she does not understand his answer and her husband says, "I was wrong, wrong, wrong. Wrong to confide in a simpleton like you. I just wanted a bit of sympathy

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 8-9.

¹² Ibid., p. 8.

¹³ Ibid., p. 9.

from you—but I was wrong.”¹⁴ Finally, the wife can only whisper in despair, “Why does this wicked ‘society’ drive him to drink?”¹⁵ The wife’s situation in the story can be seen as the real situation that the Korean women lived at that time. Loneliness, desperation, and sadness are the three words which may best express the Korean women’s poor situation in the colonial Korean society.

The husband’s frustration in the Korean society is another key point in the story. The husband represents the elite or the middle class Korean who lived in the Japanese colonial period. After coming back from Tokyo, he was supposed to have a successful career in Korea. However, because of his identity as a Korean, his brilliant personality and highly educated background can not help his achievement in the Korean society. As an elite Korean man, he can not air his grievances to his wife. At first, he keeps saying he is aggravated. However, as soon as he realizes that his wife can not understand his plight, he becomes silent and goes out to drink. The wife guesses that there must be something that drives her husband to drink, “Well...first of all I thought it was anger that drove you to drink, and second, maybe the fashionable people drove you to drink.”¹⁶ The husband denies these reasons and finally confesses the truth angrily, he says,

You don't understand, do you? I shouldn't have asked you in the first place. Of course you don't understand. I'll try to explain. Now listen carefully. What's driving me to drink isn't anger and it isn't the dandies. It's this society—our Korean society—that drives me to drink. It's my good fate to have been born in Korea—if I'd been born in another country, would I be able to get booze?¹⁷

About the Korean society, the husband continues to explain,

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 16.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 13.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 14.

This society that we Koreans have established can't help but drive me to drink.... How so? I'll tell you. Let's suppose we organize a club. Now the fellows that get together in this club—to hear them talk, it's the people, the society, that comes first. There isn't one of them who wouldn't give his life for that cause. And yet in just two days—you know what happens in just two days?...They argue over who gets credit, they fight over who gets what position—I'm right, you're wrong; I've got more power than you do—and night and day they tear into each other, they try and destroy each other...All the groups we lowly Koreans have organized are fragments of this society and they are all alike...¹⁸

Through the husband's words, the author indicates that the Korean society is filled with the people who want to get credits and positions. Nevertheless, whatever they fight for, because of their identities as “lowly Koreans” and their “good fates” to be born in Korea, they have no chance to reach their achievements in the colonial Korean society. They can stay only at the lower social hierarchy in the society.

The author does not clearly point out that this strange Korean society resulted from the Japanese colonization, because Korean literary works at that time were under a serious censorship by the Japanese colonial government. The husband's explanation reveals the truth that the elite Korean did not have a chance to be successful at that time. The only way to have a better life than other Koreans was to compete with other Koreans and get positions. Moreover, the author also infers that there is nothing that the Koreans can do about changing the situation. The husband says,

The fellow who tries to do something is a fool. The fellow who has his wits about him throws up blood and dies—nothing he can do about it. And if he doesn't die, then he's left with absolutely nothing but booze. There was a time when I decided to do something, and I gave it a try. It all went up in smoke. I was a fool...The only thing you can do in this society is to be a lush.¹⁹

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 14-15.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 15.

Apparently, the husband has given up his hope about this society. The only thing that he can do is to drink. For the husband, or the elite and middle-class Korean men, there is nothing but frustration and hopelessness in colonized Korean society.

For the wife, and many traditional Korean women, the beginning of this story represents their trauma and hopelessness. When the wife is doing her solitary sewing work, a needle has stabbed her beneath her thumbnail. The author depicts her actions,

She quickly extracted the needle and pressed down on the wound with her other thumb...Then she let up on her thumb. The area showed no color; perhaps the bleeding had stopped. But then from beneath the pallid skin the crimson oozed forth once again in a flowery network and a drop of blood no larger than a millet grain welled up, barely visible, from the wound. Nothing to do but press down once more. Again the bleeding seemed almost stanchd, but if she relaxed the pressure it soon resumed.²⁰

The un-stopped bleeding wound refers to the wife's never-ending trauma towards his husband and the Korean society. The wound keeps bleeding; therefore, the wife has nothing to do but press on the wound. The wife can not even pick up a scrap of cloth to bandage her wound because it will soon resume bleeding, if she relaxes the pressure of the wound. She finally cries and shouts, "Why can't I pick you up!"²¹ For the uneducated Korean woman, the wife does not benefit from Korea's modernization. The wife's only hope is her husband. However, her husband does nothing but drink. The author's detailed description of the wife's actions toward her bleeding wound precisely reveals the traditional Korean woman's sadness and hopelessness in Japanese colonial Korea.

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 7-8.

²¹ Ibid., p. 15.

2.2. Okinawa

2.2.1. Introduction

Since Japan's annexation of Okinawa in 1879, Okinawans have been considered one of the minorities in Japan. For most Japanese, folk music, awamori,²² and the Okinawan dialect may be the first things that come to mind when they think about Okinawa. Except for these exotic images that have been rooted in the mind of mainland Japanese, Okinawa hardly attracts attention from the mainland. The literature of Okinawa is no exception. Japanese literary circles seldom focused on Okinawan literature until the end of the twentieth century. While two Okinawan writers, Matayoshi Eiki (1947-) and Medoruma Shun (1960-), consecutively won the Akutagawa Prize in 1996 and 1997, some people and scholars still remained skeptical. After two authors received their awards, Okinawan literature finally received the appropriate appreciation from Japanese literary circles.

Because of the historical background of Japanese colonization and the impact of the Battle of Okinawa, generally speaking, Okinawan writers center their literary works on two different themes: the struggle of identity and the war experience. Michael Molasky and Steve Rabson claim in their introduction to *Southern Exposure*, "if the Battle of Okinawa and ensuing American military occupation are the central themes of the region's postwar literature, then the struggle over Okinawa's cultural identity appears to be the predominant issue in prewar literature."²³

Regarding the early period (before U.S. army occupation) of Japanese governed Okinawa, I will review the history of the Battle of Okinawa and analyze two Okinawan

²² Awamori is an alcoholic beverage which is unique to Okinawa.

²³ Michael Molasky, and Steve Babson, eds, *Southern Exposure: Modern Japanese Literature from Okinawa* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000): 4.

literary works in order to pursue and identify the struggling cultural identity of Okinawans and their hopes of peace toward the future in Okinawan literature under Japanese colonization.

2.2.2. The Battle of Okinawa

Talking about the WW II in Okinawa, no one can ever forget the Battle of Okinawa. Okinawa was the only part of Japanese soil that had been directly attacked by the U.S. Army during the World War II. From the American perspective, the Battle of Okinawa was the bloodiest battle in the Pacific War. The battle is nicknamed “Typhoon of Steel” in English or “Tetsu no bōfō” in Japanese, which implies the severe degree of the fighting in Okinawa. The Battle of Okinawa began in April of 1945 and ceased in the end of June in the same year. The battle lasted for 84 days (April 1- June 23). The casualties of the Battle of Okinawa were huge and difficult to estimate. According to Gordon L. Rottman, during the Battle of Okinawa, the U.S. sustained over 72,000 casualties, of whom 12,513 were killed²⁴. On the other hand, the Japanese casualties came to over 142,000. About 42,000 to 50,000 Okinawan civilians were by gun fire from the Japanese Army or the American Army, committed suicide, or were murdered by the Japanese soldiers. In total, an estimated 122,000 Okinawan civilians were killed during the Battle of Okinawa. The number of deaths came to over one-third of the indigenous population and even exceeded the combined death toll of the nuclear bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.²⁵

²⁴ Gordon L. Rottman, *Okinawa 1945: The Last Battle* (Westport, Conn: Praeger, 2004): 85.

²⁵ Ibid.

2.2.2.1. Typhoon of Steel

The Okinawans were killed not only because of the U.S. Army's attacks, but they were also ordered to commit suicide by the Japanese troop leaders. On Tokashiki Island and Zamami Island, Japanese troop leaders ordered the islanders to commit suicide in order to make sure that the non-combatants not disturb the combat activities of the troops. Many islanders obeyed the order. They used household objects, like axes, razors, hoes, rat poison, and wooden rods, to kill their families first and then, also kill themselves. The Japanese Army also inculcated the idea in the indigenous women that if they were caught or surrendered to the U.S. Army, they would be raped and killed. According to Miyume Tanji, "A member of the Okinawan Women Act Against Military and Violence, Miyagi Harumi, writes that in Zamami Island soldiers had told the residents their 'hero stories' (*buyūden*) of raping and killing in the Chinese battlefield."²⁶ Therefore, the fate of the female islanders was to commit suicide before the U.S. troops came. Ironically, many of the Japanese troop leaders and core members surrendered to the U.S. Army and survived after the islanders died. Other Okinawans also faced similar situations during the Battle of Okinawa. Moreover, the Japanese government and imperial education had inculcated in the Okinawans the virtue of self-sacrifice, thus, they were willing to die bravely for the Japanese Emperor.²⁷

2.2.2.2. Turtleback Tomb

When the U.S. Army landed on the main island of Okinawa, the inhabitants in the central and southern part of Okinawa were trying to flee to the north side of the island.

²⁶ Miyume Tanji, *Myth, Protest and Struggle in Okinawa* (London; New York Routledge, 2006): 38-39.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

However, only a few people, about 3,000, were able to leave the battlefield; most inhabitants, around 450,000 people, were left behind and forced to stay in the combat zone.²⁸ One of the reasons that the inhabitants did not escape from the battlefield was that they believed it would be much safer to stay near the Japanese troops. However, in *Perilous Memories*, Ishihara Masaie argues,

In the process of recording the survivors' war experiences, many things have been learned, and an area of common ground, or consensus, about the war has emerged. One area of agreement is that the Japanese Army did nothing to protect the lives of the citizens of its own country. The military had its own logic which gave priority to itself in all matters concerning its mission, and this resulted in the army's turning against the citizens of its own country.²⁹

The inhabitants still left, most of whom were females and adolescents, were trained to fight with bamboo sticks before the U.S. Army landed. They hid themselves inside family tombs and emergency caves while they carried out their daily obligations, such as farming and construction. The traditional family tombs of Okinawans had a distinctive shape. As Molasky mentions, "Throughout the islands, even on land adjacent to the bases, are elaborate stone tombs shaped like small houses, many with turtleback-style roofs not found in mainland Japan."³⁰ Because of its special shape, which resembled the back of a turtle's shell, people named the tombs "Turtleback Tomb" (kameko-baka). The turtleback tombs are similar to the Chinese-style tombs, which are large enough to accommodate generations of family members. Following severe battles, the remaining Japanese officers and soldiers also hid in the tombs. Taking their status for granted, the Japanese officers and soldiers occupied the most comfortable and safe spaces of the tombs. Local

²⁸ Ibid., p. 39.

²⁹ Fujitani, T., Geoffrey M. White, and Lisa Yoneyama, eds., *Perilous Memories: The Asia-Pacific War(S)*. (Durham [N.C.]: Duke University Press, 2001): 98.

³⁰ Molasky and Babson, eds., *Southern Exposure: Modern Japanese Literature from Okinawa*, 12.

inhabitants were forced to live in the more dangerous areas of the tomb, which were always next to the entrance. They became human shields for Japanese soldiers, and were often shot and killed when the U.S. troops tried to enter the tombs. Moreover, the Japanese soldiers even killed crying children or ordered the parents to stifle children in order to prevent the U.S. army from locating their refuges. The Japanese soldiers also killed or raped many ordinary people just because they felt depressed about the defeat in battle. Compared with the U.S. Army, contrary to Japanese war propaganda, the Japanese troops were even more ferocious and brutal to the Okinawans..

2.2.2.3. Destruction and the Victims of the Battle of Okinawa

During the Battle of Okinawa, not only were casualties from both sides of the army victims, but also the civilian deaths among Okinawans were significant. The *Himeyuri-tai*, or Princess Lily Corps, were another poor victim of the battle. Just before the American troops landed on the Okinawa, the Japanese Army mobilized a group, consisting of 222 school girls and 18 teachers from Okinawa's high schools as battlefield nurses, to serve the Japanese troops. Their job was to dispose of corpses, help the wounded, and carry water and supplies to the troops on the frontlines. The girls faced the most dangerous situations, and most of them survived during the bombardment of the battle. But the tragedy was that half of them died after the Japanese troops had lost the battle and the Japanese commander committed suicide. Molasky mentions,

Indoctrinated by an ideology that encouraged suicide rather than surrender and that led them to believe they would be raped if captured, many of these student nurses killed themselves by jumping off cliffs or huddling around a hand grenade and pulling the pin. Their tragic deaths have come

to embody, in Japan's popular imagination, the Battle of Okinawa as well as the suffering that war inevitably entails.³¹

The Japanese military also told these girls that if they were taken prisoner, the enemy would rape and kill them. They gave the girls grenades to commit suicide before being taken prisoner. For these Princess Lily Corps, they enforced their strict imperial education, which meant that being taken prisoner was the same as being a traitor. Furthermore, teachers who insisted that students should be evacuated to a safe place, were also accused of being traitors.

Compared with the 17 deaths during the fighting, more than 100 students and teachers died pointlessly in only a few days, after the Japanese troops were totally defeated in the battle. In total, 136 himeyuri-tai members died, including 123 students and 13 teachers, during the Battle of Okinawa.

The Battle of Okinawa not only caused the deaths of the Okinawans, but also entailed the destruction of the Okinawa cultural treasure of Shuri Castle, the palace of the Ryūkyū Kingdom. It was almost completely destroyed by the bombardment of the U.S. Army because the Japanese Army set its command headquarters in the castle. Molasky describes the damage to the castle in *The American Occupation of Japan and Okinawa*,³²

American naval ships fired thousands of tons of artillery at the castle, which was Okinawa's pre-eminent cultural treasure and its most salient link to the independent Ryūkyū Kingdom. After four days of constant barrage, the castle's thick stone walls finally gave away and Okinawa's most tangible link to its past was decimated.³³

Like the turtleback tombs, Shuri Castle also represented a link to the ancestors and the past of the Okinawans. The Japanese Army's use of Shuri Castle as a command

³¹ Ibid., p. 20.

³² Michael Molasky, *The American Occupation of Japan and Okinawa* (London; New York: Routledge, 1999).

³³ Ibid., p. 16.

headquarters, as well as occupying the turtleback tombs as shelters, could be associated with the situations that the Ryūkyū Kingdom or the Okinawans faced in the recent centuries. From the period of Ryūkyū Kingdom to the Japanese domination of Okinawa, the Okinawans had always lived between outside powers. The destruction of Shuri Castle also represented the destruction of the connection between the Okinawans and their ancestral history. This could be also one of the reasons that the Japanese assimilation in Okinawa is successful.

2.2.3. Okinawan Literature under Japanese Domination

2.2.3.1 Post-colonial Responses, War Responsibility and Memory

As mentioned before, the history of modern Okinawan literature can be divided into two parts by the war. Postwar Okinawan literature, basically, focuses on two different topics: the Battle of Okinawa, and the American military occupation. However, in the early postwar years, living conditions in Okinawa were quite bad. Therefore, as Molasky and Rabson mention, “the first dynamic period in postwar Okinawan literature did not arrive until the mid-1950s with the appearance of the radical student magazine, *Ryūdai bungaku* (University of the Ryukyus literature).”³⁴

Regarding the topic of the Battle of Okinawa, the war experiences are the central ideology. Following the central idea, the issues of war responsibility, war memory, Japanese colonialism, generational differences, and criminal consciousness, also appear in literary works. In the next section, I will analyze two Okinawan literary works, *Bones* and *Droplets*, and try to discover the issues of early Japanese domination in Okinawan

³⁴ Molasky and Babson, eds., *Southern Exposure: Modern Japanese Literature from Okinawa*, 5.

literature. Both *Bones* and *Droplets* relate the Battle of Okinawa, but discuss it in different ways.

2.2.3.2. *Bones* (1973)

Bones was written by Shima Tsuyoshi (1939-). It was published in the *Ryūkyū shinpō* in 1973, just one year after Okinawa's reversion to Japan. The story takes place during the transition from the old era to a new era. Following Okinawa's reversion to Japan, a construction boom occurred in Okinawa. The story begins in a construction site that will be the front of a new hotel's stroll garden in Naha. When a work crew from Naha City Hall discovers thousands of human bones at the construction site, war memories suddenly surface in front of the eyes of Okinawans.

The different perspectives of the young and older generations of Okinawans are a significant part in this story. As the bones are discovered, an old woman emerges to explain the story. She is the person who represents the old generation of Okinawans. The first conflict between the generations appears in a conversation with the old woman, when a younger crew member asks her why she is selling the land without telling the story about the bones. She answers,

It was all because of that dumb son of ours. He let the real estate agent pull the wool over his eyes. We tried to educate him. We tried to get him to understand what sort of property it was and that it ought not to be sold, but he never got the point.³⁵

The answer from the old woman appears in the younger Okinawan generation's lack of consciousness of the war and even the history of Okinawa. A similar attitude appears

³⁵ Ibid., p. 160.

when the construction boss tries to chop down the banyan tree and the old turtle woman says again,

Well, Mr. Bossman. You say you're going to chop down the banyan tree? And just who do you think it belongs to? That tree there was planted by my father. What's more, it has come to be possessed by the spirits of thousands of dead people. That's where their spirits live. Don't you have any common sense?

To the construction boss, the word from the old woman is just something of the shamaness. The old turtle woman's reference to "common sense" means nothing to the younger generations or businessman, but it means a lot to the old generation of the Okinawans. As the old turtle woman says, the banyan tree represents the spirits of dead people. It not only representing the spirits of dead people, it also represents history, memory, and tragedy of Okinawa. To chop down the banyan tree also means to cut the history, memory, and tragedy from Okinawa. Ironically, only the old turtle woman realizes the "common sense," and the other people just ignore it. The different points of view show that the history and memory of the war in Okinawa are gradually disappearing, except that one young man, Kamakichi, finally realizes the significance of "common sense." At the beginning, Kamakichi did not understand what those bones meant. According to the story, to Kamakichi, at first, "it had all happened so very long ago...it seemed like some ancient, mythical tale that had no connection with him now."³⁶ However, while dealing with the job of collecting the bones, he began to change, "He thought of his father, and the memories came back fast and furious, without letting up."³⁷ At the end of the story, the narrative tells, "Still, there was something about the tree that

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 164-165.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 165.

made him feel cool and refreshed. It made him think of his father again.”³⁸ The changes in Kamakichi mean that at least a few of the younger generation of Okinawans can have “common sense.” However, no one knows what will happen in the future. It is just like the fate of the banyan tree at the end of the story.

The old turtle woman not only represents the old generation of the Okinawans, but also manifests the history and tradition of Okinawa. Her given name, Kame, sounds like the word for turtle. Also, the author points out that the construction boss “could not help feeling there was something tortoise-like about the old woman’s appearance.”³⁹ Both the name “Kame” and the tortoise-like figure of the old woman could represent the Okinawans’ traditional “turtleback tombs.” On the one hand, the turtleback tomb was a symbol of the connection of the family and also a shelter for the Okinawans in the Battle of Okinawa. On the other hand, the turtleback tomb means war and death because the Japanese soldiers occupied the tombs and pushed the Okinawans to their deaths. Therefore, through these multiple images of the old turtle woman, the author makes readers relate to the disappearances of the traditions, the memories of the war, and the trauma of the Okinawans.

Another important point in this story is the issue of the legacy of colonialism. The resting place of those killed in the war and the tree that memorializes them and marks off their grave, is threatened and violated by the building of the hotel. Instead of the Japanese colonialism in the past, tourism can be seen as a neo-colonial act in Okinawa. The bones of dead humans signify the victims of colonialism, no matter which nationality they were. As the old turtle woman tells the origins of the bones, she says, “hell, what does it matter

³⁸ Ibid., p. 170.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 158.

whose bones they are? They all died in the big battle. Japanese. Americans. Men. Women. Even little babies got killed while they were still sucking at their mothers' breasts. We dumped them all together into this one big pit."⁴⁰ It can be said that they were conscripted to fight and die due to Japanese colonialism, no matter who they were. Even though they have already become bones and have been buried in the big pit for a long time, they still can not rest in peace because neo-colonialism and tourism have invaded Okinawa and oppressed them again.

For the older generations of Okinawans, it does not seem to matter whether the corpses were Japanese or Americans. They were all human beings. That is why they dumped them all together. They have become indistinguishable. As Kamakichi is sifting through the bones, the old turtle woman appears to help him, and mutters, "You poor, poor things. Whose bones are you, here in this miserable place? Look what's become of you. Who were your parents? And who were your children? It's all so sad."⁴¹ The old turtle woman asks consecutive questions while sifting the bones. She does not want anybody to answer the questions. From her murmuring, it is clear that she knows these bones belong to the people who have different genders and ages. However, she does not mention nationalities. It is because she does not care about nationalities. The bones are buried together, and all become spirits in Okinawa. It can be said that the old turtle woman as well as the Okinawans only wish for peace. Also, unlike several former works which stressed the issue of struggling identity and identification of the Okinawans, through this work, the Japanese assimilation of Okinawans seems successful. However, even if assimilation was successful, the Okinawan struggle with cultural identity

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 159.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 164.

continues. It appears overtly that the Japanese controlled everything in Okinawa, and the Okinawans are still being colonized.

In conclusion, through the story, the author, Shima Tsuyoshi, tries to bring up several issues, such as: the perspectives of generations, the history of the war, the responses to colonialism, the struggle with cultural identity, and the desire for peace.

2.2.3.3. *Droplets* (1997)

Droplets won the Akutagawa prize in the summer of 1997. The author is the famous Okinawan writer, Medoruma Shun (1960-). His work deals with significant issues of wartime memories, individual guilt, atonement, and responsibility of the survivors after the Battle of Okinawa. The story is about an elderly Okinawan man, Tokushō, who suffers from a bizarre affliction: one day, his foot begins to itch, swells to the size of a summer gourd melon, and starts to seep droplets of water. To make matters worse, the spirits of Japanese soldiers who were fatally wounded during the Battle of Okinawa in World War II start visiting Tokushō every night to drink the mysterious water coming from his foot. In the meantime, the water has strange healing powers, and Tokushō's cousin, Seiyū, makes a fortune by selling it as a panacea. By remembering, confessing, and apologizing for the sins that Tokushō committed to his comrades, especially to his best friend, Ishimine, in the Battle of Okinawa, his swelling subsides and the dripping from his foot also stops. Tokushō regains his health. One day, when Tokushō tries to cut the overgrown grass in order to regain his strength, he finds an enormous gourd melon lying beneath a hedge of Chinese hibiscus.

The image of the gourd melon plays an important role in the story. Michael Molasky and Steve Rabson discuss the image of the gourd melon in their brief introduction on Medoruma Shun. They write,

In one of his rare comments on this story, Medoruma Shun reminds readers that shortly after the Battle of Okinawa, abnormally large vegetables began to appear, presumably nourished by the countless corpses absorbed into the soil. He then adds, in his laconic manner, that a similar phenomenon was observed in China only a few years earlier.⁴²

The gourd melon represents the large vegetables, which were nourished by the human corpses in the war. Medoruma overlays this image onto the protagonist's swelling foot, "Tokushō's leg had already swelled to the size of an average gourd melon and turned pale green."⁴³ Through the image of the gourd melon, the author explains that Tokushō's foot swells like a gourd melon because, in a sense, Tokushō is also nourished by human corpses. He survives in the battle because he flees when his comrades need his help. Abandoning his friend allows him to survive in the war. The abandoned comrade had no hope of survival; he definitely would die. That is to say, the death of his comrade allows Tokushō to live. That is why the author makes Tokushō's foot swell like a gourd melon. It implies the protagonist's egoistic and guilty life in the story.

In contrast to the male egoistic role of Tokushō, Medoruma brings up the altruistic character of Miyagi Setsu, who is a member of himeyuri-tai. Setsu is from the same group of villages as Tokushō and Ishimine. She knew Tokushō when she worked in the Student Nurse Corps, which infers to Princess Lily Corps. Setsu took better care of Tokushō than of the other soldiers. Setsu committed suicide with her five classmates by taking out a hand grenade only one day before the Japanese lost the battle. However,

⁴² Ibid., p. 254.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 255.

Tokushō does not know how she died at that time. He learns the story many years later. When Tokushō learns of Setsu's death, his reaction divided, "he was suddenly overcome by a desire to kill those who drove Setsu to her death. At the same time, he was forced to acknowledge a sense of relief that no one was left who knew the truth about Ishimine."⁴⁴ This female character, Setsu, not only enhances the distinction of the protagonist's egoism and conscience, but also regards the historical tragedy, which is the group suicide of the himeyuri-tai (Princess Lily Corps), that happened in Okinawa.

Memory is another key element in the story. The protagonist tries to get away from his true memories by telling lies, drinking alcohol, and keeping silent for years. His bizarre illness appears in order to refresh his memories. The memories that he tries to forget come back vividly through the spirits of the soldiers. The memory which comes back first is about Ishimine. Tokushō recognizes him and moans his name immediately. It shows that his memory about Ishimine is the most mysterious part, perhaps also the guiltiest part of his war memories. He can not be aware of these because his memory resides in the subconscious. The memory about a wounded soldier, to whom he promises to bring water to but never carries out his promise, is another example of memory hidden in the subconscious: "Now this man's teeth rubbed against Tokushō's toe as he sucked and it hurt. The dripping seemed to have slowed. *Perhaps now I have fulfilled my promise*, thought Tokushō."⁴⁵ Tokushō still remembers his unfulfilled promise. The wounded soldier, whom he can not remember for many years, comes back and to keep Tokushō fulfill his promise. In this nightmarish way, those soldiers' spirits bring the guilty memories back to Tokushō's mind. And through drinking the mysterious water

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 281.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 273.

coming from Tokushō's foot, those soldiers' spirits are released. Tokushō also regains his memories, and is relieved of his sense of guilt.

As seen through *Droplets*, the acknowledgment of the past to relieve one's guilt serves as the most important function in recalling the war memories. Tokushō's bizarre illness results from his accumulative sense of guilt. Tokushō does not confess and apologize the first time Ishimine comes to drink the water coming from his foot. This is because, at that time, Tokushō has not fully recalled his war memories and criminal consciousness yet. Remembering Ushi's words is a turning point for him to confess his guilt: "Ushi's words came to mind: You'll git your comeuppance for tryin' to profit off people's sufferin' in the war."⁴⁶ Tokushō starts to confess his guilt and it allows him recover from the bizarre illness. The last time Ishimine's spirit comes to drink the water, Tokushō finally apologizes to him, and says, "Ishimine, forgive me," and then bursts into anger, "don't you know how much I've suffered these past fifty years?" Tokushō's confession makes Ishimine's spirit reply, "thank you. At least the thirst is gone."⁴⁷ Then, Tokushō's bizarre illness is healed: "at dawn, Tokushō's wail echoed throughout the village."⁴⁸ Tokushō's confession of war memories absolves him of guilt.

The symbol of dropping water is a significant part in this story. On the one hand, the water coming from his foot relieves the thirst of the spirits of the soldiers. On the other hand, the water has strange healing powers for the villagers. The symbolism can be explained in two ways: for the soldiers' spirits, the reason the water can relieve their thirst results from the metaphor that the water coming from Tokushō's foot originates from their corpses. As mentioned before, the gourd melon represents the large vegetables,

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 272.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 281.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 282.

which were nourished by the human corpses in the war. Tokushō's foot swelling like a gourd melon demonstrates the idea. For the villagers, the magic healing power of the water comes from the spirits of the soldiers. Through this story, the phenomenon of the healing powers of water for the villagers reinforces the images of severely wounded soldiers. Therefore, the healing powers come from the injured soldiers and their wounds become the healing powers to the villagers. For this reason, when the spirits cease to appear and never show up again, the strange healing powers also disappear.

To conclude, Medoruma tries to make people face the memory, cruelty, guilt, and responsibility of the war. He does not try to make the people announce their guilt, but just wants them to face it. After Tokushō recovers from his bizarre illness, the narrator says: "Tokushō had trouble deciding whether to tell her about Ishimine and the other soldiers who came to drink each night, but ultimately he couldn't bring himself to talk about them...in fact, he realized that he would probably never be able to tell her."⁴⁹ However, instead of telling everything to his wife, he makes a compromise to himself: "He did want to visit the cave together with Ushi. He would merely explain that he had hidden there during the war. They would offer flowers and look for any human bones that still remained."⁵⁰ It means that only facing the memories and guilt of war is enough for Tokushō. It is not necessary for him to confess to the public. Consequently, the war memory will gradually fade.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 284.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

2.2.4. War Responsibility and Memory

Who should take the responsibility for the war? Ishimaha claims that, “On 9 June 1995, the Japanese Diet hammered out an agreement on the final wording of their Resolution on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the end of World War II. The resolution expressed no acknowledgement of Japan’s ‘war of aggression’ and contained no apologies to other countries.”⁵¹ Also, he further mentions,

In a poll conducted by NHK (the National Broadcasting Agency), residents of Okinawa were asked to consider the Battle of Okinawa in the context of the Asian-Pacific war. Specifically, they were asked if it was ‘an unavoidable battle necessary for the defense of the fatherland’ or ‘a reckless battle which sacrificed countless Okinawan lives.’ When the poll was conducted in 1993, 6.2 percent agreed with the former statement, and 87.5 percent with the latter. When the same poll was conducted in 1995, the results were 6.7 percent and 81 percent, respectively. These polls demonstrate that the vast majority of Okinawans totally reject the position of the ABF.⁵²

The issue of war responsibility still remains. While other Asian countries are petitioning the Japanese government for an official apology, the Okinawans have remained silent. Of course, the problems are different between these Asian countries and Japan. Okinawa is a province of Japan, and has been assimilated successfully for a long time. However, the poll conducted by NHK revealed the real feelings of the Okinawans.

Okinawan writers put more emphases on the cruel and miserable experiences and events of the war than on the issue of the war responsibility. For example, in *Bones*, Shima Tsuyoshi describes the actual killing of infants by Japanese soldiers. Moreover, the final date of the battle, which is June 23, is mentioned in both *Bones* and *Droplets* in

⁵¹ T. Fujitani, Geoffrey M. White, and Lisa Yoneyama, eds., *Perilous Memories: The Asia-Pacific War(S)*, 87.

⁵² The ABF (the Association of Bereaved Families) asserted that the Asia-Pacific War was a “war of self-defense to protect Japan and the lives and property of her people,” and “a war to free the people of Asia from Western colonialism.” T. Fujitani, Geoffrey M. White, and Lisa Yoneyama, eds., *Perilous Memories: The Asia-Pacific War(S)*, 88.

order to emphasize the end of the battle. For Shima Tsuyoshi and Medoruma Shun, the memories of the war are much more important than tracing the question: who should take the responsibility for the war. However, both stories imply that the memories will disappear eventually. In *Bones*, the different perspectives of new generations of Okinawans make the memories disappear. The old turtle woman will die soon, and then, no one can tell the stories about the bones or the banyan tree. In *Droplets*, although author Medoruma tries to make people face the memory, cruelty, guilt, and responsibility of the war, the protagonist, Tokushō, finally decides that he is not going to tell his stories to his wife. That is to say, no one—not even his wife—will know the stories. Why do the authors make such tremendous efforts to recall war memories, but give up to carry through the effort in the end? In my opinion, it is because the authors want the readers, and most of all Okinawans, to have the future in mind. No matter what efforts they make, the truths are: the old turtle woman is going to die; the bones and the banyan tree will not be there forever; the spirits of the soldiers will not come back to tell the story; and the dead people can not be revived.

Regarding the period of Japanese imperialism and colonialism in Okinawa, the authors try to remind us through their literary works of the memories of that time, especially the most impressive war in Okinawa. But the most important thing is that the authors also want to bring us hope toward the future. Medoruma writes in the final paragraph of *Droplets*,

Fine hairs glistened on the deep green skin. Tokushō gasped in surprise, then gave it a kick, but it wouldn't budge. A long vine, thick as a thumb. Grew from the gourd to the hibiscus. At the end of the vine, a yellow flower swayed against the blue sky. The flower was so bright it made Tokushō's eyes brim with tears.⁵³

⁵³ Molasky and Babson, eds., *Southern Exposure: Modern Japanese Literature from Okinawa*, 285.

Brilliantly, the sentence, “at the end of the vine, a yellow flower swayed against the blue sky,” is a metaphor of hope and peace in the story. There is also this idea that the Okinawan literature tries to bring to the Japanese, the Okinawans, and the readers: peace and hope for the future.

Chapter 3

Historical Background

3.1. Formosa from 1895-1995

3.1.1. China Ceded Taiwan to Japan

In 1894, following months of conflict over Korean sovereignty between the Qing dynasty of China and the Meiji government of Japan, the first Sino-Japanese War was declared. Gary Marvin Davison writes,

The Qing court entered into this conflict with all of the hubris that a 3,500-year history of cultural domination in East Asia had understandably inculcated; the Qing court, still operating in a traditional mindset with regard to international relations, endeavored to teach the Japanese upstarts who was still the chief power of East Asia.⁵⁴

However, the disorganized Chinese army was quickly defeated and the Chinese government was forced to sign the Treaty of Shimonoseki in April 1895. Davison comments, “To the surprise of the Chinese, much of the international community, and even a good number of well-informed Japanese, Japan won the 1894-95 Sino-Japanese War. The histories of East Asia and Taiwan had taken a dramatic turn.”⁵⁵

As well as paying a huge amount of indemnity, ceding the Liaotung peninsula, and agreeing to stay out of Korea, China also gave up Formosa (Taiwan) and the Pescadores to Japan. For the next fifty years, Japan ruled Taiwan; moreover, Taiwan’s colonization opened the door to further Japanese colonization in Asia.

⁵⁴ Gary Marvin Davison, *A Short History of Taiwan* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2003), 49.

⁵⁵ Davison, *A Short History of Taiwan*, 49-50.

3.1.2. The Structure of Taiwan's Population

The inhabitants of Formosa before the Japanese domination could be divided into two groups: Han and the Aborigines. Han was the majority of the Taiwanese population. They dominated the resources of Taiwan and pushed many Aborigines into the mountains in the era of the Qing dynasty before the Japanese colonial period. According to Melissa J. Brown, "Under Japanese colonial rule (1895-1945), peoples in Taiwan were classified by the notion of race which in practice, in the early Japanese house-hold registers, looks a lot like today's ethnic classification."⁵⁶ According to this classification, the Han were further distinguished between Hoklo and Hakka. And the Aborigines were also distinguished between "raw" and "cooked." The distinctions between raw Aborigines and cooked Aborigines depended on the level of their civilization or the level of assimilation to Han culture. However, racism in Taiwan changed in the late Japanese colonial period. Brown states, "Efforts were made during the late 1930s and early 1940s to get people in Taiwan to think of themselves as loyal subjects of the Japanese empire, but people in Taiwan experienced clear categorical differences between themselves and Japanese which left them with a sense of non-Japanese identity."⁵⁷

3.1.3. Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan

3.1.3.1. Primary Education

One of the excellent systems that the Japanese colonial government established in Taiwan was the system of compulsory primary education. Because of widespread rebellions and anti-Japanese activities in the early Japanese colonial era, the first

⁵⁶ Melissa J. Brown, *Is Taiwan Chinese?: The Impact of Culture, Power, and Migration on Changing Identities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 8.

⁵⁷ Brown, *Is Taiwan Chinese?: The Impact of Culture, Power, and Migration on Changing Identities*, 9.

Education Minister, Isawa Shūji (1851-1917), suggested to the Governor-General, Kabayama Sugeneri (1837-1933), that he implement a policy of compulsory primary education for Taiwanese children. Isawa Shūji believed that the most important task for the Japanese colonial government was to make the Taiwanese learn Japanese language by implementing the policy of compulsory primary education. He also believed that through implementing the compulsory primary education policy, the assimilation would be successful, and then the anti-Japanese activities and rebellions would also cease. The Governor-General adopted his proposal and established the first experimental primary school in Taipei in 1895. Following the establishment of this first primary school in Taipei, the colonial government was satisfied with the results and ordered to establish more public primary schools all over Taiwan. However, during the early period, there was a segregated policy for primary education. Taiwanese children could attend only *kōgakkō* (public school), while Japanese children attended *shōgakkō* (elementary school), and the aboriginal children could attend *banjin kōgakkō* (barbarian public school).

The educational policy shifted during the rule of Governor-General Akashi Motojiro (1918-1919) and Den Kenjiro (1919-1923). Davison states,

In 1919 came Akashi's imperial rescript on education that, while keeping the segregated system of education intact, indicated a resolve to improve the education of the Taiwanese and especially to offer abundant opportunities for vocational training. Then in 1922 a rescript issued by Den ordered a great expansion of the number of common and primary schools, offering routes to higher education not on the basis of ethnicity but rather of competition in the Japanese language.⁵⁸

The segregated educational system was transformed in 1941. The Japanese colonial government unified all kinds of primary schools into a same school system, which was named *kokumin gakkō* (national school). Thus the segregated system was abolished. Also,

⁵⁸ Davison, *A Short History of Taiwan*, 65.

the primary education became compulsory for children between the ages of eight and fourteen. This new educational policy increased the educational population in Taiwan. Davison has provided these statistics, “school attendance for Taiwanese children rose steadily throughout the Japanese era, from 3.8 percent in 1904 to 13.1 percent in 1917; 25.1 percent in 1920; 41.5 percent in 1935; 57.6 percent in 1940; and 71.3 percent in 1943.”⁵⁹ However, it was apparent that the Taiwanese children’s educational population increased substantially only after the policy of compulsory education was announced. By 1944, there were 944 primary schools in Taiwan and the number of enrolled students was over 876,000. To conclude, it was a great accomplishment of the Japanese colonial government to make primary education in Taiwan more inclusive.

3.1.3.2. Higher Education

Generally speaking, the Japanese colonial government was not willing to provide higher education to the Taiwanese because of racial prejudice and political discrimination. Its higher educational policy was strict with the Taiwanese. Because of the strict policy, the Taiwanese could receive higher education only in limited fields, such as the fields of Education and Medicine. Most Taiwanese elites entered teacher’s school or medical school in order to receive higher education at that time, and helped ordinary Taiwanese respect physicians and teachers, a tradition of respect that continues to this day.

Not only did the elites of Taiwan pursue higher education in Taiwan, but many of them also traveled to Japan, and even gained entrance into the universities in Japan.

Davison writes,

⁵⁹ Davison, *A Short History of Taiwan*, 64.

During the years 1903-15 travel to Japan became much in vogue among the Taiwanese elites who had the wherewithal, and the good graces of the colonial masters, to make the trip. The years 1915-22 saw an increasing number of Taiwanese students gaining entrance into the universities of Japan, so that by the latter year 2,400 Taiwanese were undertaking advanced education in the colonial home country. By 1942, this number had increased almost 200 percent: In that year, 7,000 Taiwanese students were matriculating in the institutions of higher education in Japan. And by 1945, as many as 30,000 people of Taiwanese provenance were residing in Japan.⁶⁰

Thus, a trend was born of the Taiwanese studying abroad in Japan. Ironically, the situations of poverty and discrimination that the Taiwanese faced in Japan were much more severe than the situations in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period. The severe situations of Taiwanese students in Japan can be seen in Yang Kui's literary work: *The Paperboy* (1932).

3.1.4. Economic Development in Japanese Colonial Taiwan

Under Japanese rule, the economic tasks that the Japanese Empire assigned to Taiwan were providing its human and natural resources to support the development of Japan. Substituted for the position of Okinawa, during the early years of Japanese domination, Taiwan became Japan's major resource for the production of sugarcane. As Jonathan Manthorpe points out, "...until 1938 the land producing sugarcane increased four times, the total cane produced on that land multiplied by 12, and the yield per hectare almost tripled."⁶¹ Moreover, from the early 1920s, rice also became a major economic crop of Taiwan. A. J. Grajdanzev notes,

The rice production of Taiwan at that time of the occupation was about four million koku. Twenty-five years later, in 1920, it was 4,842,000 koku, or about the same in spite of the rapid growth of the population. However,

⁶⁰ Davison, *A Short History of Taiwan*, 65.

⁶¹ Manthorpe, *Forbidden Nation: A History of Taiwan*, 169.

from 4,843,000 koku in 1920, the rice crop rose to 9,558,000 koku in 1936, i.e., almost double.⁶²

During this period, the economic policy of Taiwan was based on the slogan: “industry for Japan, agriculture for Taiwan.” With an increasingly high demand for war materials, the Japanese colonial government started to develop a weapons manufacturing industry in Taiwan. However, as Davison modifies, “food industries remained dominant right up until the end of the colonial administration in 1945.”⁶³

Concerning the economic situation of Taiwan in the colonial period, Grajdanzev asserts, “Taiwan is a Japanese colony, the economy of which has been developed to serve the economic needs of Japan proper and the military needs of the Japanese base established there.”⁶⁴ Although Grajdanzev’s assertion confirms to the definition of colonialism, it is also true that the Taiwanese benefited from the Japan’s development of Taiwan. Following the economy growth, the lives of the Taiwanese improved, their society became stable, and public works, such as telecommunication, postal service, and the railway system, were also implemented at that time.

3.1.5. Japan’s Social Control Policy in Taiwan

In order to build a secure society in Taiwan, the Japanese colonial government set up several social control policies, such as a secure police system and the Pao-Chia system. The secure police system was to broaden the power and authority of policemen in order to control the Taiwanese in every aspect. The positions of police officers in the colonial Taiwan were almost all occupied by Japanese. The authorities of police officers under

⁶² A. J. Grajdanzev, "Formosa (Taiwan) under Japanese Rule," *Pacific Affairs* 15, no. 3 (Sep. 1942): 321.

⁶³ Davison, *A Short History of Taiwan*, 63.

⁶⁴ Grajdanzev, "Formosa (Taiwan) under Japanese Rule," 323.

this system were not only keeping the public security, but also maintaining the hygiene, and executing the policies of the Japanese colonial government. The Taiwanese always called these police officers “Da-ren” (my lord), because these police officer controlled the Taiwanese rigorously, and controlled almost everything in their daily lives.

The Pao-Chia system was a censorship system which put every Taiwanese family under mutual surveillance. The Japanese colonial government stipulated that ten families formed a “Chia,” while ten “Chia” formed a “Pao.” Every “Chia” had a chief, and elections were permitted in the Pao-Chia system because the duties of the chiefs were difficult, unpleasant, and unpaid. Under the Pao-Chia system, people were punished for being related to a criminal who was in the same Pao-Chia. Therefore, every family must keep a watchful eye on its neighbors, and notify the police if there was something unusual to report.

3.1.6. The Administration of Governor-General

From 1895 to 1945, Taiwan was led by nineteen Japanese Governor-Generals.⁶⁵ The mean tenure of each Governor-General was about 2.6 years. However, as table 1 shows, the shortest tenure of a Governor-General was only 4 months. On the contrary, the longest tenure of a Governor-General lasted for 9 years. Nevertheless, it can not be said that the Governor-General who had a longer tenure in Taiwan necessarily made more contributions to Taiwan.

⁶⁵ See table 1 on page 40.

	Governor-General	Occupation in Japan
1895.5.10-1896.6.1	Kabayama Sugenori	Military
1896.6.2-1896.10.1	Katsura Tarō	Military
1896.10.14-1898.2.1	Nogi Maresuge	Military
1898.2.26-1906.4.1	Kodama Gentarō	Military
1906.4.11-1915.4.1	Sakuma Samata	Military
1915.5.1-1918.6.1	Andō Sadami	Military
1918.6.6-1919.10.1	Akashi Motojirō	Military
1919.10.29-1923.9.1	Den Kenjirō	Civil Official
1923.9.6-1924.9.1	Uchida Kakichi	Civil Official
1924.9.1-1926.7.1	Izawa Takio	Civil Official
1926.7.16-1928.6.1	Kamiyama Mizunoshin	Civil Official
1928.6.15-1929.7.1	Kawamura Takeji	Civil Official
1929.7.30-1931.1.1	Ishizuka Eizō	Civil Official
1931.1.16-1932.3.1	Ota Masahiro	Civil Official
1932.3.2-1932.5.1	Minami Hiroshi	Civil Official
1932.5.27-1936.9.1	Nakagawa Kenzō	Civil Official
1936.9.2-1940.11.1	Kobayashi Seizō	Military
1940.11.27-1944.12.1	Hasegawa Kiyoshi	Military
1944.12.30-1945.10.1	Andō Rikichi	Military

(Table. 1)

Most Governor-Generals in the early period of Taiwan's domination were Japanese war heroes. The first Governor-General of Taiwan, Kabayama Sugenori, was a war hero of the first Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895); the second Governor-General, Katsura Tarō, later became a hero of Russo-Japanese war (1904-1905) and Prime Minister of Japan; the third Governor-General, Nogi Maresuke, was well known for his battle achievements of the Sino- and Russo-Japanese wars, and regarded as a symbol of loyalty and sacrifice long before he committed suicide in 1912.

Because of the rebellion and resistance of the Taiwanese in the early Japanese colonial period, the Japanese government granted a powerful authority to the Governor-Generals of Taiwan. Gary Marvin Davison talks about the Japanese legal empowerment at that time,

Within a year of the Japanese assumption of power on Taiwan, the Diet passed a law that would set a tone for colonial administration of the island. This piece of legislation, rendered as Law 63, gave the governor-general of Taiwan exceptional powers to issue decrees on his own authority, as long as they were consistent with general policy guidelines made in Tokyo.⁶⁶

In the beginning, Law 63 was legislated for only 3 years after implementation in Taiwan. However, the colonial government believed that Taiwan was not fit to adopt the Japanese law at that time. For this reason, the Japanese government extended the validation period of Law 63, and Law 63 was kept from being implemented for 11 years. The unlimited authority of the Governor-General of Taiwan thus gave the Japanese colonizers power and energy to pacify rebellions and consolidate colonial administration. Nonetheless, because of their power of legislation, the political policies changed all the time in colonial Taiwan. Davison further claims, "The first three governors-general led rather

⁶⁶ Gary Marvin Davison, *A Short History of Taiwan* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2003): 53-54.

wandering administrations, coming and going in rapid succession.”⁶⁷ In addition, not every Governor-General in the early colonial period made efforts to administer Taiwan. It was not unusual that the Governor-General of Taiwan also held additional positions in mainland Japan at the same time. The second Governor-General, Katsura Tarō, apparently showed no interests in governing Taiwan. He held the position of Governor-General of Taiwan for only 4 months and left few achievements in Taiwan. However, some scholars have a different opinion and argue that Katsura was the only one who had specific ideas of governing Taiwan in the early colonial period. Han-Yu Chang and Ramon H. Myers assert,

[Of the first three governors general,] only Katsura seemed to have any idea of what Japan ought to do with Taiwan. After a brief trip through the colony, Katsura declared, “If we want to frame a policy for managing Taiwan, we must formulate a policy toward China. This requires devising policy for managing south China, and to accomplish that, we must manage the harbor of Amoy and Fukien. If we intend to do these things, we must ultimately consider a policy that relates to South-East Asia.”⁶⁸

Nevertheless, no matter how concrete and ideal Katsura’s colonial ideas may have been, Katsura had neither patience nor time to implement his policies in Taiwan. During the periods of the first three Governor-Generals, the most important political policy, in Japanese eyes, was the policy of suppression. Nogi Maresuke, the third Governor-General of Taiwan, was able to implement the policy of that time. Nogi adopted a different attitude and method from Kabayama Sugeneri and Katsura Tarō to suppress the rebellions. He did not treat Taiwan as a battlefield but rewarded the Taiwanese local leaders and the rebel forces who submitted to the Japanese colonial government. Davison explains Nogi’s method in this way,

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 54.

⁶⁸ Han-Yu Chang and Ramon H. Myers, "Japanese Colonial Development Policy in Taiwan, 1895-1906: A Case of Bureaucratic Entrepreneurship," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 22, no. 4 (1963): 434.

One of the flashier instances...was Governor-General Nogi's initiative of 1897 through which he bestowed honors on loyal and effective leaders at the local level. He had the leaders brought to the capital at Taipei for an impressive and highly symbolic ceremony during which the colonial regime made its expectations clear and demonstrated its willingness to bestow significant honors on those who rose to its expectations.⁶⁹

Although Nogi's policy of pacification were applauded at that time, the martial suppressions were still inevitable. Chang and Myers comment about the tenure of General Nogi and his policies,

They failed to deal with a crescendo of civil disturbances and the outbreak of guerrilla warfare against the Japanese administration. The island had been placed under martial law by General Nogi, but strong military, police, and militia action failed to restore order. Disease of epidemic proportions weakened the rank of the military and civil service. Barriers of language and social customs prevented the Japanese from clearly communicating their purposes to the native populace...As the problem of colonial rule became more serious and administrative expenses rose, top officials in the home government became disgruntled, and many suggested that Japan should accept France's offer to buy the island for one hundred million yen.⁷⁰

After accepting the position of the Governor-General of Taiwan, Nogi decided to bring his entire family to Taiwan in order to focus better on administrating Taiwan. When his mother was infected with malaria and died in Taiwan. Nogi was so aggrieved by personal loss and troubled by his failure to manage Taiwan's problems that thought he should take responsibility for these problems and retired for his governorship in 1898.

During the early military officer period of domination (1895-1919), the significant changes of the political policies of the Governor-Generals were: reforming the currency system (1904), executing land surveys (1905), building a railroad system (1908),

⁶⁹ Davison, *A Short History of Taiwan*, 55.

⁷⁰ Chang and Myers, "Japanese Colonial Development Policy in Taiwan, 1895-1906: A Case of Bureaucratic Entrepreneurship," 434-435.

and opening seaports in Keelung and Kaosiung (1908).⁷¹ These changes were basically achieved during the tenure of the fourth Governor-General, Kodama Gentarō. However, because General Kodama also held several positions in mainland Japan, his civilian administrator, Gotō Shinpei (1857-1929), took charge of most administrative tasks of Taiwan at that time.

The seed of colonial Taiwanese literature sprouted late in the middle of the Japanese colonial period. For this reason, Taiwanese writers were not significantly affected by the political policies which were made during the early military officer domination period. However, some policies, which were made during this period, remained and affected the Taiwanese writers later. Governor-General Kodama established a secure police system during his tenure. This policy influenced the life of the Taiwanese populace very much. For instance, a Taiwanese writer, Lai Ho, more than the once, expressed his resentment and resistance toward the secure police system in his literary works. As I mentioned in my analysis of Lai Ho's works, *The Steelyard*, *A Dissatisfied New Year*, and *Making Trouble*, Japanese policemen play the role of villain and have unlimited authority and power. Lai Ho expresses his resentment toward the policemen in the ending of *The Steelyard*. He writes,

On New Year's day, screams, followed by pleading and moaning, suddenly erupted from Te-tsan's house. Then a short exchange was heard: "Is that all you've got?" "Yes, unless you want the sacrificial paper money." Around the same time, a rumor spread through town that a night patrolman had been killed in the street.⁷²

⁷¹ Chun-Chieh Huang, *Taiwan in Transformation, 1895-2005* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2006): 44.

⁷² Lau, *The Unbroken Chain: An Anthology of Taiwan Fiction since 1926*, 10.

The implication of the policeman's death reveals Lai Ho's anger at the secure police system. Furthermore, another famous Taiwanese writer, Yang Kui, also describes the fears of the Taiwanese toward the secure police system in his fiction: *Paperboy* (1932). While the protagonist realizes his mother's suicide, he thinks, "My mother had always been afraid of officials and of jail, and she had passed out several times during my father's detention."⁷³ This sentence shows the feeling of the scared Taiwanese. Not only does Yang Kui tell of his fears toward the Japanese policemen, he also conveys his resistance to the Japanese colonial rule in this story. The protagonist's mother left a posthumous letter for him with the instruction, "When you succeed, you must return home to liberate your fellow villagers from their torment."⁷⁴ In this way, Yang Kui wants to express the resistance of Taiwanese toward the Japanese colonizer.

Moreover, because of Yang Kui's ideology of proletarian/ socialist realism, he creates a utopian ending in the *Paperboy*. The protagonist unites the oppressed paperboys to confront their boss—the capitalist, and finally succeeds. Then the protagonist leaves for Taiwan to prepare another revolution. Yang Kui implies the success of the revolution at the end of the story. He writes, "Full of confidence, I gazed at Taiwan in the spring from the deck of the Holai Maru. Under Japanese colonial imperialism, this 'Jewel Island' was a picture of fabulous beauty; one pick to that lush surface, however, was enough to unleash a river of putrid bitterness."⁷⁵ Quite explicitly, these Taiwanese writers respond to the Japanese colonialism and imperialism through their literary works.

⁷³ Yang, Kui, "Paperboy," *Renditions: A Chinese-English Translation Magazine* (1995): 50.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 50.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 57.

3.2. Taiwanese Resistance

3.2.1. Political Changes and the Rebellions

From the political and military aspects, the Empire of Japan set up a special administration system, which was led by a Governor-General (Sōtoku) to dominate Taiwan. Including Kabayama Sukenori, there were nineteen Governor-Generals in the history of governing Taiwan. The stances of Governor-Generals led the course of Japan's colonization. The time period of Japanese domination of Taiwan can be divided into three significant periods of domination: First, the early military officer period (1895-1919), second, the civil official period (1919-1936), and third, the late military officer period (1936-1945).

In the first period of dominating Taiwan, the Japanese empire assigned several military officers to be Governor-Generals of Taiwan. The most important task for these Governor-Generals in this period was to oppress the rebellions of the Taiwanese. These rebellions began with a five-month resistance, which was led by the Taiwan Republic government, upon the arrival of the Japanese. The Taiwan Republic survived only for 184 days before it was suppressed by the Japanese Army. About the Taiwan Republic, Jonathan Manthorpe argues,

It was never a true republic, and the evidence is contradictory that the aim was to establish Taiwan as an independent state. Moreover, it was doomed from the start. There was never any real prospect of the Taiwanese being able to defeat the modern Japanese army that arrived to take possession of its spoils from the 1894 Sino-Japanese war and the Treaty of Shimonoseki.⁷⁶

After the Taiwan Republic government's failure to resist the arrival of the Japanese Army, the rebellions turned into a type of guerrilla warfare in Taiwan for the following seven

⁷⁶ Jonathan Manthorpe, *Forbidden Nation: A History of Taiwan* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 157.

years. However, the major guerrilla rebellions were basically oppressed by 1902. After oppressing the major rebellions, the Japanese governor, Kodama Gentarō, started to develop Taiwan economically and socially. The Governor-General Kodama assigned Gotō Shinpei (1857-1929), who established the foundation of Taiwan modernization, to be the civilian administrator from 1898 to 1905 to lead the Taiwanese. Gotō Shinpei adopted a kind of scientific colonialism to administer Taiwan. He did not prohibit the original social customs and systems of the Taiwanese immediately, but changed them step by step. For example, smoking opium was not only a serious problem in China, but also in Taiwan at that time; Gotō Shinpei put a heavy tax on buying opium instead of prohibiting it. Gotō Shinpei's clever efforts to change the bad customs of the Taiwanese produced such positive results that by 1915, opium smoking and foot binding no longer existed in the society of Taiwan.

From 1902, the guerrilla rebellions stopped for 5 years but occurred again in 1907. However, except for the Si-Ra-An Incident (1915), the rebellions were all small-scale. The Si-Ra-An Incident was one of the largest-scale armed rebellions during the Japanese colonial period. It was the first time that the Taiwanese traditional religion became involved in rebellion.

3.2.2. The Musha Incident

After the Si-Ra-An Incident was suppressed in 1915, the Taiwanese rebellious activities had almost come to the end, except for the Musha Incident⁷⁷ which was staged by a group of Taiwanese aboriginal group in 1930. The Musha Incident was the most famous rebellion in the Japanese colonial history of Taiwan. It was triggered by the

⁷⁷ Wen-Shin Wu, *Ren Shi Taiwan* (Taipei: National Institute for Compilation and Translation, 1998), 60.

Japanese rulers' discrimination against the Aborigines. In early October of 1930, a Japanese police officer patrolled through a tribe of Taiwanese aborigines who were holding a wedding ceremony. The groom of the ceremony offered the police officer a traditional glass of wine, but the police officer refused to have the wine and insulted the groom and other tribesmen. This event became the direct cause of the Musha incident. Manthorpe describes the day when the Musha Incident occurred,

Resentment among the aborigines festered despite their submission, however. On October 27, 1903, the provincial governor in the hill region behind Taichung gathered with several hundred Japanese local officials and their wives at the aboriginal village of Musha. They were there to dedicate a new administrative building at the terminus of a road and pushcar rail line constructed to boost the camphor trade. No one noticed there were no aboriginal women or children in the village or that the Taiwanese porters had disappeared. As Japan's rising sun flag was raised, hundreds of tribal warriors leapt on the Japanese and killed 197 of them, including the provincial governor. Local Japanese policeman in outlying stations, it was soon found, had been murdered the previous evening.⁷⁸

The Japanese immediately sent an army to suppress the rebellion. It took three weeks to suppress it. Approximately 700 aborigines were killed or committed suicide. The impact of this incident was huge. Before it occurred, Musha was a point area for implementing the Japanese policies toward the aborigines. Although the Japanese colonial government put their eyes on this area, the incident still occurred. Manthorpe observes, "the incident was deeply troubling for the Japanese, especially because the hints that the Taiwanese porters at least knew of the plans and slipped away from the scene. An alliance between Taiwanese and the aborigines would have been a severe threat to the Japanese rule."⁷⁹ As Manthorpe mentions, in sum, the incident made the Japanese colonial government rethink the discriminatory rules toward the Taiwanese Aborigines.

⁷⁸ Manthorpe, *Forbidden Nation: A History of Taiwan*, 175.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

3.3. The Japanese Acceptance of the Taiwanese

3.3.1. From the Policy of Oppression to the Policy of Assimilation

In the second period of the Japanese domination of Taiwan, the Japanese government adopted civilian officials to be the Governor-Generals of Taiwan. Meanwhile, many elite Taiwanese organized several political, cultural, and social groups to organize the resistance, instead of making large-scale rebellions against the Japanese colonial government. In 1919, some Taiwanese students, who studied abroad in Tokyo, founded a political group named “New People Association” (Hsin-Min Hui).⁸⁰ The Taiwanese encouraged several political and social activities, such as abolishing the “Six-Three Policy” and petitioning for the establishment of a Taiwanese parliament. Not only did the Taiwanese association organize political and social activities, but also published many political and literary works, such as “Taiwan Youth” (Taiwan Ching-Nien) (1920), “Taiwan” (1922), “Taiwan People’s Newspaper” (1923), “Taiwan New People’s Newspaper” (1932), “Literary Taiwan” (1934), and “Taiwan New Literature” (1935).⁸¹ On the other hand, “Taiwan Cultural Association” (1921-1931), founded in 1921, was also an important group during the Japanese colonial period.⁸² In general, these Taiwanese groups devoted to political and social activities sprouted in the early 1920s and were separated by a different consciousness of the leftists and the rightists in the late 1920s. But following their suppression by the Japanese colonial government, these associations and groups gradually disintegrated in the early 1930s.

⁸⁰ Murray A. Rubinstein, ed., *Taiwan: A New History* (Armonk, N.Y: M.E. Sharpe, 1999), 264.

⁸¹ Rubinstein, *Taiwan: A New History*, 264, 273.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 262.

The Japanese colonial government changed its policy from the policy of oppression to the policy of assimilation in the early 1920s. Den Kenjirō (1855-1930) was the 8th Governor-General of Taiwan. He was also the first Governor-General who was not from the Japanese military system. As Governor-General, he adopted a new policy of assimilation instead of the former policy of oppression. He believed that Taiwan was the inland extension of mainland Japan. The Taiwanese should be treated the same as the Japanese who lived in Japan. The purpose of this inland extension policy was to make the Taiwanese people become more willing subjects of the Japanese Emperor, and reinforce the concept of serving the Japanese Empire as an obligation. During Den Kenjirō's tenure, he made several reforms and constructions in Taiwan, such as the expansion of public education, construction of the Chia-nan Reservoir, and the legitimization of intermarriage between Japanese and Taiwanese.

In the following years, the successors of Den Kenjirō continued his policy of assimilation and kept implementing many new policies to promote the policy of assimilation.

3.3.2. Taiwanese Kōminka Activity

Kōminka (皇民化) describes an intensive assimilation policy which the Japanese adopted to strengthen the sense of Japanese nationality of the subject. Since the Marco Polo Bridge Incident had occurred in 1937, the second Sino-Japanese War was declared officially between China and Japan. With this war, the Japanese domination of Taiwan entered a third stage. The Japanese government restored the system of military officers to be the Governor-Generals and supervised the Taiwanese more strictly. Besides, in order

to acquire more assistance from the Taiwanese, beyond assimilation activity, the Japanese empire decided to carry out the policy of *Kōminka* Activity in Taiwan.

According to Lamley,

Kōminka policy embraced a number of government-sponsored assimilationist programs and reforms. These were implemented through colonial directives and staged mainly through a series of campaigns and local drives during the war.⁸³

The *Kōminka* Activity can be divided into two different stages: The first stage, from 1936 to 1940, was the mobilization of the national spirit. The main points of this stage were to eliminate the Taiwanese's concept of China as a fatherland, and to instill the Japanese *Kōmin* spirit the Taiwanese. For instance, the Governor-General Kobayashi promoted standard Japanese language (*kokugo*) in Taiwan as his initial *Kōminka* activity. The result was to increase "the percentage of Japanese speakers among the Taiwanese population from some 37 percent in 1937 to 51 percent in 1940."⁸⁴ The second stage was the activity of homage to the nation, which started from 1940 to the end of the war. The Japanese forced the Taiwanese to join several groups which made them subject to the Japanese imperial state. The activity popularized the *Kōmin* concept to the basic level of Taiwanese society.

In order to advance the *Kōminka* Activity, Governor-Generals of Taiwan compelled the Taiwanese to speak the "standard language," which was Japanese, wear Japanese kimono, abolish popular customs and religions, and change Chinese names to Japanese names. Furthermore, following Japan's "decisive conflict" (*kessen*) in the war,

⁸³ Rubinstein, *Taiwan: A New History*, 240.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

the Japanese government started to conscript the Taiwanese to join the Japanese army in 1942, and further executed conscription in Taiwan in 1945.⁸⁵ Davison writes,

Throughout the early 1940s, an intensified kominka program filled school and newspapers with propaganda urging people to cast their futures and fortunes with the Japanese empire. A good many Taiwanese answered the call to military service in the Japanese army and navy. By 1945, Taiwan had supplied Japan with 80,433 servicemen and another 126,750 civil employees. Military service was listed in propaganda sheets as the first of “three great obligations”; payment of taxes and diligence in acquiring an education rounded out the list.⁸⁶

Thus, the number of the Taiwanese conscripted into the Japanese military was 207,183; and the number of the casualties was 30,304.⁸⁷

3.3.3. The Final Years of Japanese domination

Due to the severity of the war, Taiwan had responsibilities to serve the needs of the Japanese Empire in every aspect, especially its military needs. Davison mentions that,

After the December 7, 1941, attack on Pearl Harbor came intensive preparations for the decisive conflict looming in the Pacific, during which Taiwan served as the key staging area for a successful attack on Luzon (concluded in May 1942) and then for the successful move into Burma and on to the border with India. But the tide began to turn in the Asian-Pacific theater during 1943-44, and by the end of 1944 Taiwan's people had to forbear U.S. forces' aerial attacks aimed at key industrial, port, and the military installations.⁸⁸

As a result, the agriculture and industry of Taiwan suffered no small amount of damage.

In 1945, the last year of the war, the output of industry and agriculture dropped significantly. The industrial output had decreased to 33% of the previous output; the agricultural output also had dropped to 49%. Furthermore, after the war, the coal

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 235.

⁸⁶ Davison, *A Short History of Taiwan*, 71.

⁸⁷ John F. Copper, *Taiwan: Nation-State or Province* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1999), 33.

⁸⁸ Davison, *A Short History of Taiwan*, 70.

production and electricity production also dropped 90% of the outputs of several years before.

On August 14, 1945, the Japanese Emperor Hirohito (1901-1989) declared the unconditional surrender to the Allies, and also renounced the sovereignty of Taiwan later in the same year. Therefore, Taiwan came under the control of Guomintang⁸⁹ of the Republic of China. Chiang Kai-shek (1887-1975), who was the leader of Guomintang, assigned Chen Yi (1883-1950) to take over Taiwan on August 29, 1945. Since Japan was defeated in the WW II and gave up the sovereignty of Taiwan, the Taiwanese were now called upon to forget their task of becoming Japanese which they had been compelled to do for fifty years. Finally, Taiwan was forced to move forward into a new era.

⁸⁹ The Chinese Nationalist Party (1912-).

Chapter 4

Writers and their Works in Taiwan under Japanese Rule

4.1. Taiwanese Literature under Japanese Imperialism

Taiwan (Formosa) was under Japanese colonization for 50 years. Even in the present day, the Japanese colonial imprints are very apparent in Taiwan. The impact of the cultural changes on the Taiwanese in the colonial period are deep and far-reaching. Following the Japanese assimilation policy, Taiwanese literature changed dramatically. The elements of cultural influence account for the unique emergence of a new Taiwanese literature.

In this chapter, I will examine three Japanese colonial writers, Lai Ho, Wu Cho-Liu, and Yang Kui, and discuss their influences on the Taiwanese literature in the Japanese colonial period. In Taiwanese literary circles, Lai Ho was on the vanguard of the new Taiwanese literature. Lai Ho's literary works not only depicted the realities of the Japanese colonial culture and society, his works also conveyed a complex national identity and identification of the colonized Taiwanese in that period. Through Lai Ho's works, the situation of struggling Taiwanese, the changes of the Japanese colonial culture, and the feelings of the colonized Taiwanese become most vivid; moreover, his unusual national identity – being neither Japanese nor Chinese nor Taiwanese – also emerges clearly. Wu Cho-Liu was another famous Taiwanese writer who had experience writing in both Japanese and Chinese. He created literary works both in Japanese and Chinese, although his Japanese language ability seemed better than his Chinese language ability. Wu Cho-Liu's works, written during Japanese colonial period, revealed the socio-political situations that Taiwanese faced at that time. His experience of working and

living in China reinforced his confusion of identity and identification. Yang Kui also stood on the stage of Japanese colonialism. He had a different experience from Lai and Wu. Yang Kui went to study abroad in Japan and most realized the unfair situations between native Japanese and the colonized Taiwanese. His experience in Japan made him become a left-wing writer. In his works, Yang Kui explored Marxism as a very different method of explaining the solution to the complexities of identity and identification for the Taiwanese.

Although Lai Ho, Wu Cho-Liu, and Yang Kui lived in the same Japanese colonial period in Taiwan, their different backgrounds⁹⁰ allowed them to deal with the issues of Japanese colonial culture and identification in different ways in their literature. In this chapter, I want to examine these three writers' solutions concerning Japanese imperialism and colonialism through the cultural aspects and the issues of Taiwanese identity and identification.

4.1.1. The New Taiwanese Literature

The seed of the new Taiwanese literature sprouts late in the middle of the Japanese colonial period. Since the political and social systems under Japanese domination were stable, the Taiwanese armed resistance against the Japanese government was unsuccessful. In this situation, the cultural, political, and literary activities became a more peaceful and effective way for the Taiwanese to vent their angers and complaints. Therefore, the new Taiwanese literature movement appeared in complex circumstances. Before China ceded Taiwan to Japan, Taiwanese literature could be thought of as the extension of Chinese literature. Even in the Japanese colonial period, the influence of

⁹⁰ Lai Ho was a physician; Wu Chiu-Liu was a teacher; Yang Kui was born into a poor labor family.

Chinese literature could not be eliminated from Taiwanese literature. Although the Japanese government carried out its policy of assimilation in Taiwan, many Taiwanese writers still used Chinese and spoken Taiwanese languages to create their works. Inevitably, the Japanese influence could be found in their works. In conclusion, the new Taiwanese literature could not be thought of as highly evolved or sophisticated at that time for the following reasons: first, the Taiwanese writers were confused about their national and cultural identities; second, Japanese education developed slowly and it meant that only a few Taiwanese writers were able to use Japanese language to create their works; and third, the new Taiwanese literature was strongly colored by resistance to the Japanese. Moreover, the Japanese government supervised the Taiwanese writers closely in the final years of domination.

4.1.2. The Japanese Colonial Censorship in Taiwan

The censorship system concerning the publications of the Taiwanese writers changed all the time during the Japanese colonial period. Because Taiwanese colonial literature emerged late in the middle period of Japanese domination, unlike the censorship system of mainland Japan, the rule of publication was not strict before 1931. Although the rules were not strict, the Japanese colonial government still implemented several laws related to publication, such as “Taiwan Newspaper Order” (Taiwan shinbunshi rei), first issued in December 1917.⁹¹

⁹¹ 台湾新聞紙令。The Taiwan Newspaper Order was first issued in December 1917.

In 1919, some Taiwanese students who studied abroad in Tokyo founded a political group named the “New People’s Association” (Hsin-Min Hui).⁹² This association was soon renamed “Taiwan People’s Journal” and opened up Taiwanese social and political activities in colonial Taiwan. The Taiwanese writers used to publish their works in newspapers or magazines at that time, and many of their works were written in Chinese or multi-linguistic forms. Many important affiliations with their publications, such as *Taiwan Youth* (Taiwan Ching-Nien; 1920), *Taiwan* (1922), *Taiwan People’s Newspaper* (1923), *Taiwan New People’s Newspaper* (1932), *Literary Taiwan* (1934), and *Taiwan New Literature* (1935) were founded for these Taiwanese writers to publish their works.⁹³ Their publications enjoyed a basic degree of freedom, so that many literary works which were written in Chinese were published before 1931.

Since a tense situation existed between China and Japan in 1931, the Japanese government started to implement a much stricter censorship system in mainland Japan. Richard H. Mitchell, who examined Japan’s censorship system during the Fifteen-Year War (1931-1945), writes,

Japan’s pervasive censorship system, deeply rooted in Meiji era practices and laws, expanded rapidly during the 1930’s “emergency” period, overwhelming a mass media world and literary establishment long accustomed to exercising restraint in voicing opinion on any subject. . . . As the war crisis deepened after 1937, writers, journalists, broadcasters, and movie makers were faced with one choice: accept the rules of the onerous censorship system or withdraw from professional life.⁹⁴

As in Japan, the Japanese colonial government also made rules of publication and new censorship system in colonial Taiwan. Faye Yuan Kleeman describes the situation in this period,

⁹² Murray A. Rubinstein, ed., *Taiwan: A New History* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1999): 264.

⁹³ Ibid., pp. 264, 273.

⁹⁴ Richard H. Mitchell, *Censorship in Imperial Japan* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1983): 335.

After the Manchuria Incident of 1931, which increased tension with China, experiments with any sort of Chinese-related language were viewed with new suspicion—and when the Sino-Japanese War erupted in 1937, they were terminated by the colonial government. The ban on all publications in Chinese or Taiwanese and the interdiction against speaking these languages in public places interrupted the development of Taiwan-language literature.⁹⁵

The strict control of publications, that is to say, censorship, declared the death of the Taiwanese literature which was written in Chinese. The Japanese colonial government first abolished Chinese columns in newspapers in Taiwan. Then, in June 1937, the Japanese colonial government officially forbade the use of Chinese in an authoritative journal: *Taiwan New Literature*. This action was seen as the end of Chinese writing in colonial Taiwan.⁹⁶

This strict censorship system also resulted in many journals and magazines ceasing publications. It caused Taiwanese writers to lose their forums for publishing their literary works, even those written in Japanese, for a while. During the wartime in Taiwan, *Literary Taiwan* (1940), established by Nishikawa Mitsuru (1908-1999), and *Taiwan Literature* (1941) became two of the most important journals for Taiwanese writers to publish their literary works. However, Taiwanese writers could only publish their works in Japanese in these journals.

On the one hand, Lai Ho was an advocate of writing in Chinese and in the Minnan dialect. But the prohibition of using Chinese actually put an end to his writing. Although he tried to publish the second part of *Making Trouble* in 1940, he failed to do so.

Therefore, during his life-time, he could not publish any literary works. On the other

⁹⁵ Faye Yuan Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003): 158.

⁹⁶ Lai, *Lai He Xian Sheng Quan Ji*, 8.

hand, the strict censorship did not prevent Yang Kui (1905-1985) and Wu Cho-Liu (1900-1976) from writing because they were used to using Japanese in their writings.

4.1.3. Language Issues toward Taiwanese Literature

The Japanese colonial government did not strictly prohibit Mandarin and spoken Taiwanese language during the early colonial period. The Taiwanese could choose either to go to a traditional Chinese school or a Japanese school before the colonial government implemented the policy of Kōminka activity. This free language policy allowed many Taiwanese writers to keep writing in Chinese. Faye Yuan Kleeman comments about writing in Japanese in colonial Taiwan after the war ended,

The significance of writing in Japanese long after the end of the Japanese era no doubt varied from person to person. To members of the generation of Taiwanese who grew up in Japanese colonial environment, the Japanese language still holds powerful symbolism. Some may use it out of a sense of nostalgia, others because they never really made the transition to Mandarin as an intellectual language or because Japanese remains the medium in which they can best express their creative impulses. But for some, at least, it is also a strategic choice—an expression of resistance toward the continental, Mandarin culture that has been imposed on Taiwan over the last half-century.⁹⁷

The seed of the new Taiwanese literature sprouted late in the middle of the Japanese colonial period. Meanwhile, the political and social systems under Japanese domination were stabilized; the Taiwanese armed resistance against the Japanese government, however, was unsuccessful. In this situation, the Taiwanese cultural, political, and literary activities turned to more peaceful ways for venting anger. Therefore, the new Taiwanese literature movement appeared under complex circumstances. Before China ceded Taiwan to Japan, under the control of the Qing Dynasty, Taiwanese literature could be thought of

⁹⁷ Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South*, 246.

as the extension of Chinese literature. Even in the Japanese colonial period, the influence of Chinese literature could not be eliminated from Taiwanese literature. Although the Japanese government carried out the policy of assimilation in Taiwan, as described above, many Taiwanese writers still used Chinese and Taiwanese languages to create their works. Inevitably, the influence of the Japanese language could be found in their literatures.

Before the 1920s', Taiwanese literature usually carried on the tradition of classical Chinese literature. A truly "new" Taiwanese literature emerged only in the 1920s. Lai Ho, for example, was one of the Taiwanese intellectuals who promoted and established a new literary style. Chang points out two distinctive features of New Taiwanese literature in the Japanese colonial period,

[The two features are] multilinguicity and political impact. In addition to works in Chinese, many of the literary products of this movement—especially in the large stage—were written in Japanese...Moreover, from the beginning, Taiwanese New Literature was an integral part of a new phase of sociopolitical resistance by the Taiwanese people to the Japanese colonial rule.⁹⁸

Lai Ho studied Han literature in his early years. In addition, he also received a higher Japanese education. He was a Taiwanese, but also belonged to a minority⁹⁹ of the Taiwanese. His complex background made Lai Ho, like many Taiwanese writers who were in the same situation, think about his Taiwanese identity and become a modern vernacular practitioner later. Davison mentions this trend,

Many of these writers had been educated in traditional Chinese schools and remained more comfortable with the Chinese language. They tend to produce their literary works in Chinese while offering ideas that condemned the old society and advanced the case for modernity in highly favorable terms.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Rubinstein, *Taiwan: A New History*, 267.

⁹⁹ Lai Ho belongs to Hakka race.

¹⁰⁰ Davison, *A Short History of Taiwan*, 67.

Although Lai Ho's works were not written purely in Japanese text, his works, combined with Chinese, Japanese, and spoken Taiwanese, brought forth the unique writing style of a New Taiwanese Literature. Furthermore, through his works, his anti-imperialist ideologies were conveyed to the public and influenced other Taiwanese writers.

Obviously, his literary works provided evidence for the conditions of struggling Taiwanese, the changes of the Japanese colonial culture, and the feelings of the colonized Taiwanese in the colonial period. Davison further explains Lai Ho's ideology of language,

Some writers such as Yang [Shouyou] and his influential contemporary Lai Ho attempted to use their native Minnan dialect, historically only a spoken language, as a tool of literary expression...Under strictures imposed by the Japanese, the language of the colonials was soon mandated as the exclusive language of literary production. But whatever the success in adapting Minnan for literary usage, the very attempt said a great deal about an emerging Taiwanese consciousness and confirmed the journey of Taiwanese New Literature down a path quite divergent from that trodden by mainland writers.¹⁰¹

Aside from Lai Ho, Yang Kui (1905-1985) and Wu Cho-Liu (1900-1976) represented another generation of the Taiwanese writers who deeply approached the Japanese language. Yang Kui went to study abroad in Japan in 1924; Wu Cho-Liu received a higher Japanese education in Taiwan. Both of them were experts of Japanese. Kleeman writes about Yang Kui's study in Japan, "As a student, Yang was not particularly enthusiastic about his school work; he was, however, absorbed in reading Japanese books on literature and thought."¹⁰² Many of their literary works were written in Japanese, especially from 1937 to 1945. Davison describes the second generation of these Taiwanese writers, "Beginning around 1933, these and other Taiwanese writers tended to favor Japanese as their medium of expression, and from about mid-1936 almost no

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 68.

¹⁰² Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South*, 162.

Chinese was used by Taiwanese writers publishing in the literary journals of the time.”¹⁰³ As Albert Memmi remarked, the bond between the colonizer and the colonized is both destructive and creative.¹⁰⁴ The language issue of colonial literature also follows this theory. Yang Kui’s most famous literary work, *Paperboy* (1932), won a literary award from a Japanese literary journal, *Bungaku Hyōron*. This story is about Yang Kui’s own experience of working while studying abroad in Japan. This work expresses the struggles of the colonized, the unfair social status between the colonizer and the colonized, and also his ideologies of anti-colonialism and proletarian/ socialist realism. Ironically, this work was written in Japanese and won a Japanese literary prize, even though it confronted Japanese colonialism and imperialism. For Yang Kui, through writing in Japanese, the Japanese language became a weapon of the colonized in their opposition to Japanese colonialism and imperialism.

Like Yang Kui’s Japanese language generation, Lai Ho’s generation of multi-lingual writing also expressed the idea of anti-colonialism in their works. However, I believe that the meaning of Lai Ho’s use of Japanese language in his work is a symbol of assimilation rather than anti-colonialism. As mentioned above, Lai Ho’s approach to Japanese language also indicated his confused national identity and identification. In his *A Diary in Jail*, he treats most Japanese and the Taiwanese as the same. He does not think that the Japanese are foreigners. As he translated *waka* and welcomed Japan’s victories at Pearl Harbor and Hong Kong battles, he became assimilated into the ideology of the Japanese colonizer. In conclusion, the uses of the Japanese language in Taiwanese

¹⁰³ Davison, *A Short History of Taiwan*, 69.

¹⁰⁴ Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1991), 89.

writing meant different things to different Taiwanese writers in the Japanese colonial period.

4.2. Lai Ho

4.2.1. Lai Ho's Creative Life

Lai Ho¹⁰⁵ was born in the countryside¹⁰⁶ of Taiwan in 1894, which was the year before China ceded Taiwan to Japan. Lai Ho used to wear shorts and have a moustache; he was always courteous to everyone and lower down medical expenses to poor people. The people in his county respect him as their local “Matsu.”¹⁰⁷ He had a traditional Chinese family and received a Chinese education in his younger years. He attended Taiwan's Governor-General medical school in 1909, married in 1912, and became a doctor in a public hospital in 1914. Because of some disagreement with the director of the hospital, Lai Ho left the hospital and went back to his born-town to establish his own hospital, which was named Lai Ho Hospital. In 1918, Lai Ho went to Xiamen in China to be a doctor, but soon returned to Taiwan because he was homesick. During his year in China, Lai Ho was affected by the anti-imperialist May Fourth Movement.¹⁰⁸ He realized that developing literature was important for the Taiwanese. Thus, after he came back to Taiwan, he participated in as many Taiwanese literature activities as possible. Lai Ho helped to create the Taiwan Culture Association in 1921 and started to publish literary works in 1925. He was put into jail twice because of his involvement in Taiwanese social

¹⁰⁵ The name “Lai Ho” is translated in English based on the pronunciation of Taiwanese colloquial dialect. Another translation of his name which being seen more often is “Lai He.” I, personally, prefer using “Lai Ho” because the Taiwanese colloquial dialect pronunciation of his name can represent his strong Taiwanese identity and his special writing style.

¹⁰⁶ Changhua County (彰化縣) is in the middle part of Taiwan.

¹⁰⁷ Matsu is the Taoist goddess of the Sea who protects fishermen and sailors.

¹⁰⁸ An anti-imperialist, cultural, and political movement in early modern China.

and political activities. On December 8th 1941, Lai Ho was captured and put into jail again for about 50 days. He wrote his diary on toilet paper and note paper. Lai Ho was then set free because he was critically ill. In 1943, he died of heart disease. His diary depicted the feelings of being colonized and was published after his death.

During Lai Ho's creative life, he published only 15 short stories, but wrote more than 20 short stories, and many essays and poems. His works revealed the thoughts of anti-colonization, liberation, and the struggle of the Taiwanese. Almost all of Lai Ho's literary works were focused on Taiwan and were written in Chinese which combined some Taiwanese dialect and Japanese. Lai Ho not only promoted the new Taiwanese literature, his literature also precisely revealed the helplessness, confusion, and oppression of the colonized Taiwanese in the Japanese colonial period. Therefore, he was named "the father of new Taiwanese literature."

4.2.2. The Colonial Culture in Lai Ho's Literary Works

4.2.3. Fiction

Lai Ho's fictional works can be thought of as his main contribution to Taiwanese literature. His topics of the helplessness, confusion, and oppression of the colonized Taiwanese in the Japanese colonial period. It is obvious that these topics can be found easily in his pieces. I will examine three of Lai Ho's important fictions, *The Steelyard* (1926), *A Dissatisfying New Year* (1928), and *Making Trouble* (1932, 1940), and discuss the meaning of his Taiwanese cultural and political identities. These three works were created in different years, but they all represent Lai Ho's most important ideology, which is "anti-colonialism."

4.2.3.1. *The Steelyard*

*The Steelyard*¹⁰⁹ (yi gan cheng zi, 一桿秤仔) was published in the “Taiwan People’s Newspaper” in 1926. This work expresses Lai Ho’s perspective toward the brutality of the Japanese policemen and unfair law system in colonial Taiwan. The story is about a poor peasant, Chin Te-Tsan, who cannot afford to be a tenant and is forced to change his career to selling vegetables. Because he is unsophisticated and it is his first time selling vegetables, he does not realize that a Japanese policeman is extorting vegetables from him. The policeman brings a false charge against Chin Te-Tsan’s using an illegal steelyard to carry on business. The judge does not bring justice to Chin Te-Tsan, and thinks the Japanese policeman is right. Chin Te-Tsan is seriously humiliated by the policeman and loses his money by paying for his freedom from jail. The end of the story infers that the Japanese policeman is killed on the road, and Chin Te-Tsan is going to commit suicide.

The Steelyard is a tragedy which implies there is neither justice nor fair law for the colonized Taiwanese. The protagonist’s name, Chin Te-Tsan,¹¹⁰ has a similar assonance to another word which means “really tragic” in Chinese and in the colloquial Taiwanese dialect. It can be said that the name of the protagonist reveals Lai Ho’s purpose. In *The Steelyard*, the story conveys several cultural and social phenomena to the readers. First, it brings up the situation of poor peasants in colonial Taiwan. The Taiwanese landlords and the Japanese capitalists controlled the economy of Taiwan. Lai Ho describes the peasants’ situation in the story as follows:

¹⁰⁹ A steelyard is a weighing appliance always used in traditional Chinese society.

¹¹⁰ The name, Chin Te-Tsan, in original Chinese text is 秦得参, which is similar to the word: 真的惨 in Chinese, and also much assonant with a spoken Taiwanese word, which means very tragic.

The Sugar Processing Company earned great profits from its operations. The farmers badly exploited by the company, were unwilling to plant sugarcane. Thus, to compete with the farmers for rented lands, the company gave the landlords the most attractive offers. Now, if a landlord could bring himself more profit, why should he care about the farmers' difficulties?¹¹¹

At that time, agriculture was the major occupation for many Taiwanese. The disparity between the landlord and the peasants was not unusual news in Taiwan, but because the Japanese promoted development of the sugarcane industry, the situation of the peasants became more serious and the peasants were forced to leave their occupations and lands.

Lai Ho points out the difficult situation of the peasants in order to bring up even worse situations among the colonized Taiwanese. The main problem that Lai Ho hints at in the short story is the unfair judgment, unfair laws, and the abuse of authority by the Japanese police. Through the plot, in which Chin Te-Tsan's wife goes to borrow a steelyard from a neighbor, Lai Ho also describes the behaviors of Japanese policemen:

Because the police were bent on finding picayune faults with the common people in order to accumulate merit on their record for the fast promotion—the ones who rooted out the most cases were promoted the fastest—there were countless crimes that were literally fabricated by the police. And, seeing that they had no chance to win these cases, the people, though wronged, wouldn't dare to speak out.¹¹²

Lai Ho does not mention the nationality of the policeman in the story, but it is obvious that only the Japanese could become regular police in colonial Taiwan. He also describes the broad range of the police's supervision: "Transportation bans, travel rules, scale and measurement regulations—anything to do with daily life was within the scope of the law and could be controlled or prohibited."¹¹³ In the story, the protagonist, Chin Te-Tsan, has

¹¹¹ Joseph S. M. Lau, ed., *The Unbroken Chain: An Anthology of Taiwan Fiction since 1926* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983): 4.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

his wife borrow a standard steelyard for him in order to be a street vendor. The symbol of the steelyard normally represents fairness, justice, and impartiality. These images also reflect the court judge and the police. But in the story, the policeman uses violence to break the steelyard and the judge, who is supposed to be Japanese, believes only what the policeman says. There is no justice or fairness in the colony. Ironically, Lai Ho puts these images together in order to emphasize the egregious and unfair situation in which the colonized Taiwanese live.

Lai Ho puts his finger on the unfair economic and political situation of the colonized Taiwanese in the story. He does not explicitly mention the ideas of nationality and identification in the story. Although he knows that the Japanese policeman plays the role of colonizer in Taiwan, his national identity is not clear in this story. On the other hand, he writes *The Steelyard* by using traditional Chinese combined with a colloquial Taiwanese dialect. There are no Japanese kanji or kana in this work. It is hard to guess why he chose this writing style, but it can be inferred that he was confused about his nationality. He makes several controversial and confrontational positions in this story, such as the opposition between the colonizer and the colonized, the landlord and the tenant, justice and unfairness, and also Chinese and Japanese identity. These controversial positions can be inferred from the issues that Lai Ho especially follows with interest. Apparently, the issues of race, legislation, and economy are the things he mostly cared about.

4.2.3.2. *A Dissatisfying New Year*

A Dissatisfying New Year (bu ru yi de guo nian, 不如意的過年) was published in 1928, two years after *The Steelyard*. The protagonist, officer Cha,¹¹⁴ is a Japanese police officer in Taiwan. On one New Year's Day, officer Cha feels angry because he does not receive as many year-end gifts as he would like. He thinks it is because the people do not respect him enough. Therefore, he tries to find mistakes in everything that the common people do, using scale and measurement regulations to break several steelyards or hitting people because of their slow movements. He believes that the idea of social activism that spread to the public recently is the reason that the common people do not respect him. He hates the social activists very much. Because of his bad behavior, people become more and more obedient. But he is not happy. On the contrary, he even feels bored. One day, he randomly catches a child, hits him and brings him back to the police station without a serious reason. After doing so, and consuming many alcoholic drinks, he feels better. Then he goes to bed with a satisfied sleeping face which makes him look like a successful colonizer.

The subject of this work is the idea of anti-colonialism. The protagonist officer Cha is the epitome of the Japanese colonizer to Lai Ho. Noticeably, Lai Ho uses a different writing style from *The Steelyard*. In addition to Chinese and the Minnan dialect,¹¹⁵ he also uses some Japanese in the original text. For instance, he uses the Japanese words, *ranbō* (乱暴), *torishirabe* (取調), and *tsugō* (都合) etc., to describe the police officer's actions. Not only does Lai Ho use Japanese kanji in the story, but he also incorporates some Japanese cultural events in the plots. Lai Ho uses *oseibo* (お歳暮) to

¹¹⁴ Officer Cha: 查大人. A respect name that the Taiwanese always call the Japanese police officer.

¹¹⁵ Minnan dialect is a spoken language in Taiwan and Fukien province of China.

start the story, and also uses *kadomatsu* (門松) to depict that “only several families, who are eager to be assimilated, make *kadomatsu* in front of their houses.”¹¹⁶ On the one hand, he uses these Japanese words and cultural symbols to emphasize the racial and the cultural differences between the Taiwanese and the Japanese. On the other hand, the fact that he uses Chinese combined with the Minnan dialect and also Japanese expresses the complex identities of the Taiwanese. Regarding national identity, the narrator in the story says: “In mentioning the New Year, being of Han nationality, the first thing we think of is gambling”¹¹⁷ and “The assimilation is slowing down; people do not have the same enthusiasm as they did in the beginning. Thus, even though it is New Year, the vendors still keep the traditional custom¹¹⁸ and go out to work.”¹¹⁹

The cultural and social conflicts are vividly portrayed in *A Dissatisfying New Year*. Lai Ho depicts the Han nationality ironically by using the word “sordid race” in the story. Of course, he does not really mean that the people of the Han nationality belong to a sordid race. His purpose is to communicate the poor situation of the Han people living under Japanese colonialism.

4.2.3.3. Making Trouble

Lai Ho published “Making Trouble” (re shi, 惹事) in 1932 and 1940. The first published part of the story is about a young man, a vagabond wandering in the street, who one day goes fishing but quarrels with a thirteen-year-old boy because the boy prohibits him from fishing there. He pushes the boy into the pond and leaves. The boy suffers a

¹¹⁶ Ho Lai, *Lai He Xian Sheng Quan Ji*, Edited by Nan-Hen Lee (Taipei: Min Tang Chu Ban She, 1979), 23.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹¹⁸ Taiwanese are used to having a Chinese New Year.

¹¹⁹ Lai, *Lai He Xian Sheng Quan Ji*, 22.

minor injury, but not seriously. Several days later, the boy's father angrily goes to the young man's house to complain to his parents. The young man takes no heed of the boy's father's complaint and his parents' scolding. In the second published part of the story, the young man defends a widow who is falsely incriminated for stealing a Japanese police officer's chicken. All the villagers know the widow has been incriminated falsely, but no one dares to offend the police officer by speaking the truth except the young man. The police officer is angry and looking to make trouble for the young man. In the end, the young man leaves the trouble for his father and uncle to deal with.

The first part of the story was published in 1932, and it was combined with the second part to be published in 1940, but then was banned while in press. *Making Trouble* is also a little different from *The Steelyard* and *A Dissatisfying New Year*. Lai Ho uses a lot of Minnan dialect. From 1928 to 1932, he experienced the leftists' activities, the dismissal of Taiwan Cultural Association, and the Musha Incident (1930). Thus he came to realize the importance of Taiwan's native literature and folk literature. *Making Trouble* was written under these circumstances.

In contrast to emphasize the purpose of anti-colonialism in this short story, Lai Ho inserts a conflict between the Taiwanese and the Japanese and also sets up another conflict between the capitalist Taiwanese and the Taiwanese populace. In the second part of the story, which was banned, the protagonist gathers the villagers against the Japanese police officer. Many villagers agree to help the protagonist but all regret this suddenly, implying that the Taiwanese are resentful at the way they have been treated, but recoil from Japanese colonial power. Different from the endings of *The Steelyard* and *A Dissatisfying New Year*, the ending of this story is one in which the protagonist does not

submit to the unjustified force of the Japanese police officer. This is the second reason that the Japanese colonial government banned this story at that time.¹²⁰

Lai Ho also depicts the normal recreational activities of the colonized Taiwanese, “For a young man, the best way to kill time is to play ball and Mahjong¹²¹ with the higher class people.”¹²² His protagonist goes fishing. The recreational activities of the Taiwanese were not many and belonged to the people of the upper classes.

This special ending of *Making Trouble* conveys a sense of resistance to the Taiwanese readers. And, yet the colonial trouble is still unsolved. Since the young man leaves it to his parents and relatives, the problem of anti-colonialism still remains unsolvable.

4.2.4. Essays

4.2.4.1. *A Diary in Jail and May Our Buglers Play a March to Inspire the People*

Unlike his fiction, Lai Ho’s essays directly convey his thoughts and feelings to the readers. *A Diary in Jail* (yu zhong ri ji, 獄中日記) was published after his death. The second time that he was put in jail was in 1941.¹²³ This time, he stayed in jail for about 50 days. He kept writing his diary for 39 days from the first day in jail. He stopped writing the diary on the 40th day because of his serious illness. Because of his illness, he was set free so that he would not die in jail.

He wrote *A Diary in Jail* in Chinese combined with many Japanese words, specifically kanji and katakana, but using almost no Minnan dialect. This might have

¹²⁰ The first reason is that the Japanese colonial government prohibited publications which were written in Chinese from 1937.

¹²¹ A four-player gambling game of Chinese origin.

¹²² Lai, *Lai He Xian Sheng Quan Ji*, 92.

¹²³ The first time that he was put in jail was in 1923.

been his natural way of writing. There is no evidence that Lai Ho intended to publish his diary. In this diary, Lai Ho expressed his feelings as an oppressed colonized man who is put in jail. Almost every day, he prays for his freedom, but he is disappointed. He has nothing to do in the jail, and he cannot concentrate on reading because of too much anxiety. He continuously records his health conditions in the diary. It is obvious that his health becomes worse and worse everyday. Nevertheless he was set free because of serious illness, and he died only a year later.

From his diary, not only can we realize the poor situation of a colonized Taiwanese man, but we also realize that the Japanese condition was intertwined tightly with the life of the Taiwanese. For example, Lai Ho mentions his diet several times. He describes the food by using Japanese kanji and katakana. These foods are almost all traditional Japanese foods, such as ドンブリ (big bowl of rice), ウドン (Japanese noodles), ケチャップ (ketchup), and 林檎 (apple). Because he has nothing to do, he even translates several Japanese “*waka*” into Chinese. It is clear that he knows Japanese very well, in addition to his mother tongue Chinese. It is hard to find in his diary any reference to the conflict between the Japanese and the Taiwanese or the issue of nationality. The reason why he was put into jail is not very clear, but it can be inferred that it is related to the Pao-Chia system¹²⁴ and unrestricted police authority.

May Our Buglers Play a March to Inspire the People (xi wang wo men de la ba shou chui zou ji li min zhong de jin xing qu, 希望我們的喇叭手吹奏激勵民眾的進行曲) was published in 1930. This essay is quite short, but eloquently expresses Lai Ho’s enthusiasm and ideals. Lai Ho was passionate about social and political activities.

¹²⁴ A tithing system, devised in order to maintain internal security and strengthen national defense.

Although publication in colonized Taiwan was strictly supervised, Lai Ho depicts the situation as challenging but not hopeless:

Precisely speaking, you need to get permission before publishing the newspaper, and the administration will check the content before you sell the newspaper. Therefore, until readers read the newspaper, the content which is written by the colonized already becomes black or blank. I do not expect too much about publishing the daily newspaper, but I expect that through our writers' literary talent, the content of the newspaper will pass the check and keep several of our ideals inside.¹²⁵

The surveillance by the Japanese colonizers allowed the Taiwanese no freedom of publishing. Lai Ho tried to find a way to resist the Japanese colonizer at this period. But, compared with this, his enthusiasm, idealism and health all disappeared in *A Diary in Jail*. From his diary, it is not hard to see that the rest of his dreams were intended to make his family's lives better.

4.2.5. Lai Ho's Contribution to Taiwanese Literature in Japanese Colonial Taiwan

Lai Ho studied Han literature from his early years. In addition, he received a Japanese education. He was a Taiwanese, but also belonged to a minority¹²⁶ of Taiwanese. Because of his literary talent, educational background, and also his enthusiasm and idealism, he poured his energy into developing new Taiwanese literature and encouraged Taiwanese writers, such as Wu Cho-Liu (1900-1976) and Yan Kui (1905-1985). He is regarded as the "father of New Taiwanese literature."

Until the 1920s, Taiwanese literature usually carried on the tradition of classical Chinese literature. A New Taiwanese literature emerged in the 1920s, and Lai Ho was one of the Taiwanese intellectuals who promoted and established the new literary style.

¹²⁵ Lai, *Lai He Xian Sheng Quan Ji*, 239.

¹²⁶ Lai Ho belongs to the Hakka race.

As mentioned above, Chang points out two distinctive features of the New Taiwanese literature:

[The two features are] multilinguicity and political impact. In addition to works in Chinese, many of the literary products of this movement—especially in the large stage—were written in Japanese...Moreover, from the beginning, Taiwanese New Literature was an integral part of a new phase of sociopolitical resistance by the Taiwanese people to the Japanese colonial rule.¹²⁷

It might be said that Lai Ho established the features of the New Taiwanese Literature. Although Lai Ho's works were not written in full Japanese text, his works, combined with Chinese, Japanese, and spoken Taiwanese, brought forth the unique writing style of the New Taiwanese Literature. Furthermore, through his works, his anti-imperialist ideology was conveyed to the public and influenced other Taiwanese writers. Obviously, Lai Ho's efforts in literature not only ushered in a new generation of new Taiwanese writers, but his literary works also provided the evidence of the situation of struggling Taiwanese, the changes of the Japanese colonial culture, and the feelings of the colonized Taiwanese in the colonial period.

4.2.6. The Cultural Perspective of Identity and Identification in Japanese Colonial Taiwan

Lai Ho was born in 1894, just one year before China ceded Taiwan to Japan, and he died in 1943, two years before the Japanese renounced Taiwan. It could be said that during his life, he lived under Japanese colonization. His identity and identification is as complex as many Taiwanese at that time. Leo T.S. Ching gives his opinion of the issue of Taiwanese identity in: *Becoming "Japanese": Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of*

¹²⁷ Rubinstein, *Taiwan: A New History*, 267.

Identity Formation. He analyzes a novel, *The Orphan of Asia*, written by another famous Taiwanese writer, Wu Cho-Liu (1900-1976), in the colonial period. Ching comments:

The ambivalent ending of *The Orphan of Asia*, in which Tai-ming is “rumored” to have left for China after his mental breakdown, indicates not rejection of all identities or a sublation into Chinese identity; rather, it signifies the equivocal and historical affiliation with and disassociation from China effected by Japanese colonialism. The oppressiveness of Japanese colonialism and colonial modernity in general arises precisely from the eradication of that ambivalence of identity formation.¹²⁸

Richard F. Calichman further explains Ching’s idea in *The Orphan of Asia*, “For Ching, this work represents the historical emergence of a Taiwan which is, however, never fully separate from Japan and China, as suggested in the text by the linguistic cohabitation of Japanese, Classical Chinese and colloquial Taiwanese dialect.”¹²⁹ As Ching and Calichman assumed, such a complex identity causes the linguistic cohabitation of the Japanese, Chinese, and Taiwanese dialects in the literary works of Taiwanese writers in the colonial period. In the case of Lai Ho, he learned about Chinese literature as a child, but he also received a Japanese education; he lived as Japanese, but wrote mostly in Chinese and colloquial Taiwanese dialects. Obviously, it is hard to define Lai Ho’s national identity and identification, and even Lai Ho himself had trouble defining it!

Through Lai Ho’s works, which I discussed above, colonial culture and society are portrayed vividly. But it is hard to find the imprints of assimilation in these works. It seems that Lai Ho was not interested in this particular issue. He put his emphasis on the unfair situations of the colonized Taiwanese. At the same time, it is easy to find his idea of anti-colonialism and his resistance to the oppression of Japanese supervisors in his

¹²⁸ Leo T. S. Ching, *Becoming “Japanese”: Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001): 209.

¹²⁹ Richard F. Calichman. "Resisting National Identity: Neither Japanese, Taiwanese nor Chinese," *Postcolonial Studies* 6 (2003): 217.

creations. He depicts many struggling Taiwanese in his works, but he cannot give a solution to the Taiwanese because of his confused identity. From his *A Diary in Jail*, it is clear that he treats the Japanese (the Japanese oppressors were the exception) and the Taiwanese as the same. He does not think of the Japanese as foreigners. When he writes in detail about the war in his diary, he keeps a non-judgmental style but occasionally voices applause for Japan's victories at Pearl Harbor (1941) and Hong Kong (1941) battles.

Many Taiwanese were in the same situations as Lai Ho in determining their positions as regards the complexities of national identity and identification. According to my analysis of his literary works, Lai Ho may have thought of himself as neither Japanese, Chinese nor ordinary Taiwanese. I would like to believe that he thought of himself as a borderline Taiwanese living on the border of Japan.

4.3. Wu Cho-Liu

4.3.1. Wu Cho-Liu's Life under Japanese Colonialism

Wu Cho-Liu was born in the northern part of Taiwan¹³⁰ in 1900. He was one of the few Taiwanese who had accepted higher education in the Japanese colonial period. He graduated from *kōgakkō* (public school) and then attended Taipei Teachers College¹³¹ when he was sixteen. After four years of studying, Wu Cho-Liu graduated from the college and became a teacher in a *kōgakkō*. He held this position for more than twenty years. In 1941, Wu Cho-Liu resigned from his job because he could no longer tolerate the Japanese superintendent's discrimination against Taiwanese teachers. In the same year,

¹³⁰ Hsinchu County.

¹³¹ 台北師範學校.

he went to Nanjing, which was the former capital of mainland China, and became a reporter in a newspaper company.¹³² He once went back to Taiwan but soon left for China again because he lived under the strict surveillance by the Japanese police of Taiwan. When the Pacific War began, Wu Cho-Liu was afraid that if Japan lost the war, he and his family would be treated as Japanese and subjected to revenge from the people of mainland China. Therefore, although the surveillance by Japanese police was even much more severe than before, he decided to move back to Taiwan in 1942. After going back to Taiwan, he went into a newspaper company, which was *Taiwan Ri Ri Shin Bao*¹³³ (later *Taiwan Shin Bao*),¹³⁴ to be a reporter again. Wu Cho-Liu had been a newspaper reporter until the end of the Japanese domination. After Japan renounced Taiwan, he changed his job and held a position as a committee member of the Taiwan Mechanical Industry Association from 1949 to 1965. Wu Cho-Liu died in 1976, at the age of seventy-seven.¹³⁵

Wu Cho-Liu started writing during when he was a teacher in *kōgakkō*. He published several novellas in *Taiwan New Literature* since 1936. His first literary work was *The Moon in the Water* (1936), which was written in Japanese.¹³⁶ Wu Cho-Liu once temporarily stopped publishing literary works while being a reporter in mainland China. Nevertheless, he resumed writing soon after his return to Taiwan. Wu Cho-Liu prepared a draft of his most famous work *Orphan of Asia* (1946) in 1943 and published it in 1946.

¹³² 大陸新報.

¹³³ 台灣日日新報.

¹³⁴ 台灣新報.

¹³⁵ 台灣機器同業公會專門委員.

¹³⁶ Joseph S. M. Lau, ed., *The Unbroken Chain: An Anthology of Taiwan Fiction since 1926* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983): 12.

Aside from this masterpiece, he also published several novellas and travelogues, such as *The Doctor's Mother* (1944) and *Random Thoughts of Nanjing* (1942), during this period.

After the war, Wu Cho-Liu did not quit writing; he kept publishing many literary works including novels, novellas, essays, as well as Chinese poems. In addition to creating literary works, he also founded a famous literary journal: *Taiwan Wen-i* in 1964.¹³⁷ In 1976, Wu Cho-Liu caught a cold, which suddenly turned serious and caused his death in October of that year.

4.3.2 *Orphan of Asia*

Orphan of Asia (ya xi ya de gu er, 亞細亞的孤兒) is best known as Wu Cho-Liu's masterpiece during his creative life. As mentioned above, Wu Cho-Liu started drafting *Orphan of Asia* in 1943, and published it three years later in 1946. Leo T. S. Ching praises *Orphan of Asia* as "one of the best known literary texts on colonial Taiwan."¹³⁸ However, because of the critical stance toward Japanese colonialism in this novel, Wu faced a serious situation while writing this work. As Ching notes, Wu expressed his difficulty of writing this novel in the preface of *Orphan of Asia*,¹³⁹

More than the impending fear, I was seized by the impulse to finish the novel. At that time I was living near the official residence of the Colonial Police Department, and I even knew two or three of the officers by face...However, rather than moving to another place, I thought that by dimming the lights at my desk I could be unexpectedly safe here. But in preparation for the worst, I was extremely cautious. I would write a few pages at a time and hide them in the coal basket, and as the pages accumulated, I would transport them to my home in the countryside. Reflecting on it now, it all seems rather ridiculous, but at the time there

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ching, *Becoming "Japanese": Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*, 177.

¹³⁹ The preface is in the 1956 edition of *Orphan of Asia*. It is a original Japanese version which has a Japanese title: *Ajia no Koji*.

was no room for carelessness. If it were to be discovered, I would be immediately put away as a traitor or an antiwar supporter.¹⁴⁰

At that time, while the Pacific War got worse, the Taiwanese were involved in the war more deeply than ever. No matter what Wu wrote, if even just a sentence related to anti-Japanese thoughts, he would be treated as a traitor and put into jail. The situation was especially dangerous while Wu was writing the final two parts of *Orphan of Asia*. Nevertheless, it was because of the baptism of fire that Wu faced while writing this work that *Orphan of Asia* became a great work of art depicting the situation of Japanese in colonial Taiwan. Ching claims, “Almost all the anthologies and writings on colonial literature in Taiwan remark upon and laud Wu’s experience in writing *The Orphan of Asia* as the definitive act and symbol of resistance against Japanese colonialism.”¹⁴¹ Concerning the ideology of resistance against Japanese colonialism in this work, the following is a preliminary summary of *Orphan of Asia*.

The protagonist, Hu Tai-ming, was born into an upper class Taiwanese family. Tai-ming’s grandfather was an intellectual of traditional Chinese learning; his father was a doctor of traditional Chinese medicine. Influenced by his grandfather, Tai-ming received a traditional Chinese education in his childhood. Following the trend at that time, Tai-ming went to kōgakkō to receive a Japanese education. After graduating from college, Tai-ming’s first job was to be a teacher in a kōgakkō. He fell in love with a female Japanese teacher, Naito Hisako, who was dispatched to the same kōgakkō in the corresponding period of time. However, because of Hisako’s superior Japanese identification and Tai-ming’s Taiwanese inferiority complex, their love was not

¹⁴⁰ Ching, *Becoming “Japanese”*: *Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*, 178.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

consummated. For some reason, Tai-ming decided to quit his job and study abroad in Japan. While studying abroad in Japan, Tai-ming encountered his college classmate, Lan. Lan was enthusiastic about political activities. He invited Tai-ming to join his association, which required eliminating political restrictions on the Taiwanese. However, Tai-ming refused to join. After he returned to Taiwan, Tai-ming accepted his former colleague's offer and held a position as treasurer in a sugarcane farm. Realizing the lack of knowledge of lower-level Taiwanese, Tai-ming offered free crash courses in arithmetic, Japanese, and basic medicine and hygiene to female farmhands during his leisure time. He felt fulfilled everyday. But this fulfilled life could not be sustained for long. Because of financial problems, the sugarcane farm was closed. Introduced by another former colleague, Zeng, he went to China to teach Japanese at a girl's high school in Nanjing. He married his student, Shuchun, and had a daughter. When the second Sino-Japanese war started, Tai-ming's identity as a Taiwanese made him a suspect and he was put into jail later. Fortunately, one of his former students helped him to escape to Taiwan. However, his experience of working in China also made him a suspect in Japanese colonial Taiwan. Tai-ming came under strict surveillance. As the war continued, Tai-ming was conscripted into the Japanese army and sent to China to serve. The war was brutal. Tai-ming became seriously sick because he could not endure to see the cruel massacres on the frontline. He left the army and was sent back to Taiwan because of a serious disease. After returning to Taiwan, Tai-ming took a job with an association, which was an auxiliary organization of a Bureau. The Japanese bureaucracy in the work place made him feel terrible. Therefore, he quit this job and worked as an editor in his friend's magazine company. The magazine, however, soon ceased publication in a short time. After leaving this job, Tai-ming

returned to his home. Meanwhile, the kōminka activity spread all over Taiwan. His younger brother, Zhinan, was conscripted and died. Zhinan's death deeply disturbed Tai-ming, so much so that he became insane. A few months passed, and nobody knew where Tai-ming had gone, but according to some rumors, Tai-ming was in China.

The ending of *Orphan of Asia* is pitiful. Just as Wu Cho-Liu expressed his feelings in the preface, "Oh, Hu Tai-ming finally became insane. How could a person who has a mind about the society not become insane?"¹⁴²

Orphan of Asia can be read as a realistic history of Japanese colonial Taiwan. The reality that primarily emerges from *Orphan of Asia* is the problem of intermarriage between Japanese and colonized subjects. About the issue of colonial marriages in Taiwan, Kimberly Kono has said,

Throughout the Japanese empire, marriages between Japanese and colonized subjects, primarily Han Chinese and Koreans, appeared in literary and popular discourse as an allegory for colonial union. Colonial intermarriages were legalized by the Japanese government in 1921 and held up by the colonial governments in Korea and Taiwan during the late 1930s and early 1940s as an important step in the assimilation process, bringing colonized peoples closer to Japanese culture as well as furthering the cause of ethnic harmony.¹⁴³

According to Kono's description, colonial intermarriage was not impossible in Taiwan.

We recall that in *Orphan of Asia*, the protagonist, Tai-ming, falls in love with his colleague, Hisako, while doing his first job. Tai-ming is eager for Hisako's love; he even wants to marry Hisako. Although the intermarriage was legal at that time, the barrier between the colonizer and the colonized, Japanese and Taiwanese, and Hisako and Tai-ming is too high for Tai-ming to climb. Actually, Tai-ming understands the difficulty

¹⁴² Zhouliu Wu, *Orphan of Asia* (New York; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2006).

¹⁴³ Kimberly Kono, "Writing Colonial Lineage in Sakaguchi Reiko's 'Tokeisō'," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 32, no. 1 (2006): 102.

involved in falling in love will and marrying a Japanese woman. The narrator hints, “He couldn’t stop thinking about Hisako: ‘That she is Japanese and I am Taiwanese is a fact.’ Can anyone change that? No one can change it!”¹⁴⁴ The difficulty of marrying a Japanese woman does not stem from colonial rule in Taiwan. One of the most important barriers to intermarriage is the colonizer’s superior identity and inferior identity of the colonized. Although Tai-ming has been fond of another Taiwanese colleague, Ruie, for him the Japanese woman, Hisako, is “in his pool of ideals,” and “She was the spotless gown of the celestial nymph, the perfect woman, almost an idol.”¹⁴⁵ Nevertheless, for Hisako, Tai-ming is only one of the inferior colonized subjects, who happens to be her colleague. The images of the colonized subjects in Hisako’s mind can be traced in her conversation with Tai-ming. She says, “I bet you’ve never taken a bath in your whole life, Mr. Hu, people on this island just don’t.”¹⁴⁶ She also complains that Tai-ming smells of garlic even though he never eats garlic.¹⁴⁷ The stereotype and discrimination against colonized Taiwanese are deep and indelible. About Hisako’s superiority, Wu says,

Though not maliciously; it seemed more that she could not help but acknowledge her sense of superiority...when a whole roasted chicken (which still was in its original form) appeared on the table, Hisako leaned toward Taiming and whispered, ‘Are we barbarians or what?’ Once she had a bit, she declared it delicious and started chewing like a pig...The heedless stupidity with which she gorged herself showed that she was just another woman.¹⁴⁸

It is obvious that Hisako’s sense of superiority is similar to the other Japanese colonizers. Even though Hisako’s discrimination towards the Taiwanese is apparent, Tai-ming still falls deeply in love with her,

¹⁴⁴ Zhouliu Wu. *Orphan of Asia* (New York; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2006): 29.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Zhouliu Wu. *Orphan of Asia*, 30.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

Taiming was not unaware of this. It was just that her faults tended to fuel his passion rather than dampen it...[Taiming says,] ‘It’s my karma I must overcome; the filthy blood of a man who made a concubine of loose ignoramus courses through my body....’ For a long time that night, his inner conflicts kept him awake.¹⁴⁹

Tai-ming cannot cease his passion for Hisako because his inferior identity as a colonized subject makes the image of Hisako become inseparable from his life. As Albert Memmi discusses the relationships between the colonizers and the colonized in *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, he assumes that, “Just as the colonizer is tempted to accept his part [as a colonizer], the colonized is forced to accept being colonized.”¹⁵⁰ That is to say, Tai-ming is unconsciously forced to accept his inferior identity as a colonized subject. This relationship also means that Tai-ming cannot leave Hisako because “the colonized is a weakling... [Therefore] this deficiency requires protection.”¹⁵¹ Besides, “The colonized means little to the colonizer,”¹⁵² so that Tai-ming’s love is met with no response. Memmi’s assumptions of the relationships between the colonizer and the colonized perfectly explain the reason of Tai-ming’s unfulfilled for with Hisako. The final scene of Tai-ming’s confession of love is another piece of evidence of the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized. While Tai-ming confesses his love to Hisako, Hisako says, “I’m overjoyed, I really am, but...It can’t be. Because you and I are different.”¹⁵³ Hisako’s word “different” can explain the status of the inferiority of a Taiwanese man and the superiority of Japanese woman in colonial Taiwan.

Orphan of Asia not only depicts the issue of intermarriage in Taiwan, it also portrays many social situations such as the life of Taiwanese students who study abroad

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1991): 89.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 81-82.

¹⁵² Ibid., p. 83.

¹⁵³ Zhouliu Wu, *Orphan of Asia*, 50.

in Japan, the sugarcane industry of Taiwan, the complex and dangerous situations of Taiwanese who stay in China, the job opportunity and social hierarchy in Taiwan, the thoughts of Taiwanese intellectuals, and the impact of the Pacific war on Taiwan. In addition to the issues above, the complex identity and identification of Taiwanese are also significant in this novel. On one hand, Taiwanese receive unfair treatment from mainland China. While Tai-ming studies abroad in Japan, he attends a lecture which is sponsored by the Academic Association of China with his Taiwanese friend, Lan. After the lecture, talking with a Chinese student, Tai-ming introduces himself as Taiwanese, but suddenly, the Chinese student changes color and, “[The Chinese student] spat out, ‘Huh? Taiwan?’ He sneered in disgust and, with obvious contempt, quickly strode away.”¹⁵⁴ Lan explains the reason that why these Chinese students act the way they do, he says, ”’Are you a fool?’ ... ‘Don’t you know what the Taiwanese have been doing in Amoy? With Japan’s backing?’”¹⁵⁵ The truth is that in China people did not think that Taiwanese were companions or compatriots at that time. Moreover, Tai-ming’s former colleague, Zeng, finds a job for him in mainland China, but Tai-ming is told that their Taiwanese identity must be concealed when they live there. Zeng says,

People will look askance at us wherever we go, it’s our fate. It’s not about what we’ve done or haven’t done. We’re deformed—fate’s monstrous children. Of course it’s unfair, but we can’t do much about it, and we mustn’t behave like sulky foster children. We’ve got to prove ourselves through deeds, not words. The truth is that our passion is second to none when it comes to making sacrifices for China.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 62.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 98.

Although Zeng and Tai-ming want to make sacrifices for China, it is ironic that they cannot reveal their Taiwanese identity to the people who live in the land in which they want to make sacrifices. It is the fate of the Taiwanese.

On the other hand, the Taiwanese are not treated as Japanese by the Japanese government. They are only colonized subjects for Japan. Tai-ming returns to Taiwan because he is persecuted by the Chinese government when the others know his Taiwanese identity. It does not get better when he returns to Taiwan. Japanese special agents pay serious attention to Tai-ming because he comes from China. Even having made only a small trip, Tai-ming is told “If you ever go on a trip, you have to notify us.”¹⁵⁷ Although the Taiwanese were free to come and go to a certain degree, it still showed that the Japanese government did not trust the Taiwanese, and the Taiwanese were not treated as normal Japanese citizens.

Between China and Japan, the Taiwanese are deemed neither Chinese nor Japanese. The title, *Orphan of Asia*, truly depicts the situation that Taiwanese toward themselves in during the Japanese colonial period.

4.4. Yang Kui

4.4.1. Yang Kui’s Left-wing Writing under Japanese Colonialism

Yang Kui was born in Taiwan in 1905. Unlike Lai Ho and Wu Cho-Liu, Yang Kui was brought up in a poor working-class family. During these years, Japanese domination had become stable in Taiwan. Therefore, although Yang Kui’s family was not rich, his family could sustain itself. Regarding the background of Yang Kui’s birth, Faye Yuan Kleman wrote, “All armed rebellions had been quelled by 1902, in fact, and by

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 160.

1905 the island had achieved economic self-sufficiency to the point that the colonial government was able to sustain itself financially with no support from the central government.”¹⁵⁸ Under these circumstances, Yang Kui was able to attend *kōgakkō* to receive a Japanese education. While he studied in *kōgakkō*, the Si-Ra-An Incident¹⁵⁹ happened. Yang Kui saw the armed Japanese army passing by his home to suppress this rebellion in person, and his brother was conscripted by the Japanese army to fight rebellious Taiwanese.

It was a critical point of time for him to fully comprehend Japanese imperialism and colonialism. Yang Kui went to study abroad in Japan in 1924. He attended the Art Department at Nihon University. Since he did not have any financial support from his family, he spent the rest of his time working in order to live and study in Japan. During the time he stayed in Japan, Yang Kui was inspired by Japanese proletarian writers and enthusiastic about social activities. Not surprisingly, he was arrested and put into jail for three days in 1927 because he participated in a Korean anti-Japanese activity in Japan.

Yang Kui returned to Taiwan in 1927. He soon joined a left-leaning Taiwanese Cultural Association¹⁶⁰ and became involved in local union activities for farmers.¹⁶¹ Yang Kui’s first novel, *Paperboy*, was inspired by his personal experiences of studying abroad and his idealism concerning proletarian society. After writing *Paperboy*, he published several works of fiction in Japanese colonial Taiwan, but many of his works

¹⁵⁸ Faye Yuan Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003): 162.

¹⁵⁹ Si-Ra-An Incident was the most largest-scale armed rebellion which occurred in 1915 in the Japanese colonial Taiwan. Near 2,000 Taiwanese rebels were caught and more than 800 people were executed in the incident.

¹⁶⁰ Taiwan Bungaku Kyōkai. 台灣文化協會

¹⁶¹ Faye Yuan Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South*, 162-164.

were banned because of his proletarian writing. About Yang Kui's writing, Bert Scruggs has this to say,

His fiction often exhibits a misery aesthetic that Nishikawa Mitsuru and others eventually labeled 'shit-realism' (kuso [fen] riarizumu). These narrations of discomfort...drew the reader's attention to the class status of individuals and groups. The characters in his texts represent a broad range of class and ethnic backgrounds, but they usually align along the axis of poverty or prosperity rather than nationality or ethnicity. In addition to this underlying proletarian theme, Yang Kui wrote in a revolutionary mode and as such his works stand apart from other so-called proletarian literature from colonial Taiwan.¹⁶²

Yang Kui's special literary style of "shit-realism" makes him a unique writer in colonial Taiwan. However, his proletarian literary position did not make him famous in Japan. Kleeman indicates, "It is rather ironic that Yang came onto the Japanese proletarian scene at a time when the movement had already lost much of its momentum."¹⁶³ Japanese proletarian writers, at that time, encountered political oppression which forced them to renounce their beliefs and artistic direction. This political apostasy was so-called "tenkō."

Yang Kui met Lai Ho in Taiwan in 1929 and was inspired. Getting acquainted with Lai Ho expanded Yang Kui's literary views. Angelina C. Yee discusses Lai Ho's influence on Yang Kui,

Encouraged to write by Lai He 賴和 (1894-1943), who like Lu Xun on the mainland, established literary writing in the vernacular and was generally regarded as the 'father' of modern Taiwanese literature, Yang Kui significantly changed his given name Gui 貴, which means 'high office,' to Kui 逵, 'reaching all paths,' a name that recalls an enduring symbol of resistance against justice: the beloved Li Kui in the popular novel *Shuihu zhuan* (Outlaws of the Marsh), distinguished for his fierce loyalty and impetuous daring.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² Bert Scruggs, "Narratives of Discomfort and Ideology: Yang Kui's Short Fiction and Postcolonial Taiwan Orthodox Boundaries." *positions* 14, no. 2 (2006): 430.

¹⁶³ Faye Yuan Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South*, 166.

¹⁶⁴ Angelina C Yee, "Writing the Colonial Self: Yang Kui's Texts of Resistance and National Identity," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews (Clear)* 17 (1995): 114.

Thus, “Yang Kui” is his pen name which came from Lai Ho’s encouragement. Influenced by Lai Ho, Yang Kui became ambitious about his writing. In 1934, Yang Kui joined *The Taiwan Literary Arts*¹⁶⁵ and took care of the Japanese section of this member’s magazine. However, he left this magazine in 1935 and established a new literary journal, *Taiwan New Literature*, with his wife Ye Tao. As usual, Yang Kui took care of the Japanese section; while Lai Ho was in charge of the Chinese section.¹⁶⁶ From 1935 to 1937, *Taiwan New Literature* had published 15 issues in Taiwan. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, the Japanese colonial government officially forbade the use of Chinese in *Taiwan New Literature* in June 1937, and this prohibition was the end of Chinese writing in colonial Taiwan. Moreover, this action also ended the publication of *Taiwan New Literature*.

Yang Kui was categorized as an anti-Japanese writer. His leftist writing brought a new concept to the Taiwanese. As I will show in the next section, Yang Kui’s most famous work, *Paperboy*, reveals his specific ideas toward the Japanese imperialism and colonialism.

4.4.2. Paperboy

With help from Lai Ho, *Paperboy* (song bao fu, 送報伙) was first published in “*Taiwan Hsin-Min Bao*” in 1932. However, because of its severely critical content, the second half of *Paperboy* was banned by the Japanese colonial government. As Yee

¹⁶⁵ Taiwan Wenyi (台灣文藝).

¹⁶⁶ Bert Scruggs, "Narratives of Discomfort and Ideology: Yang Kui's Short Fiction and Postcolonial Taiwan Orthodox Boundaries." *positions* 14, no. 2 (2006): 431-432.

mentions, “‘Songbaofu’¹⁶⁷ represented the first attempt by a Taiwanese writer to enter the Japanese literary arena.”¹⁶⁸ *Paperboy* was based on Yang’s personal experience of studying abroad in Japan. The protagonist is a Taiwanese student who work-studied in Japan in order to find a way to support his mother and siblings still in Taiwan. After arriving in Tokyo, the protagonist can not find a job except that of a paperboy. He accepts the boss’s harsh terms, such as paying a huge amount of security money, before working, in order to get the job. After paying all this security money and working for several days, he is informed that he cannot earn his salary only by delivering papers. He needs to promote the sales of the paper in order to get a little pay. Moreover, the boss sets up a high standard of sales for him to reach. The protagonist tries very hard but still cannot reach the required sales. This means that he gets no pay for his work and his security money is confiscated. Under these unreasonable conditions, he arranges for all the paperboys to confront the boss and finally forces the boss to compromise. At the end of the story, the protagonist decides to leave for Taiwan and plot a revolution for the poor Taiwanese farmers.

Paperboy shows Yang Kui’s communist idea on how to deal with Japanese colonialism. Scruggs points out the purpose of *Paperboy*, “The dominant thesis in ‘Paperboy’ is clearly a revolutionary union of colonizer and colonized in the struggle by the exploited (farmers and urban workers) against the exploiter (capitalist).”¹⁶⁹ Rather than focusing on the issues of identity and identification, Yang Kui brings up a proposal to confront Japanese colonialism. For Yang Kui, the demarcation line between

¹⁶⁷ “Songbaofu” (送報伙) is the Chinese title of *Paperboy*.

¹⁶⁸ Angelina C. Yee, "Writing the Colonial Self: Yang Kui's Texts of Resistance and National Identity," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews (Clear)* 17 (1995): 115.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 436.

Japanese and Taiwanese is blurred because he was born into a stable Japanese colonized Taiwan and received a complete Japanese education from the beginning. Scruggs claims, “For Yang’s narrator, there is no concern with losing the nation. Since Taiwan has already been colonized by Japan, the question of nationality is moot; nevertheless, each character in the narrative recognizes both Taiwanese and Japanese ethnic identities.”¹⁷⁰ In *Paperboy*, not only has the protagonist been exploited, but other Japanese paperboys have also faced the boss’s exploitation. Yang writes,

Before me, the heads stretched away from the foot of the wall in row after row. The room was packed full, and I wondered how I was going to pries open a space in which to lie down. Tanaka took out a quilt, then three of us—Tanaka, another boy called Sato and myself—squeezed in together. We were so crowded that moving even a little was completely out of the question, let alone rolling over...saying we were like tinned sardines would perhaps be more to the point.¹⁷¹

Obviously, the living circumstances of the paperboys were terrible. Nonetheless, in the novel, there is no difference in the treatment between the Japanese paperboys and the Taiwanese paperboys. Furthermore, the Japanese characters in the story are not bad people at all. Some Japanese characters, such as Tanaka, represent good Japanese images to the protagonist in the story. Yang portrays the poor situation of the paperboys (labor class) in order to reinforce the image of the boss’s hideous exploitation (capitalist). The Japanese colonizer’s oppression toward the protagonist’s parents (farmer) also shows the exploitation by the capitalist. The scene where the protagonist receives his mother’s posthumous letter brings the story to its climax. His mother committed suicide because of her oppression by the capitalist and the colonizer. The tragic event prompts the I-narrator to unite the paperboys in order to confront the capitalist and leave for Taiwan to plan a

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 437.

¹⁷¹ Kui Yang, *Paperboy*. Translated by Rosemary Haddon. Vol. 43, *Renditions: A chinese-English Translation Magazine* (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1995): 28.

class revolution. Through *Paperboy*, Yang Kui expresses his concern over the issue of labor revolution which points to a cross-ethnic boundary rather than a national-identity issue. Still, Yang does not ignore the difference between the Japanese in Tokyo and the Japanese in Taiwan. While the protagonist is being asked: do you like the Japanese, the protagonist is speechless for a moment and thinks, “It was the first time I had laid eyes on Ito, who had lived in Taiwan. I felt that he could not be a bad person; on the contrary, I felt that I would like him. In Taiwan, however, I had never encountered anyone like him.”¹⁷² After a moment of silence, he replies, “Mr. Tanaka is very nice. I really like him, but in Taiwan I never met any Japanese people like him.”¹⁷³ The conversation reveals the protagonist’s perception of a difference between the Japanese people in Taiwan and the Japanese people in Japan. On one hand, the Japanese people in Japan, especially Japanese labor class people, represent the repressed people who are in a similar situation that Taiwanese people experience. On the other hand, the Japanese people in Taiwan are colonizers and thus also capitalists. Different circumstances and politics make the Japanese people become somewhat different.

Moreover, Yang also raises the idea that not all the Taiwanese were repressed and not all the Japanese were colonizers. The I-narrator thinks, “In Taiwan, I had been under the impression that all Japanese were evil and I had loathed them...As for Tanaka, he was better than a brother. Actually, I would be wronging Tanaka if I compared him with my elder brother.”¹⁷⁴ The narrator also mentions this about his elder brother, “...my brother is also Taiwanese, but in order to gain advantage for themselves, they attached themselves to the Japanese authorities. In short, they became the running dogs of the

¹⁷² Ibid., p. 55.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

Japanese.”¹⁷⁵ Thus, the narrator (and Yang) comes to the conclusion that “Just as there were good and bad Taiwanese, so there were also good and bad Japanese.”¹⁷⁶ For the narrator, race is not a matter of suffering, because “the villagers suffered a great deal on account of the two of them [Japanese and Taiwanese].”¹⁷⁷

For good or evil, Yang’s *Paperboy* essentializes the suppression and oppression by of authority toward the subject. About Yang’s focus, Yee mentions, “Yang’s refusal to essentialize the enemy as dehumanized Japanese and his avoidance of abstract glorification of war against the colonizer may easily be attributed to due regard for colonial censorship.”¹⁷⁸ Indeed, the second half of *Paperboy* had been banned by the Japanese colonial government. Although it is impossible to know the true reason for Yang’s perspective, I would like to think that Yang’s idiosyncratic treatment of colonial discourse is his personal solution toward Japanese colonialism. In the final scene, the protagonist takes the train on his way to Taiwan, thinking, “Under Japanese colonial imperialism, this ‘Jewel Island’ was a picture of fabulous beauty; one pick to that lush surface, however, was enough to unleash a river of putrid bitterness.”¹⁷⁹ This final view shows his confidence in his future revolution. People write such confidence would barely be afraid of the censorship by a colonial authority.

Like Wu Cho-Liu, Yang Kui was also a skillful Japanese writer. His literary works in the early years were written in Japanese. Yee notes, “Yang Kui represented the

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Angelina C. Yee, "Writing the Colonial Self: Yang Kui's Texts of Resistance and National Identity," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews (Clear)* 17 (1995): 116.

¹⁷⁹ Kui Yang, *Paperboy*, 57.

first crop of Taiwanese writers adept at the use of Japanese.”¹⁸⁰ As I mentioned before, for Yang Kui, through writing in Japanese, the Japanese language became a weapon of the colonized in their opposition to Japanese colonialism and imperialism. Although the second half of *Paperboy* was banned in colonial Taiwan, it won a literary prize in Japan. The contradictory reception of *Paperboy* is meaningful. One of the most important meanings of the prize is that Yang’s ideologies of anti-colonialism and proletarian/socialist realism were conveyed to the Japanese people in Japan. Just like the plot in the story, his revolution has succeeded in Japan, and will succeed in colonial Taiwan.

¹⁸⁰ Angelina C. Yee, "Writing the Colonial Self: Yang Kui's Texts of Resistance and National Identity," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews (Clear)* 17 (1995): 115.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.1. The Impact of Japanese Colonial Culture on Taiwanese Literature

Everything in the colony is about power. According to a French philosopher and historian, Michel Foucault, power is everywhere, and one is always inside power.¹⁸¹ Therefore, there is no exception for the subjects under the imperial sun. Not only the colonized but also the colonizer exercise power. On one hand, the colonizers come under the power of the colonized people's rebellion, resistance, and counterattack. On the other hand, the colonized are caught in the powerful grip of the colonizers' oppression, surveillance, and forced assimilation. The two powers intertwine and interact with each other. The Taiwanese writers were living in this power play.

Foucault also points out that there is an exercise of the triangle of power, right, and truth everywhere, and power has two limits. He indicates, "On the one hand, to the rules of right that provide a formal delimitation of power; on the other, to the effects of truth that this power produces and transmits, and which in their turn reproduce this power."¹⁸² Moreover, Foucault points out the interaction of the triangle of power, right, and truth, he writes, "We are subjected to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth... We are also subjected to truth in the sense in which it is truth that makes the laws."¹⁸³ In Japanese colonial Taiwan, it can be said that the colonizer produced the rule of right for the colonized in order to gain more power, and the colonized were forced to produce the truth that the colonizer

¹⁸¹ Michel Foucault, "Two Lectures." In *Power/Knowledge*, edited by Michel Foucault (New York: Pantheon, 1980).

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 93.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

demanded to support the colonial power.

The rule of right that the colonial authority produced for the Taiwanese subjects can be found in many Taiwanese writers' literary works. As discussed above, Lai Ho, Yang Kui, and Wu Cho-Liu were the three Taiwanese writers who were strongly influenced by colonial rule. Lai Ho devoted himself to promoting Chinese writing and acted against the unfair colonial authority; however, he was forced to quit writing and was put into jail due to colonial law. No matter how he promoted Chinese writing, the Japanese characters never disappeared from his works. For Yang Kui, Japanese colonial rule greatly influenced his life and writing. His personal experiences of being born into a poor Taiwanese family and studying abroad in Japan inspired him to become a proletarian writer. However, his Japanese living style and skillful Japanese writing resulted from the Japanese colonial assimilation policy. In Wu Cho-Liu's works, it is easy to find the impact of colonial rule, such as the issue of intermarriage between Japanese and Taiwanese, the Japanese surveillance toward Taiwanese, and the different social hierarchies between Japanese and Taiwanese in Taiwan. The rule of right that the Japanese colonial authority produced for the Taiwanese subjects changed Taiwan's culture and the living style of the Taiwanese.

Moreover, the colonized Taiwanese also produced a "truth" for the Japanese colonizer. First, writing and speaking in Japanese is one of the most important truths that the Taiwanese subjects produced at that time, even after the end of the Japanese colonial period. Kleeman claims,

The creation of a national language, Kokugo, was important in the construction of a modern national identity for the Japanese, and the transmission of this language to the colonized was central to the civilizing, assimilating project of Japanese colonialism. To the colonized, the

Japanese language provided access to Japanese media, literature, and the arts—and, through the burgeoning number of translations, to world literature as well.¹⁸⁴

The colonized Taiwanese were forced to speak and write in Japanese by the colonial power; and the colonial power was supported by the truth which the colonized Taiwanese produced. In addition to the use of Japanese language, the partial success of assimilation to Japanese culture was another truth that the colonized Taiwanese produced. Talking about the Japanese assimilation, the issue of identity and self-identification are central concepts.

Through exercising the triangle of power, right, and truth, the Japanese colonial culture was built deeply into the language, life, culture, custom, and literature of the Taiwanese.

5.2. Literary Perspectives on Identity and Self-Identification in Japanese Colonial Taiwan

One Taiwanese news program recently reported an unofficial survey on TV, about a soccer game which was played by team Japan and team China. The reporter asked many Taiwanese people which team they supported. Unexpectedly, every interviewee supported team Japan rather than team China and wished team Japan to win. No one supported team China. I was a little surprised at first, but soon realized the meaning of their answers. Because of the tense political and military situations between Taiwan and China, the boom of Japanese fashions in Taiwan, the Taiwanese assimilation to Japanese culture in the colonial period were apparently the most important factors which

¹⁸⁴ Faye Yuan Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South*, 235.

influenced their answers. Ironically, although Taiwanese have the same language as the Chinese people, the Taiwanese supported the Japanese team rather than the Chinese team.

Regarding this issue, Kleeman mentions,

Sentiments toward Japan, the Japanese people, and the Japanese language have recently been captured in a trio of related terms: ‘*meirizu*’ 媚日族 (fawner on Japan), those (mostly Taiwanese) who feel nostalgia for the good old colonial times; ‘*henrizu*’ 恨日族 (Japan haters), those (mostly mainlanders) who despise Japan; and ‘*harizu*’ 哈日族 (Japan fans), members of the young generation (mostly teenagers) who grew up with no burden of colonial memory and regard all things Japanese...as superior to both their Western and native counterparts.¹⁸⁵

Apparently, the number of *meirizu* and *harizu* is much greater than *henrizu* in Taiwan.

Looking back to the colonial Taiwanese writers I discussed above, the issue of national identity and identification especially bothered them. Lai Ho thought of himself as neither Japanese, Chinese nor ordinary Taiwanese. He thought of himself as a borderline Taiwanese living on the border of Japan. That is to say, his identity and self-identification was vague and blurred. For Yang Kui, through his literary work, his use of Japanese language became a weapon of the colonized in their opposition to Japanese colonialism and imperialism. Also, his ideologies of anti-colonialism and proletarian/ socialist realism were conveyed to the Japanese people in Japan. However, the ideologies that Yang confronted were the Japanese colonialism, imperialism, and capitalism. These hostile ideologies did not directly relate to the issue of his ethnic identity and self-identification. Both poor Taiwanese and poor Japanese were the targets of his rescue mission. Yang Kui was not bothered by the issue of identity and self-identification as much as Lai Ho was. Yang’s colonial identity as “Taiwanese,” which was equal the second tier of Japanese citizen, was expressed in his literary work. For Wu Cho-Liu, similar to Lai Ho, his

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 247.

colonial identity was also unclear. Ching claims, “Finally, the process of colonial identity formation presented in *The Orphan of Asia* is instructive in conceptualizing a radical consciousness that insists on the contradiction and multiplicity of identity formation and refuses a finalized and holistic affirmation of ‘Japaneseness,’ ‘Chineseness,’ or ‘Taiwanese.’”¹⁸⁶ The fact that the protagonist, Tai-ming, becomes insane at the end of *The Orphan of Asia* clearly depicts the complicated and bewildered feelings that Wu Cho-Liu felt at that time.

Talking about the assimilation of the Taiwanese to Japanese culture, Grajdanzev assumes that economic assimilation in Taiwan was already complete in 1937.¹⁸⁷

However, Albert Memmi has a different opinion about assimilation:

Could assimilation have succeeded? Perhaps it could have at other periods of history. Under the conditions of contemporary colonization, apparently not. It may be a historical misfortune, and perhaps we should all deplore it together. Not only did it fail, but it appeared impossible to all parties concerned.¹⁸⁸

No matter which assertion is true, it can be said that the Taiwanese writers’ confused identity and identification came from the Japanese colonial policy of forced assimilation. Lai Ho was a vivid example which proved that the assimilation was partly successful. First of all, Lai Ho wrote in detail about the war in his diary, and kept a non-judgmental style but also welcomed Japan’s victories at the Pearl Harbor and Hong Kong. Furthermore, Lai Ho described food by using Japanese kanji and katakana but not Chinese characters. As I asserted above, Lai Ho had been assimilated into the ideology of the Japanese colonizer, and had substantially become Japanese. His assimilation made Lai Ho become confused about his identity and identification. The same situations also

¹⁸⁶ Ching, *Becoming “Japanese”*: *Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*, 209.

¹⁸⁷ A. J. Grajdanzev, “Formosa (Taiwan) under Japanese Rule” *Pacific Affairs* 15, no. 3 (1942): 316.

¹⁸⁸ Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 125.

happened to Yang Kui and Wu Cho-Liu. They accepted Japanese education and experienced the whole Japanese assimilation policy in the colonial period. Ching indicates,

With heightened tension and increased mobilization at the outbreak of the Second World War, the dominant discourses of both colonial oppression and Chinese nationalist resistance, in their ideologically different but structurally similar compulsions, had insisted on prescribing and solidifying exclusive identities to serve their respective political means. Hence, in Japanese colonial discourse, the contradiction between “naichijin” (people from Japan proper) and “hondōjin” (island people), between “nihonjin” (Japanese) and “taiwanjin” (Taiwanese), is dissolved by an all-encompassing identification as “kōmin.”¹⁸⁹

The Kōminka activity solidified the Taiwanese identity as kōmin. Nevertheless, it also seriously confused the Taiwanese about their original identity as Taiwanese (or Chinese) at that time. It is hard to define these writers’ identities. I can not help to know these writers’ identities and identifications in this thesis, but hopefully, through this thesis, the complex and confused situations that the Taiwanese writers faced and experienced during the Japanese colonial period has been demonstrated vividly and comprehensibly.

5.3. A Comparison of Japanese Colonial Literature on Okinawa, Taiwan, and Korea

Okinawa was the first colony of the Japanese empire in Asia. Following the Okinawans, the Taiwanese and the Koreans also became imperial subjects. Many years passed, and Okinawa became Japan’s southernmost prefecture, but Taiwan and Korea were liberated from the Japanese domination. Concerning colonial literature, the colonial writers of Okinawa, Taiwan, and Korea describe the Japanese colonial world in different ways, but many of their concerns were similar.

As mentioned above, the struggle of identity and the war experience in a colonial

¹⁸⁹ Ching, *Becoming “Japanese”*: *Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*, 209.

setting were the two major themes that the Okinawan writers frequently portrayed their literary works. For the Okinawans, they were used to having a suzerain for a long time before the Japanese domination. However, the Okinawans still had their unique language, culture and custom; they also had their own kingdom and sovereignty before the Japanese colonial period. Hence, psychologically speaking, the struggles of identity and self-identification became the most obvious issue for the Okinawan writers to depict. Moreover, the most harmful and crucial experience for the Okinawans was the Battle of Okinawa. Therefore, the experience of the battle became another important theme for Okinawan writers.

Similar to Okinawans, the Taiwanese also experienced the change of identity and identification during that period. Compared with the Okinawans' struggle for identity, the Taiwanese were not struggling for identity as much as the Okinawans were, but were even more confused about their identity. Since the Taiwanese had not encountered any large-scale battle in Taiwan during the WW II, they did not have a war memory comparable to that of the Okinawans. Therefore, the Taiwanese writers cared more deeply about the topics of an unfair Japanese colonial system and the poor colonized Taiwanese.

The issue of colonial identity was also an important topic for Korean writers. On the one hand, because of Korea's background with its long history of continuous, independent existence, well-recognized territorial boundaries, and startling ethnic homogeneity, the Korean people's national identity was firm and solid before the Japanese colonial period. However, the Japanese assimilation policy was implemented in Korea during the colonial period; therefore, the Koreans' confusion about their identity

was become inevitable. Hence, both the Okinawans' struggle of identity and the Taiwanese people's confusion of identity appeared in Korean writers' literary works. On the other hand, it differed from the Okinawan writers and the Taiwanese writers in that the colonial Korean writers were concerned about female issues, such as the issue of women's colonial life and the issue of comfort women, more than colonial writers from other countries.

Albert Memmi asserts, "Revolt is the only way out of the colonial situation, and the colonized realizes it sooner or later."¹⁹⁰ Nevertheless, revolt was not the way that the Japanese colonies were ended. Contrarily, the colonized subjects even gave their lives to help the Japanese empire until the end of WW II . Following Japan's "decisive conflict" (kessen) in the war, the Taiwanese were conscripted to join the Japanese Army in the 1940s. Not only the Taiwanese, many Koreans and the Okinawans were also conscripted by the Japanese colonial government during that time. Furthermore, many Okinawans died in the Battle of Okinawa in order to protect their suzerain, Japan. The fact that the Japanese colonies ended their colonial situations without revolt means that the assimilation of the colonized, at least partially, was successful. These colonies' exercise of the triangle of power, right, and truth made the assimilation easier. The colonized Korean, Okinawan, and Taiwanese writers and their literary works revealed the colonized subjects' frustration, trauma, confusion, struggle, and sadness in the Japanese colonial society, and also their resistance, acceptance, and solution toward the Japanese colonialism and imperialism. Although under the control of Japanese colonialism and imperialism, through their literary works, the colonial writers never gave up their hopes

¹⁹⁰ Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 127.

and desire for peace.

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