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THE MORAL AND RACIAL SOCIALIZATION OF CHILDREN: THE IMAGE OF WU FENG IN TAIWAN SCHOOL READERS

A Thesis Presented
by
CLAIRE R. MACCABEE

Submitted to the Graduate School of University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment for the requirements of the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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Chinese

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CLAIRE R. MACCABEE

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DEDICATION

First and foremost, to

Professor Cohen, a phenomenal teacher, mentor, and friend.

&

To Zhong Zhen and Anar for showing me real friendship in Taiwan.

ABSTRACT

THE MORAL AND RACIAL SOCIALIZATION OF CHILDREN: THE IMAGE OF WU FENG IN TAIWAN SCHOOL READERS

SEPTEMBER 2008

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Directed by: Professor Alvin P. Cohen

The Taiwanese legend of Wu Feng who supposedly died in the mid-18th century has passed down since the late Qing dynasty. Wu Feng was considered a righteous martyr-like figure who ultimately sacrificed himself in order to dissuade the Ali Mountain aborigines from their tradition of headhunting. This tale has evolved through different periods in Taiwanese history. The legend starting in the late Qing dynasty through Japanese Colonization, the early R.O.C. in Taiwan, and modern day Taiwan has been manipulated in a number of different ways and has been included as an example for moral education in Taiwan school textbooks until 1987. It seems that these changes or manipulations of the legend are indicative of broader changes occurring in Taiwanese society with a major transformation in race relations manifested in 1988. I will attempt to gain insight into the evolving school textbook version of the Wu Feng myth by studying its representation from the early 1950's until the final version in 1987.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION

A. The Wu Feng Legend

The Taiwanese legend of Wu Feng 吳鳳 has been passed down over time since the latter part of the Qing dynasty (1644-1911). Early sources of the legend indicate that Wu Feng was an interpreter between the Han and Aborigine communities in Taiwan. He is depicted as a righteous martyr-like figure who ultimately sacrificed himself in order to dissuade the Ali Mountain Aborigines from their tradition of ritual headhunting, since he allowed himself to be beheaded by the Zou 鄒 tribe. As legend has it, Wu Feng gave his own life as the ultimate sacrifice to demonstrate the savageness of headhunting. After Wu Feng died all the Ali Mountain Aborigines, out of regret for killing interpreter Wu, completely ceased their tradition of headhunting.

This tale has evolved through different periods in Taiwanese history. The legend of Wu Feng from the Qing Dynasty, Japanese colonization, early R.O.C., and into the modern day R.O.C. on Taiwan has been manipulated in a number of different ways. It seems that these changes or manipulations of the legend have been indicative of broader changes occurring in Taiwanese society. Wu Feng's legend was ultimately interpreted by each regime as a didactic tale. Wu Feng seems to have been transformed from a local hero in a folktale into a moral legend about a nationalistic, Confucian martyr found in stories, poems, and even school textbooks exploited by each regime for the socialization of its citizens, especially young school children. This thesis will examine the Wu Feng story in government issued school textbooks in Taiwan from 1950 until the story was

deleted in 1987. This discussion will emphasize the evolving form of the story and its evolving didactic role in the relations between the Hans and the Indigenous people of Taiwan.

B. Historical Background of the Indigenous People of Taiwan

The traditional nine major Aborigine groups in Taiwan have historically been distinguished as the Ami, Atayal, Bunun, Paiwan, Puyama, Rukai, Saisiyat, Zou, and the Yami. Anthropologists continue to debate about the origins of these groups. Some suggest that they came from the Malay Peninsula and the Indonesian Archipelago. Other theories suggest that they originated in Mongolia. While another theory suggests that they originally came from Polynesia. Others suggest that Taiwan's Aborigines may have roots from all three origins because of the diversity that exists between the individual groups themselves and their languages. It is however agreed that they have been on the island thousands of years before Chinese arrival (Faure, 48).

Taiwan ethnographers have been hesitant to use the word "tribe" to describe the distinction among these major groups. In traditional ethnography "tribe" may indicate a group of people that are under a cohesive political system. However each of these nine separate major groups of Aborigines may not have been under any "common political structure". Sources suggest that those within the larger groups "settled in villages or organized bands each of which had its own organization. These villages and bands allied with or fought with one another, and it is not beyond the realm of imagination that the alliances cut across 'tribal' boundaries" (Faure, 48).

C. Relations Between the Han Chinese and the Indigenous People of Taiwan

In 1624 the Dutch East Indian Company established a trading post at Tainan 臺南, Taiwan. By 1642 the Dutch subsequently began to colonize the island. As the Qing (1644-1911) forces began to take over southern China, the Ming 明 (1368-1644) loyalist Zheng Chenggong 鄭成功 fled to Taiwan and expelled the Dutch in 1661. Zheng Chenggong's descendants ruled the island until 1683, but were finally forced to surrender to the Qing's overpowering forces. (Shepherd, 1)

Taiwan then became organized as a prefecture of Fujian 福建 Province and "headed by a prefect". Many soldiers or refugees who had worked under Zheng's rule in Taiwan were able to return to their mainland homes or went to serve in the Manchu armies. Most of the civilian Han population was also forced to leave the island. In addition, Han women were not permitted to settle in Taiwan, and Han male immigration was limited in the early Qing (Shepherd, 122).

Due to the lack of Han women many Han settlers took Aborigine brides. Some even participated in uxorilocal marriages with Aborigine women, in which a male marries into the female's household; something looked down upon by traditional Chinese patrilineal society. The intermingling of Hans and Aborigines continued throughout the Qing. In fact, intermarriage may have occurred even earlier than the Qing (Brown, 29). "There is evidence that the rates of intermarriage between Han men and Aborigines were so high that about half the population under Dutch control of Taiwan (1642-1661) may have had mixed Han and Aborigine ancestry. Over time, a great many of the indigenous islanders

adopted the customs and language of the Chinese immigrants themselves and gradually became accepted as Han Chinese" (Brown, 30).

In the Qing, Aborigines were simple classified as "barbarian" 番. The distinction between the classification of Taiwan residents as "barbarian" or Han was imposed by the Qing government. But this actual classification was relatively flexible both in theory and in practice. For example, some "barbarians" 番 could apply to the authorities for reclassification as Han, and the offspring of mixed marriages usually referred to themselves as Han, but the Han Chinese who settled in indigenous villages might have found "themselves reclassified as *fan* 番" (Brown, 32).

From the seventeenth century on, the Chinese described the Taiwanese indigenous people as *fan* 番. This term stood for the ethnic "other" who was thought to have been brought up in a culture that was "lesser than the manner of life of the Chinese", but the *fan* who adopted Han Chinese ways came to be known as the *shu fan* 熟番 meaning "cooked" or tamed *fan* 番. Those that didn't adopt Han ways were known as the *sheng fan* 生番 meaning the raw or wild *fan*. It was believed that the *shufan* were docile, and the *shengfan* were dangerous. This terminology has also mixed into the terminology of later distinctions between the *pingdiren* 平地人, plains people, and the *shandiren* 山地人 , mountain people. This indicates the vagueness and misunderstanding of Aborigine distinctions found both in the past and in the modern era.

For example, during the Qing the eight smaller Aborigine divisions of Taiwan were labeled "mountain tribes", but they were not all mountain dwellers. They were only

referred to as mountain tribes because the plains where they lived were located in a part of Taiwan that, in the Qing dynasty, was referred to as the "posterior mountains", the *houshan* 後山 (Faure, 3).

During the Qing, Chinese maps of Taiwan even leave out the eastern portion of the island. In fact, Chinese magistrates were only appointed to the West coast. The Han magistrates were given the task of governing both the indigenes as well as the Hans. Han magistrates often found it difficult to govern the indigenous people on the east coast. The *fan* on the west coast were considered much more submissive than the "ones behind the mountains" (Faure, 4).

Some suggest that the *fan* behind the mountains were sheltered more from Han influence. There may some truth to this. While Han influence into the mountains was quite "far reaching and consequential". Those tribes that dwelled behind the mountains in certain ways were less susceptible to Han influence (Faure, 3).

While there had been a great deal of social intermingling since the early seventieth century, the primary interactions and relationships between the Qing regime and the aborigines became very economically rooted. The Qing, like the Zheng rule, continued the monopoly on the deer skin trade. This remained the basis for interaction between the Qing government, the local Hans, and the Aborigines (Shepherd, 105).

The Chinese terms for the distinction of raw *sheng* "barbarians" versus the cooked *shou* "barbarians" was also economic in nature. The cooked "barbarians" were comprised of those Aborigines who yielded to Han rule and paid taxes. Those that did not acquiesce to Han authority or pay taxes were referred to as raw "barbarians" (Shepherd, 106).

The early Qing rule did not wish to complicate matters by establishing a new order of taxation and administration. Instead it relied upon the taxation system of the previous ruling regime of the Zhengs. Like the Zhengs' the Qing rule continued to impose "a head tax on the 'cooked' Aborigine tribes". There was also a distinction between taxation for Han settlers and Aborigines. Han settlers were expected to pay both a head tax and a land tax. The land tax that the Han settlers paid accorded them land cultivation rights. While the Aborigines paid only a head tax, this eventually entitled the Aborigines to some kind of land ownership. This head tax was called a *fanxiang* 番項, "barbarian" or tribal revenue (Shepherd, 107).

Overall the Qing did lower Aborigine village tax quotas, as well as taxes on local Han settlers, in order to ease the transition of the Qing takeover of Taiwan. The Aborigines head tax had been set at an official quota but in reality it varied considerably. The actual tax quota varied among Aboriginal towns at a rate from one to twenty taels of silver. In the early Qing these tax quotas were set considerably low, lower in fact than during the Zheng regime, in return for the submission of the Aborigine tribes to Qing authority (Shepherd, 108).

As the Qing progressed, the Aborigine populations as well as deer herds began to oscillate in number and the tax rate began to grow. The average adult male Aborigine tax rate became 1.7 taels of silver, while Han settlers only had to pay 0.476 taels of silver, although Hans did have to pay land taxes as well (Shepherd, 129).

A time schedule for the payment of these taxes was never published during the Qing rule. Some suggest that the lack of schedule records for tax payments between the Aborigines and the Qing may indicate that Aborigines were not actually payers of tax.

Rather the early Qing regime, like many Chinese regimes before them, itself paid tribute to the natives of the territory that the empire was encroaching upon, in this case, Taiwan, through means of gifts and tribute in order to quell local dissent (Faure,5).

Not surprisingly, undocumented tax payments also failed to record payment to the middlemen. In some cases the tax burden placed on the Aborigine tribes by the middlemen interpreters "more than doubled" the amount of payment due. Han merchant monopolies and forced labor of the Aborigines reinforced social and economic disparity. Aborigines began to revolt until finally the tax system was modified in 1737 (Brown, 48).

On the surface this modification of the tax system appeared to ease the economic exploitation of the Aborigines. However some suggest that the Qing purposefully made these reforms in order to discourage Aborigines from claiming any Han ethnic identity and the privileges associated with it. The Qing actually lowered tax quotas for the Aborigines, once again preventing any incentive to change ethnic status to Han, but Aborigines were still subjected to corvee systems and Hans were not. The Qing powers also banned intermarriage between Hans and Aborigines. It seems the Qing aimed to diffuse any possibility of a Han-Aborigine alliance (Shepherd, 112).

In 1738 the Qing government also called for a re-assessment of the land boundaries between the Aborigines and the Hans. This required an inspection of land contacts. Such private contracts had been written ambiguously and served to cheat Aborigines out of their land. This "clarification" of land boundaries allowed Hans to stay on Aborigine land, where before they had merely leased it. Even in cases where Hans were legally required to pay the Aborigines for their land, many refused. Lastly, the Qing began to

rely on Aborigine fighters to quell Han rebellions and uprisings. Again the gap between Han and Aborigine communities widened (Shepherd, 114).

Although government policy forbade free expansion into the mountains and beyond, that policy was eventually given up when a Japanese expedition landed in the south of Taiwan. In response the Qing government quickly decided to administer the whole island. In 1874 the Qing moved deeper into the mountains to establish a very lucrative camphor trade (Shepherd, 120).

Throughout the middle and late Qing periods, land disputes between the Hans and Aborigines heightened. Aborigine corvee systems and abuse continued. Many Aborigines sought to move away from the Hans and towards Taiwan's foothills. At this time many Aborigines came in contact with missionaries and converted to Christianity in part, perhaps, to counter their sinicization. However these conversions served to make many Aborigines even more subversive in the eyes of the Qing (Shepherd, 121).

In 1886 Taiwan officially became a province of China. As Taiwan developed, the Aborigines were not able to maintain their seclusion in the mountains. The mountain camphor industry and mountain tea markets boomed. Liu Mingchuan 劉銘傳 (1836-1896) , Taiwan's first governor, attempted to colonize the mountains of Taiwan from 1885-1891. He planned a massive technological expansion in Taiwan. However to pay for this development Liu placed the tax burden on small land holders as opposed to large land holders. Liu then proportionally decreased the amount of rent owed to large land holders. Hans were relatively unaffected by this change because the tax burden and rent reduction balanced out. But Aborigine large land holders were affected because as large land rent payment decreased the net incomes of Aborigines significantly dropped. Thus

maintaining a separate and distinct Aborigine identity became economically very disadvantageous. (Brown, 53)

CHAPTER II

THE EARLIEST STAGES OF THE WU FENG ACCOUNT

A. Primary Sources

As noted above, the Wu Feng legend is primialry a story about Aborigine and Han relations. It has evolved through different periods in Taiwanese history. The early documentation of this legend is rather sparse. Although Wu Feng is believed to have died in 1769, the earliest written source of the Wu Feng legend is found in the *Haiyin Shi* 海音詩 which is believed to have been first written in 1855 by *Liu Jiamou* 劉家謀. This work is a collection of one hundred *qiyan jueju* 七言絕句 seven line poems. These poems concern the folk lore, traditions, and phenomena of theo f Taiwan Prefecture during the mid-Qing. This earliest "primary source" merely consists of a short poem praising Wu Feng. The next version of the Wu Feng story appears in the *Yunlin Caifang ce* 雲林採訪冊 written in 1894. The *Yunlin caifang ce*, The Collected Works of Yunlin County , is a Qing dynasty recordings of the local happenings of Taiwan's Yunlin County. This one page narrative refers to Wu Feng as a man who acted with Confucian propriety and who followed the cardinal principles of righteousness when dealing with the Aborigines. But it is only during the Japanese occupation of Taiwan that we see a big change in the image of Wu Feng. The Japanese took over the island in 1895, and by 1912 Nakada Naoshi compiled and wrote the *Wu Feng Tongshi* 吳鳳通事, a large detailed work about Wu Feng.

Although this is our third "primary source", it may be important to question its validity. Where did Nakada Naoshi attain the information in 1912 about Wu Feng who is believed

to have died in 1769? Perhaps it is not helpful to look at the accuracy of Nakada Naoshi's research but rather at the image of Wu Feng that was created and why.

During the Japanese occupation of Taiwan the Japanese had a very difficult time suppressing resistance. The Han Taiwanese resisted the Japanese, but their resistance was largely stopped by 1902 (Zhang, 27). But Aboriginal resistance lasted until the early 1930s.

The Japanese ultimately sought to assimilate the Aborigines. Part of this campaign of assimilation involved ridding the Aborigines of customs of which the Japanese disapproved. One such custom was headhunting, but the Japanese had great difficulty in trying to wipe out the practice (Dai, 5). Even though Wu Feng is believed to have died in 1769, there are numerous examples of Ali Mountain Aborigines continuing to headhunt well into the 1930s in Taiwan. It seems that creating an image of a martyr/ pacifier of the Taiwanese Aborigines who, as legend has it, "stopped" their tradition of headhunting was in the Japanese colonialists' best interests.

The fourth earliest version of the Wu Feng tale is found in the *Taiwan tongshi* 臺灣通史 which differs greatly from the other three. In this 1919 version Wu Feng does not sacrifice himself, but rather fights against the Aborigines and is ultimately murdered. Like the *Wu Feng Tongshi* 吳鳳通事, the *Taiwan Tongshi* 臺灣通史 was also written during the Japanese occupation. But this version was written by Lian Heng 連橫, a Chinese scholar. In fact, in this version Lian Heng challenges the old conception of Wu Feng as passive and transforms him into a Han fighter. In comparison, Nakada Naoshi's book beautifies the story and portrays Wu as a martyr who sacrifices himself and is mistakenly killed. If both versions of this story come from a very similar context why

would they have such a different ending? Many suggest that the 1919 version, written by a Chinese author during the Japanese occupation, is really a story about "resistance". I would like to explore these discrepancies in my translations and analysis.

I include the translations of the four "primary sources" of the Wu Feng legend below. But again it should be noted that even in these four earliest sources there are major differences in the portrayal of the life and death of Wu Feng.

1. <u>Haiyin Shi</u> 海音詩

In this first translation, I look at the earliest "primary source" of the Wu Feng legend, the 1855 *Haiyin shi* 海音詩 poem.

Again and again the (Han) intermediaries (to the Aborigine community) 番割

attacked and caused calamities all around to the people.

Who could compare to Mr. Wu? whose benevolence extends towards others?

In spite of all this his head was chopped off. It flew off and did not return.

In the village homes they have been preparing offerings of food and drink

(for him) for a thousand years.

Analysis:

This earliest 1855 Qing dynasty version is very short and offers little detail compared to the later versions of this tale. Here, Wu is clearly portrayed as the hero. He is contrasted with the corrupt Han intermediaries to the Aborigines. These Han intermediaries were known as *fange* 番割. They resolved matters between the Han settlers and the Aborigines in early Taiwan. They were notoriously corrupt in their exploitation of both the Han settlers and the Aborigines. But in this poem there is no actual discussion of the Aborigines themselves or much about Han and Non-Han race relations. Although there is a clear mention of Wu's beheading, there is also no mention of his self sacrifice or martyrdom. This is also quite different from later versions of the story that hinge upon Wu Feng's self sacrifice, but the poem refers to Wu Feng's posthumous worship, which does seem to be a consistent theme throughout most of the Wu Feng stories.

2. <u>Yunlin caifang ce</u> 雲林採訪冊

In this next translation I look at the 1894 version from the *Yunlin caifang ce* 雲林採訪冊.

"Brief Account of Interpreter Wu

Wu Feng was a man from Fanzitan Village of Damao Eastern Fortress 打貓東堡番仔潭庄. At a young age he could read and knew the cardinal principles of righteousness. He was able to interpret "barbarian language" 番語. In the early Kangxi Reign period in Taiwan the followers of the Marquis of Jinghai, Shilang, negotiated and had laid out a government , and established pacification over the wild barbarians. They

recruited an interpreter of the barbarian language in order to interpret and be in charge of the trade.

However the barbarian's disposition was to delight in killing. The interpreters were scared of this fierceness. Often (they) purchased (poor) idlers and used them to deal with this (by giving them to the barbarians to kill). When Feng took the position of interpreter to the barbarians, they asked him for people (to kill). Feng thought about how to change this corruption, but he did not know what to do. Also he could not bring himself to buy life in order to appease the barbarians. On the pretext of delaying this, he frequently failed to keep his promises.

In the sixteenth year (of the Kangxi Reign period) (1677), the barbarians ferociously demanded people (to kill). Feng carefully thought about this matter, and broke off relations with them. Thereupon he warned his family to make a paper effigy holding a knife and sitting astride a horse with his hand holding an image of the barbarian chief's head. He then set up a time to talk with the barbarians. A day before this, he said to his family,

> "The temperament of the fierce barbarians is difficult to tame. I thinkt that there is no method for putting them under control. Also it is not tolerable to subject other people to death. At this time I will invoke the cardinal principle of righteousness. If I am fortunate, they will abide by this, and the obedient barbarians surely willfollow me. Otherwise I will certainly be killed. If I die, don't cry. Quickly burn up the paper effigy you made and then shout, 'Wu Feng enters the mountains!' When I die, if I have a spirit after death, I will wipe out this trouble."
> The family wept and tried to dissuade him, but he did not listen. The next day, the barbarians arrived. Wu Feng wore vermillion clothing and a red scarf, and went out to reason with them that killing people violated the [divine] commands and the royal laws.

> "Since all your people have been treated well you should follow the regulations. Why continue to recklessly kill people?"

But the barbarians didn't listen, killed Feng, and left.

Feng's family and dependents followed his injunctions. Then the community barbarians all saw Feng riding a horse, holding a knife, and entering the mountain. When they saw (Feng), then they got sick. Many died. They were all scared. No one knew what to do. At that time, the community of barbarians had a girl marry a (Han man) who lived by the mountains. She could speak the Han's language and frequently heard what was said about Feng. She went home and told her community and their fear increased.

Thereupon, in front of the [sacred] stone tablets they took an oath never to kill people within the Jiayi 嘉義 limits. At this point their violence stopped. The inhabitants were grateful to Wu Feng. They built a shrine and offered sacrifices to him. Up to now, in the superior four communities of barbarians, they still keep their oath. If they kill, they don't dare disturb the Damao fortress 打貓堡 or other fortresses."

Analysis:

This 1894 version of the Wu Feng story is much longer and detailed than the 1855 short poem. Again, Wu is portrayed as a Confucian hero who invokes the "cardinal principle of righteousness". But there is no mention of the corrupt Han intermediaries *fange* 番割. In addition, unlike the 1855 version there is a clear discussion of Aborigine and Han relations. This version displays tensions between the two communities. Here, the Aborigines are portrayed as cruel and bloodthirsty who demand Hans that they can kill.

There are other discrepancies that appear between these two earliest versions. While Wu is killed, there is not a clear mention of his "beheading" which is characteristic of his death scene in later tales. Also, while perhaps Wu Feng knew of the possibility of his death, did Wu Feng really "sacrifice" himself in this version? He ultimately did die, but he simply put himself in a situation where he knew of the possibility of his death. In my interpretation, this suggests bravery but not necessarily martyrdom. This also drastically differs from the later versions of this story in which Wu Feng's martyrdom is clearly embellished as an exemplar for readers.

Wu Feng's posthumous worship is also mentioned in this version. The *Jiayi* inhabitants even erect Wu's shrine in this story. This differs from the 1855 version that makes no mention of a shrine but rather refers to offerings made in village homes.

Unlike the 1855 poem, in this work it seems that Wu Feng's spirit returns in the form of a ghost to take revenge upon the Aborigines that killed him. It haunts them for his unjust death. This motif is also seen in later versions.

3. <u>Wu Feng Tongshi</u> 吳鳳通事

In this third translation I look at various sections of the Japanese Occupation period 1912 *Wu Feng Tongshi* 吳鳳通事, by Nakada Naoshi.

To Die for a Nobel Cause: The Interpreter Wu Feng

<u>Chapter Two: Chronology</u>

The existing, but varied, accounts about Wu Feng are generally the same. The accounts only differ regarding the year that he gave up his life in the performance of his duty. Some say it was in the Kangxi 康熙 reign period in the 57th year (1718), some say it was in the Yongzheng 雍正 reign period in the seventh year, eighth month, third day (September 25, 1729), and some say it was in the Qianlong 乾隆 reign period in the 34th year, eighth month, tenth day (September 9 , 1769).

The Kangxi argument comes from the *Yunlin caifang ce*, while the Yongzheng argument is based upon the account at the Wu [Feng] Shrine in the Shekou Village 社口莊. The Qianlong 34th year account originated from the spirit stele at the Wu family's ancestral temple at Fanzi Lake Village 番仔潭莊.

If we chronologically compare the Kangxi account and the Yongzheng account there is an eleven year discrepancy. Also, the Yongzheng account and the Qianlong account have a forty-one year discrepancy. Presumably the date recorded in the *Yunlin caifang ce* and the Shekou Village ancestral shrine account are both wrong. Why? None of the said accounts are in accord with Feng's birth year. Feng was actually born in the Kangxi

reign period in the 38th year (1699). If we take the Kangxi, Wu-Xu 戊戌 year (1718) of the *Yunlin caifang ce* account as true, then this "Feng" would have died when he was twenty years old. If we take Shekou Village shrine account of the Yongzheng seventh year (1729) as true, then that "Feng" would have died when he was 31 years old. If this is so why is there an image of him with a long beard? Moreover, the *Caifang ce* 採訪冊 was completed in the Guangxu 光緒 reign period 20th year (1894). Between Wu Feng's death and the book's writing there is a one-hundred and twenty-five year difference. The Shekou Village shrine account also came into existence fifty years after Feng's death. At the end of the Jiaqing 嘉慶 reign period (ca. 1820), it was erected by the village people. Because a long time had passed, their research was not accurate. Are not both of them mistaken? But why is the Qianlong account alone true? I would say, it is because the Wu Family temple at FanZi Lake Village 番仔潭莊 was erected at the time when Feng served as an interpreter. His descendents up till now have not cut off their ancestral rituals. Generation upon generation they kept his spirit tablet in place. For his birth and death years, the months, and days were accurately recorded. In the following, I show [the information] from the stele of three generations of Feng's family.

Father: 吳珠 T.朝聯 b. 康熙 12.4.15 (May 30, 1673)

d. 雍 正 4.4.18 (May 19, 1726)

Mother: 蔡良惠, b. 康熙 17.10.30 (December 13 , 1678)

d. 雍正 6.3.20 (April 28 , 1728)

Concubine: 陳貞慈 b. 康熙 32.10.10 (November 7, 1693)

d. 雍正 13.7.21 (September 7, 1735)

Wu Feng: T. 元輝　b. 康熙 38.1.18 (February 17, 1699)

d. 乾隆 34. 8.10 (September 9, 1769).

Wife: 陳良德 b. 康熙 41.8.16 (October 7th, 1702)

d. 乾隆 25.7.10 (August 20, 1760)

First Son: 吳汀援 T. 剛直 b. 康熙 61.6.17 (July 29, 1722)

d. 乾隆 22.5.25 (July 10, 1757)

Grandson: 吳奇玉, b. 乾隆 19.8.11 (September 27th, 1754)

d. 嘉慶 13.1.28 (February 24, 1808)

Grandson: 吳怡直,　b. 乾隆 20.12.6 (January, 7, 1756)

d. 嘉慶 1.11.11 (December 9th, 1796)

Second Son: 吳汀巽 T. 讚侯

b. 乾隆 11.2.17 (March 8, 1746)

d. 嘉慶 3.2.15 (March 31st, 1798)

Although the Wu family's first ancestors are unable to be known, after they immigrated and lived (in Taiwan), the members of the entire lineage were systematically named, so that generation after generation the family members can all be verified. We cannot but solely base ourselves on this.

Chapter Three: Family Record

Wu Feng's public name was Yuan Hui (元 輝). He was born during the Qing dynasty, in the Kang xi reign period, thirty-eighth year, first month of the year, eighteenth day (February 17, 1699). He was born in Pinghe County 平和縣, Zhangzhou Prefecture 漳州府, in Wukou Village 烏口社. His father's personal name was Zhu 珠, and his public name was Chao Lian 朝聯. His mother's family name was Cai 蔡, and her personal name was Liang Hui 良惠. Information about his earlier ancestors is not known. Presumably, one generation after another they lived in Wu Kou Village 烏口社. It is said that his grandfather's name was Lian 連.

During the end of the Ming dynasty and the beginning of the Qing dynasty, the grandfather frequently sailed to Taiwan. During the KangXi reign period, Feng went along with his father and mother [to Taiwan] where they settled down in Mei Street in Zhuluo West Fortress 諸羅西堡美街. Later, they moved to Lumachan Village in Da Mu Gen Fortess 大目根堡鹿蔴產社.

Feng's father and grandfather both had learned careers. In their family's temple, on the literary couplet hanging on the wall, there is written the two lines,

筆下游龍傳藻志, 雲中 矯鶴擬清標

> "With their brush moving like a swimming dragon, they convey their literary aspirations. Like a powerful crane flying in the clouds they are very pure and set a high example for others."

From these two lines, we can imagine what kind of people they were.

Because Feng lived in a far off place during his childhood, he lacked friends and teachers. He regularly recieved education in his household. He was very studious. At dawn he studied by the window, and at night he studied by his lamp. He could recite without ceasing. The people of their clan regarded him as a scholar. When he got older Feng followed his father into the barbarian's territory. They traded and exchanged goods for years. There was nothing that they didn't know of the barbarians' language, customs, and temperament. The barbarians were all happy with Feng. They heavily relied on him. During the Kangxi reign period in the sixty-first year (1722), when Feng was twenty-four years old, he was selected as an interpreter. Thereupon, he built a public office in Fanzi Lake Village of Damao Eastern Lower Fortress 打貓東下堡番仔潭 莊 and dwelt there.

During the Yongzheng 雍正 reign period in the fourth year (1726), his father died and therefore he inherited the headship of the family. Two years later his mother died. He had married Ms. Chen 陳. Her personal name was Liang De 良德. She was the eldest daughter of Chen Gu 陳古 of the Zhu Luo New Village Plantation 諸羅新厝仔莊. Her look and her manner were extremely fresh. She had all the female virtues, and she served her brothers and sisters-in-law with good manners and obedience. The whole family was in harmony. There was no one in the neighborhood that didn't admire and praise her and the family. She raised two boys. Her eldest son was Ting Yuan 汀援. He was born during the Kangxi reign period during the sixty-first year (1722). The second son, TingXun 汀巽, was born in the eleventh year of the Qianlong reign period (1746). Madame Chen 陳氏 reared her two sons, instructing them in refined speech and influencing them to do kind deeds. This led Feng to be without domestic worries and to

focus on providing comfort to those in need. Thus, Madame Chen had great success in her wifely duties.

The accounts [of that time] say,

> "Taiwan at that time was a region of empty wilderness; The only family（in Taiwan）with morale and harmony was solely Liaosn Wu's 吳 通事 household."

During the Qianlong 乾隆 reign period in the twenty second year (1757) the eldest son, TingYuan 汀援 , got sick and died. In the twenty fifth-year (1760) Feng's wife Madame Chen 陳氏 also passed away. At the time his wife died Feng was over sixty years old. Although Feng repeatedly encountered these sorrows, if he were another person he would feel sorrow to the bone and quickly die of depression, but his manner was above this. As an accomplished and open-minded person, he regarded his sorrows as sorrows (that were a part of living) but never went as far as to let them linger (in his mind). He regarded his suffering as suffering (that was a part of living) but he never went as far as to let the suffering linger.

Although the interpreter had a low employment status, he had heavy responsibility. He was situated between the [Han] people and the barbarians. In handling their mutual market interactions he always led them in the right way and assisted them. He brought out the barbarian's taxes and sent in the barbarian's land tax [to the government office]. He always performed correctly and supervised them. When the Qing settlers and soldiers mistreated and raided the fierce barbarians because of their ignorance and lust for killing, Feng could not but stop and contain them. The Qing settlers tended to be touchy and were ruthless. They caused trouble at the drop of a hat. Feng could not but mediate this. Even with complicated troubles outside and pressures within (the community), Feng still

was able to calmly judge without fail. Presumably, he devoted all his efforts to his work and died while in service. How could his household become so entwined and encumber his mind? He was always overburdened at the main public office and pressed with work at the branch office. He never experienced even one day of leisure time. He made the entire region peaceful and extended the doctrines of government. People looked up to him far and wide.

Chapter Four: Policy towards the Barbarians

As to Feng's performance as an interpreter, the task of pacifying the barbarians was extremely difficult. At the beginning, when the Dutch ruled Taiwan, they started various kind of businesses and religious (teaching). When Zheng [Chenggong] 鄭 [成功] chased out the Dutch and occupied this place (Taiwan), for a long time many people immigrated from Zhangzhou 漳州 and Quanzhou 泉州 [Fujian] and built fortresses there. There were regulations about the expansion of agriculture. In order to stop the barbarians from making trouble and disorder they instituted good order. By the time it became a part of the Qing territory the [Han] people and the barbarians dwelled together side by side. Those that immigrated and settled down [in Taiwan] increased each year, while the barbarian's territory shrunk each month until all the suburbs, plains, and the fertile land were occupied [by Hans]. This tendency was like a flood tide.

Moreover, the immigrants were mostly mean, cunning, and brutal guys. Those that were brutal caused the [Han] groups to attack the barbarian communities, burn their houses, kill their clansmen, and would shamelessly grab the land from them. Those that were cunning would take advantage of the ignorance of the barbarians. Some would give them cloth, and some would marry their daughters, forming a kinship and relationship of in-laws with them. Then they made agreements with the barbarians to borrow their land. When they wrote contracts with them [for borrowing land], since the barbarians could not understand the writing, the [Hans] wrote ambiguous words. So that [the land they borrowed] reached all the way to the four borders of the region. They also changed the date [of the contract] to be limitless. In a very casual manner they took nearly everything from them so that finally they caused the barbarians to be without legal grounds to sue

them and to be without land to live on. So the barbarians retreated into what little bit was left over of the narrow mountain and river areas.[1]

At this time there were community merchants and gangsters. There were also those who stood between the Hans and the barbarians to practice mediation and communication. These folks connected with each other in order to create conditions favorable to themselves in trade. They took advantage of the barbarians cruelly and heartlessly, without feeling concern about their miseries. They unceasingly worked the barbarian adult males until they were broken and collapsed without being able to rise up again. They forcefully took the girls and made them slaves and concubines. They took barbarian children by deceit and sold them as slaves. The government regulations were lax and no one paid attention to them. This was done at will and regarded as routine.

The power and authority of the liason's job was even less compared to the community merchants', and the merchants' greed knew no bounds. The barbarian community's tribute taxes were doubled, and the (merchants) kept half the amount of it for themselves.

1

This discussion of the history of the Aborigines during the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) is quite interesting considering that this version of the Wu Feng story was originally written by Nakada Naoshi, a Japanese man in Japan-occupied Taiwan. In fact, the majority and the finality of land taken from the Aborigines seems to have occurred during the Japanese occupation and not during Qing rule (Brown, 54). Placing emphasis on the Qing Hans as responsible for Aborigine misfortune does not exactly paint an accurate picture of the history of Japanese Occupation.

The land rent and grain sent to the barbarians by the Qing people (the Hans) was also reduced to half the amount, and with deceitful language and tricky calculations they took in the half of it for themselves. (The merchants) privately taxed trade and privately taxed sales, and took the profits in a ruthless manner. There were none of them who didn't become extremely rich.

The county magistrate and officials regarded this as a way in which they could get a lot of profit. So they privately raised funds and sought profit. If the interpreter didn't obey this then they would be punished. Those that served as interpreters offered bribes. They publicly asked for favors so as to carry out their crooked practice. Hence, those in authority and those who were subordinates were both taking bribes. How could they implement any policy of pacification?

How could the Qing court's policy of governing the barbarians be so irrational and ruthless in the way they carried it out? They used military power to overawe them and used virtuous action to draw them in. Thus, those who were not submissive were punished and attacked. Those that were submissive peacefully engaged in planting and harvesting. The objective was to make the land secure. This expanded the territory [controlled by the Hans] because they desired especially to open up the land and make it so the fierce barbarians could not hide in the grass and move around. Then they would gradually quit the evil habit of beheading. If there were those that resisted, they would drive the already controlled barbarians upon them to punish them. This method comes from using barbarians to control barbarians. In regard to the barbarians' dwelling places and movement to other places, there were also regulations.

They could not move around any way they liked.[2] The Hans who secretly migrated to Taiwan increased yearly and the population increased each month. Those who held wealth received tribute. Those without wealth paid tribute. They seized territory without restraint. Moreover, the county magistrates and inspectors did not go to their new posts. They (instead) stayed in Taiwan Prefecture's city (Tainan). Carefree, they enjoyed themselves and spent their time in leisure. They sent minor officials with miscellaneous responsibilities to take charge of their posts. The *Pingtai Jiluewu* 平太紀畧敘 describes the situation at this time,

> "The officials worked hard in ways to greatly financially benefit themselves and they overindulged in gambling games and playing through the night until dawn. They did not hide their leisure, laxness, and wanton living."

2

Again, these practices are actually more indicative of the Japanese Occupation's treatment of the Aborigines than the treatment of Aborigines in Qing Taiwan (Brown, 54). Why would Nakada Naohisa emphasize this as particularly Han? Perhaps it serves as a kind of propaganda to the Japanese, Hans, and Aborigines in a Japanese occupied Taiwan. Such propaganda may also serve to distance any solidarity between the Hans and the Aborigines formed during the Qing, that might potentially threaten Japanese authority. Such propaganda also serves to teach the Hans, Aborigines, and the Japanese of the "corruptness" and "backwardness" of the past Qing rule thus, wiping out any potential nostalgia.

At this time occasionally there were ones who [tried to] reform this slack governing. Although they erected stone markers, drew the border lines, strictly forbade encroachment, and forbade intermarriage, those that abided by it were merely those immigrants that lived in the vicinity of the government office, but within a few months they gave up (this strict policy). It was like this several times. This policy was as good as no policy at all. Thus the stealing of the barbarian people's land, burning their houses, enslaving the elderly and the weak, and driving the others into the rivers and mountains continued without end.

Who among the people under political coercion would not look askance and think of revenge? How much more so, those among them who were fierce and bold as leopards, how could they not cause disaster with their roaring and biting (if they have revenge in their minds)? In the Kangxi 康熙 sixtieth year (1721), Zhu Yigui 朱一貴 led a riot. Yigui was (merely) a petty duck raiser. But from north and south everyone responded to his call. The civil and military officials did not even have one battle with him when they escaped to the Penghu 澎湖 Islands. Within less than ten days all of Taiwan was sacked. The Ali Mountain 阿里山 barbarians and the Shuishalian 水沙連 barbarians seized (the moment of trouble) and rose up. They mounted a surprise attack and killed the liasons. They butchered the families of the communities of merchants and ruffians. Countless Qing people (Hans) who were there were killed. Zhejiang 浙江 and Fujian 福建 Provinces' governors and naval officers led their troops to Taiwan. They captured Yigui .

By the next year the chaos was subdued. The county magistrates went to take responsibility for Zhuluo County 諸羅縣 (located near modern Jiayi County

嘉義縣). They brought in troops for attacks against the barbarians. After several battles, they were finally able to pacify them. But many of the barbarians escaped into the deep mountains and always hid there. They opposed the army and there was concern about them making trouble again. Thereupon, they chose an interpreter to take responsibility for the task of soothing the barbarians. They made inquiry among the masses, and everyone said there is a person called Wu Feng 吳鳳. Although he was very young, the people and the barbarians liked and respected him. "You can try him." Thereupon, they summoned and confirmed the title upon Feng, and he took the post in the Ali Mountain barbarian community. At that time he was twenty four.

Chapter Five: The Liason

The Ali Mountain Barbarians were referred to as Zhuhehe 注荷荷 barbarians. The Qing people explained that they occupied all of the Ali Mountain land. During the latter part of the Kangxi (1662-1722) reign period, the Qing claimed to nationalize the eight barbarian villages. But the barbarians themselves protested that there were not eight separate villages. They were generally referred to as Timusheng 提母勝. Their territory is in the western edge of the Shekouluo Village of the Zhuluo Eastern Fortress 諸羅東堡社口莊 and the land South of the Bazhang Stream 八掌溪; eastward, their region reached beyond the group of mountain ranges which went higher and higher. South to the Baishui Stream 白水溪 cliffs, this area is several tens of *li* 里 square. It is quite a big barbarian community. When liasonWu arrived at his post he investigated the area at Fanzitan Village of Damao Eastern Lower Fortress 打貓東下堡番仔潭莊. He

established the public office there because it was at the main center of transport and communication. He built a branch office at Shekou Village of Zhuluo Eastern Fortress 諸羅東堡社口莊. At this time the immigrants hoed and ploughed fields that already extended to this area, so he knew how complicated the trouble was going to be between the barbarians and the Hans. Moreover, the Ali Mountain barbarians' sentiments were fierce and touchy. In addition they always were subject to the Qing people's deception. Consequently, the barbarians were suspicious of them. They considered any little reason strange and it aroused their suspicions.

So there were very picky misunderstandings that never stopped or cleared up. The liasons wished to evade any harm and deceive them for his profit. Often, they anticipated this and they cheated the unsupported immigrants who had nothing to rely on. The (interpreters) enticed them and gave those immigrants as a gift to the barbarian community and let the ferocious barbarians kill them. Alas! The main principle in the whole universe is to act noble and not kill innocent people for one's own gain. This is good human nature, not evil, but in reality those decent officials could not do their job of controlling the uncultivated ruffians. They therefore did evil things to the innocent people in order to please the barbarians. They drove the people to places where they couldn't survive. They flattered to please the barbarians and benefit themselves. They assumed that their strategy was working. How can this act be of the human mind? Although the liason's position was low, they still governed the barbarians and imparted cold-bloodedness toward the greedy ruffians and barbarians. Presumably, the country was greatly shamed. This was the crime of the administrators. Although the Qing country people (the Hans) were numerous, but there was one person who would save

them, was there not? The talent that "came down from heaven". He was not indifferent like these other people. In the last years of the Kangxi reign period, the Wu Feng family came here. They opened up places that had been obstructed. They wiped away these things of no value. On the mountains and rivers among the people (the Feng family) brought brilliance through their literary aptitude. But this post was not satisfying to their capability. They could not develop their genius. This is something one can sympathize with.

Chapter 6: Pacifying (the Barbarians)

Wu Feng's great career and great accomplishments are things that are hard for great men to do, not to mention for people in low positions. His administration's record of accomplishments in handling the area is rarely known today. But in the Ti Mu Sheng Da 提母勝達 community of old barbarians, he (Wu Feng) existed only in people's praise (by mouth not in records) because the barbarian people were afraid that Wu Feng would have a powerful spirit (of revenge). They definitely also could not have any sickness entering into the Ali Shan shrine, the place of his spirit. Furthermore it was taboo to talk about these things. All that they could say was he was a good natured and very sincere person although their words were brief.

This is more than enough to know what kind of man he was. Therefore we sought and collected the legends of him to supplement what is missing in the records. We located relics of (Wu Feng) and verified the geography (of him). We visited this ancestral temple and inquired about his descendents, and examined this.

(It turns out) that Wu Feng was indeed a good Gentleman. As for his governmental achievements and his noble (character), in the years (up to his death) people looked up to him and praised him as much as they could. Wu Feng the translator was a man that praised harmony with the barbarians and clarified the principles of righteousness. For a very long time he pacified the people (Hans) and was responsible for rectifying the community's business and the community's ruffians' followers; and he restricted the usurping of control. He supervised immigrants in borrowing land, restricted taking land illegally, oversaw barbarian tax, and barbarian rent, and prohibited cheating and causing confusion. He solicited barbarian customers, helped the poor and aided the distressed and eliminated the innate corruption. He made this bad administration like new. He did this thoroughly up to the very end. He resolved disputes and corrected them and cured the "twisted roots" (problems). He was just and industrious. Therefore people could not do illegal things. Both the people (Hans) and barbarians happily submitted [to his authority]. After one year there was no one who violated the rules.

His cautious overseeing made many difficult environments orderly and managed. From the sixty-first year of the Kangxi reign period, *renyin*, 壬寅 (1722), when (Wu Feng) assumed his post until he died in the forty fourth year of the Qianlong reign period, *jichou* 己丑 (1769), is a full duration of forty-eight years. During this time period he did not (even) create one problem, and this time was like "one peaceful day". The measures he took were very appropriate. (We can know) the people and the barbarians lived together in peace.

There is an oral legend that says, "The barbarians looked up to him as a mother or father". Day and night they came and went so that small and large matters all were

decided by Wu Feng, the liason. Once they heard his words they would start to relax. They were tame and submissive like this, but in the end, he died under their blades. Why? Presumably because Wu Feng's actions were very high minded and the barbarians outside the influence of civilization were also treated as human beings. His responsibility in pacifying the barbarians accorded priority to the task of making the barbarians get rid of their beast-like murderous nature so that they would become civilized people.

The Qing People (the Hans) were killed for generations. Nothing would be as good as terminating this process for good. This would save humankind forever. Thus (Wu Feng's) death was not at the hands of the barbarians, but actually he died saving humankind. Thus the morals he passed down will fill an endless span of time presumably for 1000 years. During the entire two hundred years in which the Qing Dynasty governed Taiwan there was only one Wu Feng.

Chapter Seven: To Die While Performing One's Duty

Every year when the grain ripens the Ali Mountain barbarians must offer heads for worship. Consequently many Qing people (Hans) were murdered. When Interpreter Wu took office he desired to stop this cruelty. But this bad habit had already polluted and become a part of the barbarian's nature, and it wasn't something able to quickly be abolished. On the cusp of the eighth and ninth month of this year the new grain had already ripened. The date of worship was set and they searched for people's heads to hunt. Interpreter Wu asked,

"In the KangXi reign period in the sixtieth year (1721), during your violent action, how many Qing people (Hans) did you kill and take their heads?"

The barbarians said,

> "More than forty people".

Wu Feng said,

> "The country's big taboo is killing people and killing people is the big crime of humankind. I cannot bear to let you do it. Even more so how could I provide you people for this purpose? If you don't stop now then use the forty heads you got in the past for your ceremony. Use one head for each [year's] ceremony until the stock of forty some is exhausted and then we will discuss it. If I just ban it and we don't discuss it, you (may) privately go out and harm other people (anyway). From now on if there is anyone who dares to violate [my order], your community will be reduced to ashes and your wives and children will also be wiped out, and at that time it will be too late to regret it."

The Barbarians appeared angry and scared. Thereupon, Wu Feng set up a banquet with wine to drink and meat to eat. Wu Feng patiently instructed and directed them. He also gave them oxen, pigs, cloth, and silk as a precedent to help them [change] the ceremony. Therefore, they heeded his order. From this for forty or more years the harm ceased. If the interpreters of the adjacent barbarian communities had all been equipped with the talent and understanding of Wu Feng, and if they would have thought of this and taken this kind of measure then they would have washed away the scent of blood. Would that not have been a transformation of culture?

But the Ali Mountain barbarians alone were isolated among other fierce groups. They saw others carrying heads that were dripping blood, pouring wine, happily singing songs, and dancing. They themselves could not feel peaceful.

As more time passed they felt more grieved. Only out of respect for Interpreter Wu they could not bear to turn their backs on his order. So they waited until the time [they agreed upon] arrived in the Qian Long reign period in the 31st year (1766), when the human skulls [they already had] were all used up.

Since they had honored their agreement they now asked for [the agreement] to be reconsidered. Liason Wu was also [aware] that the time had arrived. He first notified [them] to wait until next year. Then at next year's grain ripening they again asked about it, but Wu Feng again told them to wait till the next year. Things went on like this for three years.

The barbarians thought Liaosn Wu was deceiving and cheating them. So, they didn't even look at the oxen, pigs, cloth, and silk [he gave them]. Interpreter Wu looked up at the sky and sighed. Saying

> "Heaven gave birth to Wu Feng and entrusted me to pacify the barbarians. But I am not able to change their ways and transform their custom. How can I face heaven? [Because I let heaven down], the only thing to do is to substitute my body in place of these people."

In the Qianlong reign period, in the thirty fourth year, eighth month, on the ninth day (September 8, 1769), a group of barbarians went to the Shekou Village branch office. They were angry and went back on their promise. The officials notified and instructed them and did all they could to persuade the barbarians. The barbarians made an uproar and did not listen to what the officials said. Interpreter Wu thought that the matter could be avoided. Gracefully he sat upright. He invited the barbarians into the inner hall of the

branch office. The crowd of barbarians took their places and greeted him. They asked for heads to worship with. Then interpreter Wu instructed them,

> "Killing people goes against the order of the state, the imperial laws are all well established. Since you have submitted to pacification how is it that you desire to take life? But since you and I once before made a pact, I shall give you one [more] person. Tomorrow come around to this office. The onewho is wearing the vermilion coat and red scarf will be the one [you can take]. This person is given to you. If you kill him, heaven's disaster will fall on you so that there will be no one remaining among you, but if you still will not regret [the consequences] then you can cut off that person's head."

The barbarians agreed. Thereupon, Interpreter Wu gave an order to sweep clean the branch office. They shut the windows and locked the door. Wu Feng led the servants and lower officials back to his residence in Fanzitan Village. First they paid homage at the ancestral temple and when the rituals were complete he summoned his family. He told them the situation in detail and instructed them in the plan after his death. The whole family was startled. First they tried to persuade him to escape to the governmental city and report this to the county magistrate, and after that make plans. Wu did not take their advice. His whole family wept. In the eighth month, on the tenth day in dim morning fog his old bones entered Shekou Village. At high noon the barbarians, each one carrying bows and arrows, swords and spears, surrounded the branch office of the Shekou Village. There were no signs of human beings. It was quiet. Some distance away in the West there was a person wearing a vermillion cloak and red scarf. Slowly,

step by step, he walked [toward them]. The barbarians all cried out and running as quickly as the strong fast wind they struck that man and cut off his head.

Some said,

" He is middle aged."

Some said,

"He is a young man."

They held his head up high. The horde of barbarians watched closely carefully, and suddenly they shouted,

"It's Interpreter Wu! It's Interpreter Wu!"

They all were shocked and astonished. Their whole expression changed. Who would have guessed that the one who yesterday promised to offer a person would offer his own body? Although the barbarians were uncivilized, how could they not feel strange and confused? They abandoned his corpse and quietly left

Analysis and Context:

This version of the Wu Feng story was produced in the era of Japanese occupation. It was written during an era of deliberate pacification of the Aborigines by the Japanese and therefore needs to be understood within this context. As noted above, the story's emphasis upon the Qing's ill-treatment of the Aborigines and the Qing's seizing of Aborigine land seems to serve as a kind of propaganda against past nostalgia for Qing

rule as well as de-emphasizing Japanese ill-treatment of the Aborigines. Other themes prevalent in this story that are paralled in the Japanese occupation are themes of assimilation. Wu Feng aims to assimilate, pacify, civilize, and ultimately 'transform the culture' of the Aborigines, just as the Japanese wished to do to the Aborigines at this time. Finally, Wu Feng's efforts at ending the Aborigine's custom of headhunting was also quite a challenging problem for the occupying Japanese at that time, and parallels the contextual reality in which this story was written.

In the last stage of pacification, the Aborigines eventually were overcome by the Japanese military. While the Japanese, on the one hand sought to model and "civilize" the Aborigines to a Japanese way of life, on the other hand they first sought to exploit the wealth of Taiwan's natural resources. The Japanese maintained monopolies on camphor, salt, opium, sulfur, and sugar. While gold and coal was extracted from Taiwan, the Japanese also vigorously pushed for the development of local agriculture in rice, indigo, rattan, bamboo, sesame oil, tobacco, fruit etc. (Brown, 53). In maintaining these monopolies and agricultural crops the Japanese sought out Aboriginal land. In the Qing the indigenous people of Taiwan who owned land and often came in contact with the Han were treated as legitimate owners, but the Japanese government claimed that " 'savages' had no traditional knowledge of property. In 1895 they passed a law declaring all land without certification to be the property of the government" (Faure, 53).

Many Aborigines were forced to move to lower land elevations. Families were often split up through "village relocation". This move allowed the Japanese to control and observe the Aborigines with a closer scrutiny. Many Aborigines were relocated from

their lands rich in natural resources onto reservations. Aborigines were also prohibited from any interaction with Han plains people (Faure, 54).

In this way it seems that Aborigines were not assimilated but rather isolated, but "it was in the interests of the Japanese government to first maintain the 'savage' status of the groups who might otherwise have laid claim to ownership of some of Taiwan's richest natural resources" (Brown, 54). Interestingly, in doing so the Japanese opted to cease the assimilation process of the Aborigines that had been occurring since the early eighteenth century. Aborigines were forced to wear only Aboriginal clothing and practice Aboriginal customs (Yuasa, 15). "People registered as savages were also banned from speaking Chinese." Therefore, this relocation and isolation served to cut off Aborigines from any legitimate claims to land (Faure, 56).

The Aborigines did not simply acquiesce to the Japanese in all cases. Many communities were not willing to give up their land without a fight. These early battles between the Japanese and the Aborigines were notoriously violent, but Aboriginal uprisings were no match for Japan's modern artillery and poison gas. In the end, the Aborigines were overcome by advanced weaponry (Zhang, 24).

After the Japanese gained control of Taiwan they employed various methods of control and monitoring of the Aborigines, not to mention the Han population. Much like the Qing, they hoped to gain local support through a lowering of taxes. During the first year of occupation the Japanese eliminated all taxes on the island. In 1897 the taxes were reinstated at rates even lower than under the Qing. As expected, this first served to soften attitudes towards the Japanese among the Aborigines. However, the Japanese colonial

government soon expropriated most of the Aborigines' large land plots that remained. Any Aborigine claims to land after the Qing dynastywere dismissed (Faure, 59).

One particular mode of control over the Aborigine populations, as well as the local Hans, was the methodical system of household registration. This registration system collected information from all segments of society. Every person had to register as a member of one household. In particular, the Japanese collected information pertaining to name, age, sex, relation to the household head, marital status, education, class, race "as inherited by one's father", immunizations, whether or not female's feet had been bound, and whether or not individuals were addicted to opium. Those that failed to register were severely punished (Brown, 7).

In other ways, as the Japanese took over the island, they aggressively sought to pacify the Aborigines and 'transform their culture', as is alluded to above in the 1912 Wu Feng story. They aimed to transform them into model "Japanese-like" colonial subjects. In doing so they first began to study Aboriginal tribes (Faure, 38).

The first major anthropological investigation was undertaken by Ino Kanori. Ino set out to study Aborigines' customs, language, physique, and psychology. Ino Kanori's study declined to use the conventional term for Aborigines, *Hoan-a* in the Minnan language or *Fanzi* in Mandarin meaning barbarians, as noted above. Instead, he coined the term *Takasago zoku* 高山族 meaning Mountain Tribes. Compared to his contemporaries Ino was actually very supportive of Aboriginal rights. His findings challenged Chinese works that claimed "Aborigines to be intellectually inferior". But Ino's findings did maintain that studying the Aborigines was the optimal method for their

control. He is noted as saying, "The cooked as well as the raw savage must be studied from top to bottom before he can be taught" (Faure, 39).

At first the Japanese had separate categorizations for racial distinctions. For instance, the Japanese made a distinction between the Hoklo and Hakka "races" present on the island." Hoklos were in the ethnic majority. The Hakka were significantly less in number, but they were both considered Han by the Japanese with "mutually unintelligible dialects" (Brown, 8).

The Japanese, like the Qing regime, regarded the Aborigines as *fan*, with the distinction mentioned above as *shengfan*, wild ("raw") barbarians and the *shoufan,* docile ("cooked") barbarians (8), but later disregarded these distinctions. The Japanese became much more interested in promoting their own racial distinctions. For instance, in Japan's development of the island education became compulsory, but it was a Japanese education that was promoted. Those who aimed to attain status in Taiwanese society had to learn Japanese. Even though the category of "race"was eventually taken out of the household registration system, a conception of the Japanese as a separate and superior "race" was left intact. Up to 1915, the Japanese had maintained the category of race in the registration system. However, after 1915 the category of race was eliminated, and Aborigines were not officially considered different from the local Hans. Even Hans, no matter how well educated nor of what social class, did not receive the same benefits, wages, etc. as the Japanese in imperial Taiwan. The schools were also segregated between Japanese and non-Japanese until 1922. It was also illegal to inter-marry among Japanese and "non-Japanese". It seems that the Aborigines along with the Hans began to be considered under a single umbrella of all those that were "non-Japanese". Thus, the

Aborigines were further assimilated into the amalgam of what constituted "Taiwanese", but their means for attaining any type of social mobility was through assuming Japanese-like identity (Brown, 11).

Although the Japanese sought to assimilate the mountain Aborigines, and to a certain extent succeeded in doing so, it should be noted that "those Aborigines dwelling in the deep mountains did continue to be considered to be a separate and distinct "race" by the Japanese", but the plains Aborigines of Taiwan were not considered separate and were further assimilated (Brown, 12).

The Japanese stringently sought to transform Taiwan into a developed colony. Part of this development was weeding out any cultural practice they disapproved of and considered unhygienic. For Aborigines, this included tattooing, infanticide, headhunting, etc. For the Hans, this was primarily foot binding. By 1905, the Japanese discouraged the practice of foot binding and by 1915 banned the practice altogether, but this practice had been fundamentally a Han tradition. Actually, the abolishment of such a practice served to assimilate Aborigines into Taiwanese society even more. The distinction between those communities with women with bound feet and those without had been a traditional marker between Hans and Aborigines. However, with this cultural distinction wiped out the Aborigines as well as the Hans had trouble maintaining clear "non-Han" distinctions in colonial Taiwan. The Japanese themselves did not care for foot binding or view the subtle cultural distinction as an indicator of "race". The Japanese had enough trouble distinguishing between the Aborigines and Han and ultimately, both groups became unofficially considered "non-Japanese" (Brown, 11).

Another custom the Japanese aimed to do away with was the Aboriginal practice of headhunting, although headhunting continued through many attempts to wipe it out. The Japanese despised the practice. Perhaps they embellished aspects of this in the 1912 Wu Feng story in order to again serve as a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy and propaganda against headhunting.

Headhunting was a ritualized act of bravery for many Aboriginie communities. Those who attained heads were traditionally respected and praised. Great feasts and celebrations were held as headhunters returned successfully from a hunt with a head. Therefore the Japanese had great difficulty in trying to wipe out the practice (Dai, 5). The eradication of Aboriginal headhunting proved a difficult challenge for the Japanese. For instance, as a result of the Aborigines' extreme exploitation in the camphor industry and other injustices, the Aborigines began to resent the Japanese and often rebelled. The last major Aboriginal rebellion was known as the Wushe Uprising 霧社事件. It was launched by the Atayal Aborigines in 1930. In this uprising the Atayal Aborigines carried out the last known headhunting party. During a school opening they beheaded one hundred and fifty Japanese officials. The Japanese suppressed this uprising through the use of Japanese and other Aboriginal troops, and poison gas. By 1930 headhunting was officially banned (Shi, 7). Again, the development of such a hero as Wu Feng who ended head hunting and pacified the Aborigines must have been very useful for the Japanese.

As noted above, this version of the Wu Feng story came out of the Japanese era of occupation and needs to be understood within this context. This story's emphasis upon the Qing's ill-treatment of the Aborigines, attempts to pacify and ultimately 'transform

the culture' of the Aborigine's, and Wu Feng's ending the Aborigine's custom of headhunting served as direct propaganda paralleling Japanese contextual dealings with Taiwan at that time."

4.<u>Taiwan Tongshi</u> 臺灣通史

In my next translation, I will look at sections of the 1919 "The Biography of Wu Feng" (吳鳳列傳) from *Taiwan Tongshi* 臺灣通史 by Lian Heng 連橫. In my final analysis I will particularly focus on the death scene in this version. It has been the subject of much debate, in that this version of the death scene differs drastically from the three other "primary" versions of this story.

The Biography of Wu Feng

"…Each village has a chief. The size of the village ranges from a hundred to several tens of people. By nature they (the barbarian villagers) are fierce, and they go hunting for their livelihood. They delight in killing people, and there are Hans who do not dare to go (to the barbarian territory). In former times, the liaison and barbarians agreed that every year (he) would give the barbarians two (Han) people, a male and a female (to kill). The barbarians, at the time of the autumn harvest, would kill [those people] to use as sacrificial offerings. They referred to this as having a great feast. (Their offerings are) similar to repaying a dept. They butcher oxen and slaughter sheep, they gather and drink, make joyful noises, and sing and chant to their ancestors, who are like powerful warriors. Yet, they still did not adhere to the agreement. Sometimes they killed someone (a Han), but the officials did not dare to send forces to suppress (this killing). When Feng arrived, he heard about this and sighing he said,

"They are barbarians and we are Han. I must make them not kill my own people."

Someone said,

"There is an agreement about this. If those people don't follow the agreement, what can be done? Moreover, each year we will give two people (for them to kill). (but) *you* sir will certainly not be harmed."

Feng was enraged and loudly rebuked them and said,

"How Contemptible! Killing innocent people is inhumane. Killing my (Han) compatriots as a means for their own gain is not righteous. If they desire to kill us, and for us to give in, that is not wise. Moreover, even though we are the robust ones among the Hans, we are not able to be powerful and control them. This already is not manly, and yet our servile behavior to please those barbarians is not martial. If (of these four characteristics of being inhumane, unrighteous, unwise, and not martial) there is even one to violate, your master[3] would not even do it."

That year, the barbarians arrived and requested that he follow the [prior] agreement,

Feng feasted (them) and told them,

"This year the harvest is almost ended. It is difficult to buy people, but, I will give you some oxen. Next year we can compensate for this."

3

Here, "master" translates from the Chinese *nai gong* 乃公. In Chinese, this means "your revered elder". But the 1919 version of this story was written under Japanese occupation and may have absorbed some influences from the Japanese language. For instance, *daiko* 乃公 in Japanese means a "boastful I". A boastful "乃公" may suggest rude and angry language, but would Wu Feng use angry language in this section of the story? It is not clear. Therefore, the actual meaning of 乃公 here is ambiguous and up for interpretation.

"If this year he does not give us people (to kill), then we kill Feng to use [in our] sacrifice."

Someone overheard this and told Feng. Feng said,

The barbarians assented and left. The next year they came, but again Feng deceived them. It was like this for five years. The barbarians knew that Feng was really deceiving them, so they got together and schemed,

> "I definitely cannot do it. Moreover, if I give in, how are you going to cope with this? If those barbarians actually dare to kill me, when I die I will become a demon. I most certainly will annihilate them and there will be none of them left."

(Feng) lived near the mountain. More than one hundred and ten (Hans) cut down trees and gathered rattan. They were all vigorous and strong, and organized into four troops. They hid in ambush and strategically waited. Warning them Feng said,

"When the barbarians run away then, attack." Feng also made a paper effigy that resembled himself. He (decorated) it with arched eyes, disheveled hair, carrying a long knife, riding an angry horse, standing erect, facing the mountain."

He made a pact with his family and said,

> "When the barbarians arrive I must surely duel with them. If you hear me yell loudly, then also yell. Set the image on fire and light firecrackers in order to increase the awesomeness."

Several days later the barbarian chief arrived with several tens of his followers. They ran over to Feng's house. Feng sat in a dignified manner in his hall. He was in high spirits. The chief said (to Feng),

"You sir, promised us that you would bring people (for us to kill). How could you break your promise? Now, if you don't give them to us, we won't leave."

Feng scolding said,

"Stupid degenerates, even if I die I would never give you people (to kill)."

The barbarians became angry and knifed Feng. He also fought back, but in the end he was killed. He let out a loud wail,

"Wu Feng will kill the barbarians!"

Those that heard this also wailed,

"Wu Feng will kill the barbarians!"

They struck a gong and beat a drum. The sound shook the mountains and valleys. The barbarians were shocked and went to hide. Feng's local supporters rose up and attacked them. They killed and wounded nearly all of them. The one or two barbarians who ran into the mountains also saw Wu Feng chasing them, and they trembled to death. The women were scared and hid in their houses. No one was able to obtain food, and they starved to death. After this there was also an epidemic disease. Everyone of the forty-eight barbarian villages saw Feng swiftly riding in the mountains. Then they flocked together and said,

"These (disasters) must be because of the crime of our tribe killing Feng. Now, we should entreat Feng to forgive us."

So each village selected one elder. They crawled to Feng's house. They kneeled and prayed,

"With your spirit above us, our tribe from now on will not dare to kill Hans. If we kill (them), then we will be destroyed."

They buried an inscribed rock in order to pledge the oath. From then on it was peaceful. They venerated Feng as the Ali Mountain deity. They constructed a temple and offered prayers. Since then, up to the present day, no one that goes into the mountains is harmed."

Analysis:

As I note above, the Wu Feng "primary" stories are not all alike. The first poem and two subsequent stories' basic plots praise Wu Feng as righteous and self-sacrificing. But in this 1919 version, the "Biography of Wu Feng", Wu Feng is not portrayed as self-sacrificing. In fact, in this version Feng resists his own death with a struggle. He also seeks revenge in his afterlife. This is a very different depiction of Wu Feng. He usually is depicted as a peaceful sage. Also, in this version, unlike the other versions, the Aborigines plotted Feng's death in a very calculated way. This is quite different from the other versions in which the Aborigines mistakenly kill Feng. There is a tension in this story unseen in the other versions.

In comparing these differences I utilize Zhang Yufa's 張玉法 analysis of the "Biography of Wu Feng". He suggests that the differences in these "primary" works lie in the perspective of authorship. This 1919 work was created under the Japanese occupation but was written from the perspective of a Han Chinese author, Lian Heng, while Nakada Naoshi's 1912 version was written under the Japanese occupation by a Japanese author. In my final analysis of these differences, I would like to focus on the deaths scenes of these two Wu Feng stories.

The 1912 work by Nakada Naoshi presents a discussion of the legend's sources. Actually, one of Nakada Naoshi's main sources was the 1894 *Yunlin caifang ce* 雲林採訪冊 version. This source from the Qing Dynasty presents a martyr-like death scene, although in the *Yunlin caifang ce* version Wu Feng does not risk his life for the specific purpose of stopping headhunting. In the 1912 version Nakada Naoshi. transforms aspects of the *Yunlin caifang ce* version. He emphasizes that Wu Feng

sacrifices himself to the barbarian communities explicitly to make the Aborigines stop their headhunting practices. Later in the story Nakada Naoshi discusses Wu Feng's willing self-sacrifice. What motivations might have prompted Nakada Naoshi. to portray Wu Feng's death as martyrdom?

In Lian Heng's 1919 version of the story, the "Biography of Wu Feng", Wu Feng does not merely sacrifice himself and die, rather he fights and is killed instead. In this scenario Feng is not a passive martyr willing to sacrifice himself for a noble cause, instead, Lian Heng writes this story with a very different ending in which. Feng refuses to provide them with people to headhunt and is killed as he fights back against the Aborigines.

The sources of Lian Heng's 1919 version of the Wu Feng story also remain unclear. Therefore, what is the basis for Lian Heng's very different version of Wu Feng's death? In addition, these two versions of the story are only seven years apart. They were written within similar political contexts but differ significantly in their portrayal of Wu Feng's death. Why? One theory posed by Zhang Yu Fa 長玉法 in his 1988 article "Wu Feng's Place in History" alludes to this problem. He speculates that the crux of the matter lies in the authors themselves. During the Japanese occupation it was Lian Heng, a Chinese writer, who challenged the old conception of Wu Feng and transformed him into a fighter who dies fighting against non-Chinese people, perhaps paralleling some Han perceptions of the Japanese takeover. Furthermore in this version, unlike the other versions, the Aborigines plotted Feng's death. Nevertheless, the tension presented in this story is unique in comparison to the early versions. This tension may be reflecting a similar veiled tension between the Taiwanese and Japanese occupiers. Zhang notes that in the

Japanese version Nakada Naoshi seems to beautify the story and moralizes to persuade not only the Chinese but also the Aborigines tribes to co-operate with the ruling law and government, just as the Japanese colonizers aimed for cooperation from their Taiwan subjects.

Interestingly, after the R.O.C. took over the island (1945), the government of Jiayi Country did not promote Lian Heng's version of Wu Feng as a fighter. Instead the R.O.C. Ministry of Education utilized aspects of the earlier version of the Wu Feng story by Nakada Naoshi. Wu Feng again was transformed into a martyr.

Why in a different political atmosphere does Wu Feng's way of death change again? Zhang notes that there are many parallels between the Wu Feng story and the Japanese and ROC takeover of Taiwan. Just as the Japanese sought to 'transform Taiwan" into a model "Japanese" colony and eliminate any Qing loyalty and pacify all dissenters, particularly the Aborigines, the ROC also sought to transform Taiwan, into a new China and eliminate any Japanese loyalty and pacify all dissenters. Therefore, portraying a moral tale of a passive martyr hero who died for the pacification of others was advantageous for both of these regimes.

CHAPTER III.

THE RECENT STAGES OF THE WU FENG ACCOUNT

A. Morality in Chinese Culture, Education, etc.

The ROC had transformed the Wu Feng story into a moral tale for Taiwan school readers in its early rule. However, to understand the full impact of the moral story in traditional and modern Chinese education and socialization, it may be helpful to first investigate the history of the moral story in China. Historically and in modern times, moral stories have been used to socialize Chinese children. This socialization process promoted the cultivation of Chinese morals and values. Such traditional values have often included filial piety, Chinese cultural identity, loyalty to the State, etc. But what exactly is a "moral story"? It seems that a moral story can range from any quite concrete ethical piece to an ethical narrative, history lesson, legend, opera, song, poem, musing, etc. Often found on its own or in a larger work. It also must be considered that many of the moral stories in China may have been passed down orally. "Moral stories" may even be the messages in paintings upon temple walls or on scrolls that depict the tales of heroic icons. In this way, moral stories may have also been transmitted to the illiterate masses of China. A "moral story" simply may be considered some form of an account that is somewhat morally didactic in nature. It also may be more important to understand how and for what purpose the "moral story" is taught and is intended to be understood. This may give more insight into the socialization process of children than the content of the actual "moral story" itself.

Chinese education in modern times has become quite standardized and regulated. Therefore, the socialization process of Chinese children is possible to trace with some ease. But historically Chinese education has varied a great deal. What has been considered important for students to learn, and who has access to this education has also changed over time. For example, in the 5th century B.C.E. Chinese education was limited to the elite.

"The six arts [4] " were considered the main content of education. The literary arts and mathematics were considered the minor arts, while *li* 禮, (ritual), music, archery, and chariot riding were considered education that was reserved for the aristocrats. However, towards the late Zhou 4th and 3rd centuries B.C.E., the grand houses of nobility declined in number and a new gentry class was established. Most of the gentry class focused on social and political matters of the day and the old "great arts" became out-dated (Bai, 33). Therefore, by the late Zhou, the subject matter, and who was educated, had changed drastically.

4

"The six arts" were the six main subjects considred to be important for the education of the elite. Specifically, they were reading and writing, counting numbers, ritual *li* 禮, music, archery, and chariot riding.

With the exception of some aspects of the examination system in China from the Song (960-1279) through the Qing (1644-1911), Chinese education was historically quite irregular and sporadic in regard to what and who exactly was taught. It seems that the socialization process of education, to a certain degree, does become more regulated and standardized during the periods of state examinations. For instance, Confucian moral philosophy was "endorsed by the bureaucracy as the core of education of the literati during the Ming" (1368-1644) (Elman, 111). Moral philosophy entered into the political sphere of state examinations.

In reference to the more standardized aspects of education in pre-modern China there does appear to be a core curriculum that was emphasized as important with striking continuity. This continuity was a result of the instigation of civil service exams. "Whatever the individual local variations in curricula", they "tended to center on the Four Books, the Five Classics, standard histories (especially the *Shiji* and *Hanshu*), the literary anthology of *Wenxuan*, and masters and prose in the Tang (618-907) and the Song (960-1279). This same curriculum seems to have maintained its dominance age after age, school after school, without any direction to account for this considerable homogeneity" (of the curriculum) "(other than the powerful magnet represented by the civil service exams and students hopes in competing in them)"(De Bary, 29).

However aspects of education are not the only thing that becomes standardized from the Song onwards. Offerings and sacrifices made to deities become much more standardized. "The heretofore unsystematic recognition of local deities by the State becomes standardized in the Song as titles were granted and the gods were brought into

the local registrar of sacrifices. Officials, elites, and commoners all believed that these titles actually enhanced the divine powers of the deities, and the local groups often lobbied and colluded with officials to gain recognition for locally important gods" (Holzman, 783). Therefore offerings and sacrifices made to deities become much more standardized from the Song onwards. This may offer some insight into the standardization of the worship of folklore heroes, which may provide clues to which moral stories, myths, and iconic figures were transmitted to the illiterate masses.

Storytelling of moral tales undoubtedly did reach the illiterate children of China in the form of operas, dramas, murals on temple walls. Those that may have been orally transmitted will also be considered, but prior to the Song standardization of iconic figures these sources were also quite variable.

Within all these historic moral accounts, certain trends and motifs do appear. In these motifs there is often an emphasis on filial piety, cultural identity, and loyalty to the State, etc. Filial piety, for example, refers to a love and respect for one's parents, elders, superiors, and ancestors. Examples of the promotion of filial piety are ubiquitous throughout the Chinese moral tradition. Even on tortoise inscriptions from the late second millennium B.C.E. there are suggestions of filial ancestor worship. The earliest actual mention of filial piety, *xiao* 孝, is found on a bronze inscription from the late Shang and early Zhou Dynasty (1122-256) of about 1000 B.C.E. (although the debate continues concerning whether or not *xiao's* meaning in the Zhou Dynasty contained the meaning "filial piety" as well as filial ancestor worship). There appear to be at least sixty-four inscriptions containing the character *xiao* from the Zhou Dynasty (Holzman, 186).

There are also a vast array of direct philosophical teachings about filial piety in the Chinese tradition. The *Xiaojing* 孝經 , a Han dynasty Confucian classic, primarily a philosophical work, was very popular from as early as the first half of the second century B.C.E., and has continued to be passed down through countless generations of Chinese scholars. In this work, filial piety to one's parents was given equal importance with loyalty to the emperor (Holzman, 191).

Lessons in filial piety were also often transmitted through the use of moral stories. The blending of Chinese history with China's mythic tradition provides a plethora of characters who act in accordance with the noblest of Chinese values, filial piety. Those who do not are often portrayed in a very negative light. Characters often act filial in the most extreme of circumstances. This may be seen in one passage from as early as the *Zuozhuan* 左傳, dated 722 B.C.E. The Zuozhuan was a work unique in it ealy recording of Chinese history. It is written in a narrative style traditionally believed to be commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals 春秋, although this has also been debated. In one story it refers to the legendary story of Duke Zhuang of Zheng 鄭莊公. He pampers his mother and younger brother until it appears they wish to overthrow his rule. Even under these circumstances, after ousting his mother and brother, and after much distress, he accepts his mother back into his household. While commentaries have debated about whether on not the Duke even behaved properly by ousting his mother in the first place, this character does act as an early model for filial goodness by ultimately taking care of his mother even after she betrays him (Holzman, 187).

There may also be a link between filial piety and State stability in this story. In this case, filial piety may even override State stability. However such sentiments of "filial

piety overriding national stability" may not have been popular with contemporary philosophers (Holzman, 190). Such sentiments are also drastically different from the sentiments of modern day PRC and Taiwanese moral stories.

There are countless examples of pre-modern moral stories that promote the Chinese tradition of filial piety. Again, one place such "stories" are commonly found is within the Chinese histories themselves. In maintaining that a "moral story" may in fact be in the form of a "historical" text, there are many moral stories found in the *Houhanshu* 後漢書 by Fan Ye 范曄 (398-445). In one extreme example this history tells of the life of the character Shi Jian, an official from the Later Han. He was the son of a man from humble but moral beginnings. The father raises Shi Jian to act with perfect Confucian merit. Shi Jian succeeds in life and attains a high official position, but even in his later years, after all his success, when he returns home Shi Jian still finds it necessary to clean his mother's and father's bathroom pot himself (Holzman, 192).

While these stories to the modern eye may seem embellished, similar archetypes of filial piety appear again and again throughout this and other Chinese histories. As Donald Holzman notes, the story of "Shi Jian begins an unending series that must, in itself, represent a sizable portion of Chinese historical texts. A glance at any repository of engravings or bas-reliefs from the Han (206 B.C.E.-220 A.D.) or succeeding periods will show that filial piety is a favored theme and that the stories told by these proto-comic book stories are exaggerated as any in the histories" (Holzman, 192).

As mentioned earlier, there is a clear link between historical Chinese filial piety and Chinese loyalty to "the State's stability". Originally, filial piety had been contained

within the family unit. That is, deference to one's parents, elders, and ancestors was on a familial basis only and did not extend outside the family unit. However many philosophers felt that filial piety to the family was almost a threat to the security of and loyalty to the State. The renowned legalist, Han Feizi 韓非子, of the Warring States Period (481-212 BCE) in chapter fifty-one of his work *Zhongxiao* 忠孝 writes that universal peace will occur only when there is absolute loyalty to the State rather than to one's parents (Holzman, 192).

What exactly was the State? Benedict Anderson in his work *Imagined Communities* notes that "in the modern conception, state sovereignty is fully, flatly, and evenly operative over every square centimeter of a legally demarcated territory. But in the older imagining…states were defined by centers, borders were porous and indistinct, and sovereignties faded imperceptibly into one another" (Anderson, 19). In such a world, loyalty to one's State was valued as of the utmost importance.

There are numerous examples of moral stories that promote just this. One striking example is the noble poet and statesman Qu Yuan 屈原 (342-278 B.C.E). Qu Yuan was a historical figure who is traditionally seen as very patriotic. He is considered the author of *Chu Ci* 楚辭. He was an official from the State of Chu 楚, who was ultimately sent into exile, but when he heard that his State was being taken over by another State, he jumped into the Miluo River and drowned himself. The theme of political loyalty is clear in this tale. Qu Yuan would rather face death than the collapse of his own State, and he is seen as a true Confucian hero. In later times, his suicide has been romanticized as tragically loyal and today is associated with the Dragon Boat Festival. The story has been changed and ultimately been taught as an example of State loyalty. It is a "small

wonder then that the poet/statesman of Chu became an increasingly common motif in literary and political discourse in the Confucian society of later times" (Cozier, 27). Thus, the depiction of Qu Yuan's untimely death has changed over time to fit later regimes' socialization goals of loyalty to the State.

Another example is the legend of Bo Yi 伯夷 and Shu Qi 叔齊. Bo Yi and Shu Qi have been renowned as Shang Dynasty (1722-1122 B.C.E.) loyalists. As legend has it, they were two princes who worked with the Shang powers. Their father passed away, and at the decline of the Shang to the beginning of the Zhou Dynasty (1122-256), they fled to find protection with a nobleman of the Zhou. But after protesting the Zhou rise to power, they again fled off into the wilderness in dismay. They grew hungry but did not eat because they refused to eat the grain of the Zhou. They would rather starve than eat the grain of another dynasty. Eventually, they did starve to death. "In philosophical writings of Confucius and Mencius, these figures become heroic exemplars of Confucian ideals of non-violent political engagement and political integrity" (Birell, 220). Their political integrity was found in their unyielding loyalty to their dynasty and State. They were perfectly loyal figures even unto death.

As we can see, in the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) filial piety began to undergo a transformation. Loyalty to the State had moved to the forefront of intellectual concern. This loyalty to the State and devotion to the emperor was placed parallel to filial devotion to one's parents. This is made clear in such works as the Han Confucian classic *Xiaojing*, as noted above. In this work, filial piety to one's parents was given equal importance with loyalty to the emperor (Holzman, 191). While the *Xiaojing* is primarily a philosophical work, its message of morality was largely felt. In addition, "its

importance in the curricula for two millennia of Chinese scholars cannot be underestimated" (191).

There is of course the ultimate pinnacle of loyalty in the Chinese tradition, Yue Fei 岳飛 (1103-41). Yue Fei was the formidable hero of the Song dynasty. In his youth, his dynasty was attacked by the Ju Chen tribes. He worked his way up in the army and eventually gathered his own army to fight them. Before he left to go fight, as legend has it, his mother tattooed *Jin Zhong Bao Guo* 盡忠保國 on his back, meaning " 'repay your country by carrying your loyalty to the utmost" (Meyer, 278). He fought the invaders off with great success. But Qin Gui 秦檜, the Chief Minister of the Emperor, and his wife were corrupt. They secretly were working with the Ju Chen tribes and saw to it that Yue Fei was thrown in jail and finally killed (Palmer, 76). Yue Fei is seen as a tragic hero whose death was a grave injustice. His image has been romanticized and martryized as the ultimate loyal subject. Yue Fei's story has also been made into numerous operas and dramas which would have been accessible to illiterate children (Liu, 292).

But his story has also been put into literary works that would have been accessible to literate Chinese children. The *Song Shi* 宋史 contains a great deal of "obituary matter" about Yue Fei. "His tomb inscriptions as well as the official biography" which is based on the biography written by his grandson "sixty years after his death" have promoted Yue Fei's legend of loyalty (Wilhelm, 147). "Yue Fei" also "became the first warrior to have his life exhaustively and exclusively treated in a great Chinese novel" (Whilhem, 146).

Before addressing the question of how moral stories have been used historically to cultivate Chinese ideals of cultural identity, we first must examine what "Chinese identity" has been considered historically. Was it ethnic? Was it political? Undoubtedly,

the conception of Chinese cultural identity has changed over time as it continues to change down to the modern day. Just as there may also be a link to filial piety and loyalty of the State, it seems that there is a strong relation between loyalty to the State and traditional Chinese conceptions of cultural identity.

I suggest that historically Chinese cultural identity was very much tied into an identification with and loyalty to the ruling State. First, with the unification of China in 221 B.C.E., the Chinese had established an "ideal of imperial unity". (Holcombe, 27).

Traditional notions of Chinese civilization and cultural identity cannot be separated from this identification with this idealized nation/State. I suggest that these moral stories mentioned above, such as those about Qu Yuan, Bo Yi, Shu Qi, and Yue Fei that espouse such themes as loyalty to the nation/State, in doing so are also promoting notions of a contextual Chinese cultural identity.

As noted above, the traditional conception of "the State" was very different from our modern notions. The ancient "State" was tenuous and unstable. Therefore, loyalty to it was of the utmost concern. However, "paradoxically pre-modern empires and kingdoms were able to sustain their rule over immensely heterogeneous, and often not even continuous, populations for long periods of time" (Anderson, 19). Traditional Chinese identity was linked to a "Chinese" State which may have consisted of very ethnically and culturally diverse populations that were not necessarily Hans.

From as early as the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.), non-ethnically and non-culturally Han Chinese were "included in the administrative structure of the empire, as much as possible", with the "purpose of transforming them into Chinese citizens. Often native leaders were implicated in this assimilation process by appointment as local

imperial officials. This practice continued over subsequent centuries at, if anything, an accelerated pace" (Holcombe, 5). Although "China's policy of ethnic absorption" has continued for centuries over the course of history, China has also adopted culturally and ethically foreign ideas and influences (5).

In later times when the Chinese State was occupied by foreigners, trends of deep resentment toward foreigners and foreign culture ensued. Thus moral stories, in these contexts, were then used to promote an agenda of a different kind of separate cultural identity. Some moral stories and heroes changed and melded into appropriate and fitting figures for each context. For example, the figure of Yue Fei propagated by the Ming was quite different from that under the Song. As the Song Empire began to experience more and more foreign invasions, the character of Yue Fei began to change. The story of Yue Fei perhaps began as a tale that originally contained within it protest against the Mongol invasion. But in the Ming (1368-1644), after having experienced long periods of occupation, the Yue Fei story was at the pinnacle of its popularity, and under the Manchus in the Qing (1644-1911), (who actually claimed to be descendents of the Ju Chen tribe), the Chinese sought out the figure of Yue Fei as the epitome of a hero. He was a hero to admire against foreign occupation. In fact, "probably, the Manchu conquest made the plays and stories" of Yue Fei "more popular" (Liu, 296).

The context in which these stories were written has changed over time as has China's changing and evolving cultural identity. It seems that such stories may have been altered to fit properly into each new historical context. All of these moral stories or myths may really be understood as cultural symbols and icons, and there is an "enormously complex

relationship between change in the symbolic realm and historical change among social groups and institutions" (Duarua, 778).

Moral stories in a variety of forms and genres have undoubtedly been used historically to socialize Chinese children. This socialization process has promoted the cultivation of Chinese morals and values, and such moral stories have continued to contribute to the socialization process of literate and illiterate Chinese youth in past and in present day education.

1.Moral Textbooks

In investigating the modern process of Chinese moral socialization and education, I focus mostly on school textbooks found in Taiwan and the P.R.C. Their modern standard of content and intent may be easier to research than the irregular forms and genres of the past. Roberta Martin suggests that "textbooks…are as a medium susceptible to political control and to uniformity of message particularly when they are published by government printing houses and distributed to nation's schools as they are in China and Taiwan" (Martin, 243). The main content of many of these modern textbooks are moral stories. These stories continue to promote the cultivation of Chinese modern moral values which may include deference to authority, social responsibility, cultural identity, and nationalism.

In my investigation of some of Taiwan's textbooks, I utilize Jeffrey E. Meyer's 1988 work *Teaching Morality in Taiwan Schools: The Message of Text Books*. An overall finding in Meyer's research is that moral education is, in fact, pervasive in the modern Taiwanese curriculum at every grade level and in every part of the curriculum. There are

also courses which are solely devoted to moral and ethics. In Taiwan there are also two sets of moral textbooks that are exclusively concerned with morality. In his research Meyer focuses primarily on language and literature texts. Meyer focuses on the "moral" intentions of literature lessons. "Moral" refers to the themes in the text that "are prescriptive and hortatory, urging thought and conduct which harmonizes with one of the traditionally important virtues" (Meyer, 269).

These moral themes are emphasized as the student approaches the end of middle school. In terms of the nature of the morality taught, Meyer's research indicates overwhelmingly that the morality taught in the schools is traditional Confucianism modified in a few areas for the modern world. "The authorities of Taiwan seek to preserve much of the traditional Confucian culture, even though they glorify the 1911 Revolution which overthrew the traditional political structure." In Taiwan, there seems to be continuity between traditional Confucian values that remained in education even after the Nationalists took over (Meyer, 270).

Moral tales have traditionally been useful to promote deference to authority. In Taiwan, it seems that the core of the moral value of deference to authority is still taught traditionally through the cultivation of filial piety. For example, a 1970 Taiwanese third grade reader tells the story of Old Lai Zi who is epitomized as the ideal filial character, who, even as an old man, still shows devoted deference to his older parents. Even as Old Lai Zi ages and approaches seventy, he still is a good filial son to his "even older" parents. Every day he serves them their favorite food. He even dresses as a clown and dances around with a drum in his old age to make his parents smile when they are sad (Martin, 245). Even as an old man, he behaves as a devoted, good child. Perhaps this story

indicates that no matter how old or high in social status one is, one must always show deference to those hierchically above, especially to one's parents.

Another story presents the filial character Yue Fei. As noted above, Yue Fei is a hero of the Song dynasty. In this story, he wished to go and fight in the army when the empire was attacked in the North by the Juchen ethnic group. But instead, as he looks at his ailing mother, he decides it is better to stay home and take care of her, but is mother urges him to go and protect the country regardless of her poor health (Martin, 245). Here, the clear link between filial piety and patriotism are made. The plot of Yue Fei's story is twisted a bit here to teach the lesson of deference and filial piety, but Yue Fei's deference is simply transferred from one authority figure, his mother, to another, his country. Thus, the lesson of deference to an authoritative higher power is maintained.

A 1970 Taiwanese fifth grade reader contains a moral story of a high school principal. In this story he gives a lecture to his students. The principal directly discuss the merits of filial piety. He also quotes from the *Xiaojing* 孝經, thus demonstrateing a direct linkage of past ideals of filial piety and deference to authority into modern day Taiwanese socialization (Martin, 245).

In another example in Taiwan textbooks, deference to authority is seen in the promotion of the cultivation of *li* 禮 in moral tales. *Li,* translated as ritual, is stressed as very important. *Li* includes the ideas of deference, politeness, and obedience. It also implies a hierarchical structure that is present within traditional Chinese society. This includes not only parent-child hierarchical relationships, but elder-junior relationships such as among siblings. Here, *li* is often taught through the help of a moral story (Meyer, 271).

A common moral story used in Taiwan to promote *li* is the story of Kong Rong 孔融. The Kong Rong "story is used repeatedly in texts to show how young siblings should defer to older siblings." In the story little Kong Rong gives his pear to his older brother. This act symbolically promotes deference of younger siblings to older ones (Meyer, 271).

But this story may contain a deeper implication of traditional Chinese society. A society in which elder siblings had more access to inheritance of a family's land, wealth, and power, and were also awarded higher status in the family hierarchy. Now, in a modernizing and not primarily agricultural society, this ancient tale doesn't have any bearing. Therefore it is now simply used as a didactic tool to illustrate proper familial hierarchy (Meyer, 272).

Some contemporary problems also arise when using moral stories to present traditional moral values to students concerning deference to authority. For example, Taiwan, China, etc., like many industrializing areas and countries of the world have seen the disappearance of the old extended family system and the new prevalence of the nuclear family system. It is hard to establish a Confucian code of deference to authority for a large family when those kinships dynamics do not necessarily exist in contemporary society anymore.

There is also the difficult problem of establishing traditional models of deference to authority between men and women. Although contemporary Taiwanese society officially promotes equality between men and women, illustrations in modern textbooks always have women cooking, sweeping the floor, arranging flowers, etc. "There is no encouragement for women to seek careers beyond the home, and the subliminal message is in every way confirm traditional role models" (Meyer, 272).

In most moral stories, the female figure given the most attention is actually the mother. Her traditional plight in life is to "inspire her son to greatness". For example, this is epitomized in the moral story of Yue Fei as his mother tattoos on his back "*Jin Zhong Bao Guo"*, that Meyer translates as, 'repay your country by carrying your loyalty to the utmost' (Meyer, 278). The motif of this type of mother is found in most legends about great Chinese legendary characters such as Confucius, Mencius, OuYang Xiu, Yue Fei, Shao Kang, Chiang Kai Shek, etc (Meyer, 278).

Unlike in Taiwan, in mainland China there is a discontinuity from the traditional Confucian notions of deference to authority in modern day textbooks. Efforts of Mao's regime to break down Confucian values have transferred the traditions of filial piety into an ethic of social service, not just to the family but to the greater society (Martin, 244). In fact, Taiwanese and mainland texts differ drastically in their portrayal of family ties in moral stories. According to Roberta Martin's study based on 128 elementary school textbooks in Taiwan, the family unit appears in forty-nine (38.3%) of the Taiwanese moral stories. While on the Mainland, out of a survey of one-hundred and sixty-eight Chinese textbook stories, the family unit appears only in twenty-three (13.7%) of the moral stories. It seems that deference to authority, traditionally seen in China as inter-connected to filial piety and the family, on mainland China has been transferred to deference to the common good and to one's social responsibility.

It appears that in mainland texts books, the message of "social responsibility" has replaced the tradition of "family responsibility" as the primary concern. Self-sacrifice and service for the public good are highly idealized. Such self-sacrifice may even include suffering for the common good. In one example in a 1968 forth grade P.R.C.

reader, the moral story of Sha Ke is told. Sha Ke is "a young pioneer" who herds sheep for his production team. Suddenly he is stuck in a dangerous blizzard and his herd dog goes missing. He has the chance to go back to safety, but concludes that the sheep are the "property of the production team". Instead of leaving the sheep, he endures the bitter cold through the night. After the blizzard, he survives, and not one of the sheep is lost. His face is harshly scarred with frostbite, about which Sha Ke says "what do these spots matter as long as no sheep were lost?" (Martin, 246).

Another story from a 1968 mainlaind text book portrays Xiang Xiu Li, a girl who worked in a drug factory in Canton. In 1958, her factory caught fire, and in the story she throws herself in front of the flames to stop the fire from first reaching the sodium and exploding, killing other factory workers. In the end she dies but many other lives are saved. These are just few examples. But there are numerous stories in Mainland texts which similarly emphasize a message of suffering even to the point of martyrdom for the common good, not simply as "the right thing to do" but as one's responsibility (Martin, 246).

Another example of encouraging modern social responsibility in Taiwan textbooks is the promotion of "co-operation and neighborliness". Co-operation and neighborliness are referred to as modern additions to the traditional Chinese value system in which those outside the exclusive family circle should also be treated with civil respect. Taiwanese texts tell of the story of Young Xiao Qiao who decides to go back to Taiwan and get his education, particularly because he appreciates Chinese people's *ren qing wei* 人情味, which Meyer translates as "a special feeling Chinese people have for others". But some social studies textbooks critique this story and aspects of Chinese *ren qing wei* and

hospitality. Some texts stress that it should not be based, as it has in the past, only on familial relationships (Meyer, 32).

Another example of social responsibility may be found in the promotion of the traditional moral *lian* 廉. *Lian* may be translated as integrity, social responsibility. It implies purity, simplicity, a humble life style, and even frugality. In Taiwan moral stories, the motif of the corrupt official who, through his dishonesty, taking of bribes, and basic immortality brings about the downfall of the entire dynasty is often presented in these as a striking example of a figure who behaves without *lian*. His lack of *lian* or social responsibility and integrity has dire consequences not just for him, the individual, but for the entire society. These stories also attempt to transfer such a motif into the modern political and democratic context of Taiwan (Meyer, 274).

Concerning the use of modern moral stories and their promotion of cultural identity, it is first necessary to address what exactly is modern Chinese cultural identity? How do the Chinese see themselves today, and how are the Chinese taught to see themselves? In one example, the introduction from a seventh grade Taiwanese history textbook, three major Chinese characteristics are stated, "1) family relationships, 2) special Chinese characteristics: patience, determination, industriousness, practicality, survival ability, and that 3) Chinese culture is a melting pot, drawing in people from its outside and transforming them into Chinese people" (Meyer, 284). These characteristics cited may offer some insight into modern perceptions of Chinese cultural identity from Taiwan's viewpoint.

The cited characteristics are quite telling. The Taiwanese view the family system as of utmost importance. Perhaps this is due to influence from traditional notions of

Confucian filial piety. The Chinese special characteristics cited are also quite Confucian in their value of hard work and industriousness, but the last conception of Chinese culture as "a melting pot" perhaps refers to the mindset that Chinese cultural identity is a kind of "culture of empire" which envelops other groups of people into the nation/state/culture of "Zhong Guo 中國 " (Meyer, 269).

This harkens back to the earlier discussion of the link between Chinese cultural idenity and loyalty. In this modern context, the loyalty seen is now not loyalty to the State but rather loyalty to the Nation. While Confucianism has remained the staple of Chinese civilization historically and into modern times, it also seems that in modern times cultural identity has begun to blend together with nationalism that had dominated moral textbooks in Taiwan and in the P.R.C, even to trump Confucianism in some cases. For example, the ancient moral *zhong* 忠, loyal patriotism, seems to have been transferred to the modern context of Taiwan's nationalism.

In all these virtues presented in the Taiwanese moral stories, there is an overwhelming emphasis on the group over the individual. Even virtues that reflect individual cultivation such as integrity, honesty, trustworthiness, wisdom, and courage, are expressed in a way so as to promote the welfare of the group. Again, this is based in Confucian thinking. That is, through personal cultivation, one will work to make a stable family life which will be reflected in a stable immediate family, neighborhood, school, and village, which will thereby shape a person's attitude towards the nation, Chinese culture, and the world as a whole (Meyer, 274).

As well although filial piety has been the traditional keystone of Confucian family virtue, since the Communist victory in 1949, the government of Taiwan has continuously

stressed national defense as number one in its "moral" teaching in every possible way, even overriding filial piety (270).

There is perhaps an underlying moral assumption stressed in moral education. This message has ultimately become a nationalistic message. Many moralizing stories contain implications that if Taiwan is strong, that is morally strong, it will eventually be able to restore KMT control of the Mainland. This in turn will result in an end to communism and lead to world peace. Although this last step may be weak logically, this is indeed an underlying message presented to students in many Taiwanese moral stories (279).

Other virtues promoted in Taiwan textbooks that are linked to aspects of patriotism and nationalism are the virtues of bravery and courage. Aspects of bravery are promoted through an idealization of martial courage and "fighting for the nation." Actually, examples of female fighters are frequent in these moral stories.

Interestingly, in promoting Chinese models of proper behavior "sheer brute force is never glorified". Rather, moral stories depict characters that have "brains over brawn". That is, physically weaker characters eventually win out over the "brawn" of physically stronger characters through the use of their "superior wit". One example of such a character is *Zhu Geliang* 諸葛亮, the Three Kingdoms heroic statesman, who lacked brawn but used his intelligence to outwit his adversaries (Meyer, 278).

In the PRC, as in Taiwan, nationalism and morality are intrinsically linked. In mainland school texts as well, it seems that "political and ideological education was not limited to a few subjects. It actually permeated the entire curriculum on all levels of schooling" (Martin, 262).

As we have seen from the examples above, historically and in modern times, moral stories have been used to socialize Chinese children. This process of socialization has promoted the cultivation of particular ideals and values to the literate and illiterate, and while some Chinese ideals may have changed, in modern times, moral stories continue to be used to as a major medium with which to socialize Chinese children.

2. Wu Feng in Moral Textbooks

My research focuses on Wu Feng, a heroic figure found, until 1987, in many Taiwanese moral stories in national textbooks. He is portrayed as a martyr who dies righteously for a greater "cause" or "good". This tale has evolved through different periods in Taiwanese history and ultimately became an icon of morality in Taiwanese society.

The image of Wu Feng continued to be exploited by the ROC government as it had been by the Qing and the Japanese occupation period. As Chinese nationalist rule began in October 1945 at the end of World War Two in the immediate postwar period, the Nationalist Chinese government in Taiwan was notoriously corrupt and oppressive compared to the previous Japanese rule. There was a great deal of resentment among the Taiwanese Hans and Aborigines against the KMT Mainlanders. It was at this time that the Wu Feng story was put into textbooks by the ROC Ministry of Education.

Wu Feng again becomes "martyr" in these stories, but Wu Feng is ultimately a martyr not only to quell local dissent or end headhunting but this time time is a martyr for "the nation"(Zhang, 30), which is contextually appropriate considering the KMT's major aim was to convey sentiments "Nationalism" in a post-war Taiwan. While the Wu Feng

legend was incorporated into text books for Taiwanese schools, the students reading these stories were encouraged to act like Wu Feng and follow his example of self-sacrifice, martyrdom, and righteousness for the greater "good" of the nation.

In modern day Taiwan this moral tale's inclusion in national textbooks has come under scrutiny by Aboriginal tribes for its historical inaccuracy and negative portrayal of Aborigines. Actually, the Wu Feng legend was eliminated from Taiwan moral textbooks In 1987 the *Guoli bianyiguan* 國立編譯館, the National Translation and Compilation Center of Taiwan , took a highly "politically correct" stance and eliminated the story in order to subdue social tensions, but it appears still to be a sore spot in Taiwan society, particularly in Chinese and Taiwan Aborigine race relations.

B. Han and Non-Han Race Relations

By 1945, after Japan's defeat in World War Two, Japanese rule in Taiwan had come to an end. Taiwan was ceded back to Nationalist China. As the Nationalists lost to the Communists in civil war, by 1949 thousands of KMT supporters fled to the island from the Mainland as the Communists took over China. At first their presence was welcomed, but soon the Taiwanese became nostalgic for the Japanese regime (Brown, 58). The KMT installed an authoritarian government, and KMT soldiers cracked down on any Japanese sympathizers with brutal consequences. In Taiwan KMT armies pillaged, raped, looted, and forced men into service as they had on the Mainland. A great deal of the infrastructure and development the Japanese had constructed was quickly picked apart by the KMT forces. Japanese as well as Taiwanese public and private property, raw materials, goods, and equipment was pillaged and sold off by Nationalist officials for

personal profit (Brown, 15). Although such hard-line tactics were mostly seen in the early on in the ROC take over of Taiwan, and the KMT became progressively moderate.

While the Japanese had dealt very aggressively with the Aborigines, unlike regimes before them, they had actually provided them with very functional social services. The Japanese supplied the Aboriginals with compulsory education, medical services, a means for relative social mobility, etc. As these social services were a part of a larger campaign to incorporate the Aborigines into Japanese identity, the Aborigines in turn began to identify with the Japanese. By the time the KMT forces arrived, the Aborigines had already developed a great affiliation with the Japanese (Brown, 15).

By 1946, the school centers which the Japanese had constructed were replaced by centers for KMT propaganda. The official language of Taiwan immediately changed from Japanese to Mandarin. Mandarin was enforced in all schools, government offices, businesses, and public areas. Those Mainlanders who had fled the Communist regime had been exposed to Mandarin and therefore had an extreme advantage over the local Taiwanese who mostly spoke Minnan, Kejia, or Japanese. Actually the Aborigines communities were very proficient in Japanese, even more so than the local Hans. Japanese had even become a kind of lingua-franca among Aboriginal tribes.

The Nationalists aimed to shed all ties to Japanese colonial rule, and stringently enforced Mandarin in all schools. The Aborigines were therefore placed at a severe disadvantage. In addition, as soon as the Nationalists had taken over the island and declared Mandarin the national language, there was a shortage of Mandarin Chinese teachers. Even fewer Mandarin teachers were available for Aborigines in the mountain regions. Also, few Chinese wanted to teach in the mountains areas. Aborigines that did

receive formal education were taught by low skilled and unqualified teachers. It was during this period that the quality of mountain Aborigine education dropped severely. The educational and economic gap between the Aborigines and Hans widened once again (Faure, 62).

In 1949 the Nationalists established an organization known as the Mountain Youth Service Corps. This corps encouraged defensive military training and the use of Mandarin language, and aimed to "improve customs, agricultural production, and promote frugality" (Faure 67). This corps also had a larger aim of assimilation, which the Nationalist termed as "making the mountains like the plains" (67).

In 1951 the Nationalists launched a campaign called "The Mountain People's Lifestyle Improvement Movement". It focused on eliminating customs that were seen as distinctly non-Han. Indigenous communities were discouraged from being publicly naked, and encouraged to use chopsticks and bowls, as well as to make distinguishable sleeping, eating, and toilet areas in their homes. This campaign particularly focused upon what were considered cultural characteristics of the Aborigines. Many of these 'characteristics' were based on Han perceptions of quite stereotypical traits such as "extravagance, laziness, alcoholism, and superstition" (Faure, 70). This campaign tried to account for the economically impoverished areas of the mountains, as compared with Han communities, as rooted in cultural and ethnic difference, but it sought to improve the economy of the mountain areas mostly by making Aborigines more "Han-like" (70).

During the 1940s and 1950s many plains Aborigines did adopt "Han" ethnic identity. Just as in the Qing and Japanese Colonization Period, the ethnic identity of the Aborigines was very much the result of the socio-political atmosphere of the time.

Aborigines were not "innocent" or "impressionable" as many sources claim. They themselves could clearly see the advantages of adopting the privileged ethnic identity and often did just this. In the early ROC in Taiwan the identity of being "'Mainland Chinese, Han Taiwanese, Japanese, plains 'tribal' village identities", 'indigenous' (in this context Formosan Mountain People), were all options for the Aborigines, but in this period most Aborigine villages chose to assume a Mainland Chinese identity because "of the perception of the probable political and social advantages." (Brown, 51).

This "Chinese" identity actually was not based on a traditional model of Han ethnicity. Instead, the Nationalists sought to create a "new" Chinese identity in a "New China". The Nationalists as well as the Japanese felt that modernity was key to successful nationhood. Campaigns sought to end superstition, shamanism, and arranged marriage, and instead encouraged modern wedding ceremonies and burials in public cemeteries. Nationalism was stressed above all else. School pupils were urged to attend daily raising of the Chinese flag and were encouraged to behave as "pure Chinese" (Faure, 73).

In a changing Taiwan with a changing Chinese identity, many missionaries' teachings became more readily accepted as an "alternative" to traditional Chinese beliefs that had come to be considered superstitions. Missionaries were surprised to find that they were more accepted in Aborigine communities if they promoted Chinese language, culture, and Christianity in tandem. Aborigines choose assimilation to this "new Chinese" culture during this period for the obvious social advantages it promised, and missionaries, in turn, quite readily encouraged Aborigines not to participate in their traditional indigenous religious practices (Brown, 55).

Many Aborigine women also opted to marry Han men, often those who had immigrated from the mainland. "They chose to leave hard farm work behind and seek an easier life on the plains" (Brown, 54). The choice of an Aborigine bride was also feasible for many mainlander ex-soldiers because they were often poor and many could not afford to support a Han wife. These brides accepted assimilation to the Chinese model as a part of the larger process of economic and social mobility in a changing socio-political era (Brown, 54).

C. Wu Feng Account in Public School Textbooks in the R.O.C. on Taiwan

1. Modern Textbooks

Below I include translations from R.O.C elementary textbooks that contained the Wu Feng story from 1950 until its eventual elimination from Taiwan textbooks in 1987. I find that the changes and adjustments made in these moral stories till its final elimination , not surprisingly, reflect changes and adjustment made in the Taiwan society in the racial and political sphere. I orgainize my presentation of these textbook stories chronologically. However the chart below also distinguishes these textbooks by type.

Table 1:Wu Feng Stories Distinguished by Type of Textbook from 1950-1988

	1950	1952	1954	1957	1963	1966	1968	1969	1971	1975	1978	1985	1986	1987	1988
Readers	*	*	*	*		*	*	*							
Music					*										
Teacher's Manuel									*						
Life and Ethics										*	*				*
Social Studies												*	*	*	

a. Chinese Readers

i.<u>1950 Reader</u> **"**National Junior Middle School Chinese Reader, Book One, 1950,

Chapter 30: The Story of Wu Feng

Wu Feng's public name was Yuan Hui 元 輝. He was from Pinghe County in Fujian Province. In his childhood he went with his parents to Taiwan as they carried on business. He spent a lot of time in company with the mountain tribal people 高山族. He practiced their language and became familiar with their customs and practices. He taught them to plough and sow, and produce handicrafts. For this reason there was not one among the tribal people 族人 that was not close with him, that did not respect, and that did not show courtesy to him.

The mountain tribal people 高山族 lived in groups in the mountains. Their livelihood was difficult. [The Qing officers] increasingly used their power as civil officers to rob them by hook or by crook so that they were barely able to survive. In the Kangxi reign period, in the sixtieth year (1721) Zhu Yigui[5] rebelled. The tribal people 族人 rose up in hordes in support, and more than forty civil officers were killed. When the rebellion was suppressed the government cautiously chose civil officers to pacify (the mountain tribes). They knew of Wu Feng's talent and virtue and appointed him as the Ali Mountain Liaison. At this time Feng was only twenty four years old.

5

Zhu Yigui (朱一貴) was an aborigine rebel against the Qing government officials.

In the mountains there was an old custom. Every year for the late autumn sacrifices to the harvest deity they had to kill a passerby and take the head to offer in worship. Feng wanted to eliminate this awful custom and forbid its practice. Although he explained with examples one hundred times the tribal people 族人 still did not heed him. Thereupon he said:

> "Before, during the revolt, more than forty civil officers died.
> Each harvest year you should offer one of these heads."

The tribal people 族人 had no alternative, and [Feng] urged them to agree to this. Those that (agreed) did so for forty-eight years, and Wu Feng served as a liaison as before. But then the heads were used up! In the Qianlong reign period in the thirty-fourth year, in the eighth month, on the ninth day (September 8, 1769), because of a famine that year the tribal people 族人 assembled together at the liaison's office. They pleaded for a human head to pray for a plentiful year. Wu Feng went out to see them and the crowd all prostrated themselves on the ground bitterly weeping. Feng could not overcome his own compassion. So, finally he said,

> "Gentleman, in your hearts you must not wish to repeat this evil. Tomorrow there will be a person wearing red clothes and red hat that
> will go past here. You may take his head."

The crowd was satisfied and happily went away. The next day, the crowd of people actually met up with someone with the red clothes and red hat walking on the road alone. They killed him straight away and took his head. But when they examined it, it was none other than the seventy-one year old Liaison Wu Feng. All the people then fell to the

ground and wailed, beat themselves painfully, and could not exhaust their regret and grief. The Ali Mountain forty-eight villages' elders then made an oath together and said:

"From now on, until the mountain streams dry up, we shall

not use spears and lances (and kill people)!"

To this day, when the people of Taiwan 臺人 speak of Feng they all say,

"Benevolent Sage! Benevolent Sage!"

Analysis:

In this 1950 version Wu Feng is clearly martryized. He knowingly sacrifices his own head to diffuse the tension between the Hans and Aborigines, and in order to "teach" the Aborigines about the immorality of head hunting. Interestingly, this version does not reflect the more recent 1919 version of the story in which Feng fights back against the Aborigines. Instead, this version may more reflect the earlier 1912 Japanese version by Nakkada Naoshi in which Wu Feng passively gives up his life.

In this version, there is also a mention of the Zhu Yi Gui rebellion of 1721 in which Aborigines revolted against the Qing officials. The Aborigines are then left in control of these forty dead Han heads, which Wu Feng decrees as an acceptable solution. This differs significantly from later versions.

In this story the Aborigines are described as *zu ren* 族人. This terminology meaning tribal people is perhaps not as directly derogatory in nature compared to the use of *fan* 番 that we have seen in earlier, and will see in later, versions, but this story also uses the term Gao Shan Zu 高山族 which is perhaps a reminant of past Japanese rule.

However at the end of the story there an interesting reference to "the people of Taiwan" 臺人. It is not clear who this includes, the Hans, the Aborigines, etc. Perhaps

this term is all encompassing. This slight and ambiguous shift in semantics gives the reader the impression that after Wu Feng's death the Aborigines 族人 are not longer separate and distinct tribal people but are miraculously transformed and ultimately assimilated into law-abiding Taiwanese people 臺人.

ii. <u>1952 Reader</u> Sun, Yunxia 孫云遐. <u>Chuji zhongxue guowen: disi ce</u> 初中學國文: 第四冊 [Beginner Level Middle School Chinese: Book Number Four]. Guoli bianyiguan guankan 國立編譯館館刊, 1952.

The Legend of Wu Feng**:**

In Tainan County, in the district of Jiayi, Zhongpu Division, in Shekou village, there is a temple, the Ali Mountain Loyal King Temple, or as it is also called "Martyr's Temple", where incense is prolifically burned. In front of the temple there is a clear and pretty stream. Above [the Temple] are the "Martyr's Bridge" and the azure bamboo trees stretching out like a blanket on a meadow making the temple's appearance serious and solemn. Here Mr. Wu Feng made a sacrifice one hundred and eighty years ago for the sake of education, for the sake of diminishing stupidity, for the sake of peace and good fortune. When his strength was used up finally he himself used his own life as a contribution to education. After he died people in the mountains, people of the plains, people from Fujian, people from Guanggong (the Hakka people), the invading

Japanese, and European and American Western tourists heard his story, saw his statue, none were not moved, none did not shed tears, none did not deeply bow and worship in front of the temple. His statue and reputation seems like seasonal rain, like the sun in winter, like the full moon at the top of Ali Shan, forever acting as educator, forever radiating and guiding men of great variety and diversity. In order to save mankind, he sacrificed himself, like Jesus, like Gandhi. Only this is not supernatural, not posturing, but it shows [something] even more sincere and more natural. If you say Jesus and Gandhi are benevolent people or saints then Wu Feng is the ultimately benevolent and saintly of [all] benevolent people and saintly people.

Wu Feng's public name was Yuan Hui. He was a man of the Kangxi reign period of the Qing dynasty. He was born in the thirty-eighth reign year (1699), in the first month, on the eighteenth day in Niaoshi Village, Pinghe County, Zhangzhou Prefecture, Fujian Province. Wu Feng's father was called Zhu 珠, his public name was Chiao Lian 朝聯. Wu Feng's mother was named Cai Lianghui 蔡良惠. During the end of the Ming and the beginning of the Qing, his grandfather had already gone back and forth between Fujian and Taiwan to do business. When Wu Feng was young he followed his parents to Taiwan. They lived at the Zhulou Western Fortress 諸羅西堡 on Mei Street. (In modern Jiayi, this is located off Guangming Road in Xingzhong Street). Afterwards, they moved to Damugen Fortress 大目根堡, Luma Town 鹿滿村, (This is located in Tainan County, in the Jiayi district, in Zuqi 竹崎 division of LumaVillage 鹿滿鄉). His personality was very calm. He liked to study books and was willing to use his thoughts and ideas. At nineteen, he married to Miss Chen Liangde 陳良德 of ZhuLuo 諸羅, Xincuozi Town 新厝仔莊. In due time, she gave birth to two sons, named Ting Yuan 汀援 and Ting Xun 汀巽. They were all one big happy family. They worked very diligently, and when they were not working they studied. They were able to help others and were known as an exemplarily household in that place. At that time the barbarians 番 and the Han people from Fujian were living together (in the same area). Because their customs and habits were different, this often created many misunderstandings and disputes. Wu Feng was the very first to study the mountain tribe's language, to research their customs and habits, and teach them farming and handicrafts. This made most of the barbarians 番 respect and feel close to him.

From the end of the Ming when Zheng Chenggong established a state in Taiwan more and more Han people came to Taiwan. At the beginning of the Qing dynasty they established one prefecture with three counties. The flat and fertile land slowly became the Han people's settlements. Because the barbarian tribes 番族 that originally lived there were backward in their production and technology, they retreated into the mountains and their lives were difficult. The civil officers and local people who had influential power bullied the barbarians 番. Some seized their land, some used improper trading practices to rob them of valuables, and went as far as enslaving the barbarians' 番 sons and daughters. The relationship between the Hans and the barbarians 番 worsened day by day so that in the 60th year of the Kangxi 康熙 reign period (1721) there was the Zhu Yigui uprising. Many barbarian 番 villages rose up in support and killed and hurt officials. Everywhere there was resentment against the Han people. The Qing dynasty government sent many troops to suppress Zhu Yigui so that the barbarian 番 villages were temporarily restored to a peaceful condition. In order to pacify the barbarians 番, the government selected appropriate people to be the liaison (an official that would manage the barbarian affairs) for various places. Twenty-four year old Wu Feng was appointed the Ali Mountain interpreter. In order to wholeheartedly serve he went to live deeply in a place where the Han and barbarians 番 lived mixed together in Damaodongxia Fortress 打貓東下堡 (in modern day Minxiong 民雄). He set up his place of office in Fanzitan town 番仔潭莊.

He got rid of the interpreters who cheated and lied. He brought dignity and good fortune to overcome bad habits. He himself dwelt with the barbarians as their teacher and

friend. At the same time he also was the head man of the Han families and a policeman. He used "common sense" and "fairness" to settle many disputes and quarrels. He took a lawless, godless, chaotic place and made everybody observe all the rules and regulations. When speaking of Interpreter Wu, everyone deferred to him both in their minds and with their mouths. The government also knew that he was able to manage affairs, and that he consistently pursed his interpreter official duties.

The Ali Mountain barbarians 番 had a savage custom that they had followed since ancient times. Every year at the end of autumn when worshipping the deity of grain they used a human head to offer in worship. They believed that if they didn't offer a human head in worship, the deity would be angry and disturb the annual harvest. Of course the barbarians 番 went to look for the human head outside of their community. So there were many travelers on the roads who were cruelly murdered to become sacrificial objects. Wu Feng knew that this kind of historically rooted superstition would not be easy to change. So early on he prepared some wine and meat, and invited the barbarian 番 representatives to come and eat and drink. When they were feeling in good spirits, Wu Feng proclaimed:

> "Killing people is a bad practice, and it is a crime that is punishable by death. When you worship your deity, you don't need to kill people but you may use a human skull. During the 60th reign year of Emperor Kangxi (1721) things worsened and you killed more than forty Han people. So each year use one [of those skulls]. When they are used up then we will discuss this again. If you don't report to the liaison and instead go out and kill people I will definitely seriously punish offenders."

Wu Feng also gave them many textiles, fat sheep, and big pigs for their rituals, and the barbarians 番 could not help but submit to this agreement. Thus, Ali Mountain endured forty years of worshipping without taking people's lives.

Six days before the Mid-Autumn festival of the thirty-fourth year of the Qianlong 乾隆 reign period (1769) a group of barbarians 番 surrounded the liason's branch office in Shekou town and loudly called out

"We want a human head! We want a human head! You must keep your promise!"

The brawling sound shook the roof titles. Hoary headed Wu Feng came out composed and sat at the meeting place. As soon as the barbarians 番 saw him they knelt down and revered him. Their voices changed and gently they said:

"Please bestow on us a human head as an item for worship".

The barbarians 番 pleaded and cried. Wu Feng also cried. Wu Feng said:

> "Killing people is a bad thing and is a crime that will bring about capital punishment. If you must kill people, I will give you a head. Tomorrow in the neighborhood of the branch office there will be person wearing a red robe and a red hat! Go and kill him! But if you kill him you will offend the spirits of Heaven and Earth and your conscience will suffer. It is not clear what kind of retribution there will be. If you will not regret it, then kill him."

As soon as the barbarians 番 heard that they were permitted to kill the person, they all kowtowed to honor Wu Feng, so happily shouting and dancing they dispersed.

Wu Feng brought his servant back to his Fanzitan Town 番仔潭莊 home. He said farewell at his family shrine, convened his family, and instructed them (what to do) after

his death. The whole family cried and urged him to go to the prefectural city and report this in order to deploy troops to come and suppress this uprising. Wu Feng did not make a sound (in response). On the tenth day of the eight month in the dawn fog and mist of the morning, walking alone, he left his home and entered the mountain ravine. Right at noon, he reached Shekou Town. There were many tens of barbarians 番 wearing fighting clothes. Some of them were carrying bows and arrows, some of them were carrying long spears, and some of them held up sharp pointed swords. They had formed an encircling battle formation. They saw a man wearing red clothes and a red hat unhurriedly coming towards them. Altogether they yelled, struck him down, and cut off his head. Some said,

"He is young".

Some said,

"He is old".

Carefully they looked, and lo and behold it was seventy-one year old Wu Feng. In a ghastly sound they called out,

"Liaison Wu! Oh my God! Oh my God!"

As if they were a herd of cows or sheep that had been hit with a bomb, some fell down; they ran about wildly, yelling wildly. After a moment, not one of them could be seen.

On the seventh day after Wu Feng died, he was buried at Biantou in Fangshujiao Town. The barbarians 番 cried; the Hans also cried. The good people at that place became sick, and the sick dreamed of seeing Wu Feng. Healthy men went crazy, and the crazy people encountered Wu Feng. Some people saw Wu Feng walking in the rain. Some people saw Wu Feng fly by riding on a cloud. Some people saw Wu Feng riding a running horse. When floods came there was no one who could lead in protecting against

them; When there were landslides there was no one who could bring others to repair them.; When there was a fight there was no one to mediate; When they came upon difficult problems there was no one who could inquire into (these problems). The barbarians' 番 leaders, elders, sorcerers, and all the wise and intelligent people discussed and discussed again, researched and researched again; they knew they had made a mistake. They were utterly regretful and despondent. Those who had surrounded and attacked Wu Feng all cried and hit their own faces and hit their own hands. They rubbed dirt into in their eyes. Delegations of leaders and elders of the forty-eight barbarian 番 villages Ali Mountain held a big meeting at Kuba 枯巴. In Daibao Luo Village 戴堡羅社, the entire assembly made a unanimous decision to abolish the use of humans heads in worshipping their deity. They set up a plan for divine worship of Wu Feng. They buried an [inscribed] stone and swore an oath saying,

"Even if the water in the Ba Zhang Stream 八掌溪 dries up we will not kill people again."

The Ali Mountain surroundings changed after this. Everyone got along with and loved one another. They spoke rationally, adhered to the law, lived and worked in peace and contentment.

Wu Feng's temple was first erected at the beginning of the Jiaqing 嘉慶 reign period (1796). It was the liaison who succeeded in that office, Yang Mi 楊祕 , who responded to the local people's plea to construct it. Every year on the anniversary of his death (on the tenth day of the eighth month) they hold an impressive and solemn great ceremony. The Hans and the barbarians 番, both men and women, from each place came to

participate in worship and burn incense. In the Guangxu 光緒 reign period, in the eighteenth year (1892), it was renovated once. In the Guangxu thirty-second year (1906), due to an earth quake, the temple was destroyed, but [the people of the area] raised money to re-build it again. In the second year, third month of the Republic of China (April 1913) [the temple] was completely renovated, and was named "Martyr's Temple". In the main hall are Wu Feng and his wife's spirit tablets, and his statue. There are wooden tablets, couplets, and poems eulogizing him filling the walls on all sides. Wu Feng's statue is riding a white horse and his right hand holds a sword. His left hand grasps the reigns and his divine image is beaming and life like. Obviously, this has been influenced by the Japanese. They took a normally benign Wu Feng and distorted him into a militarized figure. Wu Feng did not rely on weapons. His weapons were righteousness, rationality, fraternity, and self sacrifice. His strength. ever-lasting and limitless. (It) is what "former ancient sages continuously study for countless generations of peace." After Taiwan was recovered [from the Japanese] these Mountain Compatriots 高山同胞 have always been our loving, cooperative companions. Wu Feng used his own red blood to irrigate the flowers of peace and wisdom to open the world and bring tolerance to mankind.

Analysis:

In this version of the story the martyrization of Wu Feng's character is again quite obvious again. Wu Feng is depicted as sacrificing himself. He not only sacrifices himself for the Aborigines, as is seen in other versions, but now the text notes that he sacrifices himself to save all of mankind. "In order to save mankind, he sacrificed himself". Wu Feng is then compared to Jesus and Gandhi. In fact he is portrayed as even

more benevolent than the figures of Jesus or Gandhi. The text above notes, "If you say Jesus and Gandhi are benevolent people, or saints then Wu Feng is the ultimately benevolent and saintly of [all] benevolent people and saintly people."

Towards the end of the story Wu Feng's martyr status is again quite evident and dramatized. The text notes, "Wu Feng used his own red blood to irrigate the flowers of peace and wisdom to open the world and bring tolerance to mankind." This gruesome description of blood emphasizes Wu Feng's fatal self-sacrifice vividly for the reader which may have been the intention of the contemporary ROC's promotion of this story in textbooks.

These textbooks also contain a very intentionally negative depiction of the Japanese. Early on in the text they are referred to as the "Invading Japanese". This is a clear reference to their past occupation of Taiwan that ended in 1945. Towards the end of this story there is also an interesting reference to the Japanese construction of the Wu Feng statue. The text notes that the Japanese made the image of Wu Feng militant. Considering this text was from 1952 and Japanese rule had just ended in Taiwan in 1945, it may have been the fashion to put down the Japanese as belligerent in this context.

Here Wu Feng's image is also portrayed as corrupted by the Japanese. The text notes that "They took a normally benign Wu Feng and distorted him into a militarized figure. Wu Feng did not rely on weapons. His weapons were righteousness, rationality, fraternity, and self sacrifice. His strength is ever-lasting, limitless, is what 'former ancient sages continuously to study, for countless generations of peace'." This contrast between the Japanese and Hans portrays the Japanese influence as militarized and warlike as opposed to ROC Han influence as civilizing, peaceful, and self-sacrificing.

However, in actuality, the Japanese did not create an image of Wu Feng as belligerent. They in fact were responsible for martryzing Wu Feng (Zhang, 1). At this time a denigration of the Japanese in an elementary textbook perhaps aimed to disassociate Taiwan from any Japanese influence and shape the young generation's understanding of history from the ROC's perspective.

The terminology used to describe the Aborigines in these early textbooks is also quite telling. They are put in a rather derogatory light as *fan ren* 番人, indicating the sentiments towards Aborigines by the ROC. This is not quite as apparent in the 1950 version in which they are referred to as tribal people 族人.

At the end of the story however, they are referred to as Tong Bao 同胞. This change in terminology is noted as occurring only "After Taiwan was recovered [from the Japanese]". This suggests many different things. First, it maintains the self-fulfilling prophecy that the *Fan* were "civilized" into Tong Bao 同胞 as a result of Wu Feng. It also implies that the Aborigines were only "barbarians" or *fan* under, and as a result of, the Japanese rule, and that it is only after the ROC takes over that tension between the Hans and the Aborigines is eased. This is indicated when the text notes that after the Japanese left Taiwan, "These Mountain Compatriots 高山同胞 have always been our loving, cooperative companions," implying that the now termed "Mountain Compatriots" became "cooperative and loving" to the ROC rule.

This may be similar to the above 1950 text which at the beginning of the story refers to the Aborigines as *zu ren*, tribal people, or *gao shan zu,* mountain people, and by the end of the story ambigiously refers to them as, 臺人, the people of Taiwan. While these implications are subtle, they may have served to indoctrinate young Taiwanese students

to the “civilizing” effects of the ROC and promote an almost manifest destiny about Taiwan’s freedom from Japanese rule, the ROC take over, and the assimilation of the Aborigines.

iii. <u>1954 Reader</u> Chen, Zu Hui, 陳祖翬. <u>Xinshiji jiaokeshu Chuzhong Guowen: Disi Ce</u> 新世紀教科書初中國文:第四冊 [New Century: Junior High School Chinese Reader: Textbook Number Four]. Taipei: Shijie Shuju 世界書局, 1954.

The Legend of Wu Feng**:**

In Tainan County, in the district of Jiayi, in the Zhongpu division, in Shekou Village, there is the Ali Mountain Loyal King Temple, or as it is also called "Martyr's Temple", where incense is abundantly burned. In front of the temple, there is a clear and pretty stream. Above [the Temple], is the "Perfecting Humanness Bridge". The azure bamboo trees and meadow stretch out like a blanket, and make the temple's appearance serious and solemn. Here the only one who is worshipped is Mr.Wu Feng, who sacrificed himself one hundred and eighty years ago for the sake of education, for the sake diminishing stupidity, and for the sake of peace and good fortune. When his strength was finally used up he himself used his own life as a contribution to education. After he died, when people in the mountains, people of the plains, people from Fujian, people from Guangdong (the Hakka people), the invading Japanese, and European and American Western tourists heard his story, and saw his statue, none were not moved, none did not shed tears, none did not deeply bow and worship at the front of the temple. His statue is like the gentle wind, like sweet seasonal rain, like the sun in winter, like the full moon over Ali Mountain, forever acting as educator, forever radiating and guiding a great variety and diversity of men. In order to save mankind, he willingly sacrificed himself, like Jesus, like Gandhi. Only this is not supernatural, not posturing, but it shows [something] even more sincere and more natural. If you say Jesus and Gandhi are

benevolent people or saints, then Wu Feng is the ultimately benevolent and saintly person among benevolent and saintly people.

Wu Feng's public name was Yuan Hui 元 輝. He was born in the thirty-eighth year of the Kangxi reign period (1699) of the Qing dynasty, in the first month, on the eighteenth day in Fujian Province, Zhangzhou Prefecture, Pinghe County, Niaoshi Village. When Wu Feng was young he followed his parents to Taiwan. At nineteen, he married Miss Chen Liangde 陳良德 of Zhuluo 諸羅. In due time, she gave birth to two sons. They were all one big happy family. They worked very diligently.

At that time the barbarian mountain tribes 高山族的蕃人 and the Han people from Fujian were living together (in the same area), because their customs and habits were different this often led to many misunderstandings and disputes. Wu Feng was the very first to study the mountain tribe's 高山族 language and to research their customs and habits. He taught them farming and handicrafts. This made most of the barbarians 蕃人 respect and feel close to him.

In order to pacify the barbarians 蕃人 the government selected appropriate people in each locale to be the liaison official to manage the barbarian 蕃人 affairs. At twenty years old Wu Feng was appointed the Ali Mountain liaison. In order to wholeheartedly serve, he went right in to the place where the Han and barbarians 蕃人 lived and mixed together. He set up his place of office in Damaodongxia Fortress 打貓東下堡 (Modern day Minxiong 民雄), in Fanzitan Town 番仔潭莊.

He got rid of the liaisons' bad habits of cheating and arrogance. He himself dwelt with the barbarians 蕃人 as a teacher and friend, and at the same time he also was a policeman

for the Han people. He used "common sense" and "fairness" to settle many disputes and quarrels. He took a lawless, godless, chaotic place and made everybody observe all the rules and regulations. When speaking of Liaison Wu, everyone deferred to him both in their minds and with their mouths. The government also knew that he was able to manage affairs, and that he consistently pursued his liaison official duties.

The Ali Mountain barbarians 蕃人 had a savage custom that they had followed from ancient times. Every year at the end of autumn, when worshipping the god of grain, they used a human head to offer in worship. They believed if they didn't offer a human head in worship the god would become angry and disturb the annual harvest. Of course the barbarians 蕃人 went to look for the human head outside of their community. Therefore many travelers on the roads were cruelly and ignorantly murdered to become sacrificial objects. Wu Feng knew that this kind of historically rooted superstition would not be easy to change immediately. So early on, he prepared a banquet and invited the barbarian 蕃人 representatives to eat and drink. When they were feeling in good spirits, Wu Feng proclaimed:

"Killing people is a bad practice and is a crime that will bring about capital punishment. When you worship your deity you don't need to kill people. If you worship your deity and you absolutely want to use a human skull, I know you still have over forty heads you have not previously used. So each year use one of those skulls; when they are used up then we will discuss this again. If you don't report to the liaison and go out to kill people, I will definitely seriously punish offenders." Wu Feng also gave them many textiles, fat sheep, and big pigs to help them in their rituals. The barbarians 蕃人 could not help but

agree to this. So the Ali Mountain barbarians 蕃人 went through forty years of worshipping without taking people's lives.

Before the mid autumn festival in the thirty-fourth year of the Qianlong 乾隆 reign period (1769), a group of barbarians 蕃人 surrounded the liaison's office, and loudly called out:

"We want a human head! We want a human head! We have used up all our human heads!"

The brawling sound shook the roof tiles. Hoary headed Wu Feng came out composed and sat at the meeting hall. As soon as the barbarians 蕃人 saw him they knelt down and revered him. Their voices changed and gently they said:

"Please bestow on us a human head as an item for worship."

The barbarians 蕃人 pleaded and cried. Wu Feng also cried. Wu Feng said:

"Killing people is a bad practice that you cannot do. Since you definitely want to kill someone I can give you a human head. Tomorrow close by the left side of the office there will be person wearing a red robe and a red hat! Go and kill him!"

As soon as the barbarians 番人 heard that he would permit them to kill a person they all kowtowed, and praised and jumped happily as they dispersed.

On the tenth day of the eight month, in the dawn fog and mist of the morning, sure enough, a man wearing red clothes and a red hat walked unhurriedly toward them. Several tens of barbarians 蕃人 yelled, struck him down, and cut off his head. Some said,

"He is young".

Some said,

"He is old".

Carefully they looked, and lo and behold it was seventy-one year old Wu Feng. In a ghastly sound they called out, "Liaison Wu! Liaison Wu! Oh my God! Oh my God!" as if they were a herd of startled sheep or stampeding cows, and after a moment not one of them was to be seen.

On the seventh day after Wu Feng died he was buried at Biantou in Fangshujiao Town. The barbarians 蕃人 cried, the Hans also cried. The good people at that place became sick and dreamed of Wu Feng. Healthy men went crazy, and the crazy people encountered Wu Feng. Some people saw Wu Feng walking in the rain. Some people saw Wu Feng fly by riding on a cloud. Some people saw Wu Feng in red clothes riding a running horse. When floods came there was no longer one who could lead in protecting against the floods; When there were landslides there was no longer one who could lead them to repair it; When there was a fight there was no one to mediate; When they came upon difficult problems there was no one who could inquire into (these problems). The barbarians' 蕃人 leaders, elders, sorcerers, and all the wise and intelligent people discussed this again and again, studied this again and again, and they finally knew they had made a mistake. They could not get along without Wu Feng.

Those who had surrounded and attacked Wu Feng all cried, hit their own faces, and hit their own hands. They rubbed dirt into their eyes. Delegations of leaders and elders of the Ali Mountain forty-eight barbarian 蕃人 villages held a meeting at KuBa 枯巴 in Daibaoluo Village 戴堡羅社. The entire assembly made a unanimous a decision to abolish the use of human heads for worshipping their god. They set up [an altar for] Wu Feng for divine worship. They buried an [inscribed] stone and swore an oath saying:

"Even if the water in the Ba Zhang Stream dries up, we will not kill people again."

The Ali Mountain surroundings changed after this. Everyone got along with and loved one another. They spoke rationally, adhered to the law, lived and worked in peace and contentment.

Wu Feng's temple was first erected at the beginning of the Jiaqing 嘉慶 reign period (1796) by the liaison who succeeded in that office, Yang Mi 楊祕, who responded to the local people's plea to construct it. Every year on the anniversary of his death (tenth day of the eighth month) they hold an impressive and solemn great ceremony. The Hans and the barbarians 蕃人, both the men and women, from each place participate in worship and burn incense. In the Guangxu reign 光緒 period in the eighteenth year (1892), it was renovated. In the Guangxu thirty-second year (1906), the temple was destroyed due to an earth quake, but the people of the area raised money and re-built it again in the second year, third month of the Republic of China (April 1913). The temple was named "Martyr's Temple". Wu Feng's statue is riding a white horse, his right hand holds a sword, the image is beaming and life like. Wu Feng did not rely on weapons. His weapons were righteousness, rationality, fraternity, and self-sacrifice. His strength is ever-lasting and limitless. After Taiwan was recovered from the Japanese, the Mountain Compatriots 山同胞 have always been our loving cooperative companions. Wu Feng used his own bright red blood to irrigate the flowers of peace and wisdom to open up the world and bring tolerance to mankind. This is signified by Ali Mountain's cherry blossoms.

Analysis:

This 1954 version is quite similar to the 1952 version. The Aborigines are again referred to as barbarians 蕃. Again at the end of the story they become mountain compatriots 山同胞. This change is again credited as a result of the ROC's takeover of Taiwan. However there is not a discussion of the Japanese at the end of this story as creating the statue of Wu Feng or much of an emphasis on the Japanese as war-like and belligerent as seen in the 1952 version. This may serve to distance readers from the history of the Japanese occupation or perhaps such criticism had fallen out of fashion somewhat.

iv. <u>1957 Textbook</u>: Guoli bianyiguan 國立編譯館. <u>Guomin xuexiao guoyu keben gaoji: disi ce</u> 國民學校國語課本高級: 第四冊 [The National School Chinese Textbook Advanced Level: Book Number Four]. Taipei: Guoli bianyiguan 國立編譯館, revised edition 1957.

Chapter Seventeen: Wu Feng- Part One.

In Taiwan Province, Shekou Village, Zhongpu District, Jiayi County, there is a Loyal King's Temple (that is) extremely dignified and serene. Here for one hundred and eighty years Mr.Wu Feng, who sacrificed his own life for the sake of education and for the sake of improving customs, has been worshipped.

Wu Feng's public name was Yuan Hui 元 輝. He was born in the Qing Dynasty, during the thirty-eighth year of the Kangxi reign period (1699) in Pinghe County, Zhangzhou Prefecture, Fujian Province. When he was young he followed his father and mother to Taiwan. He had a quiet disposition, liked to study, and thought intently [about his studies]. At that time the mountain people 山地人 and the Hans who had come to (Taiwan) were living together (in the same area). Because their customs and habits were different, this often created many misunderstandings and disputes. Wu Feng was the very first to study the mountain Aborigines language, to research their customs and habits, and teach them farming and handicrafts. This made most of the mountain people 山地人 respect and feel close to him.

When he was twenty four years old, he became the Ali Shan liaison and then demonstrated his genius for being responsible. On the one hand he pacified the mountain people 山地人, and on the other hand he resolved the quarrels between the mountain

people and the Hans. He took a lawless, chaotic place and made everybody observe all the rules and regulations. When speaking of liaison Wu, everyone was pleased and was truly obedient. The government also knew that he was able to manage affairs and that he consistently pursued his liaison official duties. So the government continued to give him this office

Since a long time ago, every year at the end of autumn, when worshipping the deity of grain, the Ali Mountain people 山地人 always used a human head to offer in worship. They believed that if they didn't offer a human head in worship their deity would become angry and disturb them so that there would not be an annual harvest. Of course the mountain people 山地人 went to look for the human head outside of their community, so many travelers became sacrificial objects for this evil custom.

Wu Feng knew that this kind of superstition would not be easy to change. Early on, he prepared a banquet and invited the mountain people's 山地人 representatives to eat and drink. When they were feeling in good spirits, Wu Feng proclaimed:

> "Killing people is a bad practice and a crime that will bring about capital punishment When you worship your deity you don't need to kill people. If you definitely want to use a human head when you worship your deity, I know you previously had killed over forty Hans. So each year use one of those heads. When they are used up then we will discuss this again. If you don't report it to the liaison and go out to kill people, I will definitely seriously punish offenders."

Wu Feng also gave them many textiles, fat sheep, and big pigs to help in their rituals. The mountain people 山地人 could not help but submit to this agreement. So the Ali

Mountain people went through forty years of worshipping without the taking of people's lives.

Chapter Eighteen: Wu Feng (Part-Two):

By the thirty-first year of the Qianlong reign period (1766), the forty heads had been used up, so again the mountain people 山地人 went to Wu Feng for a head to offer in worship. Wu Feng on the one hand tried reason to convince them, and on the other hand used the law to intimidate them, and with great effort he put it off. He delayed it for three years, but by chance there was a harvest famine. The mountain people 山地人 thought this was done by (their deity) to rebuke them. They took Wu Feng's procrastination as untrustworthiness and would no longer willingly listen to what he said.

Six days before the mid-autumn festival of the thirty-fourth year of the Qianlong 乾隆 reign period (1769) a group of mountain people 山地人 surrounded the liaison's branch office in Shekou Village and loudly called out:

"We want a human head! You must keep your promise!"

Their brawling sound shook the roof tiles. A hoary headed Wu Feng came out composed and sat at the meeting hall. As soon as the mountain people 山地人 saw him they knelt down and revered (him).

They said, "Please bestow on us a human head as a sacrificial item!"

The mountain people cried. Wu Feng also cried.

Wu Feng said, "Killing people is a bad practice that you cannot do. Since you definitely

want a human head, tomorrow I will give you one. Near the office there will be a person wearing a red robe and a red head scarf! You may go and kill him! But by killing this man you will offend the spirits of heaven and earth. It is not clear what kind of retribution there will be. If you are not afraid then go kill him!"

As soon as the mountain people 山地人 heard his permission to kill the person, they all kowtowed and praised him, and happily dispersed. On the tenth day of the eight month when it was almost noon there were tens of mountain people 山地人 in Shekou Village wearing battle clothes. They set themselves in an encircling formation.

Sure enough they saw a man wearing red clothes and a red scarf slowly walking. With a great shout they struck him down and cut off his head.

Carefully they looked [at the head] and lo and behold it was seventy-one year old Wu Feng. They shouted,

"Liaison Wu! Liaison Wu! Oh my God! Oh my God!"

Some fell over. Some turned around and around, ran around wildly, and screamed wildly, completely heartbroken.

After Wu Feng died the mountain people 山地人 cried. The Hans also cried. The good people at that place became sick, and the sick dreamed of Wu Feng. Healthy men went crazy and the crazy people encountered Wu Feng. Some people saw Wu Feng walking in the rain. Some people saw Wu Feng fly by riding on a cloud. Some people saw Wu Feng riding a running horse. After this, when floods came there was no one who could lead in protecting against them. When there were landslides there was no one who could guide others to repair them. When there was a fight there was no one to mediate

and resolve the problem. The mountain people 山地人 gradually realized that they had made a mistake. Those who had surrounded and killed Wu Feng all cried and hit their own faces and hands. They rubbed dirt into their eyes.

The leaders of the Ali Mountain forty-eight villages all made a decision not to use human heads for worship (ever) again. They set up an image of Wu Feng. Everyone bowed down and swore an oath saying:

> "Even if the water in the Ba Zhang stream dries up, we will not kill people again."

After this Ali Mountain changed into a rational, lawful place (where everyone) lived in peace and contentment."

Analysis:

In this 1957 version Taiwan is identified as a Province. Although this is quite a subtle indication, it is actually very political. By maintaining that Taiwan is a province, it also maintains that the mainland and Taiwan are not independent. This is the stance that the PRC has also always maintained. But the PRC government and ROC government have each maintained that they alone have authority over both Taiwan and the Mainland. Therefore it is not surprising then that 1950's elementary Taiwan textbooks would promote Taiwan and Mainland unification while also maintaining that the ROC was in control of it all.

In this version there is less discussion of the history of Wu Feng and his immigration from the Fujian. This may simply be due to editing of the earlier version. But there also may be a subtle change in how Taiwan elementary students are taught to understand their history. In this story it may be especially important to de-emphasize the local Hans as immigrants. Since portraying the Hans as immigrants serves to make their claim to Taiwan as illegitimate when compared to the Aborigines who had originally been on the island long before Han settlers. In fact, in this version there is also no discussion of how the settlers or officials bullied and cheated the Aborigines out of their land.

There is also no mention of the famous Aborigine uprising of Zhu Yigui. Interestingly, there is also no discussion of where the "forty heads" of the Man Qing 滿清 Dynasty, the Manchu ruled Qing dynasty, soldiers in the story came from. Wu Feng simply notes, "I know you previously had killed over forty Han people. So each year use one of those heads." The gruesome tale of the forty Qing soldiers beheaded by Aborigines in this historical Aboriginal rebellion is completely white-washed out of this version of the story.

This perhaps serves to again distance Taiwanese children from their history of racial tension, bloodshed, and Aboriginal resistance.

In this version there is also no mention of the Japanese. While this may just be an editing change, perhaps it again serves to disassociate the ROC's subjects from any historical ties to the Japanese rule.

In this version the terminology for Aborigines changes once again. They are not referred to as *fan*. Now they are called Mountain People 山地人. This term is seemingly not derogatory in nature. But it does seem to mark their separateness. Aborigines are marked as seperate by their locale, the mountains. But this locale in the deep mountains actually implies the traditional understanding of racial separateness in the ROC as it did during the Japanese occupation (Faure, 64).

v. <u>1963 Music Textbook</u> Li, Yonggang 李永剛. <u>Guomin xuejiao yinyue: diqi ce</u> 國民學教音樂:第七冊. [National Public School Music: Book Number Seven]. Taibei: Guoli bianyiguan guankan 國立編譯館館刊, 1963. "Lesson 9:

A Wu Feng Song
(Sing Solo)

Heaven has the sun. Mankind has Wu Feng.

He is like the moon on a dark night. Wu Feng is our eyes.

When the famine came he exempted us from tax. Everyday he mediated disputes for us.

He taught us to read, he taught us to plough; he taught us to weave; he taught us to sew.

On Ali Mountain there is a Divine Tree. In our hearts there is Wu Feng!

Wu Feng is our Deity. Wu Feng is our Spirit!

Analysis:

This music text is different from the above full story texts. Although this song is shorter than the full story text, the message is just as clear. This song is loaded with references to Wu Feng as almost a religious like figure. Wu Feng is likened to the moon, to a deity, to the spirit of mankind. It also becomes clear that the "us" in this song is referring to the Aborigines of Taiwan. This may have had quite a psychological impact on the singer of the lyrics who adopts the role of the Aborigines.

According to the story, Wu Feng is supposed to have taught the Aborigines advanced Han technology such as farming techniques and the use of ploughs. The above 1963 textbook also notes that Wu Feng taught the Aborigines advanced textile technology such as sewing and weaving. While Wu Feng himself may not necessarily have taught the Aborigines textile technology, but I speculate that this may be a reference to the advanced technology of the Hans.

The Aborigines originally did not produce their own woven cloth and obtained cloth only by means of trade. Actually Aborigine "demand for cloth was originally depressed by two factors, native clothing was already available in a wide range of materials: skins (leather and furs), bark cloth, and woven blends of ramie dogs' hair. But more important, Taiwan enjoys subtropical weather for much of the year, and the natives could wear little if any clothing quite comfortably" (Sheppard, 36). Therefore the Aborigines did not have a need for woven cloth. But later they adopted Chinese cloth and dress. Even under the Dutch rule, as observed in 1650 by the island visitor John Struys, " 'Most Aborigines, when not wearing traditional native attire, dressed in Chinese clothes rather than European'. The Chinese were more numerous in the colony, and their clothing was

“undoubtedly cheaper and in greater supply” (Sheppard, 37). Therefore the Aborigines may have historically adopted woven clothing from Han settlements and Han trade.

Therefore this aspect of the 1963 music text may be a subtle reference to advanced textile technology which the Hans did possess and the Aborigines lacked. I speculate that Wu Feng here, as the symbolic Han intermediary to the Aborigines, is therefore credited with passing on these “Han” skills to the Aborigines.

This song also refers to Wu Feng as exempting the Aborigines from tax. According to earlier sources of the legend, Wu Feng helped the Aborigines mediate disputes and in a way “saved” them from famine by providing them with heads, but in earlier sources Feng did not help the Aborigines by means of tax exemption. This is another variation on the story’s plot.

In this song there also seems to be some folklore associated with Wu Feng and a divine tree. However I have not come across what this is referring to in my own research. There is also no reference to this divine tree in earlier Wu Feng legend sources.

vi. <u>1966 Textbook</u> Guoli bianyiguan 國立編譯館. *Guomin xuexiao guoyu keben chuji diba ce* 國民學校國語課本初級: 第八冊 [National School Chinese Language Textbook Beginner Level: Book Number Eight]. Taipei: Guoli bianyiguan 國立編譯館, 1966.

Wu Feng_吳鳳

More than a hundred and eighty years ago there was a man by the name of Wu Feng. When he was young, he followed his mother and father from their ancestral home in Fujian and moved to Taiwan. They lived beside Ali Mountain 阿里山 in Jiayi County 嘉義縣. He was smart and capable. Besides working sedulously for his own family everyday, he also would go teach the neighboring Mountain Compatriots 高山同胞 to sow seeds, plant sprouts, and make tools. So everyone respected and loved him.

After a while the government assigned him to work as the Ali Mountain liaison and manage the Ali Mountain Compatriots. Wu Feng took care of them as if he were the head of a household, educated them as if he were a teacher, and helped them as if he were a friend. Before long, he had changed a lawless, godless, chaotic place, and administered it into a very orderly place.

In the past the Ali Mountain Compatriots 阿里山同胞 had a kind of savage 野蠻 custom. Every year at the time of the late autumn sacrifices to their deity they would hunt people's heads to provide an offering. Wu Feng knew this was an age-old superstition, and it would not be easy to immediately get rid of it. So, he made a rule that

one of the heads of the more than forty Hans 漢人, who had been killed during the previous disorderly era, would be given to them every year to provide their offering. After more than forty years the human heads were used up, and the Mountain Compatriots 山地同胞 again requested Wu Feng to allow them to hunt human heads to sacrifice to their deity.

Wu Feng again and again admonished and warned them. But the Mountain Compatriots 山地同胞 did not listen at all. Wu Feng was extremely sad, then crying he said to the mountain compatriots 山地同胞,

> "Killing people is a bad thing. If you definitely want to kill someone, tomorrow at noon in my office's neighborhood there will be a man wearing a red gown and red hat. You can kill him!"

The next day at noon several dozen Mountain Compatriots 山地同胞 carrying knives, spears, and bows and arrows waited there. As expected they saw a person far away wearing a red gown and hat coming closer. In one voice they shouted, then knocked down that person and cut his head off. Carefully they took a look. It was non-other than their beloved and respected Wu Feng! At that time they seemed as if they had gone crazy. They cried and screamed. Some hit their own hands and some hit their own faces. They couldn't feel enough remorse. From then on in order to honor the memory of Wu Feng they themselves got rid of that savage custom.

Analysis:

Some basic differences appear between this version and the earlier versions. For instance, the moralizing preface of the earlier 1950s versions is not seen here. Similarly, there is also no mention of the Zhu Yigui 朱一貴 rebellion again nor Han abuse of the Aborigines. As well, there is not any mention of the Japanese in this text.

But some subtler differnces appear as well. In this version the Aborigine custom of head hunting is referred to as 'savage' 野蠻. Referring to Aborigine customs as "savage" evokes traditional derogatory sentiments towards Aborigine customs, but it is interesting to note that in later versions the word 'savage' is edited out of the textbook.

In this 1966 version the terminology for Aborigines changes again; they are referred to as Mountain Compatriots 山同胞. While the term Mountain Compatriots 山同胞 may have originated from a reference to the ROC's fears of Communist activity in the mountainous areas of Taiwan (Faure, 60), the term *tongbao* 同胞, meaning literally "of the same womb (as the Hans)", does imply a kind of inclusiveness. Perhaps the use of this inclusive terminology in the 1960s presented in Taiwan elementary reader textbooks again subetly serves to "include" or assimilate Aborigines.

This version also presents more of a strict Wu Feng. He is not soft-spoken or completely passive. The text notes that he intimidated the Aborigines: that "Wu Feng again and again admonished and intimidated the Aborigines" *Wu Feng zai san quan shuo dong he shan bao* 吳鳳再三勸說, 恫嚇 , 山胞. The use of *dong he* 恫嚇, to intimidate, is very forceful language. Interestingly, the next version edits out the use of *dong he* 恫嚇 , and the image of Wu Feng is softened, as is the tension between the Hans and Aborigines.

vii. 1968 Textbook Guoli bianyiguan 國立編譯館. *Guomin xuexiao guoyu keben: diba ce* 國民學校國語課本:第八冊 [National School Chinese Language Textbook: Book Number Eight]. Taipei: Guoli bianyiguan 國立編譯館, 1968.

Section Number Ten: Kindheartedness

Wu Feng was a man of the Qing Dynasty period, Pinghe County, Fujian Province. When he was young, he went with his father and mother and moved to Taiwan. They lived in Jiayi beside Ali Mountain.

From a young age, he was very intelligent and capable. He was successful in studying the mountain region's language. Besides helping his father and mother with work, everyday he would pass on his knowledge of methods to plough and sow, and make handicrafts to the Mountain Compatriots 山地同胞. Therefore he was greatly respected by them. Afterwards, the government assigned him to be the Ali Mountain liaison. After he took office he not only did not treat the Mountain Compatriots 山地同胞 with prejudice but, on the one hand, he placated them, and on the other hand he settled the disputes between them and the Hans. He took a chaotic and lawless place and managed it very well.

At this time the Ali Mountain Compatriots 同胞 had a kind of savage 野蠻 headhunting custom. Every year they would use a Han person's skull to offer in worshiping the grain deity. This was to entreat the grain deity's favor so that the coming year's crops would produce a better harvest.

After Wu Feng had arrived at his post he thought exhaustively about what to do. He wanted to eliminate this superstitious custom, but to no avail. Finally he had no choice but to consent to the Mountain Compatriots 山地同胞. He took the heads of the forty Manchu Qing[6] *ManQing* 滿清 soldiers who had been killed in a past insurrection, and every year gave them [the Mountain Compatriots 山地同胞] one of the soldier's heads to offer in worship.

After more than forty years all the heads had been used up. At this time, as chance would have it, there was a disastrous crop failure! The Mountain Compatriots 山同胞 had no grain to eat. So again they went to beseech Wu Feng to allow them to continue with head-hunting in order to offer a head in worshiping the grain deity. At this time the seventy-one year old liaison Wu Feng again and again (tried) to persuade them. But they would not comply.

Thereupon crying he said to the Mountain Compatriots 山同胞 ,

> "If you must do this, then tomorrow at noon, there will be a man wearing red clothes and a red hat that will pass near my office. You can take his head! Just cut it off and worship your deity!"

6

Refers to the Manchu controlled Qing Dynasty (1644-1911).

The next day at noon the Mountain Compatriots 山胞 , sure enough, saw a man there. Then they were upon him in swarms and killed him. But when they carefully looked (at this man), lo and behold, it was none other than their most respected and beloved old liaison Wu Feng. They were utterly astounded and deeply regretful.

Everyone knelt on the ground and it seemed as if they went crazy crying and yelling, extremely broken-hearted. Because they had been moved by Wu Feng's great human dignity, from then on they did not kill people. The awful custom of the Ali Mountain was finally given up. Because they wanted to memorialize Wu Feng, they honored him as the Ali Mountain deity, and constructed a temple in which to offer sacrifices to him forever.

In order to change an awful custom and encourage humanism, Wu Feng did not mind sacrificing his own life. The great spirit of this kind of benevolence is truly worthy of our utmost respect!

Moral: In achieving humaneness, one disregards the self in order to rescue other people.

Analysis:

In this version the Aborigines are again referred to as Mountain Compatriots *shan di tong bao* 山地同胞 which is only a slight variation on the theme of inclusive terminology. But "*tong bao*", a term that (in principle) is used to identify those of Han descent, those "literally of the same womb", is again applied to the Taiwanese Aborigines. Why is it that Taiwanese Aborigines, whom anthropologists believed to have originated from places spanning from Malaysia to Polynesia, now become of the "same womb" as the Chinese? (Faure, 48) This term now includes, rather than excludes, Aborigines for elementary readers in a very political and calculated way.

Again, in this text there is no discussion of how the Aborigines had killed the forty soldiers. The historical Aborigine rebellion is taken out of the story. Instead, it is Wu Feng that is in control of the forty heads from what is simply noted as a "past insurrection". "He took the heads of the forty Manchu Qing 滿清, soldiers who had been killed in a past insurrection and every year gave them [the Mountain Compatriots 山地同胞] one of the soldier's heads to offer in worship." This severely contrasts with earlier versions.

It should also be noted that Manchu-Qing soldiers may not indicate that they were Hans. If the soldiers that were killed were Manchus under the Qing dynasty then they were necessarily Hans. This subtle wording may intentionally serve to "save face". It shifts the focile point of the defeat of Hans (by Aborigines), to the defeat of Manchus or Hans under the leadership of the Manchus.

In this version the image of Wu Feng is softened to an even greater extent than in previous versions. Now Wu Feng is not noted as "admonishing or intimidating" the Aborigines but rather he merely persuades them. "At this time the seventy-one year old liaison Wu Feng again and again (tried) to persuade them," *zhe shi, qi shi sui de lao tong shi, zai san quan shuo*, 這時, 七十歲的老通事, 再三勸說. Here the forceful tone of "intimidate" *dong he* 恫嚇 is edited out of this version and Wu Feng's legend is softened to an even greater extent.

It is also interesting to note that in this version the Aborigines built the Wu Feng Temple and worshipped him as a deity. This is the first instance in the textbooks in which the Aborigines are credited with actually constructing the Wu Feng temple, although references to Aborigines worshiping Wu Feng as a deity is often mentioned in these in earlier textbook versions.

The final moral in this story is also indicative of the entire sentiment of the text. "Moral: In achieving humaneness, one disregards the self in order to rescue other people." This serves to continue to promote a kind of selfless martyrdom to the students often prevalent in traditional Chinese moral stories. The children of the ROC are being socialized for self-sacrifice, which, under the guise of morality, may easily be manipulated for self-sacrifice for other political purposes. This is also apparent in later texts.

viii. 1969 Textbook: Guoli bianyiguan 國立編譯館. Guomin xuexiao guoyu keben: diba ce 國民學校國語課本:第八冊 [National School Chinese Language Textbook: Book Number Eight]. Taibei: Guoli bianyiguan 國立編譯館, 1969.

Five: Wu Feng

In the Qing Dynasty there was a man called Wu Feng. When he was young he followed his father and mother from their ancestral home in Fujian and moved to Taiwan. They lived in Jiayi County beside the Ali Mountain. (Wu Feng) was intelligent and capable. Every day, besides toiling for his own family, he also taught the neighborhood Mountain Compatriots 高山同胞 how to sow seeds, plant spouts and make tools, so everyone greatly respected and loved him.

Afterwards the government appointed him to act as the Ali Mountain liaison and manage relations with the Mountain Compatriots 高山同胞. Wu Feng took care of them as if he were the head of a family. He educated them as if he were a teacher. He helped them as if he were a friend. Before long, he took a savage place and managed it into an orderly and well run place.

In the past the Ali Mountain Compatriots 高山同胞 had a savage 野蠻 custom. Every year, at the end of autumn when they worshiped their deity they would hunt for a human head to offer up for worship. Wu Feng knew that this superstition of many years would not be easy to immediately eliminate, so he stipulated that he would give them (the Mountain Compatriots 高山同胞) one of the heads of the more than forty Hans killed in a past disturbance to offer up for worship every year.

After more than forty years, the human heads had all been used up. The Mountain Compatriots again went to Wu Feng to ask him to be allowed to hunt people's heads for worshiping their deity. Wu Feng again and again urged them [to cease this practice] but the Mountain Compatriots 高山同胞 did not listen at all. Wu Feng was extremely sad. Then crying he said to the Mountain Compatriots 高山同胞,

> "Killing People is a bad thing. If you definitely want to kill someone, tomorrow morning in my office's neighborhood there will be a man wearing a red gown and a red hat. Just go ahead and kill him!"

The next day in the morning there were several tens of Mountain Compatriots 高山同胞 carrying knives, spears, and bows and arrows waiting there. As expected, they saw a person wearing a red gown and a red hat riding a white horse. In one voice they yelled, then knocked down that person and cut his head off. Carefully they took a look, and it was none other than their beloved and respected Wu Feng.

At that time it seemed as if they went crazy. They cried and screamed loudly. Some of them bit their own hands and hit their own faces. They couldn't feel enough remorse. From then on, in order to honor Wu Feng, they got rid of this savage custom themselves.

Analysis:

In the 1969 version the Aborigines are referred to as the "tall" Mountain Compatriots 高山同胞 rather than Mountain Compatriots 山地同胞. But this is such a subtle variation that it may have no real significance.

Again, in this version the historical Aborigine rebellion is taken out of the text. Wu Feng is completely in control of the heads of these killed soilders. The text notes that Wu Feng "stipulated that he would give the (Mountain Compatriots 山同胞) one of the heads of the more than forty Hans killed in a past disturbance to offer up for worship every year." Again this is quite different from the early 1950s versions. But in this version these soilders are no longer identified as Manchu-Qing now they are identified as Hans that are killed. It is not clear why the text reverts back to Hans that are killed.

In this version Wu Feng is depicted as a kind sage, as a Han that bestowed upon the Aborigines "farming and handicraft" technology. "Every day, besides toiling for his own family, he also taught the neighborhood Mountain Compatriots 山同胞 how to sow seeds, plant spouts and make tools.so everyone greatly respected and loved him." While the tone in this text is patronizing to the Aborigines, there is some evidence that the Aborigines did adopt the more advanced farming technology of the Han settlers.

It seems that the Aborigines did, in fact, not posses a great deal of sophisiticated agricultural technology. According to the first Dutch missionary account of the island, "The natives lacked plows, scythes, and draft animals and had to farm only with hoes, pick axes, and knives" (Sheppard, 32). I speculate that the reference to Wu Feng teaching the Aborigines farming, etc. may be a reference to the Han settler's historically advanced technology.

In the final death sceneWu Feng is also seen riding a white horse, whereas in other versions Wu Feng walks to the Aborigines to be killed. This may be inserted in the story for dramatic affect, or possibly to indicate the high status of Wu Feng. A white horse here may simply be a symbol of prestige.

ix. <u>1971 Teacher's Manuel</u>: Guoli bianyiguan 國立編譯館. *Guowen kejiao keshu: disi ce* 國文科教科書:第四冊 [Teacher's Manuel for Chinese Literature: Volume Four]. Taipei: Guoli bianyiguan 國立編譯館, 1971.

"Fifteen: The Story of Wu Feng_ (The footnotes are included in the book)

Wu Feng's public name was Yuan Hui 元輝. He was a man from Fujian Province, Pinghe County. In his youth he followed his father and mother to Taiwan to engage in business. They lived among the Mountain Tribes 高山族 for a long time. He practiced their language, knew their customs and habits, taught them to cultivate, use technology, and how to make handicrafts. Because of this the Tribal People 族人 could not help but be close to and respect him. The Mountain Tribes 高山族 lived altogether in the mountains.

Note : The Compiler's Main Points

8.2 This text….is used in the language practice, to promote concepts of ethics, a democratic
demeanor, and scientific spirit, arouse sentiments of patriotism, and make the Chinese National culture
known far and wide.

8.5 Analyze-Introduce the style of this text, the essay's main points, and its component divisions.

Their livelihood was difficult and in addition, [the Han] officials craftily cheated (them) so that they barely could survive. In the sixtieth year of the Kangxi reign period (1721), in Zhu Yigui's rebellion, the tribal people 族人 rose up in hordes in response.

More than forty officials were killed. When the rebellion was calmed and stabilized, the government carefully selected officials. The main idea was to pacify (the tribal people). They knew Wu Feng was honest and capable of doing this, so they appointed him as the Ali Mountain liaison. At the time Feng was only twenty-four.

In the mountains there was an old custom that every year at the autumn ceremony for offering sacrifices to the harvest deity, they would kill a passerby and offer the head for worship. Wu Feng tried to eliminate this awful custom and forbid it. Although he used every means to accomplish this, the tribal people 族人 would not heed (him).

Thereupon he said,

> "In the former rebellion more than forty officials were killed; you should offer in sacrifice one of those heads at a time. There are enough that you could offer them for more than forty years of worship."

The tribal people 族人 had no choice but to begrudgingly accept and comply.

For forty-eight years they all did this, Wu Feng acted as the liaison as before, and the head hunting stopped. On the ninth day of the eight month of the thirty-fourth year of the Qianlong reign period (1769), due to the year's crop failure the tribal people 族人 surrounded the liaison's office. They pleaded for a human head in order to pray for a

good harvest year. Wu Feng appeared, and the crowd all prostrated themselves and wept bitterly. Feng was sad and could not stand it. Finally he said,

> "You must not have such harmful practices in your heart. Tomorrow there will be a person wearing red clothing and a red hat passing here. You may take his head."

Notes: The Compiler's Main Points:

[8.6] Topic instruction- Focus on what the text expresses, the thinking, the spirit, and the writing style of the text. Plus, use appropriate discussion in order to extend the instruction to the entire essay, and afterwards lead the students to have a deeper understanding and application.

[8.14]

The crowd got what they wanted and happily left. The next day the crowd sure enough came upon a red-dressed and red-hatted person walking alone on the road. They went straight ahead and killed him. They looked at his head and examined it, and it was the seventy-one year old liaison Wu Feng. Everyone fell to the ground and wailed, wept, and struck themselves. They regretted this to no end. Moreover the elders of the forty-eight Ali Mountain villages swore an oath among themselves saying,

"(Until) this river dries up, we will not use lances and spears [to kill people]!" Up to the present day, when people speak of Wu Feng the Taiwanese people 臺人 all say,

"Benevolent Sage! Benevolent Sage!"

Since the text clearly explains and analyzes the paragraphs, and hints at the intent, it is convenient to lecture and discuss, and there is no need for other teaching guidance. This text is sufficient for students to use for preparation and deep research, and it is enough(for the students) to use for application (of these ideas). It is not necessary to use other teaching supplements

Analysis:

This 1971 teacher's manual is particularly useful in my investigation of the intent of Wu Feng's tale. The manual has been designed for teachers and includes explanatory notes on exactly how to teach the tale. The notes provided to teachers also give guidance on what points to emphasize. I did not translate each and every footnote but tried to translate those I found to be quite substantive. I found footnotes, 8.2, 8.5, 8.6, and 8.14 particualrly of interest. Below, I analyze these footnotes in greater depth and then attempt to summarize the remainder of the other footnotes found in the teacher's manual. .

Note 8.2 , "This text….is used in the language practice, to promote concepts of ethics, a democratic demeanor, and scientific spirit, arouse sentiments of patriotism, and make the Chinese national culture known far and wide.", is of particular interest. It is quite telling that teacher's manual's instructions stresses political messages of democracy, patriotism, and "national culture" in such a story as Wu Feng, but in fact that this mannuel stress that the teacher should use this story to evoke sentiments of patriotism is very appropriate for early ROC classroom instruction.

Similarly, note 8.5 instructs the teacher to "introduce the style of this text, the essay's main points, and component divisions." Note 8.6 urges the teacher to "focus on what the text expresses, the thinking, the spirit, and the writing style of the text. Plus use appropriate discussion in order to extend the instruction to the entire essay, and afterwards lead the students to have a deeper understanding and application". These notes urge the teacher to encourage students to deeply analyze this story and use discussion and understand "the thinking, the spirit, and the writing style of the text". The teacher is urged to guide the students in in-depth literary analysis of this story suggesting

the careful attention paid to the Wu Feng story. Students are encouraged to delve into the content of this story, but the content of this text hinges around a disgraceful portrayal of Aborigines, a deeper underlying martryism and "spirit" of nationalism.

Note 8.14 is also quite provocative. It notes "since the text clearly explains and analyzes the paragraphs and hints at the intent, it is convenient to lecture and discuss, and there is no need for other teaching guidance. This text is sufficient for students to use for preparation and deeply research, and (for the students) to use for application (of these ideas). It is not necessary to use other teaching supplements." Again why would this note indicate that other methods or sources should not be used for explaitions of this story. There are earlier sources and methods for teaching this legend that could have been used to enrich this version of the story and this story's history. But instead, the teacher is urged to strictly stick to the text. This is quite suspect. Perhaps the compliers of the text aimed to have the students understand the themes of this version of the story with a very particular and calculated mindset.

(There are numerous other footnotes found in this teacher's mannuel. I neglect to include all of their in the text because many of them actually refer to Chinese language study rather than offering further key points for analysis. Notes 8.1, 8.3, and 8.4 refer to the author of the text, the meaning of characters, and the colloquial style of the story's language, note 8.7 refers to how to conduct student's homework assignments, while all of sub-notes under 8.9 refers to methods for Chinese language study. Notes 8.10-8.12 refer to how teachers may use this text to prompt students to analyze this work to the best of their ability, to write essays, to test, etc. While 8.13 refers to how teachers should use this text in each appropriate situation in each appropriate context.)

The actual text of the 1971 version of this story also contains a few points worthy of investigating. In the text Aborigines are first referred to as mountain tribes 高山族. This term maintains a very neutral stance but again maintains a separateness, indicating a subtle racial distinction by their locale in the mountains. But towards the end of the story the Mountain Tribes 高山族 undergo a "racial transformation" after Wu Feng's death. This kind of racial transformation also occurs in earlier textbooks, such as the 1950, 1952, and 1954 versions. In this 1971 version, at first the Aborigines are first referred to as Mountain Tribes 高山族, but towards the end of the story they are referred to as Taiwanese people 臺人. This transformation again serves to subtlety legitimize the Wu Feng tale, in that the Mountain Tribes are "civilized" into 'Taiwanese people' after the death of Wu Feng. As noted above, the term Taiwanese People 臺人 is all encompassing and ambiguous at the same time. It suggests that the Aborigines have, in a sense, become nationalized and racially transformed into the amalgam of what constitutes the "Taiwanese".

Wu Feng's gentlemanly image is also emphasized in this version. At one point when Wu Feng is persuading the Aborigines he uses *jun* 君 the very polite form of "you". He speaks to the Aborigines very properly. His language epitomizes that of a Chinese gentleman, humble, polite, and formal.

x. 1975 Life and Ethics Textbook: Guoli bianyiguan 國立編譯館. Guomin xiaoxue, shenghuo yu lunli: diyi ce (sishang) 國民小學: 生活與倫理 第一冊 (四上) [The National Elementary Life and Ethics Textbook: Book Number One, section 4]. Taibei: Guoli bianyiguan 國立編譯館, 1975.

9: Righteousness

Wu Feng, Who Sacrificed His Life for a Righteous Cause

Think: Think about the following questions:

One: In what way did Wu Feng sacrifice his life for a righteous cause?

Two: Why does Jiayi County, Zhongpu District, have an Ali Mountain, Loyal King Shrine (Wu Feng Temple)?

Three: Wu Feng was a liaison at Ali Mountain for forty-eight years. What was his biggest contribution?

Take a look:

Look at the following picture:

Read:

Read the following story:

Wu Feng was a person who lived in the Qing dynasty. He was from Pinghe County, Fujian Province. When he was young he followed his father and mother to Taiwan. He lived in Luman town 鹿滿村, Zhuqi Village 竹崎鄉, Jiayi County. His father opened a general store there. Wu Feng was smart and capable. When he was young he and his father would often go to the mountain villages and do business with the mountain tribes 山地村落. Because of this Wu Feng mastered the Mountain Compatriot's

山胞 language and understood the Mountain Compatriot's 山胞 customs and habits. When he was twenty-four years old he was assigned to be the liaison for Ali Mountain and manage the Mountain Compatriots 山地同胞.

After Wu Feng became the Ali Mountain liaison he vigorously improved the lives of the Mountain Compatriots 山地同胞. He resolved disputes between them and the plains' people. Before long there was not one among the Ali Mountain area's Mountain Compatriots 山胞 who did not know liaison Wu, and there was not one who did not love and respect liaison Wu.

The Ali Mountain area Mountain Compatriots 山胞 at that time had a savage 野蠻 custom. Every year in late autumn they would hunt a person's head and offer it as a sacrifice to their deity, and pray to their deity for protection and to make the coming year's crops have an even better harvest. This was fundamentally a very superstitious practice. After Wu Feng assumed his post he thought exhaustively of ways to eliminate this kind of savage 野蠻 custom, but it was to no avail. He could only promise the Mountain Compatriots 山胞 that ever year he will give them one of the skulls of the more than forty Manchu-Qing soldiers killed in a past riot to use in their sacrifices.

After more than forty years had passed the skulls were all used up. By chance, at that time there was a serious crop failure. The Mountain Compatriots 山胞 did not have grain to eat. They once again implored Wu Feng to allow them to continue to hunt people's heads to offer as sacrifices to their deity. Wu Feng again urged them [to end this practice], but they were not willing to comply. Wu Feng thought of the forty some years that he had managed the mountain area and about this savage, superstitious, awful custom

but still he was unable to eliminate it. He was very sad in his heart. So, he poignantly said to the Mountain Compatriots 山胞,

"Randomly killing people is against the law, but if you must do this then tomorrow at noon in my office's neighborhood there will be a man wearing red clothes and a red hat passing by. Just kill him and cut off his head, and offer it as a sacrifice to your deity!"

The next day in the morning many Mountain Compatriots 山胞 holding knives and bows and arrows waited in Wu Feng's office's neighborhood. When it was almost noon, sure enough, they saw a person wearing red clothes and a red hat riding a white horse coming over. They yelled in one voice, aimed their bows and arrows at that man, and shot. Then they flocked forward and were about to take his head, but when they carefully took a look, lo and behold the man was none other than their most beloved and respected Interpreter Wu Feng. They were alarmed and deeply regretted killing such a good person as Interpreter Wu. Everybody knelt on the ground and wept and wailed bitterly and were extremely heartbroken.

The Mountain Compatriots 山胞 had received Wu Feng's sacrifice of his life for a righteous cause. (His) act of great morality moved them, and finally they came to the realization to eliminate this awful custom. From then on they did not kill people. In order to commemorate Wu Feng, the Mountain Compatriots 山胞 honored him as the Ali Mountain Deity. They also constructed a deity's temple to forever venerate him.

Report:

Talk about your reflections or what you have learned from the chapter's story you have read:

1. The reason that Wu Feng was appointed as the Ali Mountain liaison.

2. The manner in which Wu Feng managed the Mountain Compatriots 山地同胞

3. How did Wu Feng deal with the Ali Mountain Compatriots' 山地同胞 superstitious customs?

4. The result of Wu Feng sacrificing his life for a righteous cause.

Discussion:

Discuss and study the following questions together.

1) After Wu Feng became the liaison how did he treat the Ali Mountain Compatriots 阿里山地區的山胞?

2) Why was the Mountain Compatriot's 山胞 superstitious custom of using people's heads to offer as sacrifice difficult to eliminate?

3) Why did Wu Feng allow the Mountain Compatriots 山胞 to seek another head?

4) What kind of impact does Wu Feng sacrificing his life for a righteous cause have?

5) How can we eradicate superstitions?

Introspection and Practice:

Carefully examine each of the matters below with self-introspection; and also put them into practice.

1) If I saw some people treated unjustly, would I be able to be outraged for them by this injustice?

2) Would I be able to have a fair attitude in mediating disputes between friends?

3) Will I respect and endorse organizations or individuals who benefit other people?

4) If I were under duress would I be able to sacrifice my personal benefit for the benefit of helping the larger society?

Analysis of text:

It is clear that these *Life and Ethics* texts tend to promote a more morally didactic agenda than the other types of texts. Often the moral agenda may be seen in the questions and discussion, and introspection sections that accompany the text.

For instance, in this 1975 version one question presented to the reader is as follows, "In what way did Wu Feng sacrifice his life for a good cause?" In this case, Wu Feng's death is justified as for a 'good cause'. In its justification he is given a martyr like status. Martyr like death may also be likened to righteousness through the title, "Wu Feng, Who Sacrificed His Life for a Righteous Cause." The 1975 name of the Wu Feng story is "Righteousness" 正義 , also perhaps indicating the content of the story and/or moral and ethics the story aims to cultivate.

The actual text, like the other types of text, also has altered the earlier versions to fit into a contemporary context. This version of the tale glosses over disputes between the Aborigines and local Han people. It simply notes that Wu Feng improved the lives of the Aborigines but it does not go into further detail and does not say why. This serves to soften history and hide Han aggressiveness. It neutralizes and buries racial tensions.

In other differences, the historical Aboriginal uprising mentioned in this version is simply identified as "a past riot." Wu Feng is also in control of the "skulls" in this version, whereas in earlier versions the Aborigines are portrayed as in control of the skulls. In this case the skulls are again those of Manchu-Qing, who may or may not have been Hans, but like the version above, Wu Feng is again seen riding a White horse. Wu Feng's status may again heightened by the prestige of a white horse.

In this version it notes that the Aborigines construct the Wu Feng temple and honor him as a deity. This motif may be seen in earlier versions of this tale such as the 1952, 1954, 1963 and 1968 textbooks. However even in the first question in this book the language sets up a passive understanding of this temple's place in history. For instance, the text notes "Why does Jiayi County, Zhongpu District, have an Ali Mountain, Loyal King Shrine (Wu Feng Temple)?" This indicates the temple is already there. It may also indicate to the reader a kind of manifest destiny of the Wu Feng temple, of the veneration of Wu Feng, the assimilation of the Aborigines, and even of the Han, and ROC takeover of Taiwan.

The violence of the text has been softened for the reader as well. The story is dramatically softened, particularly in the final death scene. The text notes that Aborigines "*were about*" to take Wu Feng's head but they ultimately do not. Therefore they do not even take Wu Feng's head in this version. This is a severe shift from the original legend and again serves to whitewash this gruesome tale.

Analysis of the Report, Discussion, and Introspection and Practice Section

These sections allow *Life and Ethics* texts the opportunity to promote moral analysis of the reading for the students. Some questions that stand out in these sections are as follows,

"3. How did Wu Feng deal with the Ali Mountain Compatriots superstitious customs?"

The model of Wu Feng in this story as "dealing with" the superstitious customs may again be a reference to a new ideology of eliminating superstition, and reflects this new shift in the public condemnation of aspects of traditional beliefs systems among the Aborigines as well as Hans occurring in the contemporary ROC (Faure, 75).

“4. The result of Wu Feng sacrificing his life for a righteous cause.”

This is a loaded topic for discussion. Interestingly, in the text it notes that some of the results of Wu Feng dying for this noble cause are that the Aborigines built Wu Feng a temple and forever worshipped him, etc. In earlier texts, it is plainly noted that due to Wu Feng’s death, the Aborigines stopped headhunting. But in the 1975 version it only notes that they “eliminated this awful custom, and would not kill anyone again” 把惡習革除…從此以後, 再也不殺人. But this only refers to it as an “awful custom” and does not specifically point to their habit of headhunting. It merely notes that they would not 殺人 “kill [again]”. It does not note, however, that they would “not headhunt”. This may soften these stories for children and de-emphasize references to headhunting practices.

In the introspection and practice section the questions point to the character of Wu Feng as a model of behavior to imitate. For example, question five asks students,

“5. When it is necessary, will I be able to sacrifice my own benefit, in order to maintain the greater benefits of society?” This emphasizes that students should bring self-sacrifice into their daily lives.

xi. 1978 Life and Ethics Textbook: Guoli bianyiguan 國立編譯館. Guo min xiao xue, sheng huo yu lun li: di yi ce (si shang) 國民小學: 生活與倫理 第二冊 [The National Elementary Life and Ethics Textbook: Book Number Two]. Taibei: Guoli bianyiguan 國立編譯館, 1978.

"Chapter15, Section 16: Righteousness Wu Feng, Who Sacrificed His Life for a Righteous Cause

Think: Think about the following questions:

One: What kind of person was Wu Feng?"

Analysis:

Here I do not include the entire 1978 text because this text is exactly the same text as the 1975 text with one slight alteration. I therefore do not include an identical translation. I only analyze this slight difference. The first question presented to the students in the 1978 text asks "What kind of person was Wu Feng?". While in the 1975 version the first question presented to the reader asks "One: In what way did Wu Feng sacrifice his life for a righteous cause?". This difference is quite slight. I speculate that perhaps in asking a vague question it does not reveal the ending of the story to students at first.

xii. 1985: Life and Ethics Textbook: Guoli bianyiguan 國立編譯館. Guo min xiao xue, sheng huo yu lun li: di yi ce (si shang) 國民小學: 生活與倫理 第一冊 (四上) [The National Elementary Life and Ethics Textbook: Book Number One, section 4]. Taipei: Guoli bianyiguan 國立編譯館, 1985.

9: Righteousness Wu Feng, Who Sacrificed His Life for a Good Cause

Think: Think about the following questions:

One: How should one use just, fair conduct in treating people?

Two: Why does Jiayi County, Zhongpu District, have an Ali Mountain, Loyal King Shrine (Wu Feng Temple)?

Three: Wu Feng was a liaison at Ali Mountain for forty-eight years. What was his biggest contribution?

Take a look:

Look at the following picture:

Read:

Read the following story:

Wu Feng was a person who lived in the Qing dynasty. He was from Pinghe County, Fujian Province. When he was young, he followed his father and mother to Taiwan. They lived in Luman Town , Zuxi Village, Jiayi County. His father opened a general store there. Wu Feng was smart and capable. When he was young he and his father would often go to the mountain villages and do business with the mountain tribes 山地村落. Because of this Wu Feng mastered the Mountain Compatriot's 山胞 language and understood the Mountain Compatriot's 山胞 customs and habits. When he was

twenty-four years old, he was assigned to be the liaison for Ali Mountain and manage the Mountain Compatriots 山地同胞.

After Wu Feng became the Ali Mountain liaison he vigorously improved the lives of the Mountain Compatriots 山地同胞. At the same time he resolved the disputes between them and the plains people (Hans). Before long, they looked up to Wu Feng. In the Ali Mountain area, there was no one who did not recognize and there was no who did not know the name of Wu Feng. Everyone loved and respected this Liaison Wu Feng very much.

The Ali Mountain area Mountain Compatriots 山胞 at that time had a particular custom. Every year in late autumn they would hunt a person's head and offer it as a sacrifice to their deity, and pray to their deity for protection, and to make the coming year's crops have an even better harvest. This was a fundamentally very superstitious practice. After Wu Feng assumed his post he thought exhaustively of ways to eliminate this kind custom. But it was to no avail. He could only respond to the Mountain Compatriots 山胞 that every year he would give them one of the skulls of the more than forty Manchu-Qing soldiers killed in a past riot to use in their sacrifices.

After more than forty years had passed the skulls were all used up. By chance at that time there was a serious crop failure. The Mountain Compatriots 山胞 did not have grain to eat. They once again implored Wu Feng to allow them to continue to hunt people's heads to offer sacrifices to their deity. Wu Feng again urged them to end this practice, but they were not willing to comply. Wu Feng thought of the forty some years that he had managed the mountain area and about this superstitious, awful custom, but still he

was not able to eliminate it. He was very sad in his heart, so he poignantly said to the Mountain Compatriots 山胞,

> "Randomly killing people is against the law, but if you must do this, then tomorrow at noon in my office's neighborhood there will be a man wearing red clothes and a red hat passing by. Just kill him and cut off his head, and offer it as a sacrifice to your deity!"

The next day, in the morning, several dozen Mountain Compatriots 山胞 holding knives and bows and arrows waited in Wu Feng's office's neighborhood. When it was almost noon, sure enough, they saw a person wearing red clothes and a red hat riding a white horse coming over. They yelled in one voice, aimed their bows and arrows at that man, and shot. Then they flocked forward and were about to take his head, but when they carefully took a look, lo and behold, the person that was shot to death was none other than their most beloved and respected Liaison Wu Feng. They were alarmed and deeply regretted mistakenly killing such a good person as Liaison Wu. Everybody kneeled on the ground and wept and wailed bitterly, and was extremely heartbroken.

The Mountain Compatriots 山胞 had received Wu Feng's sacrifice of his life for a righteous cause. (His) act of great morality moved them and finally (made them) come to the realization to eliminate this awful custom. From then on they did not kill people. In order to commemorate Wu Feng, the Mountain Compatriots 山胞 honored him as the Ali Mountain Deity. They also constructed a deity's temple for him to forever venerate him.

Report:

Talk about your reflections or what you have learned from the chapter's story you have read:

1. The reason that Wu Feng was appointed as the Ali Mountain liaison.

2. The manner in which Wu Feng managed the Mountain Compatriots 山地同胞.

3. How did Wu Feng deal with the Ali Mountain Compatriots' 山地同胞 superstitious customs?

4. The result of Wu Feng sacrificing his life for a righteous cause.

Discussion:

Together discuss and research the questions below.

1) After Wu Feng became the liaison, how did he treat the Ali Mountain Compatriots 阿里山地區的山胞?

2) Why was the Mountain Compatriot's 山胞 superstitious custom of using people's heads to offer as sacrifice difficult to eliminate?

3) Why did Wu Feng promise to give the Mountain Compatriots 山胞 another head to use?

4) What kind of impact does Wu Feng sacrificing his life for a righteous cause have?

5) How can we eradicate superstitions?

Introspection: Put into Practice:

Carefully examine each of the matters below with self-introspection; be sure to also put them into practice.

1) I saw some people treated unjustly. Would I be able to be outraged for them by this injustice?

2) Am I able to have a fair attitude in mediating the disputes that friends ask me about?

3) Will I respect and endorse organizations or individuals who benefit other people?

4) When it is necessary will I be able to sacrifice my own benefit in order to maintain the greater benefits of society.

Analysis of the story:

The 1975 and 1978 versions of the story appear very similar to this 1985 version. But there are some significant differences. For instance, the first question presented to the reader in the 1975 version asks, "How did Wu Feng sacrifice his life for a just cause?", while in the 1978 version it asks, "What kind of person was Wu Feng?". In the 1985 version of this story the first questions presented to the reader is "How should one use just, fair conduct in treating people?" Perhaps the 1985 question is more moralistic and asks students to apply the morals of this story to their own lives more.

The 1975, the 1978, and the 1985 versions of this story generally gloss over disputes between the Aborigines and local people. They merely note that Wu Feng improved the lives of the Aborigines, but again it does not go into further detail.

In the 1975 and 1978 versions of the story it notes that the "Aborigines had a savage [*ye man* 野蠻] custom". But in this 1985 version of the story it notes that the Aborigines had a particular *te shu* 特殊 custom. This motif appears throughout the 1985 text in a number of different ways. In the 1975 and 1978 versions of the story it notes that "Wu Feng thought exhaustively how to eliminate this kind of *savage* 野蠻 custom". But in the 1985 version it simply notes that "Wu Feng thought exhaustively how to eliminate this kind 種 of custom". This again is a very neutral way of handling the tension between Hans and Aborigines, since the traditional Han view of the Aborigines headhunting custom, not surprisingly, was as savage and uncivilized. It also serves to gloss over the violent custom of headhunting.

Again in both versions there is no mention of where the skculls came from. It is noted that Wu Feng will be in control of the skulls, but here the skulls are not nessecarily Hans but are "Manchu-Qing". It is unclear why the idenity continues to change back and forth from Han to Manchu.

Again, in the 1975 and 1978 versions of the story, it notes that "Wu Feng thought of the forty some years that he had managed the mountain area, concerning this 野蠻 savage, superstitious, awful custom." But in the 1985 version of the story, it notes that "Wu Feng thought of the forty some years that he had managed the mountain area, concerning this 種 *kind* of superstitious, awful custom."

Another significant difference may be found in the final death scenes. In the 1975 and 1978 versions they note that "the person that was *murdered* to death *bei sha si* 被殺死 was none other than their most loved and respected Wu Feng" But in the 1985 version, it notes that "the person that was *shot* to death [*bei she si* 被射死] was none other than their most loved and respected Wu Feng." This may serve to soften Wu Feng's actual violent death and further separate his death from any connection to headhunting.

Again, they do not actually cut off Wu Feng's head in any of the 1975, 1978, or 1985 versions of this story. The text simply notes that they were "about to take his head." This serves to alter the entire story. Ultimately it softens this entire legend and again diffuses historical and contemporary tensions between Aborigines and Hans.

Analysis of the illustrations:

The illustrations of the 1985 version differ from those of the 1975 and 1978 versions. It should be noted that the analysis of these illustrations is made only though second-hand reproductions. Therefore the quality, color, etc. of these illustrations which may have been quite useful for an in depth analysis have been lost. The illustrations of Wu Feng and the Aborigines in this text may emphasize certain traditional Chinese ideals. Wu Feng's body is fully clothed and modest. It seems to be contrasted with the muscular Aborigine body type that is portrayed in the illustration. This may indicate a slight contrast between Aborigines and Hans, and may reflect the Chinese cultural value of "brains verses brawn" often seen in Chinese moral tales (Meyer, 278).

In the first illustration Wu Feng is portrayed as working, while the Aborigine is portrayed as relaxing and smoking a pipe. This may also tie into Chinese cultural perceptions of Hans as industrious and Aborigines as lazy (Faure, 70). In all the other illustrations the Aborigines are portrayed as having weapons while Wu Feng does not, rather he is portrayed as a peaceful, scholarly, and wise sage.

In this illustration Wu Feng is portrayed as having lighter skin than the Aborigines which may reflect an actual racial difference between Aborigines and Hans, but it certainly plays on Han ideals of beauty and attractiveness. (Again, in working with reproductions it is not clear the exact skin tone intended in the illustrations).

Another aspect of the illustrations that may be indicative of Han perceptions of Aborigines is that the Aborigines are portrayed as being barefoot while the Hans are portrayed as wearing shoes. The Aborigines are also portrayed as having large feet while the Hans are depicted with very small feet. This difference in the illustration may

be a reflection of the Hans perception of the traditional racial distinction between Aborigines and Hans and again certainly ties into traditional concepts of Han attractiveness and beauty. (Brown, 11)

xiii. 1985 Social Studies Textbook: Guoli bianyiguan 國立編譯館. Guomin xiaoxue, shehui (ershang) 國民小學: 社會第三冊 (二上) [The National Elementary Social Studies Textbook: Book Number Three, section 2]. Taibei: Guoli bianyiguan 國立編譯館, 1985.

Two: Reforming Bad Customs

In the past the Mountain Compatriots 山地同胞

had the bad custom of using human heads to sacrifice to their deity.

Wu Feng was a capable liaison. The Mountain Compatriots 山地同胞 respected and

loved him very much. Wu Feng sacrificed his own life to eliminate the bad custom of the

Mountain Compatriots' 山地同胞 of using human heads to sacrifice to their

deity.

Analysis:

In this 1985 story we see a drastic change in the text. The readers are given quite the bare bones plot of the original story. Most detail is omitted. In this way the text and storyline is greatly softened compared to the earlier versions of this story.

There are also three large illustrations that accompany the text, but they actually do show that the Aborigines head-hunted through a gory picture. However, the illustration, like the text, does not show that Wu Feng was beheaded. The text simply notes that "Wu Feng sacrificed his own life to eliminate the bad custom of the Mountain Compatriots 山地同胞 using human heads to sacrifice to their deity" but it does not describe how Wu Feng did this. He simply "sacrificed his life". In fact, in the illustration for this text it is insinuated that he was shot to death. The illustration shows him with two arrows in his chest. His head remains attached to his body in the illustration while another Aborigine holding a knife is approaching Wu Feng's body.

Actually, the illustrations also serve to soften the entire tone of the story as well. In that they depict the Aborigines as almost childlike. This may serve to suggest their symbolic "pacification" or simple "child-like nature" in the eyes of the Han authorship.

xiv. <u>1986 Social Studies Textbook</u>: Guoli bianyiguan 國立編譯館. <u>Guomin xiaoxue, shehui (ershang)</u> 國民小學: 社會第三冊 (二上) [The National Elementary Schools Social Studies Textbook: Book Number Three, section 2]. Taipei: Guoli bianyiguan 國立編譯館, 1986.

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Wu Feng was a capable liaison. The Mountain Compatriots 山地同胞 respected and

loved him very much.

Wu Feng sacrificed his own life to eliminate the Mountain Compatriots' 山地同胞 bad

custom of using human people's heads to sacrifice to their deity."

Analysis:

Again in this 1986 story the bare bones plot of the original story is portrayed but most detail is omitted. In these 1986 illustrations, which differ slightly from the 1985 illustrations, again do show that the Aborigines head-hunted. In fact, the accompanying illustration denotes that it is specifically the Hans that are head-hunted. This is apparent because the severed head in the illustration has the hairstyle of the queue, the traditional hair style of male Chinese during the Qing Dynasty.

Again it is not shown that Wu Feng was beheaded. Instead it shows that Wu Feng was shot to death. This again matches the text. The text simply notes "he sacrificed his own life" and does not describe in further detail that he was beheaded.

Here the person approaching Wu Feng's body holds a bow, and a person near him holds a knife. The Aborigines are again portrayed as almost childlike with what appears as almost quasi-native American style outfits. Perhaps their "youth" indicates ignorance contrasted with Wu Feng's older "wise" age which is also depicted in the illustrations. There is no map included in these illustrations.

xv. 1987 Social Studies Textbook: Guoli bianyiguan 國立編譯館. Guomin xiaoxue, shehui disan ce (ershang) 國民小學: 社會第三冊 (二上) [National Elementary School Studies: Social Studies Textbook: Book Number Three, section 2]. Taibei: Guoli bianyiguan 國立編譯館, 1987.

Two: Reforming Bad Customs

In the past the Mountain Compatriots 山地同胞

had the bad custom of using human heads to sacrifice to their deity.

Wu Feng was a capable liaison. The Mountain Compatriots 山地同胞 respected and

loved him very much.

Wu Feng sacrificed his own life to eliminate the bad custom of the Mountain

Compatriots' 山地同胞 using human heads to sacrifice to their deity.

Analysis

Again in this 1987 story the bare bones plot of this version is identical to the 1985 and 1986 versions. While the text in this version notes that the Aborigines did headhunt, in this version it does not even show that the Aborigines headhunted though illustration. Instead, in this later version, it only shows them worshipping in a very vague way. As this is the last Social Studies Textbook with the Wu Feng story it is interesting that there is no in depth reference to headhunting and it is completely whitewashed out of the story.

In these illustrations the Aborigines are again portrayed as extremely wide-eyed and childlike. Again, I speculate that like the 1986 version illustration, it may contrast with Wu Feng's "wise" old age.

The text notes that Wu Feng sacrificed his own life, but again there is no mention of how he "sacrificed his own life". It is not shown that Wu Feng was beheaded, just that that he was shot with arrows. This very much tones down the violence and gruesomeness of the earlier versions of the legend. In the death scene Wu Feng is surrounded by mournful Aborigines. But these Aborigines, as compared with the illustrations in the 1985 and 1986 versions, have fewer weapons. One Aborigine has arrows but no bow, and one Aborigine is portrayed with a knife in his sheath. Considering the date of this last illustration, it is contextually appropriate that this last version of the Wu Feng story in Social Studies textbooks is so watered-down. This is the year that the Wu Feng story's removal from school textbooks undergoes consideration by the Guoli bianyiguan

國立編譯館. This is also the last Wu Feng story found in Taiwanese *Social Studies* texts. The text is finally cut from all textbooks in 1987, but the last 1988 versions of the tale may be found in the *Life and Ethics* text below.

xvi. 1988 Life and Ethics Textbook: Guoli bianyiguan 國立編譯館. Guo min xiao xue, sheng huo yu lun li: di yi ce (si shang) 國民小學: 生活與倫理 第一冊 (四上) [The National Elementary Life and Ethics Textbook: Book Number Six, section 6]. Taibei: Guoli bianyiguan 國立編譯館, 1988.

Analysis:

This 1988 version is identical to the 1985 version. The illustrations are the same as well. I therefore do not include an identical translation. This is the final version of the Wu Feng legend that appears in Taiwan elementary *Life and Ethic textbooks.* It was officially eliminated from all Taiwanese textbooks by the Guoli bianyiguan 國立編譯館 in 1987. Even though this decision was made in 1987 the story still turned up in this 1988 text one last time. But since then it has not appeared in National textbook print.

CHAPTER IV

EVOLUTION OF WU FENG'S IMAGE IN TEXTBOOKS IN REGARD TO TAIWANESE NATIONALITY, MORALITY, AND PERCEPTION OF ABORIGINES

A. The Significance of the Wu Feng Account in Taiwan Textbooks

It is clear that the Wu Feng legend has been exploited and embellished by the Taiwanese ROC government, just as it had been under the Japanese rule, but this exploitation should be understood within the context of the ROC rule in Taiwan. Chinese National government (KMT) rule began in October 1945 towards the end of World War Two. During the immediate postwar period in Taiwan the KMT was quite vigilant in its spead of nationalism. The story of Wu Feng became incorporated into the nationalist sentiment as the KMT was trying to establish in Taiwan. Wu Feng was made a prime example of a social image to follow in a standardized and morally saturated school curriculum.

Songs, plays, and poetry etc. were written in which Wu Feng's passive martyrdom for the "the nation" is emphasized. As noted above, this may have been very useful for the early ROC in Taiwan. The early ROC was very unpopular among both the local Hans and the Aborigines. Portraying a passive martyr for the nation was indeed beneficial for the ROC that aimed at quelling KMT dissent (Zhang, 30).

What was the ultimate purpose for the ROC in emphasizing Wu Feng's upright moralality and martyrdom? I propose that the ROC aimed at socializing a patriotic loyal youth, but I also utilize Meyer's theory (Meyer, 279) that suggests nationalism to be the

underlying theme of all Taiwanese moral texts. The major message given to Taiwan's youth is that if Taiwan is strong, morally strong, it will eventually be able to restore the Mainland. This in turn will result in an end to communism and lead to world peace. (Meyer, 279).

I suggest that this is indeed a message presented in Wu Feng textbook stories. In just one example, in the 1952 textbook, after Wu Feng died it notes "Wu Feng used his own red blood to irrigate the flowers of peace and wisdom to open the world and bring tolerance to mankind." Perhaps Wu Feng's death for the greater good of the nation, and ultimately the world, also contains undertones of socialization for a larger sacrifice, as I note, in a conflict with the PRC that the early ROC undoubtedly anticipated.

However Wu Feng story's moral of martyrdom was not only exploited by the early ROC. The Christian missionaries in Taiwan recognized the great potential of Wu Feng's martyrdom. They retold the story further emphasizing the Christ-like nature of Wu Feng's self sacrifice already contained within the text. For example, Wu Feng is compared to Jesus as early as the 1954 version. It states "In order to save mankind, he willingly sacrificed himself, like Jesus..."

In the 1963 work written in English, *Wu Feng: a Companion of Head Hunters*, by Desmond W. Bittinger, a Fulbright Lecturer at Tunghai Unversity and National Taiwan University, the religious undertones are quite apparent particularly in Wu Feng's death scene. The text notes,

> "The chief bent down to turn the sacrifice over. Was it one of their own tribesman or from whence had the Gods sent it? As the face was turned upward toward the growing light of the morning, they saw the peaceful and almost happy face of Wu Feng.

> Then they understood. Wu Feng was willing to die, to give his own head to save them from further headhunting…'He loved us more than he loved his own life. He loved us that way throughout his life and he sealed his love in his death' " (Bittinger, 80).

I suggest that Mr. Bittinger's affiliation with Tunghai, a missionary college founded in Taiwan in 1955 may offer insight into the religious influences on his writing. In the forward it also notes that the stories in Mr. Bittinger's work, "All were written with the imagination of a story teller, the insight of an anthropologist and, above all, the heart of a Christian and a teacher". (Bittinger, 1) Therefore the evangelical references found in this Wu Feng story may be quite intentional.

The change in terminology for Aborigines is also quite telling. Below I include a chart that marks each different use of terminology from 1950 to 1980. Not surprisingly, an overall trend found in the change of Aborigine terminology is a move from derogatory terminology and sentiment such as *fan*, barbarian toward a softer and gentler terminology and sentiment of *shanbao* mountain compatriots. This shift to a gentler terminology may adhere to a more politically correct "inclusiveness" but ultimately it serves to semantically "assimilate" the Aborigines into Taiwanese society.

Table 2:Changing Terminology for Aborigines in Wu Feng Textbook Stories from 1950-1988.

	1950	1952	1954	1957	1963	1966	1968	1969	1971	1975	1978	1985	1985	1986	1987	1988
番族/番		*			NA											
番人			*		NA											
族人	*				NA											
高山族	*				NA				*							
山地人				*	NA											
高山同胞		*			NA			*								
山同胞/山胞			*		NA	*				*	*	*				*
山地同胞					NA	*	*					*	*	*	*	*
臺人	*				NA				*							

B. The Reaction against the Wu Feng Account in the 1980s.

A deep seeded resentment and conflict over this story and its appearance in Taiwan school textbooks began to grow over the decades. The Wu Feng Story began to evoke quite volatile tensions during the 1980s. For instance, the movement to take the Wu Feng story out Taiwanese primary school texts books sparked controversy throughout Taiwan. In my examination of this controversy I utilize Liu Yufang's 劉玉芳 1989 article "This Time Wu Feng Really Fell off His Horse!". This article discusses the mounting tension in Taiwanese society over the Wu Feng story in textbooks and his posthumous honor and worship. This article is somewhat sensationalized journalism, but it does give some insight into the mounting tension in Taiwanese society over the Wu Feng legend.

Liu's article refers to some instances of vandalism and riots against Wu Feng artifacts and the legend's appearance in textbooks: The text notes,

> "Two hundred years ago, according to the legend, this Wu Feng, who rode his white horse and dressed in a red cloak, and acted as a martyr to give his own life in order to change the Aborigines' bad custom of headhunting, probably never thought that two hundred years later his statue would be pulled down, his temple would be burnded, and even his grave's park's tree would be cut down. Things change. In spite of the fact that the Department of Education, on September, 13 1987, decided to eliminate the story from the primary school teaching materials because they were not a factual record, the rioting still ensued."

Here it is apparent that there was clear resentment against not only Wu Feng's story in textbooks but also Wu Feng's posthumous worship, as can be seen in the violence that

was carried out against Wu Feng's temple, statue, and grave. The story's eventual elimination should be understood within the context of this mounting tension.

The section below contains more translations of Liu Yufang's article in which she describes the Aborigine's perspective on the Wu Feng legend.

> "Aborigines, following slow improvement over time, have become more conscious of this and have become fed up. Since 1980 people have constantly implored that the Wu Feng story be eliminated from Taiwan textbooks. They have eliminated what people consider to be incorrect elements, nonetheless, the story has continued to be transmitted. In June of last year (1987), the Department of Education finally agreed to eliminate this story, primarily as a precedent for our country's historical education. In spite of this, last year the Aboriginal organizations marched in a critical protest. They continuously appealed to the Jiayi 嘉義 County city government to make adjustments. At the end of 1988 they wanted to get rid of the Wu Feng bronze statue at the Jiayi Train Station, change the name of Wu Feng County, and essentially wash away personages and figures that were not real from the story. But still these figures maintained their original appearances. These adjustments in the end failed. Government officials would not face the problem of two hundred years of history. The Aborigines lived in disgrace for two hundred years with this story, and now, at the expense of their living with honor, the government decided to change this by the next school year. These responses of course were not accepted by the Aboriginal organizations, and last year year on December 31st, very early in the morning, they took action…"(Liu, 68)

The section translated above reveals an authorship that very much supports the Aborigines. It reveals their resentment against the legend in textbooks as well as resentment against Wu Feng iconography throughout Taiwan, particularly in the Jiayi area.

C. The Elimination of the Wu Feng Account from textbooks.

In my final investigation of the elimination of the Wu Feng account from textbooks, I look at a number of different sources. I again utilize Liu Yufang's article in order to gain the perspectives of the supporters and objectors to the Wu Feng iconography. Then I look at sections of Hong Youyi's 洪有義 1989 work "Research on Attitudes of Elementary School Teachers and Students towards the Wu Feng Story's Incorporation into Textbooks". This work offers insight into the Wu Feng story in textbooks from the perspectives of both the Han and Aboriginal communities. I have translated sections of both these articles below.

1. Objections to the Wu Feng Legend

a. Aborigine Objections

Hong You Yi's work refers to student and teachers perspectives on eliminating the Wu Feng legend from textbooks. At first he looks at the perspectives of Aboriginal Students:

> "For the past several decades, the Wu Feng story of 'Dying for a Noble Cause' 吳鳳殺身成仁的故事 continually appears in all the educational textbooks in use in school education, and in commercially published books. [This story] which instructs children in the great sentiment of giving themselves for the sake of others has

continued to receive everyone's approval, but in these recent years, following the changes in social models and the vigorous pounding of democratic waves the expression of different ideas and opinions as to whether or not the 'Wu Feng Story' should continue to be included in school textbooks has received wide-spread dispute and discussion. These disputes and discussions are not only seen in newspapers but also appear in parliamentary halls. Furthermore, they have given rise to street protests to the point of creating the destruction and loss of public property, and has led to an unsafe social atmosphere.

An important reason for opposing the inclusion of Wu Feng's story in elementary school textbooks is suspicion about the authenticity of the story. Even more important is the story's portrayal of the Mountain Compatriot's awful custom of cutting off people's heads and offering them as sacrifices to their deity. Thus the story of "Dying for a Just Cause" and "Sacrificing One's Life for a Nobel Cause" has seriously harmed the Mountain Compatriot's 山地同胞 self respect. The opponents of including the story say that although the elementary textbooks commend Wu Feng's heroic legacy, they believe that the story actually shapes inflexible images of the Mountain Compatriots as "wild and savage" for countless students, and also makes the Mountain Compatriots ashamed of their ancestors awful custom, and possibly has influenced the feelings between the Plains (i.e., the Hans) and the Mountain Compatriots

There are some students who find that the Wu Feng story has completely blotted out the value of their tribal culture. In addition, the expression 'Reforming the Barbarians' is also attributed to the Wu Feng story and even more so reflects the

Han's attitudes of discrimination. This is not only unfair to minorities but also will have a negative affect on elementary students…

As a result, many hold the opinion that the Wu Feng story should be cut out of textbooks. This will not only demonstrate respectful attitudes towards the different cultures of ROC's ethnicities, but will also go towards strengthening nationwide conscientious education. Thus they called for eliminating this type of story that does not suit this educational trend. Another idea in the debate was to search for concepts and other righteous figures, and substitute them for the Wu Feng story in these textbooks." (See *China Times*, May 26th, 1988)…(Hong, 59)

The above translation reveals the perspective of the Aborigine community concerning eliminating the Wu Feng story from textbooks. The Aboriginal sentiments toward this story suggests that "many felt it blotted out the value of their tribal culture", creating a very negative self-concept for Aborigine students. The story also has had a very negative impression on Han students regarding the understanding of Aborigine culture and race relations.

b. Han Objections

Although there were not very vocal Han objections to the Wu Feng legend, I again translate sections of Liu Yufang's article in which she refers to the Tainan Presbyterian Church, a very politically active force in Southern Taiwan, which took a very clear stance in objection to icons of the Wu Feng legend during the Jiayi riot. The local head pastor, Li Zongzheng 立宗正, was a particularly active protester.

"The old Tainan church has always been concerned with helping out with Aboriginal problems. Li Zongzheng, the head priest, said, 'First we came to examine the Wu Feng bronze statue, but it was not what we thought. Therefore we had no choice but to take this important step to change things..

Today there were eleven aboriginal tribal groups protesting at the Jiayi city train station. There were about fifty people who brought only a dog chain (to pull it down), but no matter what they did the statue couldn't be pulled down. Finally as a last measure they used an electric saw, and further used a wire rope and a car in order to pull the statue down.

On that day, the 31st, protests occurred three times. Finally they used a wire rope with one end attached to the bronze Wu Feng statue and the other end attached to a vehicle from the local Min Jindang 民進黨(DDP) office, and with one big jerk they finally were able to pull down Wu Feng's statue.

Li Zong Zheng, in a high spirited tone said, 'At this time, this kind of happiness is unable to be described, Aborigine pride and self respect at this time has finally come back. Raise your heads. This finally is a space of human to human equality!" (Liu, 69)

The translation above does indeed reveal Han empathy towards the Aborigines protests, but the Tainan Prestrayrian Church has maintained significant influence in Aboriginal communities. Missionaries have all but completely converted the Aborigine communities in Taiwan. In light of this, the motives of the Tainan church's adamant support of the Aborigines' protest are perhaps somewhat suspect.

2. Supporters of the Wu Feng Legend

a. Wu Feng International Lions Club

Some very vocal Han supporters of the Wu Feng legend were the members of the Wu Feng International Lions Club 吳鳳國際獅子會. The Wu Feng International Lion's Club is actually the Jiayi branch of the larger Taiwan International Lions Club, originally called the *zhonghua guoji shizihui* 中華國際獅子會, meaning the ROC's international Lion's Club. But recently it has changed its name to *zhongguo guoji shizihui* 中國國際獅子會 meaning China's International Lions Club, but actually the Lions Club originally began as an American Orgainization. Lions' Club International now includes 1.3 million members. There are 45,000 clubs world wide, spanning 200 countries. The Lion's Club International is primarily an organization that provides social services to local communities in each country. It also has historically focused on providing support to irradication of illnesses and disabilities, particularly blindness. The clubs may also provide for a network of international business contacts worldwide.
(Lions Club International)

The following translated sections from Liu Yu Fang's article refer to the clashing between the Wu Feng International Lions Club and the Aboriginal Organizations during the 1988 Jiayi riot. There are obvious racial tensions apparent in this riot between the Han and Aborigines, however the tensions also may be politically motivated. Lu Junyi 盧俊義 in his 2005 work "Wu Feng 2/28: Coup of Candles", notes that the Wu Feng International Lions Club appears to be KMT affiliated, whereas the Aborigine groups that they clash with are affiliated with the DDP, the Democratic Progressive Party of Taiwan (Liu, 69).

"At the Jiayi city train station the Wu Feng bronze statue was being pulled down. However, the Wu Feng International Lions Club members vigorously sent out representatives to punish those that were pulling the statue down. The Wu Feng International Lions Club members declared publicly that they wanted to construct an even more magnificent Wu Feng bronze statue and spread the "Wu Feng Legend". However, "between tears and laughter", how this made many people even more wary of this legend's poison?"

In further investigating supporters of the Wu Feng legend, I have also translated sections from Hong You Yi's 洪有義 1989 article. His work particularly reveals the perspectives of Hans who wish to see the Wu Feng legend remain in school textbooks.

"There were those who endorsed Wu Feng's story continuing to be in elementary *Life and Ethics* textbooks, Volume One, 'Sacrifice One's Self and Attain Righteousness', and (in the) *Social Studies* textbook, Volume three, 'Policy of Changing Bad Customs'. They believed that these stories had educational meaning. They held the opinion that the Wu Feng story should be retained for primary school teaching materials. They believed that the story contains within it the intention to strengthen and change bad beliefs, and has the educational purpose of expounding about the radiance of human nature, but they also find that the story has no intention of discriminating against Mountain Compatriots. However, at the same time, taking the story out of textbooks, may avert teachers from misleading students in their explanation of the story.

In the *Social Studies* texts' teacher manual, it reminds school teachers that in order to avoid people's resentment they must not seriously refer to any religion or

culture with a particularly positive or negative standpoint, and should emphasize cutting out bad customs (See *Taiwan Times*, May 24th ,1987)." (Hong, 59)

This translation portrays the perspectives of some Han communities in Taiwan that are in support of maintaining the Wu Feng story in textbooks and in honoring the image and posthumous icon of Wu Feng. It is clear that there is a large divide between the Han and Aboriginal communities' perspectives. This becomes even more apparent below.

3. Comparison Between Aboriginie and Han Understanding of the Wu Feng Legend and its Elimination

In another section of Hong You Yi's article students and teachers were given a survey concerning the elimination of the Wu Feng story from textbooks. The results of this survey reveal a deep divide in the Han and Aborigine perspectives on eliminating the Wu Feng story from textbooks. Not surprisingly, this divide is dramatically larger between Hans and Aborigines in the Jiayi area. I have translated sections of this article below.

> "This research report is based on the nature and objectives of the of the reserach questions. It surveys domestic elementary teachers and sixth grade elementary students. It uses a method in which samples from different areas of Taiwan and different responses were taken from four different areas, the north, central, southern Taiwan, as well as the Dabang 達邦 Elementary Schools in Jiayi. These teachers and students were divided into two separate sections and were given separate surveys…(Hong, 60)
>
> The schools that received this survey in the Southern Region (of Taiwan) were Jia Yi City Bo Ai Elementary school 嘉義市博愛國小 , and in Jia Yi County,

嘉義縣, Da Bang 達邦 Elementary School school. This school is the Cao Tribe Mountain 曹族山地[7] elementay school where nearly all of these teachers and students are all mountain residents (山地籍)… (Hong, 60)

" Conclusion and Suggestions

1) On the matter of the plains students (i.e., Han students) and the mountain students (i.e., Aborigine students) acknowledgement and responses to the Wu Feng story teaching material, it appears that there are enormous differences. 60-70% of students (not including the Mountain Compatriots) think the Wu Feng story is actually a real historical event, a quarter think they need to wait and research a bit more. But more than 90% of the mountain students (i.e., Aborigine students) think the Wu Feng story is 'fake'. The remainder 'do not know'. The plains students (not including the Mountain Aborigines) are inclined to think that the Mountain Compatriots used to cut off people's head and offer sacrifices to their deities. (They think) this is true or it is possibly true. 'They like the Wu Feng story' and they'admire his vigor'. (They think that) 'the Wu Feng story has a good influence on theMountain Compatriots now' as well as other people understanding the story (such as

7

The Cao Tribe 曹族 is another name for the Zou Tribe 鄒族 (Yu, 156).

other people better understanding the Mountain Compatriots 山胞). (They think) 'if textbooks have the Wu Feng story it is great'. However, the Mountain students, in comparison, have shown a negative view point. (Hong, 68)

2) The Mountain Aborigines, besides thinking that 'it is very good if the Wu Feng story does not appear in textbooks' (100%), also think that 'if the textbooks have the Wu Feng story it is bad' (91.8%). The others had a passive attitude and responded 'I don't know'.

   This shows that those who are not mountain students (i.e., Han students) felt that even if the Wu Feng story was not fabricated it would not have a negative influence, but for the mountain students (i.e., Aborigine students) it has already brought about psychological conflict and hurt, and made them reject its appearance in text books even more. This is worth the consideration of the compilers of teaching material." (Hong, 68)

3) The teachers' and the students' reactions to the Wu Feng story incline towards being extremely similar. The mountain student school teachers (i.e. the Aborigine student school teachers) are inclined to oppose and reject the Wu Feng story and feel that the Wu Feng story creates a harmful impression on students. Those other than the mountain students' schools' teachers (i.e., the Hans' teachers) have a particularly more positive attitude. This in itself reveals whether or not the Mountain Compatriots 山胞 as well as Mountain Compatriots' 山胞 instructors' have a big difference (in opinion).

4) Teachers often use vigorous attitudes and methods for carrying out teaching. This will not create a negative impression for plains students (i.e., Hans) and will not reach the point of creating disdain and animosity for the Mountain Compatriots (山胞). Wu Feng's spirit also creates admiration and brings about functional education, but for the Mountain students (i.e., Aboriginal Students) this maybe is a "personal matter". Therefore reaching (a conclusion about) positive educational functioning is more difficult, because of this it is worth considering whether the Wu Story should be in the curriculum." (Hong, 68)

These results reveal a deep difference between Han and Aborigine students as well as between Han and Aborigine teachers. Again, the most dramatic differences appear between those Hans and Aborigines from the Jiayi area. It seems that cultural memory of racial tensions remain in these southern communities. Perhaps Hans further north or from the mainland have had less conflict with Aborigines in the cultural memories of their communities than is apparent in the Southern Min communties.

4. Role of the Ministry of Education of Taiwan

In the section below I again have translated sections of Liu Yufang's article. Here she discusses the role of the Ministry of Education of Taiwan in eliminating the Wu Feng story from textbooks.

"The Department of Education was split into two sides with differing opinions (on this issue). In order to carefully consider whether on not they should cut out the Wu Feng story or anything that concerns the Wu Feng story from primary school textbooks, they

established ‘A Panel for Research on the Historical Facts of Wu Feng’. Besides surveying historical and anthropological points of view about Wu Feng, they looked more from educational and psychological perspectives to survey the Wu Feng story. They felt that educational and psychological perspectives might more reflect the influences on students and serve as a basis for improving the compilation of educational textbooks.” (Liu,69)

I also utilize Si Qi’s 司琦 2005 book, *The History of the Development of Elementary Textbooks*. I translate Si’s discussion on the final elimination of the Wu Feng story from textbooks.

“On September 13, 1987, Mountain Compatriot 同胞 organizations demanded that the Wu Feng story be eliminated from elementary school teaching material. They marched to the Educational Bureau to protest. Because the public figures of (Taiwan) culture and education had debated for a long time about the problems of keeping or abandoning the Wu Feng teaching material, the Ministry of Education agreed (to eliminate it) in order to calm down (the situation)” (Si Xi, 3067)

These two sources reveal some of the steps taken to finally eliminate the Wu Feng story from textbooks. It clearly was a long and arduous process. However, its final elimination reveals a significant success for Aborigines in Taiwan. It also reveals a significant change in Taiwan’s social-political atmosphere. However, even with the elimination of this story, tensions between Aborigine and Han communities continue, particularly around the Jiayi area.

D. Wu Feng's Current Image

1. In Jiayi County

The next article, published in 2006 in the *Zhongguo Shibao* 中國時報, written by Xie Min Zheng 謝敏政 again looks at the Wu Feng legend. But this time it looks at a controversy created eighteen years after the Wu Feng story was removed from Taiwan primary school textbooks and the Jiayi riots. This article shows how the legend of Wu Feng still to be controversial in Taiwanese society even into 2006. Wu Feng still is a prominent local legendary figure for the Taiwanese. However the Aborigines find him to continue to be a symbol of disgrace and humiliation. Even years after the story was eliminated from the textbooks, Wu Feng is still a sore spot in Han and non-Han relations in contemporary Taiwan society.

Unlike my other sources, this newspaper article was written from the perspective of the Feng Mountain *feng shan* 鳳山 villagers (a locale in Jiayi County), and it does not seem to sympathize with the Aborigines at all and is very pro-Han. It takes a very different stance from Liu Yufang's article. Perhaps this is because the writer, Xie Min Zheng, is writing for the *Ali Shan Bao Dao* 阿里山報導 and newspaper offers a more local perspective, whereas Fang's article is from a broader perspective in the national journal *Xin Xin Wen* 新新聞.

This article discusses the proposed festival for Wu Feng's birthday at his alleged birthplace at Feng Mountain. The article is titled, "Wu Feng's Birthday, Native Birthplace, Stirs up Trouble and Dirt: Feng Mountain Villager's (Have Faith in Wu Feng). They Want to Bring in Tourists. They Do Not Wish to Be Misinterpreted. The Zou People Protest." I have translated sections of this article below.

"The story of 'Wu Feng Who Gives up His Life for a Righteous Cause' shows to the outside world that the Zou people should be considered savage. The Zou people changed (the name of) Wu Feng County to Ali Shan countryside. The Feng Mountain villagers propose that they should take the *gu shan wu feng gong* 古山 吳鳳宮 the old Mountain Wu Feng Temple and list it as an Ali Mountain tourist attraction, and this gave rise to argument. However for a long time now Ali Mountain 阿里山 countryside has maintained respect for each village's freedom of belief. The Feng mountain village encourages people to take part in local affairs. But really the Zou tribe Aborigines' reaction is unnecessary and is excessive. It goes way beyond normal limits.

"Ali Mountain County officials…go to every village celebration and special event together, and it becomes known as an Ali mountain tourist attraction. Included among these events are Dabang Village 達邦村 sowing seeds holiday, the cherry- blossom plum festival…(and the) Fengshan Village 豐山 村 old mountain Wu Feng temple 古山宮 Birthday Celebration. But some young Zou people believe the 'Wu Feng Gives up his Life for a Righteous Cause' story has damaged the image of the Zou people. The Zou people have already gotten the name of Wu Feng County changed to Ali Mountain County, and have eliminated the negative themes of the Wu Feng story.

They feel this story was compiled in Japan and the Japanese invented this story, that they presented it to the Taiwanese to make trouble for the Aborigines, and consequently the Zou people do not want the Wu Feng story to be told generation after generation in Ali Mountain

countryside.

The Ali Mountain countryside Taiwanese from Feng Mountain village actually proposed a Wu Feng birthday celebration, but the Zou tribe people have difficulty identifying with this celebration.

"However the head researcher for this particular debate, Tang Bao Fu 湯保富, expressed that the center of Wu Feng worship is in the Old Mountain Temple in Fengshan Village. By now the local villagers and the plains people have already eliminated historical problems about the Wu Feng story, and the Fengshan villagers just believe in his spirit…Jesus Christ was not (originally) a part of the Zou people's basic belief system was he? But for after a long time Christianity (was spread) through the promotion of mutual understanding and this religion has become the Zou people's belief. He (Tang Bao Fu) appeals for everyone to demonstrate the misunderstandings of history carefully, take an open touristic attitude, and let Ali Mountain become a favorable and good tourist spot."

(Xie, 19)

It is apparent here that the Wu Feng story and posthumous honor is still controversial between Hans and Aborigines even into 2006, but perhaps these issues are more a result of local strife and historical animosity. There is clearly an economic issue at hand here as well. It seems that the local Hans of Feng Mountain Village have an economic investment in maintaining the Wu Feng temple as an open tourist spot. While the Zuo Aborigines aim is to eliminate the legend's sway in Ali Shan County and wish to eliminate Wu Feng's veneration altogether, disregarding the economic incentives of tourist dollars.

2. <u>Elsewhere in Taiwan as Compared with Jiayi Country</u>

In order to understand the varying differences in the contemporary ways in which the Wu Feng legend is understood throughout Taiwan, I again utilize Hong Youyi's research. I translate sections and results of some of Hong's actual survey questions that I felt to be quite significant. It should be noted that the Dabang 達邦 area referred to in this research is a locale in Taiwan that is inhabited by predominantly Zou tribe 鄒族 Aborigines (Zhang, 74).

"Teacher Section:

1) Do you think that the events of Wu Feng 'Sacrificing himself for a Good Cause' are real?

1. Without a doubt 2. It is fake 3. I will wait and investigate it. 4. I don't care 5. Other…"

Table 3: Results 1

Total	5	4	3	2	1	Responses	Area
29	3	10	73	5	28	# of people	Northern of Taiwan
53.6%	2.5%	8.4%	61.3%	4.2%	23.5%	%	
70	1	6	52	2	9	# of people	Central Taiwan
31.5%	1.4%	8.6%	74.3%	2.9%	12.9%	%	
24	1	1	18	0	4	# of people	Southern Taiwan
10.8%	4.2%	4.2%	75.0%	0.0%	16.7%	%	
9	0	0	0	9	0	# of people	Dabang 達邦
4.1%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	.0	%	
222	5	7	143	16	41	# of people	Total
100.0%	2.3%	7.7%	64.4%	7.2%	18.5%	%	

"...The above results indicate, in the Plain's three areas (i.e. the Han areas of the north, central, and southern Taiwan) responses to the question whether the events of Wu Feng 'sacrificing himself for a good cause' are real?' have a very consistent prespective. The majority (63.4%-75%) reserve their opinion.and feel that they "will wait and investigate it", but 16.7-23.5% think that (the events of Wu Feng sacrificing himself for a good cause are real) 'without a doubt'. But 100% of the mountain 山地籍 (i.e. Aborigine) teachers at the Mountain Elementary School believe that the Wu Feng events were fake. There is a huge discrepancy (of opinion) among the Plains 平地籍 teachers and the Mountain residents 山地籍 (Aborigine) teachers. The Plains' teachers explained that they [the Mountain 山地籍 (Aborigine) teachers] had 'personal grievences' (concerning the Wu Feng story). The plains' teachers expressed that they were willing to believe that Wu Feng "sacficied himself for a good cause" and that the awful practice of the Mountain Aborigines 山胞 killing people and sacrificing human heads to their deity (had existed)…" (Hong, 61)

“4. Do you think that the Wu Feng story’s incorporation into the teaching material is appropriate?

Table 4: Results 4

1. Appropriate 2. Inappropriate 3. I don’t care 4. No opinion 5. Other

Total	5	4	3	2	1	Responses	Area
29	9	34	26	22	28	# of people	Northern of Taiwan
53.6%	7.6%	28.6%	21.8%	18.5%	23.5%	%	
70	4	25	13	14	14	# of people	Central Taiwan
31.5%	5.7%	35.7%	18.6%	20.0%	20.0%	%	
24	1	7	5	3	9	# of people	Southern Taiwan
10.8%	4.2%	29.2%	20.8.9%	12.5%	33.3%	%	
9	0	0	0	9	0	# of people	Dabang 達邦
4.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	%	
222	14	66	44	48	50	# of people	Total
100%	6.3%	29.7%	19.7%	21.6%	22.5%	%	

"…22.5% (of the The Plains 平地籍 teachers interviewed responded) that it was 'appropriate'. 21.6% of teachers responded that it was 'not appropriate'. 19.7% (of teachers) didn't care, and 28.6%% (of teachers responded) that they had 'no opinion'.

But all the teachers at the Da Bang 達邦 Elementary School responded that the story was inappropriate. The Plains 平地籍 (i.e. Hans) and the Mountain 山地籍 (i.e. Aborigine) teachers displayed different opinions towards the Wu Feng story's incorporation into the teaching material

The Mountain elementary school's teachers actually all felt that the Wu Feng story's incorporation into the teaching material was 'inappropriate'. This question's resuts and the above question's results… (are) quite consistent . Also, the Elementary School Teachers fundamentally rejected the Wu Feng story and did not agree to carry out it's instruction…"(Hong, 62)

Again there seems to be a clear tension in the results between the Southern Taiwan Han community and the Jiayi County Aborigine school, but it should be noted that the majority of opinion among the Plains Han teachers is actually "no opinion". I speculate that the majority of Han teachers are intentionally maintaining a neutral stance toward this very volatile topic. Considering this article was written in 1989 the ROC's martial law had just ended in 1987. With martial law quite fresh in their memories, I suggest the teachers' responses are very careful to avoid any reprisal.

"Student Section

"9. Do you think the Wu Feng story should appear in the elementary textbooks?

1) It is very good if the textbook has the Wu Feng story.

2) It is bad if the textbook has the Wu Feng story.

3) I don't care.

Table 5: Results 9

Total	3	2	1	Responses	Area
523	134	49	340	# of people	Northern of Taiwan
57.0%	25.6%	9.4%	65.0%	%	
168	41	9	118	# of people	Central Taiwan
18.3%	24.4%	5.4%	70.2%	%	
178	40	9	129	# of people	Southern Taiwan
19.4%	22.5%	5.1%	72.5	%	
49	4	45	0	# of people	Dabang 達邦
5.3%	8.2%	91.8%	0.0%	%	
918	219	112	587	# of people	Total
100%	23.9%	12.2%	63.9%	%	

"In every area in the North, Central, and Southern Taiwan 65-72.5% of the students thought that 'Having the Wu Feng story in text books was very good'. 5.1-9.4% thought that having the Wu Feng story in textbooks was 'bad'. The other 22.5% -25.6% of the student 'didn't care'.

But in the Da Bang 達邦 Elementary School 91.8% of the students thought that 'Having the Wu Feng story in textbooks was bad'. 8.2% responded 'I don't care', but no one responded that 'Having the Wu Feng story in textbooks was very good.' (Hong, 67)

As we can see, there are drastic differences between the way the Wu Feng story is perceived in Taiwan among Han and Aborigine students, and again I suggest this has broader implications for the difference between the Han and Aborigine communities, but these questions not only focus on the elimination of the Wu Feng story from textbooks but also investigate the way in which the Wu Feng story is understood, whether or not it is believed to be real or historically accurate. The results reveal dynamic differences of understanding. Of course, the general trend seems to indicate that the research collected in the locale of Jiayi County, the proposed origin of the Wu Feng legend, there is a wider gap in the differences in opinion. However such research as Hong Youyi's and the move to eliminate the story ultimately does says something about public sensitivity to race relations and sensitivity to the socialization of Taiwan's children

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

A. The Wu Feng Legend: General Trends

This thesis has examined the Wu Feng story through the Qing dynasty, the Japanese Taiwan occupation, the early ROC in Taiwan, and the legend's aftermath in a democratic Taiwan. I have primairly examined the Wu Feng story in government issued school textbooks in Taiwan from 1950 until the story was deleted in 1987 and have emphasized the evolving form of the story, and its evolving didactic role in the relations between the Hans and the Indigenous people of Taiwan. In may be nessecary to reflect on the entirety of this legend's evolution in Nationalist text books, and what trends appear, as well as the aftermath of the legend in Taiwanese race relations.

In my examination of these textbooks I have found there to be a number of prevelent trends. In particular in early ROC textbooks, I have noticed an underlying intended socialization of Taiwan's youth for potential martial martyrdom. As these texts change there is a clear softening and whitewashing of the story particularly concerning Han and Aborigine racial tension, there is also a clear change in the terminology used for the Aborigines, as well as a subliminal "semantic assimilation" found in certain stories. This "semantic assimilation" may be understood as an intentional change in terminology for Aborigines after the Aborigines have been assimilated. After the text is removed from Nationalist print there appears to be wide difference between Han and Aboriginie understanding of the story in Jiayi county as compared with other areas in Taiwan. On a braoder note there also seems to be a general trend of liberalization in the Taiwanese racial and poltical sphere.

1. Wu Feng in Moral Textbooks: The Socialization of Martyrdom

As noted above, since the Communist victory in 1949, the government of Taiwan has continuously stressed national defense as number one in its "moral" teaching in every possible way, even overriding filial piety (Meyer, 270). This message has ultimately become a nationalistic message. As noted above, many moralizing stories contain implications that if Taiwan is strong, that is, morally strong, it will eventually be able to restore KMT control of the Mainland. This in turn will result in an end to communism and lead to world peace. Although this last step may be weak logically, this is indeed an underlying message presented to students in many Taiwanese moral stories (279).

Many accounts of the Wu Feng in early ROC in Taiwan in moral textbooks reveal just this. I suggest that efforts to promote a martyr-hero such as Wu Feng were done with the underlying aim to socilaize Taiwan's youth for martyrism in a war with the aniticpated conflict with the PRC. In Wu Feng moral stories there is quite a subliminal but, in my opinion, is ultimately intentional nationalistic message. For example, in the 1952 textbook, after Wu Feng dies it notes "Wu Feng used his own red blood to irrigate the flowers of peace and wisdom to open the world and bring tolerance to mankind." Considering this textbook's date, 1952, the memory of defeat by the communists was perhaps quite fresh in the Nationalists memories. Wu Feng's death for the greater good of the nation, and ultimately the world may be a quite subtle but underlying reference to a yearning for the end of communism.

2. "White-Washing" of the Wu Feng Tale

However, as the ROC began to stabilize its hold on Taiwan, and war with the PRC was not as imminent as once perceived, the Wu Feng stories began to take on a softer tone. Violent elements of the story were eliminated. Gruesome aspects of the early ROC in Taiwan version were edited out to the point where Wu Feng is not even beheaded. Age-old tensions between Aborigines and Hans were completely whitewashed.

The Wu Feng story is exploited and changed over time for a variety of purposes. However this change is particularly apparent in the depiction of race relations between the Hans and the Aborigines. The early ROC in Taiwan texts portray the Wu Feng story in a very severe and violent way, and the tensions between the Hans and Aborigines are quite evident. In the early 1950 texts there are many references made to the corrupt Qing officers who cheated the Aborigines, and a direct reference is made to the Zhu Yigui rebellion. In the earliest 1950 textbook it notes,

> "The mountain tribes 高山族 lived in groups in the mountains. Their livelihood was difficult. [The Qing officers] increasingly used their power as civil officers to rob them by hook or by crook so that they were barely able to survive. In the Kangxi reign period, in the 60th year (1721) Zhu Yigui rebelled. The tribal people 族人 rose up in hordes in support, and more than forty civil officers were killed. When the rebellion was suppressed the government cautiously chose civil officers to pacify (the mountain tribes)."

In the 1952 text racial tensions are also quite apparent. The text notes, "The relationship between the Hans and the barbarians 番 worsened day by day, so that in the

60th year of the Kangxi reign period (1721) there was the Zhu Yigui uprising. Many barbarian 番 villages rose up in support, and killed and hurt officials. Everywhere there was resentment against the Han people."

However as the ROC stabilized its control of Taiwan, the Wu Feng story evolved so that the tension present in the early ROC versions is toned down. The tensions between the Hans and Aborigines in the texts are severely played down as early as the 1954 textbook, which offers a much whitewashed version of the tension in comparison with the earlier textbooks. For instance 1954 text notes,

> "At that time, the barbarian mountain tribes 高山族的蕃人 and the Han people from Fujian were living together (in the same area). Because their customs and habits were different, this often led to many misunderstandings and disputes."

This is a very different and softer depiction of race relations than found in the earlier texts. The trend of softening the tensions between Aborigines and Hans continues throughout the texts over the years up to the story's final elimination in 1987. In fact, toward the late 1980s Wu Feng's story had been picked apart until ironically it began to resemble its 1855 very earliest source, a short poem.

3. Changing Terminology

I have found that the broad political and racial changes seen in the different contexts of each Wu Feng's story are encapsulated in the changing terminology throughout the Wu Feng texts . I reflect not only on the actual terminology itself but more so on the broader implications that this contextual terminology may reveal. As we can see above, each socio-political atmosphere in Han Taiwanese history has adopted its own terminology for the Aborigines. I examine the Qing, the Japanese era of occupation, and the R.O.C. in Taiwan changes in terminology for describing Aborigines. Finally, I examine the modern day use of terminology for Aborigines in contemporary Taiwan.

During the Qing Dynasty the term *fanren* 番人 was used as the term for the Aborigines. "Fanren" actually may be translated as barbarians, but the *fan* that adopted Han Chinese ways came to be known as the *shu fan* 熟番 meaning "cooked" or tamed *fan*. Those that didn't adopt Han ways were known as the *sheng fan* 生番 meaning the "raw" and wild *fan*.

During the Japanese occupation period the Japanese tended to lump all the Hans and the Aborigines together under one umbrella of ethnicity as "non-Japanese". The Japanese were very intent upon establishing their own racial uniqueness, more so than concerning themselves with the internal racial distinctions of their colonies. However, the Japanese did begin to study the Aborigines as no one had done before. As noted, the first major anthropological investigation was undertaken by Ino Kanori. Ino Kanori's study declined to use the conventional term for Aborigines as *Hoan-a* in the Minnan language or *fanzi* or *fanziren* in Mandarin meaning barbarians. Instead, he coined the

term *Takasago zoku* 高山族 meaning mountain tribes; thus applying a new, perhaps more progressive terminology for the Aborigines.

Aborigines dwelling in the mountains seemed to have maintained a distinct ethnic identity in the eyes of the Japanese as well as the ROC. Although the Japanese sought to assimilate the mountain Aborigines, and to a certain extent succeeded in doing so, the mountain Aborigines were officially seen as different, but unlike the mountain Aborigines, the plains Aborigines seemed to have access to more flexible shifts in their identity throughout different periods in Taiwan history. (Faure, 64)

During the R.O.C. takeover of Taiwan, the KMT was suspicious of any, in particular Aborigine, identification with the Japanese. This was compounded by the Nationalists' fear of Mainland Communist cohorts lurking behind every corner. Because the mountain areas of Taiwan were poor, the KMT feared that it would be a ripe area for Communist supporters. In turn, the Nationalists coined a new term for the Mountain Aborigines and called them *shanbao* 山胞 meaning "Mountain Compatriots" (Faure, 60).

Although Aborigines have been termed *shanbao* 山胞, which was meant to indicate a kind of political and perhaps racial inclusiveness, this term also indicates physical separateness with their locale in the mountains of Taiwan. However, their dwelling places in the mountain areas are ironically a misconception. Originally the Aborigines dwelled on the plains and flatlands, but they were pushed back into the mountains as Chinese and Japanese colonialism of Taiwan increased. Therefore this term is not quite appropriate either.

The change in terminology for the Aborigines in ROC textbooks has revealed other meaningful trends. The different use of terminology for the Aborigines in textbooks from

1950 to 1988 not surprisingly reveals an overall trend from the use of strong and derogatory language such as *fan* 番 , *fanren* 番人, *fanzu* 番族 implying "barbarian", in the early years of the ROC in Taiwan toward a softer, gentler, racially inclusive terminology, such as *shantongbao* 山同胞, *shanbao* 山胞 meaning "mountain compatriots". Suggesting that the Aborigines are no longer *fan* 番 "barbarians" but have now become *shanbao* 山胞 "mountain compatriots" serves to "civilize" the Aborigines into Taiwanese society.

In modern day Taiwan the terminology for Aborigines has become quite polite and also "white-washed". A common term for Aborigines is now *Yuanzhumin* 原住民 , literally "original dwellers", which may be more appropriate (Shi,1), but another formal term for Aborigines commonly seen is *Shandiji*i 山地籍 meaning mountain residents, which harkens back to earlier terminology (Hong, pg 61).

It is apparent that each socio-political atmosphere in Han Taiwanese history has adopted its own terminology for the Aborigines. The Qing, the Japanese era of occupation, the ROC in Taiwan, and contemporary Taiwan all exhibit broad changes in the terminology describing Aborigines. The changing terminology for Aborigines is very apparent throughout each period, and it is also particularly apparent in the ROC school textbooks that show a trend of almost assimilating the Aborigines through use of semantics.

4. Semantic Assimilation

There are numerous examples of this semantic assimilation found in the texts. For example, in the 1954 text the Aborigines at first are referred to as *fan ren* 番人, but by the end of the story, after Wu Feng's self-sacrifice and the Aborigines are "civilized", they are referred to as *shantongbao* 山同胞. There is a similar usage in the 1950 and 1971 text. The Aborigines are at first referred to as *gao shan zu* 高山族 or *shan zu* 山族, meaning "mountain tribes" but at the end of the story they are referred to as *tai ren* 臺人, Taiwanese people. It seems that this is also an inclusive kind of terminology indicating that now the Aborigines are no longer separate and distinct mountain tribes but have been "civilized" and are a part of Taiwanese society as "Taiwanese" people. While this terminology has changed over the years, the actual racial tensions present in Taiwanese society may have not necessarily changed. However, a move toward inclusivity does indicate an improved status to a certain extent.

B. The Aftermath of the Wu Feng legend: Han and Non-Han Race Relations

As the ROC became more and more moderate, Taiwan's Aborigines attained more of a platform to voice their issues. As noted above, by 1987 Aborigine orgainizations' protests were able to remove the Wu Feng story from national textbooks. Ultimately, the Ministry of Education agreed to eliminate the story from all national textbooks. Although a seemingly small change, it was ultimately a move that had greater implications of liberalization throughout Taiwanese society.

At the same time as the consideration of the Wu Feng legend's removal, other protests broke out across the island. Liu Yufang's 劉玉芳 1989 article "This Time Wu Feng Really Fell off His Horse!" refers to the mounting tension in Taiwanese society over the Wu Feng story in textbooks and his posthumous honor and worship. Liu's article refers to some instances of vandalism and riots against Wu Feng artifacts. The article particularly focuses on riots that occur at the Jiayi train station in which two opposing groups, the Wu Feng organization, primarily Han and KMT affiliated, clash with the local Aborigine groups that were DDP affiliated. The riots peak when protestors are able to pull down the Wu Feng statue at the local Jiayi train station, thus marking the disdain felt by Aborigines not only for the Wu Feng legend in textbooks but also for Wu Feng's general posthumous worship and reverence.

Wu Feng's posthumous worship and reverence continues to be a point of contention. The 2006 *Zhongguo Shi Bao* 中國時報 article by Xie Min Zheng 謝敏政 refers to Han-Aborigine conflict eighteen years after the Wu Feng story was removed from Taiwan primary school textbooks and the Jiayi riots. In this article the Zou Aborigines wish to stop the proposed festival for Wu Feng's birthday at his alleged birthplace at Feng Mountain. It is apparent here that the Wu Feng story and posthumous honor is still controversial between Hans and Aborigines even into 2006

I have utilized Hong Youyi's 洪有義 1989 work in my research to understand the wider view of the Wu Feng story throughout Taiwan. A major trend does appear in these findings as well, that is, the closer to the geographic origin of the Wu Feng legend, the wider the gap is in Han and Aboriginie opinion concerning the Wu Feng story. This trend is not that suprising considering that the locale of the Wu Feng legend may have

retained the cultural memony of racial tension and strife associated with this tale, whereas other parts of Taiwan may have relatively less investment in maintaining reverence and or disdain for this legend.

C. Han and Aborigine Relations in Taiwan Now

By the early 1970s Taiwan begin to undergo drastic changes. It underwent the process of "Taiwanization." "This process of Taiwanization was not necessarily that of democratization" (Brown, 2) but it did suggest a trend towards subtle changes in KMT practices. The Nationalist party began to accept more Han Taiwanese members into its inner circle, including Lee Denghui, who would later become Taiwan's first Taiwanese president in 1988. In 1986, the Democratic Progressive Party, the DDP, was accepted as a legitimate opposition Party to the KMT, and in 1987 martial law was lifted. After Chen Shuibian of the DDP became the second democratically elected president in Taiwan in 2000, he set the stage for discussions of Taiwanese independence, which had previously been a subject of the strictest taboo. It is with this new discussion of Taiwan's independence by the DDP, that Taiwanese and Aboriginal ethnic identity has been given greater attention in the socio-political sphere (Brown, 2).

Until recently, Taiwanese Aborigines have not had or seen any advantage in the "de-sinicization" of their identity, but with changes in the social and, most importantly, the political sphere, Aborigines have begun to claim their distinct, ethnic identity. Aborigines have also been given more of a public and political platform to voice their perspectives.

Ironically, politicians now have begun to negotiate ethnic identity in Taiwan for socio-political advantages. "Between 1945 and 1991 Taiwan's government portrayed Taiwan as ethnically Han and nationally Chinese, even claiming that it was the lawful government of Mainland China. However since 1987, for the obvious political purpose of justifying their distance from the PRC, Taiwan's government has increasingly claimed Taiwan identity to be an amalgam of Han culture and ancestry, Aborigine culture and ancestry, and Japanese culture (but not ancestry), in the making for 400 years, and separate from China for the entire twentieth century." The PRC was perhaps more comfortable when Taiwan claimed itself as Han, but now the PRC's claim to Taiwan as a kindred Han nation has come under scrutiny (Brown, 3). It is quite interesting and, in my opinion not accidental, that in 1987, the same year in which martial law was lifted and the same year that the Wu Feng story was eliminated from Taiwanese textbooks, politicians began to claim Aborigine ethnic identity to be a part of a larger Taiwanese identity.

The Wu Feng story must be understood within its varying historical contexts. The various relations and interactions of the Qing, the Japanese, and the ROC in Taiwan governments with the indigenous peoples of Taiwan have been quite complex. Each regime has dealt with the Aborigines differently, but the Wu Feng legend has remained a common thread throughout each regime. In each regime the treatment of the Wu Feng story has been a kind of "litmus test" for Han and Non-Han relations. These relations have historically not been peaceful. However, the mounting tension seen in Taiwan society, the expression of Aborigine resentment in demonstrations, or even the allowance of such demonstrations, the investigation into these historical tensions, the eventual

elimination of the ‘Wu Feng Story’ from textbooks, and the attempts to eliminate antagonism in race relations are ultimately indicative of a changing Taiwanese society.

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