

New Perspectives on the History of East Asian Education
【東亞教育史探索】

**The Modernity of Japanese Colonial
Education in Taiwan: Moving beyond
Formal Schooling and Literacy Campaigns**
日據時代臺灣殖民教育的現代性：
正規學校與識字運動之外

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Abstract

The Japanese colonial past (1895-1945) has gained increasing scholarly and public attention in Taiwanese society within the last decades. In particular, the historiography of modern Taiwan illustrates this socio-cultural discourse in which Taiwanese seek their place as historical subjects. From the 1980s onwards, historiography on the Japanese colonial period freed itself from a Sino-centric Imperial top-down perspective and actively construed a Taiwan-centric National bottom-up perspective. In opposition to the orthodoxy of Imperial history, this conscious engagement with the Japanese colonial past increasingly associated itself with national-identity-history writing, and presented a localization of the Taiwanese experience to derive historical authenticity.

The academic shift from a Sino-centric to a Taiwan-centric perspective was enabled by internal and external factors, not in the least the surge of identity politics to a mainstream trend in international scholarship. Micro-educational analysis of textbooks was particularly illustrative in probing the cultural encounter of a past experience that impacted the immediate present. Likewise, Taiwanese scholarship began a critical investigation of Japanese colonial textbooks.

This article presents an excursion into the colonial educational historiography on the Japanese educational system, set against the background of Taiwan's historiographical revolution. Its purpose is not only to discuss issues that shed light on an understanding of postcoloniality in Taiwan, but also to address the concept of classroom history as a recent research methodology in educational historiography. The article begins by framing the colonial 'recent past' in the 'postcolonial' present. This is followed by a chronological overview of the articulation of the local experience from the 1950s to the 1990s. The objective is to demonstrate the manner in which the experience of Japanese modern schooling gave way to a new narrative underlining the appreciation of Taiwanese dynamics centered on understanding the colonial experience from within and from 'below'.

The second part of the article introduces the concept of classroom history, borrowed from historical pedagogy. The paper shows how the exploration of colonial textbooks and other educational materials offers alternatives which transcend the national-identity paradigm and include insights on the educational mentality and didactic reality of the past. The benefits of this methodological approach are discussed against the backdrop of recent historical analyses of music and gymnastics instruction in the colonial curriculum. The final section documents the social function of the localization of education in modern Taiwanese historiography on the Japanese colonial period. The discussion covers three fields that reveal the manner in which this particular subject of colonial educational historiography contributes to generating public awareness of Taiwanese nation building and identity formation.

摘要

過去十年來，日據時代（1895-1945）逐漸受到臺灣學界及社會大眾的關注。特別是現代臺灣的歷史撰述，在論述臺灣人的社會與文化時，往往將尋求自身的定位視為歷史的主體。自 1980 年代迄今，對日據時代的歷史撰述已不再使用「中

國中心」式、由上而下的帝國觀點，而是積極地以「臺灣中心」式、由下而上的民族觀點來做詮釋。相對於帝國史的正統性，現代臺灣之歷史撰述有意識地涉入日據時代，並逐漸與其自身的民族認同書寫史聯結在一起，以此展現出臺灣經驗的在地性，以及歷史的確實性。

學術上的觀點能夠自「中國中心」轉移到「臺灣中心」，有其內在與外在的因素，與國際學術主流傾向「認同」之研究策略無關。由此觀點，臺灣學界對日據時代教科書的批評與研究，始採取對教科書精讀式的分析，他們認為如此才能夠深入探究過去經驗，發現過去於今仍在作用著的文化衝突。

本文呈現日本教育系統中關於殖民教育之歷史撰述，使其在臺灣歷史撰述的變革中得到注意。本文目的不僅欲釐清臺灣的後殖民性，還欲勾勒在教育歷史撰述中，一個全新的研究方法：授課史。本文以由「殖民之近代」過渡到「後殖民之現代」為始，概述以 1950-1990 年之時間系列的本土經驗。主要在於論證日本近代學校教育所提供出來的新敘述，以強調由「內」與「下」的理解方式，來瞭解臺灣殖民經驗之正確性。

本文的第二部份介紹了借用歷史教學法而來的「授課史」觀念。說明對殖民教科書及其他教育材料的調查與研究，如何提供超越國家認同之範例，以及教育心理和對過去教訓之洞察力。此教學研究方法多被殖民教育中的音樂史研究及體操教學所應用。文末，旨在討論現代臺灣學者，撰述日據時期教育本土化的社會功能。他們的論述包括：在殖民教育的歷史撰述中展現其方法、提供新一代民眾思考臺灣的國家建構，以及認同的形成等三個方面。

Introduction

The 2003 publication entitled *National Language Textbook Readers in the Taiwan Common and National Schools under Japanese Colonial Rule* is another voluminous work that substantially enlarges the literature of Taiwan historical materials.¹ This five-volume set reprints the primary school readers for Taiwanese pupils prepared by the Taiwan Government-general between 1901 and 1944. What valuable treasures and secrets do these textbooks hold within their pages? Is this sheer documentation of the past, an act of symbolic historical preservation, or is there more to the publication story?

In the introductory volume, we read that the objective is a better understanding of the specific influence of Japanese colonial education on Taiwanese society.² This statement is not surprising in view of the increasing scholarly and public attention to Taiwan historical studies within the last decades, in particular to the Japanese colonial past (1895-1945). Accordingly, this article focuses on how history writings on colonial education in Taiwan tapped into the socio-cultural discourse in which Taiwanese have been seeking their place as historical subjects. Its purpose is not only to discuss issues that shed light on an understanding of postcoloniality in Taiwan, but also to address the concept of classroom history as a recent research methodology in educational historiography.

[§] I would like to express my thanks to the Taiwan jiaoyushi yanjiuhui 臺灣教育史研究會 [Association for Researching Taiwan Educational History].

¹ Wu Wen-hsing et.al. 吳文星等編, *Rizhi shiqi Taiwan gongxuexiao yu guominxuexiao guoyu duben* 日治時期臺灣公學校與國民學校國語讀本 [National Language Textbook Readers in the Taiwan Common and National Schools under Japanese Colonial Rule] five volumes and introduction catalogue (Taipei: Nantian, 2003).

² Chou Wan-yao, Hsu Pei-hsien 周婉窈, 許佩賢, "Taiwan gongxuexiao yu guominxuexiao guoyu duben zongjieshuo: Zhidu yange, jiaoke he jiaokeshu" 日治時期臺灣公學校與國民學校國語讀本總解說：制度沿革、教科和教科書 [General Introduction to National Language Textbook Readers in the Taiwan Common and National Schools under Japanese Colonial Rule, Successive Changes in the System, Teaching and Textbooks], in Wu Wen-hsing et.al. 吳文星等編, op.cit. p. 43.

Framing the ‘colonial’ recent past in the ‘postcolonial’ present

In 1895, Taiwan shifted from a Chinese province to a Japanese colony. This shift in belonging announced profound structural and cultural changes for the Taiwanese native inhabitants.³ In 1945, the Japanese Empire surrendered and the Taiwanese colony was restored to its original China-belonging status as a Chinese province. However, the liberation of Taiwan came at a cost, evoked by the ideological partition of China between the Republic of China (ROC) and the People’s Republic of China (PRC), and subsequent geographical isolation of the main island Taiwan and its surrounding smaller islands. Taiwan remained the only bastion where the Chinese nationalist government or Guomindang (KMT) continued its ideological battle, vying over the legitimate government of post-Imperial China. For the Taiwanese inhabitants, the alteration of power relations entailed a decolonization process of symbolic overhaul which demanded a re-shaping of dominant meanings.

One of the social ideologies that impacted East-Asian education at the time when Taiwan shifted from Chinese to Japanese belonging was the historical project of nation building which traced to the 19th century European tradition. It was supported by a nationalist language ideology that combined formal schooling and language standardization as the two tenets of modernization. Around the turn of the century, this model was exported on a global scale. Nation building in combination with Imperialism⁴ remapped the world order of powers and colonies. Subsequently, the Asian continent was drawn into, for some, a painful and ambivalent transformation process: implementing a national language, a national education system and a national-identity. In colonial Taiwan, this national character was redefined in a ‘Japanese’ setting. The Japanese educational model and its language constituted the foundations of ruling strategies. The 1950s decolonization process did not imply the end of the ‘nation’ trope; on the contrary, issues

³ Native should be taken as the collective term referring to the indigenous inhabitants of the colonized territory. The term designates those who ‘belong to a particular place by birth’. In the case of Taiwan, these were the Han-Chinese and the aboriginal peoples. The usage of the term native is to show the contrast with the post-Japanese-coloniality of Taiwan. Another term is that of *benshengren* 本省人 versus *waishengren* 外省人.

⁴ I draw here on Prasenjit Duara’s definition. See, Prasenjit Duara, “The Legacy of Empires and Nations in East Asia” (2001), at <http://www.viadrina.e27.com>

involving national-identity did re-surface. These were fuelled by post-colonial strategies, one of which was that political aspirations were grounded in the search for historical authenticity.

Post-colonial in its hyphenated form conventionally refers to the aftermath of Empire. 'Postcolonialism' refers to the circumstances, both before and after formal independence, whereby colonized peoples seek to take their place as historical subjects.⁵ Taking the Taiwan project of nation building as a whole, postcolonialism involved a dual process: first, the final emancipation of the Taiwan settler or native society from the extended consequences of its subordination to the Japanese Empire, and second, the struggle to be heard of those who were silenced during that initial transition from colony to nation in the post-colonial setting.⁶

Post-Japanese-colonial Taiwan implied a transfer of a people, institutions, technology, and above all Chinese culture from the metropolitan Chinese center to a new setting, Taipei, Taiwan. Significantly, the Japanese colonial experience was judged against received standards, whose real theme was not the emergence of Taiwan against the partition of China, but the exact post-colonial denial of the self-awareness of the Taiwan entity. Thus, history writing placed the colonial past within an Imperial framework, and the historicity of Japanese colonial rule was closely connected to defining the ROC national myth. Taiwanese realities as they had happened under Japanese colonial rule were molded in a framework that was predisposed to two key factors: 1) emphasizing the recent past as an anti-Japanese struggle to confirm the KMT Republican cause and 2) sustaining the denial of the partition of China and the emergence of Taiwan.

The duality in Taiwan's postcoloniality is then the condition in which Taiwanese seek to take their place as historical subjects, not only in contestation with Japanese but also with KMT rule. If postcolonial literature critically scrutinizes the colonial relationship, and as Elleke Boehmer observed "writing that sets out in one way or another to resist colonialist perspectives",⁷ in post-

⁵ In relation to Japan and only Japan, Taiwan did achieve 'independence'.

⁶ I draw here from research by Elleke Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995) and Stuart Macintyre, "Australia and the New Empire," in Robin W. Winks, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire Volume V Historiography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 163-181.

⁷ Cited in Boehmer, op.cit. p. 3.

Japanese-colonial Taiwan these ‘colonialist perspectives’ take on a dual meaning. On one side, the discourse is informed by theories concerning the superiority of Japanese culture and the rightness of its empire; and on the other, the Chinese-KMT pattern of such discourse was equally marked by experiences of cultural exclusion and division. Based on these observations, Taiwanese postcolonial historiography dealing with the Japanese colonial period had to free itself from and break with a Sino-centric Imperial top-down perspective and construe a Taiwan-centric National bottom-up perspective. In opposition to the orthodoxy of Imperial history, the purpose was to define and express Taiwanese sentiment, which it found in the local experience. What characterized the shift from a Sino-centric to a Taiwan-centric perspective was a conscious engagement with the Japanese colonial past as a Taiwanese experience from which to derive historical authenticity.

Articulation of the local experience increasingly drew attention to the psychological-intellectual problems of understanding the colonial experience from within and from ‘below’. The notion that the Taiwanese under Japanese colonial rule had few dynamics of their own other than response and counter-response gave way to a new narrative underlining the vitality and complexity of the interplay of forces.

This shift did not take place in a vacuum. Indeed, strategies of postcolonial self-definition were inspired by a revolution in historiography since the 1980s. The usage of ‘revolution’ is not an exaggeration. The term ‘revolution’ in connotation with historiography also manifested itself in Europe. I particularly refer to the historiographical revolution of the 1960s in study British Empire studies.⁸ As Roger Louis observed, “it was a product of the times. The work of the scholars who shaped that revolution was, in part, a response to the dislocations of the Second World War, altered power relations, and the unleashing of those forces that created the cold war or to which the cold war was itself a response”.⁹ Much that was once viewed as Imperial History became the history of a national-identity, supported by the rise of area studies; the need to incorporate insights from the social sciences, especially anthropology and linguistics; and the ascendancy of cultural studies with its blend of literary, anthropological, sociological

⁸ Robin W. Winks, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire Volume V Historiography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

⁹ Roger Wm. Louis, “The Future of Imperial History,” in Robin W. Winks, ed., op.cit. p. 653.

and psychological methodologies.¹⁰ Women's studies, environmental studies and aboriginal or indigenous studies developed alongside, having in common Edward S. Said's notion of the 'Other' as a catalyst, for they focused on people who stood outside the mainstream; outside the traditional documentation generated by bureaucracies, companies, and armies; outside the matrix of 'decision-makers'.¹¹ These academic developments crystallized mainly in the Euro-American community, but did not go unnoticed by the Taiwanese academic community, especially those who pursued postgraduate education abroad.¹²

Taiwan's Historiographical Revolution

In the ROC national myth, its history was a tale of firsts, bests, and absolute beginnings.¹³ Chinese history was the source of moral elevation and authenticity. This ideological stand was in turn supported by a nationalist language ideology that vigorously promoted a Mandarin-only policy evidenced in linguistic centralization in education and curricula. Other histories, by definition, were declared of lesser significance, or in certain situations, non-existent. Taiwanese local history was assumed to be marginal and secondary to the re-newed Chinese metropolis. Yet, it became increasingly obvious that the entry of the once-colonized Taiwanese into the One-China myth could not continue to deny the Japanese colonial legacy. Popular mobilization and resistance was fuelled by social activists and found support within the academic community which was compelled to see that scientific research increasingly had to localize and internalize. This debate is known as the *neidihua* (內地化) versus *bentuhua* (本土化)¹⁴ discourse, spearheaded by anthropologists and taken on by historians.¹⁵

Contemporary Taiwanese historians divide the postcolonial development of Taiwan history into three stages. According to Chang Yen-Hsien 張炎憲, the

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 654, pp. 658-59.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 663-5.

¹² It is beyond the scope of this article to present a lengthy investigation of the academic interaction between Taiwan and the international community.

¹³ Boehmer applies this to the description to British Imperial history, see Boehmer, op.cit. p. 24.

¹⁴ 'bentuha' is also referred to as *tuzhuhua* 土著化 or indigenisation of Taiwan society.

¹⁵ Ann Heylen, "From Local to National History: Forces in the institutionalisation of a Taiwanese historiography," *China Perspectives* 37 (September-October 2001), pp. 44-45.

1950s to mid 1960s coincided with the stage of popular research (*minjian yanjiu* 民間研究), and Taiwan historical research was seen as a part of Chinese local history; from the mid 1960s to mid 1970s, due to a convergence of academic and popular research (*xueyuan yu minjian jiehe yanjiu* 學院與民間結合研究), Taiwan historical research became a substitute for Chinese history; and from the late 1970s on, the so-called ‘new spirit of Taiwan historical research’ (*taiwanshi yanjiu de xin jingshen* 臺灣史研究的新精神) emphasized the subjectivity viewpoint (*zhuti guandian* 主體觀點) of Taiwan history.¹⁶ Chang Lung-chih 張隆志 explains the categorization slightly different. He categorizes Taiwan historical research within the framework of 1) Japanese colonial history, 2) Chinese local history and 3) Taiwan-centric history tracing to the 1980s.¹⁷

By the 1980s, Taiwan’s historiographical revolution provided the necessary academic arguments to address the marginalization of Taiwan history. The institutionalization of the collective memory of the ‘recent past’ benefited from four developments that had been fermenting since the 1960s.

First, Taiwan benefited from the international explosion in the scope of history, which ironically was instigated by the social sciences. As the PRC increasingly shut the door to Euro-American scholars interested in the Chinese culture and society, attention shifted to Taiwan. British-ruled Hong Kong and Taiwan were the only regions in the Chinese world accessible for gathering research data. Unlike communist China, Taiwan had not undergone the sweeping changes of a socialist revolution. Because of this, it was believed that Taiwan had a greater continuity with the Chinese cultural past. Foreign social scientists, and to a lesser degree, historians from universities with prominent East Asian programs began finding their way into Taiwan.¹⁸ But having come to find China, anthropologists stayed to study Taiwan.¹⁹ Their interest in Taiwan had, in turn, an im-

¹⁶ Chang Yen-Hsien 張炎憲, “Taiwanshi yanjiu de xin jingshen” 臺灣史研究的新精神 [The New Spirit of the Study of Taiwan History], in *Taiwan shiliao yanjiu* 臺灣史料研究 [Taiwan Historical Materials Studies] 1 (1993), pp. 76-86.

¹⁷ Chang Lung-chih 張隆志, *Zuqun guanxi yu xiangcun taiwan: yige qingdai taiwan pingpuzuqunshi de zhongjian he lijie* 族群關係與鄉村臺灣：一個清代臺灣平埔族群史的重建和理解族 [Ethnicity & Rural Taiwan: an ethno-historical study of the Puzeh in Ch’ing Dynasty] (Taipei: National Taiwan University, 1991), pp. 20-24.

¹⁸ Ann Heylen, “From Local to National History,” p. 44.

¹⁹ A.M. Ahern and Hill Gates, eds., *The Anthropology of Taiwanese Society* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1981), rpt. (Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc, 1997), p. 8.

pact on Taiwan's own academic life. Taiwan's social sciences were increasingly modeling themselves on and introducing American anthropological theories, fieldwork procedures and comparative research methods. Likewise, historians equally came to see the benefits of cooperating with social scientists.

Second, the 1960s also saw a growth of universities in Taiwan, in particular the establishment of history departments at national and private universities, such as Chinese Culture University 文化大學 (1963), Fujen Catholic University 輔仁大學 (1963), Tamkang University 淡江大學 (1966) National Cheng-Chi University 國立政治大學 (1967), National Cheng-kung University 國立成功大學 (1969), National Chung-hsing University 國立中興大學 (1968), and Soochow University 東吳大學 (1972).²⁰ And as Wu Wen-hsing has pointed out, historical research institutions established to train master's and doctoral students emerged in a similar manner in the following two decades.²¹

The third development, great bursts of public history; and the fourth, the slow (yet incomplete) collapse of authoritarian rule, occurred within the framework of Taiwan-based societal changes. To name some of the more prominent: the impact of Taiwan's ousting from the U.N. (1971), the influence of the opposition *Dangwai* movement (*dangwai yundong* 黨外運動), the start of the Taiwanisation of KMT political members, and the literary debate on defining Taiwanese literature (*xiangtu wenxue* 鄉土文學), illustrated in the growth and direction of the Taiwanese publishing industry since the 1970s.²²

From the mid 1970s onwards, universities started to offer optional courses under the heading of 'Taiwan History 臺灣史', 'General History of Taiwan 臺灣通史' or 'Taiwan Development History 臺灣開發史'. Following the 1994 new regulations on university education, the history curriculum was divided into three separate courses on Taiwanese, Chinese, and world history.²³

²⁰ Wu Wen-hsing 吳文星, "Jindai wushinianlai guanyu rizhi shiqi zhi lishi yanjiu rencai peiyu (1945-2000)" 近五十年來關於日制時期之歷史研究人才培育 (1945-2000) : 以歷史研究所為中心 [Graduate Training of Taiwan History during the Japanese Colonial Period in the Past Fifty Years (1945-2000)] in *Taiwanshi yanjiu* 臺灣史研究 [Taiwan Historical Research], 8.1. (2001), pp. 163-164.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 163-164.

²² Hsiao A-chin, *Contemporary Taiwanese Cultural Nationalism* (New York: Routledge, 2000).

²³ Cited in Wu Wen-hsing, "Jindai shinianlai," p. 165.

The next section, addresses how, under these four circumstances, developments in academic research rewrote the historiography of Japanese colonial education in Taiwan.

Historiography of Colonial Education (1950s-1980s)

Research dealing with Taiwan's 'recent past' or the colonial experience was fairly limited in the 1950s and 1960s, and throughout the 1970s. Masters and doctoral dissertations treating Japanese colonial educational policy focused on the institutionalization of the Japanese educational system.²⁴ Works that dealt with the Japanese colonial period in general also paid attention to educational policy. However, discussion was mainly limited to a chapter or part of a chapter.²⁵ These early publications drew on Japanese source materials that were stored in the Taiwan branch library of the Central Taiwan Library.²⁶ As can be seen from the bibliographical notes, frequently cited sources were 1930s and 1940s Japanese publications, i.e. *Taiwan Kyōiku enkakushi* 臺灣教育沿革誌 (A History of Taiwan Education) (Taiwan Kyōikukai, 1939).

Occasionally smaller articles on colonial education appeared as contributions to the *Draft Taiwan Provincial Gazette* (Taiwansheng tongzhigao 臺灣省通誌稿), its institutionally-related journal *Taiwan Wen Hsien* 臺灣文獻 (Report of Historico-Geographical Studies of Taiwan), *Taiwan Fengwu* 臺灣風物 (The Taiwan Folkways), set up by a private publishing house (1951) and the two major compilations published by the Bank of Taiwan between the late 1950s and the 1970s: *Taiwan Jingjishi* 臺灣經濟史 (Economic History of Taiwan) and *Taiwan yanjiu congkan* 臺灣研究叢刊 (Collection of Research on Taiwan).

²⁴ Examples are Wang Chih-ting 汪知亭, *Taiwan jiaoyushi* 臺灣教育史 [The History of Taiwan Education] (Taipei: Taiwan Shudian, 1959); Chang Shou-shan 張壽山, "Riju shidai taiwan guominjiaoyu zhi fenxi" 日據時代臺灣國民教育之分析 [Analysis of Taiwan National Education in the Japanese Colonial Period] MA thesis, National Cheng-Chi University (1959).

²⁵ See Huang Ching-chia 黃靜嘉, *Riju shiqi taiwan zhimindi fazhi yu zhimindi tongzhi* 日據時期之臺灣殖民地法制與殖民地統治 [Japanese Colonial Law and Colonial Rule in Taiwan] (Taipei: Shehuikexue congkanshe, 1960).

²⁶ Chen San-ching & Hsu Hsueh-chi 陳三井, 許雪姬, *Lin Hengdao xiansheng fangwen jilu* 林衡道先生訪問紀錄 [The Reminiscences of Mr. Lin Heng-tao] (Taipei: Academia Sinica, Institute of Modern History, 1992).

These compilations were by no means a concerted effort to propagate, understand and analyze the history of Taiwan in an academic context.²⁷

The early 1970s witnessed a brief but limited disclosure of colonial primary materials. These included *The Taiwan Minpao* 臺灣民報, some of the 1930s literary journals, and also the reprint of the 1939 *Taiwan sōtukufu keisatsu enka-kushi* 臺灣總督府警察沿革誌 (A History of the Taiwan Government-General Police).²⁸ These years also coincide with the first publications of ‘politically correct’ memoirs and (auto)biographies of Taiwanese who lived through the colonial period, and in those works they ventured into descriptions of their educational experiences. These narratives pay attention to both traditional Chinese schooling, that is, learning Classical Chinese, and to formal schooling in the Japanese-style schools. One characteristic is that most of these writers had furthered their studies in the metropolis, Tokyo, or in other Japanese cities.²⁹

Late 1970s and early 1980s doctoral theses on colonial education benefited from the increase in available materials published on the Japanese colonial period. Noteworthy is Prof. Dr. Wu Wen-hsing 吳文星, graduate in history at the National Taiwan Normal University 國立臺灣師範大學—the top university for training public school teachers.³⁰ Both his master’s thesis and doctoral dissertation dealt with aspects of colonial educational in Taiwan.³¹ Wu Wen-hsing’s deserves special mention since he is one of the leading academics, energetically promoting the study of Japanese colonial education in Taiwan.³² His extensive

²⁷ Ann Heylen, “From Local to National History,” p. 42.

²⁸ Its Chinese translation was published in 1989, in five volumes by Chuangzao Publishing Co. [創造出版社] in Taipei.

²⁹ Ann Heylen, “Adapting to the Metropolitan Way of Life, Taiwanese Memoirs in Japan,” paper presented at Symposium, Expanding the History of Globalization, Rikkyo University, Tokyo, (13-14 March 2004).

³⁰ In 1946, National Taiwan Normal University set up a history department. It was recognized as an independent History department in 1962. Postgraduate research institutes in history for master and doctorate degrees followed in 1970 and 1977 respectively.

³¹ Wu Wen-hsing 吳文星, “Rijushiqi taiwan shifan jiaoyu zhi yanjiu” 日據時期臺灣師範教育之研究 [Taiwan Normal Schools Education in the Japanese Colonial Period], MA, National Taiwan Normal University, Department of History (1979), and Wu Wen-hsing 吳文星, “Rijushiqi taiwan shehui lingdao jiecheng zhi yanjiu” 日據時期臺灣社會領導階層之研究 [Social Leadership Class in Taiwan during the Japanese Colonial Period], Ph. D. dissertation, National Taiwan Normal University, Department of History (1986).

³² See Wang Edward 王晴佳, *Taiwanshixue wushinian(1950-2000): chuancheng, fangfa, quxiang*

publication record is then also an indicator of academic journals that helped to establish a forum for Taiwan historical studies.³³

A brief overview of scholarship on Japanese colonial education in the international community draws the attention to ideology and embedded research methodologies at the time of the 1970s. Western language (English) publications on colonial education in Taiwan illustrate Cold War East Asia scholarship.³⁴ Exemplary is Patricia Tsurumi's groundbreaking work *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan*.³⁵ Other works written for the purpose of strengthening scholarship on the Japanese colonial empire were chapters in volumes on the Japanese Empire in which the first contributions by American-trained Taiwanese historians appeared.³⁶ What is noticeable is that this body of scholarship was more concerned with documenting the history of the Japanese Empire.

During the 1950s and 60s, Taiwan was not worthy of academic concern in Japanese academic circles. The leftist tradition in the Japanese academic world favored an interest in communist China. The antagonism between nationalist and

臺灣史學五十年（1950-2000）：傳承、方法、趨向 [Writing History in Taiwan, Tradition and Transformation, 1950-2000] (Taipei: Maitian, 2002), pp. 169-172. For a book review on Edward Wang's book, see Wang Rong-zu 汪榮祖, "Zhuixun ban shiji de zongji: ping Wang qing-jia [Taiwanshixue wushinian(1950-2000): chuancheng, fangfa, quxiang]" 追尋半世紀的蹤跡：評王晴佳，臺灣史學五十年（1950-2000）：傳承、方法、趨向" (Seeking tracks of half a century: Review of Wang Qing-jia's [Writing History in Taiwan, Tradition and Transformation, 1950-2000]) in 中央研究近代史研究所集刊 [Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History Academia Sinica], 40 (2003), pp. 241-248.

³³ These are *Xuebao* 學報 [The Historical Newsletter](1987); *Jindai Zhongguo* 近代中國 [Contemporary China] (1986); *Si yu yan* 思與言 [Word and Thought] (1988); *Taiwan Fengwu* 臺灣風物 [The Taiwan Folkways] (1987).

³⁴ See Tani E. Barlow, "Colonialism's Career," in Tani E. Barlow, ed., *Formations of Colonial Modernity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), pp. 373-412, and Leo T.S. Ching, *Becoming Japanese. Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), chapter 1.

³⁵ Patricia E. Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895-1945* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1977) and Patricia E. Tsurumi, "Colonial Education in Korea and Taiwan," in Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie, eds., *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 275-311.

³⁶ Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie, eds., *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984); Peter Duus, ed., *The Japanese Informal Empire in China, 1895-1937* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989) and Peter Duus, Ramon H. Myers and M. Peattie, eds., *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931-1945* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

communist ideology made Japanese scholars consider Taiwan, under KMT rule, reactionary and non-representative of China. Remorse about colonial rule increased neglect, and it became taboo to mention the subject. Japanese scholars criticized the Japanese invasion of the Asian continent, but this did not extend to Taiwan.³⁷ Interestingly, however, Taiwanese intellectuals in Japan evoked interest in research on the colonial period in the 1960s-1970s. Exiles such as Shi Ming 史明, Dai Guohui 戴國輝 (Tai Kokuki), Ng Chao-tng 黃昭堂, Wang Yude 王育德 (Ō Ikutoku) and Kō Sekai 許世楷 laid the foundations for modern Taiwan Studies in Japan.³⁸ Japanese scholars researching the colonial legacy centered discussion around “anti-Japanese resistance history” (*kōnichī tōseishi* 抗日鬥爭史) and “national movement history” (*minzoku undōshi* 民族運動史).³⁹

Owing to the leftist tradition in Japanese academic circles and the severance of academic interaction with Taiwan, these works came to the attention in Tai-

³⁷ The exception is Yanaihara Tadao 矢内原忠雄, *Teikokushugi ka no Taiwan* 帝國主義下の臺灣 [Taiwan under Imperialism], original text published by Iwanami in 1929, and reprinted in 1963 as part of *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshū* 矢内原忠雄全集 [The Complete Works of Yanaihara Tadao]. It was published as a separate volume in 1984. Also see, Ozaki Hotsuki 尾崎秀樹, *Kindai bungakuteki kizu ato* 近代文學的傷痕 [Scars of modern literature] (Tokyo: Kesōshobō, 1963) and republished as *Kyūshokuminchi bungaku no kenkyū* 舊殖民地文學の研究 [Research on the Literature of the Old Colonies] (Tokyo: Kesōshobō, 1971).

³⁸ These works are: Shi Mei 史明, *Taiwanjin yonhyakunen shihimerareta shokuminchi kaihō no ichi danmen* 臺灣人四百年史秘められた植民地開放の一断面 [A 400 Year History of the Taiwan People, One Aspect of the Undisclosed Liberation of the Colonial Peoples] (Tokyo: Shinsensha, 1962); Ng Chao-tng (Huang Chao-tang) 黃昭堂, *Taiwan minshukoku no kenkyū, Taiwan dokuritsu undōshi no ichidanshō* 臺灣民主国の研究：臺灣独立運動史の一段章 [Research on the Taiwan Democratic Republic, a Chapter of the History of the Taiwan Independence Movement] (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1970); Ō Ikutoku (Wang Yude) 王育德, *Taiwan kumon suru sono rekishi* 臺灣苦悶するその歴史 [Taiwan, A Sad History] (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1970); Kō Sekai 許世楷, *Nihon tōchika no Taiwan* 日本統治下の臺灣 [Taiwan under Japanese Rule] (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1972).

³⁹ Asada Kyōji 浅田喬二, *Nihon teikokushugi ka no minzoku kakumei undō, Taiwan, Chōsen, [Manshū] ni okeru kōnichī no minzoku undō no hatten katei* 日本帝國主義下の民族革命運動、臺灣、朝鮮、「満洲」における抗日の民族運動の発展過程 [National Revolutionary Movement under Japanese Imperialism, the Development of the anti-Japanese Movement in Taiwan, Korea, Manchuria] (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1973); To Shōen 途照産, *Nihon teikokushugi ka no taiwan* 日本帝國主義下の臺灣 [Taiwan under Japanese Imperialism] (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1975); Mukōyama Hiro'o 向山寛夫, *Nihon tōchi ka ni okeru taiwan minzoku undō shi* 日本統治下臺灣民族運動史 [History of the Taiwan Nationalist Movement under Japanese Rule] (Tokyo: Chūyō seiji kenkyūso, 1987).

wan in the 1980s and caught on among a younger generation of Taiwan scholars.⁴⁰ This is the background which situates the demarche of “Taiwan anti-Japanese Resistance Movement”—research titles throughout the 1970s and 1980s.⁴¹

In fact, Wu Wen-hsing’s initial research was grounded in the same premise: an investigation into the educational discrimination between Taiwanese and Japanese residents. Yet, Wu paved the way for an appreciation of Taiwanese dynamics rather than a static top-down treatment. His articulation of the local experience, i.e., that Taiwanese faced discrimination, increasingly drew attention to the psychological-intellectual problems of understanding the colonial experience from within and from ‘below’. The notion that the Taiwanese under Japanese colonial rule had few dynamics of their own other than the dynamics of response and counter-response now gave way to a new understanding of the vitality and complexity of interplaying forces.

One of the first examples is Chou Wan-yao’s 周婉窈 published master degree thesis in history at National Taiwan University.⁴² Chou Wan-yao’s generation spearheaded the documentation of the interplay of forces. What Yu Nan 俞南 in his article calls “the new pinnacle of Taiwan historical research” precisely refers to the ‘localization’ of Taiwanese seeking their place as historical subjects (*dingwei* 定位).⁴³ Research on the Japanese colonial period increasingly associ-

⁴⁰ Wu Mi-cha & Wakabayashi Masahiro, ed. 吳密察, 若林正文編, *Taiwan duihua* 臺灣對話錄 [Taiwan Dialogos] (Taipei: Zili wanbao, 1989), pp. 147-148.

⁴¹ Wu Shui-chi 吳水吉, “Cong yimo taiwan kangri yundong kan taiwan minzu yundong zhi xingzhi” 從乙未臺灣抗日運動看臺灣民族運動之性質 [Characteristics of the Taiwan National Movement as Seen from the Early Taiwan anti-Japanese Resistance Movement], MA thesis, Chinese Culture University, History Department (1976); Chian Tong-jen 簡炯仁, “Riju shiqi taiwan zhishifenzi de kangri yundong: taiwan minzongdangzhi yanjiu” 日據時期臺灣知識分子的抗日運動：臺灣民眾黨之研究 [The anti-Japanese Resistance Movement of Taiwanese Intellectuals in the Japanese colonial period: The Taiwan Minzong Party], MA thesis, National Taiwan University, Political Science Department (1977), and Ang Kaim 翁佳音, “Taiwan hanren wuzhuang kangrishi yanjiou (1895-1902)” 臺灣漢人武裝抗日史研究 (1895-1902) [A History of Taiwanese Armed Resistance under Japanese Rule (1895-1902)], MA thesis, National Taiwan University, History Department (1986).

⁴² Chou Wan-yao 周婉窈, *Riju shidai taiwan yihui shezhi qingyuan yundong* 日據時代的臺灣議會設值請願運動 [Taiwan Parliament Petition League Movement during the Japanese Colonial Era] (Taipei: Zili wanbao, 1989).

⁴³ Yu Nan 俞南, “Taiwanshi yanjiu de xin dingfeng” 臺灣史研究的新頂峰 [The New Pinnacle of Taiwan Historical Research] in *Dangdai* 當代 [Contemporary], 87 (1993), pp. 10-12.

ated itself with national-identity-history writing, and came into full swing from the late 1980s onwards.

Colonial Educational Historiography in the 1990s

Japanese schooling in post-colonial historiography moved from the general to the particular, whereby the particular is investigated educational institutions. With regard to the close up focus on particular types of schools, one notices the inclusion of secondary and vocational schools. Included in this list are “The Institution of Taiwan Normal School Education during the Japanese Colonial Period 日據時代臺灣師範教育制度” (Lee Yuan-hue 李園會, 1997), “Japanese Time Taiwan Agriculture’s Education 1895-1945 日治時代臺灣的農業教育” (Chiang Pei-ching 江佩津, 1997), and “Vocational Schooling and Social Mobility in Taiwan during the Japanese Colonial Period 日據時期臺灣的實業教育與社會流動” (Tsai Ming-ta 蔡明達, 1999).⁴⁴ In the 1980s, the emphasis still tended to be on elementary schooling for Taiwanese, i.e. Lee Yuan-hue’s “Taiwan Elementary Education during the Japanese Colonial Period 日據時期之臺灣初等教育” (1983), and Cheng Mei-shu’s 鄭梅淑 “Taiwan Common Schools during the Japanese Colonial Period 日據時期臺灣公學校之研究” (1988).⁴⁵

Institutions of higher education in the Taiwan colony, i.e. commercial schools and Taihoku Imperial University 臺北帝國大學 (1928) or the predecessor of National Taiwan University 國立臺灣大學, were not created until the 1920s. Research on colonial education in the 1930s tends to highlight concurrent pronouncements in the Japanese colonial discourse that increasingly incorporated Taiwan as a steppingstone to the south. Cases in point are: Wu Mi-cha’s 吳密察 “The Establishment of the Taihoku Imperial University as seen from the Development of the Institutionalization of Japanese Colonial Education 從日本殖民地學制發展看臺北帝國大學的設立” (1990), Chen Li-fu’s 陳俐甫 “The Evolution of Taihoku Higher Commercial School (1919-1947) 臺北高等商業學

⁴⁴ Lee Yuan-hue, *Riju shidai taiwan shifan jiaoyu zhidu* (Taipei: Nantian, 1997); Chiang Pei-ching, “Rizhi shidai taiwan de nongyejiaoyu,” MA thesis, Chung-yang University, History Department (1997); Tsai Ming-ta, “Riju shiqi taiwan de shiye jiaoyu yu shehui liudong,” MA thesis, National Taiwan Normal University, History Department (1999).

⁴⁵ Lee Yuan-hue, *Riju shiqi zhi taiwan chudeng jiaoyu* (Kaohsiung: Fuwen Tushu, 1983); Cheng Mei-shu, “Riju shiqi taiwan gongxuejiao zhi yanjiu,” MA thesis, Tung-hai University, History Department (1988).

校沿革 (1919-1947) ” (1991) and “The Academic Move Southwards of Taiwan and Japan: A Chronology of the Government-General, Taihoku Higher Commercial School, Taihoku Imperial University and Japan’s Southeast Region 臺灣與日本之學術南進：臺灣總督府、臺北高商、臺北帝大與日本東南亞研究的系譜”(1997), Su Chin-fa’s 許進發 “The Southern Direction of the Taihoku Imperial University (1937-1945) 臺北帝國大學的南方研究 (1937-1945) ” (1999) and Cheng Li-ling’s 鄭麗玲 “Taihoku Imperial University and the South Sea Islands: A Case Study of Scientific Surveys of the South Sea Islands 臺北帝國大學與海南島：以海南島的學術調查為中心” (1999).⁴⁶

Diversification of topics mainly pertains to women and aboriginal education. One of the outspoken tenets of Japanese modernization in Taiwanese educational policies was the separation of boys’ and girls’ schools. In the earlier historiography on elementary schooling, this issue was integrated into the subject matter as a whole. The topic of women’s education in colonial Taiwan traces back to the mid-1980s: Chang Su-pi’s 張素碧 “Taiwan Women’s Education during the Japanese Colonial Period 日據時期臺灣女子教育研究 ” (1985) and Yu Chien-ming’s 游鑑明 “Taiwan Women’s Education during the Japanese Colonial Period 日據時期臺灣的女子教育” (1987).⁴⁷

Yu Chien-ming is a leading figure in women’s education. In fact, her research is quite representative of the operational scope of interdisciplinary research, applying colonial discourse and oral history methods to develop the study of women’s history in colonial Taiwan in particular, and that of women in Chinese history in general. The following titles are a selection of Yu Chien-ming’s numerous publications: “The Cradle of Taiwan Women Teachers at the

⁴⁶ Wu Mi-cha, “Cong riben zhimindi xuezhi fangzhan kan taibei diguodaxue de sheli” in *Taiwan jindai shi yanjiu* 臺灣近代史研究 [Research on Taiwan Modern History] (Taipei: Daoxiang, 1990); Chen Li-fu, “Taibei gaodeng shangye xuexiao yange (1919-1947)” in *Taibei Wenxian* 臺北文獻 [Report of Historico-Geographical Studies of Taipei], 95 (1991), pp. 81-97; Chen Li-fu, “Taiwan yu riben zhi xueshu nanjin: taiwan zongdufu, taibei gaoshang, taibei dida yu riben dongnanya yanjiu de xibu] in *Taiwan Fengwu* 臺灣風物 [The Taiwan Folkways], 47.3 (1997), pp. 161-167; Su Chin-fa, “Taibei diguodaxue de nanfang yanjiu (1937-1945)” in *Taiwan Fengwu* 臺灣風物 [The Taiwan Folkways], 49.3 (1999), pp. 19-59; Cheng Li-ling, Taibei diguo daxue yu hainandao: yi hainandao de xueshu diaocha wei zhongxin” in *Taiwan Fengwu* 臺灣風物 [The Taiwan Folkways], 49.4 (1999), pp. 19-59.

⁴⁷ Chang Su-pi, “Riju shiqi taiwan nuzi jiaoyu yanjiu” in *Yunlin Gongzhuang Xuebao* 雲林工專學報 [Yunlin Commercial School Newsletter], 4 (1985), pp. 429-519, and Yu Chien-ming, “Riju shiqi taiwan nuzi jiaoyu,” MA thesis, National Taiwan University, History Department (1987).

Common Schools during the Japanese Colonial Period: Taihoku Third Higher Girls' School (1897-1945) 日據時期公學校女教師的搖籃：臺北第三高等女學校（1897-1945）”（1992）, “Some Thoughts on Women's Education in Taiwan during the Japanese Colonial Period 有關日據時期臺灣女子教育的一些觀察”（1992）, “Taiwanese Women Teachers in the Common Schools during the Japanese Colonial Period 日據時期公學校的臺籍女教師”（1993）, “Taiwanese Nurses during the Japanese Colonial Period 日據時期的臺籍護士”（1994）, “Working Women in Taiwan during the Japanese Colonial Period 日據時期臺灣的職業婦女”（1995）, “Taiwanese Midwives during the Japanese Colonial Period 日據時期臺灣的產婆”（1996）, “Oral History and Research on Taiwanese Women 口述歷史與臺灣婦女史研究”（2001） and “Beautiful Women in Modern China 近代中國女子健美論述（1920-1940）”（2003）。⁴⁸ In her selection of women's issues in relation to the colonial period, Yu's work is complementary to Reiko Yamamoto's 山本礼子 work.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Yu Chien-ming, “Riju shiqi gongxue xiao nu jiaoshi de yaolan: taibei disan gaodeng nuxuexiao (1897-1945)” in *Taiwan guangfu chuqi lishi* 臺灣光復初期歷史 [The History of the Early Years following the Restoration], conference proceedings (1992), pp. 365-435; “You guan riju shiqi taiwan nuzi jiaoyu de yi xie guanca” in *Taiwanshi tianye yanjiu tongxun* 臺灣史田野研究通訊 [Newsletter of the Taiwan History Field Work Project], 23 (1992), pp. 13-18; “Riju shiqi gongxue xiao de taijie nu jiaoshi” in *Rijushiqi taiwanshi guojixueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 日據時期臺灣史國際學術研討會論文集 [Proceedings of the International Conference on the History of Taiwan in the Japanese Colonial Period] (1993), pp. 559-633; “Riju shiqi de taijie hushi” in *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院近代史研究所集刊 [Bulletin of the Academia Sinica Modern History Institute], no 23 (1994), pp. 367-404; “Riju shiqi taiwan de shiye funu,” doctoral dissertation, National Taiwan Normal University, History department (1995); “Riju shiqi taiwan de chanbo” in *Taiwan Studies: A Journal of Translations* (Gender in the Nei World) (1996), pp. 6-48; “Koushulishi yu taiwan funushi yanjiu” in *Liang'an zixunshenhui de shixue yu yingyong xueshu taolunhui lunwenji* 兩岸資訊社會的史學與應用學術討論會論文集 [Conference Proceedings on the Historiography and Operation of Society in the Cross Straits] (Taipei: Mingchuan University Educational Center, 2001), pp. 233-257; “Jindai zhongguo nuzi jianmei lunshu” in Yu Chien-ming, ed., 游鑑明主編, *Wusheng zhi sheng: jindai zhongguo de funu yu shehui (1600-1950)* 無聲之聲：近代中國的婦女與社會（1600-1950） [The Unheard Voice: Modern Chinese Women and Society (1600-1950)] (Taipei: Academic Sinica Modern History Institute, 2003), pp. 141-172.

⁴⁹ For an overview of Reiko Yamamoto's work, see *Taiwan jiaoyushi yanjiuhui tongxun* 臺灣教育史研究會通訊 [Newsletter of the Association for Researching Taiwan Educational History], no 3 (1999), pp. 17-18.

Likewise, research on aboriginal education extends back to the mid-1980s.⁵⁰ However, it started to draw more attention concurrent with the Taiwan aboriginal cultural revival movement in the 1990s. We may refer to two master degree theses: Fang Wen-chen's 方文振 "The aboriginal 'sei-neu-dau' in Taiwan during Japanese's occupation time 日據時期教育政策演變下的蕃童教育之研究" (1993) and Chen Ying's 陳瑛 "From 'tribes people' to 'citizens': the educational formation of Takasago youth groups during Japanese colonial rule 從 '部落民' 到 '國民': 日治時期高砂青年團的教育性格" (1999).⁵¹ Two other cases are Wang Ya-Hsuan's 王雅玄 article "Tracing Taiwan Indigenous Education to Its Source: A Study of Mountain Primary Education during Japanese Period in Taiwan 臺灣原住民學校教育溯源: 日治時期山地初等教育研究" (1999) and Nakamura Taira's 中村平 "Interpretations of elder aboriginals on the Japanese-style 'acculturation'. Case study of the Taiya and Bunong ethnic groups 原住民族耆老對日本式 '教化' 經驗的詮釋: 以 '泰雅' 和 '布農' 族為例".⁵²

The results of this research are significant because they break the long-standing domination of the Sino-centric paradigm in the study of the Japanese colonial period. Nonetheless, research obstacles also need to be taken into consideration. Since the field is fairly new, the accessibility of primary research

⁵⁰ Examples are Chiu I-sung 邱奕松, "Riju chuqi taiwan shandi jiaoyu zhi tantao" 日據初期臺灣山地教育之探討 in *Taipei Wenxian* 臺北文獻 [Report of Historico-Geographical Studies of Taipei], no. 74 (1985), pp. 87-139, and Fujii Shizue 藤井志津枝, "Riju shiqi taiwan zongdufu dui taiwan xianzhumin de 'jiaohua' yu 'tonghua' (1895-1915) 日據時期臺灣總督府對臺灣先住居民的 '教化' 與 '同化' (1895-1915) [The 'Acculturation' and 'Assimilation' Policy of the Japanese Colonial Government-General Towards Taiwan Aborigines (1895-1915)] in *Taiwan-shi yanjiu shiji weihi yantaohui lunwenji* 臺灣史研究 '史蹟維護研討會' 論文集 [Taiwan History Research: Preservation of Historic Events Conference Proceedings] (Tainan: National Cheng-kung University, History Department, 1989).

⁵¹ Fang Wen-chen, "Riju shiqi jiaoyu zhengzhi yanbian xia de fantong jiaoyu zhi yanjiu," MA thesis, National Cheng-Chi University, Department of Ethnology (1993); Chen Ying, "Cong 'buluomin' dao 'guomin': rizhi shiqi gaosha qingnianduan de jiaoyu xingge," MA thesis, National Chung-Hua University, Anthropology Department (1998).

⁵² Wang Ya-Hsuan, "Taiwan yuanzhumin xuexiao jiaoyu pengyuan: rzhishiqi shandi chudeng jiaoyu yanjiu" in *Chudeng Jiaoyu Xuekan* 初等教育學刊 [Elementary Education Journal], no. 7 (1999), pp. 155-171 and Nakamura Taira, "Yuanzhuminzu qilao dui ribenshi 'jiaohua' jingyan de quanshi: yi 'taiya' he 'bunong' zu wei li" in *Taiwan jiaoyushi yanjiuhui tongxun* 臺灣教育史研究會通訊 [Newsletter of the Association for Researching Taiwan Educational History], no 9 (2000), pp. 17- 43.

material proceeds more slowly. One of the reasons for this difficulty is the painstaking work to organize Japanese colonial archival information on aboriginal policies.⁵³ To date a detailed study of Japanese aboriginal educational policies is still in its initial stages.⁵⁴

The first tentative indications that historiography on the Japanese colonial education was moving in the direction of national-identity history writing can be seen from the specific attention given to the final eight years of Japanese colonial rule, known as the *Kominka* 皇民化 era (1937-1945). This period saw an intensification of Japanese cultural domination. In Western scholarship on colonial Taiwan, the *Kominka* era coincides with Japan preparing for total war. It was in the interest of the Japanese colonial authorities to draw the colonies closer into the Japanese sphere of influence. Three examples of this type of scholarship are: Ho I-lin's 何義麟 "Education in the *Kominka* Era 皇民化期間之學校教育" (1986), Chou Wan-yao's "The *Kominka* Movement: Taiwan under Wartime Japan 1937-1945" (1991) —a doctoral dissertation at Yale University that paid considerable attention to the Japanese national language movement since 1937—and Huang Min-yuan's 黃敏原 "On Education and Discipline: On the *Kominka* Movement in Taiwan under Japanese Colonial Rule 論教育與訓規：以日治時期臺灣的皇民化現象為例" (1998).⁵⁵

Whereas the first two works document the setting, the third focuses on the usage of textbooks as source material. The next part of this article addresses colonial textbooks in Taiwanese educational historiography.

⁵³ See Cheng Cheng-Chen 鄭政誠, "Tanxian yu diaocha, xueshu yu lifa: rizhi shiqi lingshi taiwan jiuguandiaoachahui de yuanzhumin diaocha (1909-1922) 探險與調查，學術與立法：日治時期臨時臺灣舊慣調查會的原住民調查 [Exploration and Investigation, Scholarship and Legitimacy: Aboriginal Investigation Rapport of the Japanese Colonial Provisional Inspection Committee on Traditional Customs] in *Taiwan jiaoyushi yanjiuhui tongxun* 臺灣教育史研究會通訊 [Newsletter of the Association for Researching Taiwan Educational History], no. 26 (2003), pp. 2-5.

⁵⁴ I may refer to Kerim Friedman's presentation, entitled "The Political Economy of Aborigine Ethnicity: Land, Language, Education and the State in Taiwanese History," at 9th NATSA annual conference, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J. (16-19, June 2003).

⁵⁵ Ho I-lin, "Huangminhua qijian zhi xuexiaoiaoyu" in *Taiwan Fengwu* 臺灣風物 [The Taiwan Folkways], 36.4 (1986), pp. 47-88; Chou Wan-yao, "The *Kominka* Movement: Taiwan under Wartime Japan in Taiwan and Korea: Comparisons and Interpretations," doctoral dissertation, University of Yale, (1991) and Huang Min-Yuan, "Lun jiaoyu yu shungui: yi rizhi shiqi taiwan de huangminhua xianxiang wei li," MA thesis, National Taiwan University, Department of Sociology (1998).

Introducing Classroom History

The social context underlying Taiwanese scholarly investigations of Japanese colonial textbooks reveals the changing directions within historical research, its methodologies as well as revealing the politically-motivated discourses on the Japanese legacy over the past decades. First, where is the colonial textbook vogue situated in international scholarship?

As pointed out by Van Wiele, the mainstream research method in the history of education focused on an analysis of form rather than content.⁵⁶ This methodology is also known as descriptive or quantitative analysis. From the 1980s onwards, the domination of this quantitative analysis has been supplemented with a qualitative analysis, with reference to the German hermeneutic tradition.⁵⁷ This means that a model of analysis is used and made compatible to the sources and the object of analysis. In this paradigm, questions are usually inspired by contemporary models of ideology, such as nationalism, religion, and genre. Textbooks are interrogated to disclose facets of a given social mentality and reality. Anthropologists, social scientists, and historians engaged in a debate asking questions about ‘why’ things happened and culminated in certain consequences, rather than the old questions of ‘what’ and ‘how’.⁵⁸

In historical-pedagogy, this new approach is known as ‘classroom history’. In a recent publication, this concept is applied to the analysis of colonial textbooks in Belgian Congo.⁵⁹ The authors move away from the “narrative of the curriculum” and take the curriculum itself as the topic of investigation in search for what actually happened in the classroom. They describe this as “breaking the classroom door” and particular attention is paid to educational tools such as edu-

⁵⁶ J. Van Wiele, “The Necessity for a Contextual Approach in Methodology of Religious School Textbook Analysis,” in *Paedagogica Historica*, XXXVII (2001), pp. 369-390.

⁵⁷ Marc Depaepe, Jan Briffaerts, Pierre Kyankenge Masandi Kita and Honoré Vinck, eds., *Manuels et Chansons Scolaires au Congo Belge* (Leuven: Presses Universitaires de Louvain, 2003), p. 16.

⁵⁸ For a discussion, see Michel Vovelle, *Idéologies et mentalités* (Paris: Maspéro, 1982); Georg G. Iggers, *New Directions in European Historiography*, Revised Edition (London: Methuen & Co, 1985); Lawrence Stone, *The past and the present revisited* (Boston (Mass): Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), and P. Burke, ed., *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991).

⁵⁹ Marc Depaepe, Jan Briffaerts, Pierre Kyankenge Masandi Kita and Honoré Vinck, eds., *Manuels et Chansons Scolaires au Congo Belge*, pp. 7-29.

cational journals, visual materials and textbooks. The authors argue that “these documents reflect in a concentrated way not only the memory of the specific culture in which they arose, but at the same time they serve as a witness of previous educational processes, with a more or less direct access to the study of the didactic reality of the past”.⁶⁰ As national-identity history writing and identity politics became one of the 1980s mainstream trends in international scholarship, textbooks proved particularly illustrative in probing the cultural encounter of a past experience that impacted the immediate present. Taiwanese scholarship tapped into this as well.

Early scholarly work in Taiwan integrating the use of colonial textbooks documented their formal characteristics, i.e. how many hours of Japanese language instruction, the number of revised editions concurrent to changes in educational decrees, and so forth.⁶¹ This descriptive analysis also characterized Japanese research on Japanese language instruction and textbooks in Taiwan and Korea.⁶² Furthermore, textbooks were mentioned to support the argument that education under the Japanese became radically different from pre-colonial traditional Chinese education and made a profound impact on the cultural and structural underpinnings of Taiwanese society. What could be more pervasive than having to learn the Japanese language and script at the expense of the Chinese language and script!

The ideological climate should not be forgotten. Historiography on the Japanese colonial period was often written in a Chinese Imperial framework. Engagement with local society and its immediate realities was not the priority in the official orthodox representation following the change of the regime (from Japanese colonial to Chinese national). Situated in a local Chinese history paradigm, investigating the study of the Chinese language formed an integral part of the “anti-Japanese resistance movement”. Briefly, the mainstream interpretation

⁶⁰ Cited in Depaepe et al. , op.cit. p. 32.

⁶¹ For instance, see Ou Yong-sheng 歐用生, “Riju shidai taiwan gongxue xiao kecheng zhi yanjiu” 日據時代臺灣公學校課程之研究 [Taiwan Common Schools Curricula during the Japanese Colonial Period] in *Shengli Tainan Shizhuan Xuebao* 省立臺南師專學報 [Provincial Tainan Normal School Journal], no 12 (1979), pp. 87-111.

⁶² For an overview of frequently cited secondary works in Japanese, see *Taiwan jiaoyushi yanjiuhui tongxun* 臺灣教育史研究會通訊 [Newsletter of the Association for Researching Taiwan Educational History], no 3 (1999), pp. 17-21. With regard to Korea, I refer to the numerous publications by Professor Isoda Kazuo 磯田一雄.

was that under Japanese colonial rule *hanren* 漢人 or Chinese were oppressed. The colonial status of the Chinese language was lamented, but at the same time described as a strong tool of resistance against Japanese cultural assimilation. The Japanese language was studied as a foreign imposed “national language movement”, the language of the intruder. This viewpoint comes to the surface in Wu Wen-hsing’s 1980s research on the Chinese language (*hanwen* 漢文)⁶³ in the traditional schools (*shufang-shobō* 書房) and the promotion of the Japanese national language (*kokugo* 國語) literacy campaigns.⁶⁴ Within this framework, the first references were made to language instruction in the Japanese colonial textbooks.

The shift from quantitative or macro-educational to qualitative or micro-educational methodology with regard to colonial school textbook analysis occurred around the mid 1990s. Tied-in with the socio-cultural climate, a critical investigation of the Japanese colonial textbooks responded to the localization of Taiwan History.

The Ideology of Colonial Textbook Analysis

Following the 1980s liberalization of internal politics, the Taiwanese cultural revival movement lent a special impetus to the study of language education under the Japanese colonial period. Challenges to the interpretation that the Taiwanese were passively transformed into law-abiding Japanese-speaking colonial subjects deprived of their Chinese identity, arose from the “literary” corner.⁶⁵

⁶³ *Hanwen* in Japanese reads *kanbun* and refers to the instruction in Classical Chinese using the Confucian canon.

⁶⁴ Wu Wen-hsing 吳文星, “Riju shidai taiwan shufang zhi yanjiu” 日據時代臺灣書房之研究 [Taiwan Shufang in the Japanese Colonial Period] in *Si yu yan* 思與言 [Word and Thought], 16, no.3 (Sep. 1978), pp. 62-89; “Riju shiqi taiwan zongdufu tuikuang riyu yundong chutan” 日據時期臺灣總督府推廣日語運動初探 [Preliminary Investigation of the Taiwan Government-General Promotion of the Japanese Language Movement in Colonial Taiwan] in *Tunghai Daxue Lishi Xuebao* 東海大學歷史學報 [Tunghai University History Journal], no. 7 (1985), pp. 77-122 or in *Taiwan Fengwu* 臺灣風物 [The Taiwan Folkways], 37.1 (1987), pp. 1-31 [上 part 1] and 37.2 (1987), pp. 53-86 [下 part 2]; “Riju shiqi taiwan shufang jiaoyu zhi zai jiantao” 日據時期臺灣書房教育之再檢討 [Re-examination of the Taiwan Shufang Education in the Japanese Colonial Period] in *Si yu yan* 思與言 [Word and Thought] 26, no.1 (Sep 1988), pp. 31-58.

⁶⁵ See Zhang Wen-zhi 張文智, *Dangdai wenxue de taiwan yishi* 當代文學的臺灣意識

The 1980s debate on Taiwanese Literature (*xiangtu wenxue* 鄉土文學) emphasized the Taiwanese experience which was predisposed to both the Japanese and the Taiwanese language (*taiyu* 臺語).⁶⁶

Accordingly, one may refer to the following two examples on textbook analysis of Japanese language readers: Tsai Chin-chueh's 蔡錦雀 "Examine the first two sets of Japanese textbooks of elementary schools in Taiwan during Colonial age. A.D.1895-1945 日據時代日語教科書的考察：以 '臺灣教科用書國民讀本' 及 '公學校用國民讀本' 為中心" (1992) and Tsai Chin-tang's 蔡錦堂 "Analysis of the 'National Language' textbooks in the Common Schools at the Early Years of the Japanese Colonial Period 日本據臺初期公學校 '國語' 教科書之分析" (1993).⁶⁷

Subsequent research questions in colonial textbook analysis were no longer dominated by 'how many hours did Taiwanese children study Japanese' (macro), instead they emphasized 'what did these Japanese literacy campaigns do to us' (micro). For instance, how can we understand Japanese colonialism, its discourse and more significantly, what does it reveal about Taiwanese consciousness? How did the Japanese colonial authorities go about their policies of cultural transformation? In other words, one increasingly notices the prominence of the identity issue. Particular attention was paid to textbook analysis of history and ethics education, as can be seen from the following titles: "Ethics Curricula in Taiwan Common Schools under Japanese Colonial Rule 日治時期臺灣公學校修身科課程之研究" (Kuo Yu-ting 郭渝葶, 1991), "Characterizing the Colonial Young Nation: the Analysis of Common School Textbooks in Japanese Colonial Taiwan 塑造殖民地少國民：日據時期臺灣公學校教科書之分析" (Hsu Pei-hsien 許佩賢, 1994),⁶⁸ "Looking at History Textbooks in the Taiwan

[Taiwanese Consciousness in Contemporary Literature] (Taipei: Zili Wanbao, 1993), and A-chin Hsiao, *Contemporary Taiwanese Cultural Nationalism*.

⁶⁶ Shi Zheng-feng 施政峰, *Yuyan zhengzhi yu zhengce* 語言政治與政策 [Language Policy and Policymaking] (Taipei: Qianwei, 1996).

⁶⁷ Tsai Chin-chueh, "Riju shidai riyu jiaokeshu de kaocha: yi 'taiwan jiaoke yongshu guomin duben' he 'gongxuexiao yong guomin duben' wei zhongxin," MA thesis, Soochow University, Japanese Culture Department (1992) and Tsai Chin-tang, "Ribei jutai chuqi gongxuexiao 'guoyu' jiaokeshu zhi fenxi" in *Zongguo yu yazhou guojia guanxi xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 中國與亞洲國家關係史學術研討會論文集 [Conference proceedings of the Nation-Relations between China and Asia] (Taipei: Tamkang University, History Department, 1993), pp. 245-300.

⁶⁸ Also see Hsu Pei-hsien 許佩賢, "Cong zhanzhengqi jiaokeshu kan zhimindi 'shaoguomin' de suzao" 從戰爭期教科書看殖民地 '少國民' 的塑造 [The Characterization of the Colonial

Common Schools during Japanese Colonial Rule from the Perspective of Humanist Education 從人文主義教育觀點看日治時期的臺灣公學校歷史教科書” (Chang Miao-chuan 張妙娟, 1997); “History Instruction in Taiwan Common Schools under Japanese Colonial Rule: Analysis of History Textbooks 日治時期臺灣公學校的歷史教育：歷史教科書之分析” (Tsai Hui-kuang 蔡蕙光, 2000), and “A Lost Moral World: Ethics Education in Taiwan under Japanese Colonial Rule 失落的道德世界：日本殖民統治時期臺灣公學校修身教育之研究” (Chou Wan-yao, 2001).⁶⁹

Chou Wan-yao’s writings and conference presentations clearly link colonial education, textbook analysis and national-identity into an integrated whole. To name a few: “The first experience with ‘national language’ for the Taiwanese people: Analysis of the Japanese language movement and its problems in the final period of Japanese colonial rule 臺灣人第一次的‘國語’經驗：析論日治末期的日語運動及其問題” (1995), “The Ambiguous Taiwanese: Japanese colonial rule and contemporary ethnic national-identity 曖昧的臺灣人：日本殖民統治與近代民族國家認同” (1996); “Positioning the Grassroots of Taiwan in the Japanese Colonial Textbooks in the Common Schools 鄉土臺灣在日治時代公學校教科書中的地位” (1997) and “Colonial Education and National-identity: Reflections on the Origins of ‘Taiwanese Consciousness’ (1999).⁷⁰

‘Young Nation’ from the Textbooks in the War Period] in *Taiwan Fengwu* 臺灣風物 [Taiwan Folkways], 46.1 (1996), pp. 63-94.

⁶⁹ Kuo Yu-ting, “Rizhi shiqi taiwan gongxuexiao xiushen kecheng zhi yanjiu” in *Shehuikeshhe jiaoyu xuekan* 社會科學教育學刊 [Social Political Science Education Journal], 84 (1991), pp. 50-61; Hsu Pei-hsien, “Suzhao zhimindi xiaogumin, riju shiqi taiwan gongxuexiao jiaokeshu zhi fenxi,” MA thesis, National Taiwan University, History Department (1994); Chang Miao-chuan, “Cong renwen zhuyi jiaoyu guandian kan rizhi shiqi de taiwan gongxuexiao lishi jiaokeshu” in *Lishi Jiaoyu* 歷史教育 [Historical Education], 1 (1997), pp. 23-36; Tsai Hui-kuang, “Rizhi shiqi taiwan gongxuexiao de lishi jiaoyu: lishi jiaokeshu zhi fenxi,” MA thesis, National Taiwan University, History Department (2000); Chou Wan-yao, “Shiluo de daode shejie: riben zhimindi tongzhi shiqi taiwan gongxuexiao xiushen jiaoyu zhi yanjiu” in *Taiwanshi yanjiu* 臺灣史研究 [Taiwan Historical Research], 8.2 (2001), pp. 1-63.

⁷⁰ Chou Wan-yao, “Taiwanren di yici de ‘guoyu’ jingyan: xilun rizhi moqi de riyu yundong ji qi wenti” in *Xinshixue* 新史學 [New History], 6. 2 (1995), pp. 113-161; “Aimeide taiwanren: riben zhimintongzhi yu jindai minzu guojia rentong” paper presented at *Hewei taiwan? Jindai taiwan meishu yu wenhua rentong* 何謂臺灣？近代臺灣美術與文化認同 [How to name Taiwan? Contemporary Taiwanese Artistic and Cultural Identity Conference], (13-14 September 1996); “Xiangtu taiwan zai rizhi shidai gongxuexiao jiaokeshu zhong de diwei” in *Xiangtushi jiaoyu xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 鄉土史教育學術研討會論文集 [Conference Proceedings of

Probing the social mentality also drew the Japanese colonizers into the picture. Some examples that position colonial education within the Japanese Imperial context are: “Probing Japanese Language Textbooks to Reveal the Colonizer’s View of Taiwan Society 探究日本語教科書中殖民統治者對臺灣社會之觀點” (Liu Shuyan 劉書彥, 1996) and Chou Wan-yao’s recent article in *Taiwan Historical Research*, entitled “The ‘National History’ Education in Taiwan, Korea, and Manchuria under Japanese Rule (1920-1945) 歷史的統合與建構：日本帝國圈內臺灣、朝鮮和滿洲的〔國史〕教育” (2003).⁷¹ The poignant issue, a comprehensive understanding of what exactly constituted ‘colonial modernity’ and how Japanese schooling acted as a vehicle to integrate Taiwan into the general culture of modernity, is well illustrated by Chen Pei-Feng’s 陳培豐 research.⁷²

For colonial textbook analysis to be worthy of the current academic debate on the interrelationship between colonialism and modernization, the historical-pedagogical approach developed in Depaepe (2003) suggests four perspectives on classroom history. Kita, one of the co-authors, argues that textbooks are use-

Xiangtu History and Education] (Taipei: Taiwan Branch of Taiwan National Library, 1997), pp. 153-164; “Colonial Education and National-identity: Reflections on the Origins of ‘Taiwanese Consciousness,’” paper presented at Nationalism: The East Asian Experience Conference, Taipei (May 25-27 1999).

⁷¹ Liu Shu-yan, “Tanjiu ribenyu jiaokeshu zhimin tongzhizhe dui taiwan shehui zhi guandian” in *Taiwan Fengwu* 臺灣風物 [The Taiwan Folkways], 46.3 (1996), pp. 15-72; Chou Wan-yao, “Lishi de tonghe yu jiangou: ribendiguo quannei taiwan, hanchao he manzhou de ‘guoshi’ jiaoyu” in *Taiwanshi yanjiu* 臺灣史研究 [Taiwan Historical Research], 10.1 (2003), pp. 33-84.

⁷² Chen Pei-feng 陳培豐, “‘Dōka’ no dōshō imu Nihon tōchika Taiwan no kokugo kyōikushi saikō” ‘同化’の同床異夢日本統治下臺灣の国語教育史再考 (Strange Bedfellows of Japan’s “Assimilation Policy”) Japanese Colonial “kokugo” Education in Taiwan Re-visited), Ph. D. dissertation, Tokyo, University of Tokyo (1999); “Zhongxin zhimindi taiwan de ‘tonghua’ jiaoyu zhengce: yi riben de jindai zhengzhi sixiangshi wei zuobiao” 重新解殖民地臺灣的〔同化〕教育政策：以日本的近代政治思想史為座標 [A Renewed Understanding of the ‘Assimilation’ in the Education Policy in Colonial Taiwan: Fom the Vewpoint of Japanese Modern Political Thought History], paper presented at Institute of Taiwan History, Preparatory Office, Academia Sinica, Nankang (4 September 2000); “Zhimin jindaihuazhong taiwanren de zhutixing yi ji qi yingxiang: yi taizheng guoyu ‘tonghua’ jiaoyu zhengce de zhuanhuan wei lunshu” 殖民近代化中臺灣人的主體性以及其影響：以大正期國語‘同化’教育政策的轉換為論述 [Taiwanese Subjectivity in Colonial Modernity and its Influence: Changes in the ‘Assimilation’ Policy in National Language Education during the Taisho era], Institute of Taiwan History, Preparatory Office, Academia Sinica, Nankang, International Conference on Re-examining Colonialism and Modernisation (23- 24 December 2002).

ful in the following ways: 1) mediators of science; 2) instruments of socialization; 3) didactic tool; and 4) product of a particular local context.⁷³ Unfortunately, that the preoccupation with Taiwanese identity writing has overshadowed a parallel investigation into the educational practices and acquisition methods of Japanese educators which would further our understanding of ideology in their educational project. For example, current textbook analyses do not test textbook's role as mediators of science. Hopefully, research on scientific instruction in, vocational and other schools shall further our understanding of the Japanese colonial legacy in Taiwanese education.

However, the life cycle of the Taiwanese identity paradigm does not forego or neglect scientific development in the colonial days. The introduction of science in the colonial days belonged the realm of modernization policies. Therefore, research on the colonial discourse of sanitation policies, hygiene and medical schools were studied from the perspective of Japanese colonial policymaking, and only recently have been addressed as an educational practice. To provide answers, it is appropriate to situate the discussion within a broader frame that highlights the novelty of Japanese style education in colonial Taiwan.

The Novelty of Music and Gymnastics in the Curriculum

The introduction by the Japanese of physical education and music instruction were novel ideas. These subjects were absent from traditional Chinese schooling.⁷⁴ The package of 'singing and bodily fitness' was ascribed to 'modern', an extension of 'global' ideas.

Attention was not paid to musical and physical education under Japanese colonial rule until the 1990s. An overview of research on these two courses quickly allows us to see the development from the general (macro) to the particular (micro). Also both curriculum courses, reflect differently on Taiwanese modernity and identity writing.

The following works and articles document the introduction and expansion of musical instruction: "Music Instruction and Classification of Music Text-

⁷³ Masandi K. Kita, "Les livrets de lecture des Pères Blancs du Kivu (1910-1950)" in Depaepe et al., *Manuels et Chansons Scolaires au Congo Belge*, pp. 35-41.

⁷⁴ An effort was made to include drill exercises in educational reform programs at the late Qing period.

books in Taiwan during the Japanese Colonial Period 日據時期臺灣音樂教育及教科書剖析” (Li Hui-jia 李穗嘉, 1990), “Taiwan Normal school Music Education under Japanese Colonial Rule 日治時期臺灣師範學校音樂教育之研究” (Sun Zhi-jun 孫芝君, 1997) and “A Study of Music Textbooks in Taiwan during Japanese Rule 日治時期公學校音樂教科書初探” (Lai Mei-ling 賴美鈴, 1999).

75

We notice a similar development from the general to the particular for works on physical education: “Preliminary Investigation into the Private Schools during the Japanese Colonial Period: Case Study of Physical Education Classes 日據時期臺灣小學之初探：以體育課程為中心” (Tsai Hsin-tsung 蔡信宗, 1990), “The History of the Development of Taiwan Elementary Physical Education during the Japanese Colonial Period 日據時期臺灣初等教學體育發史” (Tsai Chen-hsiung 蔡禎雄, 1995), “The Dodge Ball Game in Colonial Taiwanese Schools 日據時代臺灣國民小學躲避球運動發展之研究” (Fan Chun-yuan 范春源, 1995), “Physical Education and Sport Competitions in Taichū Normal School during Japanese Colonial Rule 臺中師範學校日治時期的體育教學與運動競賽之回顧” (Sung Ching-jung 宋清榮, 1999) and “Colonialism and Physical Education: Gymnastics in the Taiwan Common Schools during the first half of Japanese Colonial Rule (1895-1922) 殖民主義與體育：日治前期 (1895-1922) 臺灣公學校體操科之研究” (Hsieh Shih-yuan 謝仕淵, 2002).⁷⁶

Subsequent research on colonial music instruction identifies music as a cultural marker. Key to the discussion is the idea of how to comprehend and situate

⁷⁵ Li Hui-jia, “Riju shiqi taiwan yinyue jiaoyu ji jiaokeshu pouxi,” MA thesis, Chinese Culture University, Department of Liberal Arts (1990); Sun Zhi-jun, “Rizhi shiqi taiwanshifan xuexiao yinyue jiaoyu zhi yanjiu,” MA thesis, National Taiwan Normal University, Department of Music (1997); Lai Mei-ling, “Rizhi shiqi gongxuexiao yinyue jiaokeshu chutan” in *Taiwan jiaoyu-shi yanjiuhui tongxun* 臺灣教育史研究會通訊 [Newsletter of the Association on Research of the History of Education in Taiwan], no 4 (1999), pp. 3-9.

⁷⁶ Tsai Hsin-tsung, “Riju shiqi taiwan xiaoxue zhi chutan: yi tiyu kecheng wei zhongxin” in *Guomin Tiyu Jikan* 國民體育季刊 [National Physical Education Bulletin], no 84 (1999), pp. 91-113; Tsai Chen-hsiung, *Riju shiqi taiwan chudeng jiaoxue tiyufazhanshi* (Taipei: Nantian, 1995); Fan Chun-yuan, “Riju shidai taiwan guomin xiaoxue duobi qiu yundong fazhan zhi yanjiu” in *Tiyu Xuebao* 體育學報 [Physical Education Journal], no. 20 (1995), pp. 167-77; Sung Ching-jung, “Taizhong shifanxuexiao rizhi shiqi de tiyu jiaoxue yu yundong jingsai zhi huigu” in *Zhongshi Tiyu* 中師體育 [Middle and Normal School Physical Education], 49.4 (1999), pp. 107-127 and Hsieh Shih-yuan, “Zhiminzhuoyi yu tiyu: rizhi qianqi (1895-1922) taiwan gongxuexiaotichaoke zhi yanjiu,” MA thesis, Chung-yang University, History Department (2002).

Japanese “educational modernization” and derive a “modern Taiwanese” perception. Liu Lin-yu’s 劉麟玉 (2002) doctoral dissertation looked at the colonial origins of modern music education in Taiwan, with special reference to the Taiwanese reception of Japanese music defined as Western (*xiyang* 西洋), i.e. modern music, in contrast with traditional Chinese music.⁷⁷ A 1999 research paper of Chen Yu-hsiu 陳郁秀, described the first well-known colonial Taiwanese composer Zhang Fu-xing 張福興 within the context of his music education in Japan, his subsequent teaching career in Taiwan, and his career as a composer.⁷⁸ And finally, Hsu Ying-fan’s 許瀛方 recent master thesis (2002) “The National-identity of the Patriotic Songs from the Japanese Colonial Period to the Martial Law Period in Taiwan 1895-1987 臺灣日治至戒嚴時期愛國歌曲之國家認同意識研究 (1895-1987)” is an example of the identity connotation.⁷⁹ In a nationalist discourse, each example above uses music, its instruction and social function as a Taiwanese cultural marker to denote the distinction from its traditional Chinese and colonial Japanese counterparts.⁸⁰

Research on physical education instruction is less inclined to emphasize the “Taiwan specificity”. In particular, the element of discontinuity in the transition from the colonial to postcolonial is less pronounced. Although there were differences between Japanese colonial and KMT nationalist physical education instruction, the underlying idea of ‘a healthy mind in a healthy body’ and the 1930s militarization of education with its emphasis on discipline was a well understood strategy by educators and statesmen in both Republican China and

⁷⁷ For a brief description of Liu Lin-yu’s Ph.D., see “Zhimindi shiqi taiwan xuexiao changge jiaoyu de chengli yu zhankai (1895-1935)” 殖民地時期臺灣學校唱歌教育的成立與展開 (1895-1935) [The Establishment and Development of Music Education in Colonial Taiwan] in *Taiwan jiaoyushi yanjiuhui tongxun* 臺灣教育史研究會通訊 [Newsletter of the Association on Research of the History of Education in Taiwan], no 22 (2002), pp. 14-18.

⁷⁸ Chen Yu-hsiu 陳郁秀, “Zhang Fuxing yu jindai taiwan yinyue zhi fazhan” 張福興與近代臺灣音樂之發展 [Zhang Fuxing and the Development of Modern Music in Taiwan] in *Taiwan jiaoyushi yanjiuhui tongxun* 臺灣教育史研究會通訊 [Newsletter of the Association on Research of the History of Education in Taiwan], no 6 (1999), pp. 9-16.

⁷⁹ Hsu Ying-fang, “Taiwan rizhi dao jieyan shiqi aiguoqequ zhi guojia rentongyishi yanjiu,” MA thesis, National Taiwan Normal University, Education Department (2002).

⁸⁰ It should be noted that a formation in music education since 1945 emphasized a grounding in traditional pre-Republican Chinese music instruction. The Japanese colonial experience contrasted sharply with its postcolonial KMT equivalent.

Imperial Japan (e.g. Hwang Jinlin 2001; 2002).⁸¹ The historical essence of KMT ideology grounded in order and discipline was transplanted to Taiwan after 1945. Against the background of the assumed continuity between the Chinese Republican (1911-1949) and post-1945 KMT which inspired physical education in Taiwan, the topic of physical instruction and sports in the Japanese colonial period was merely regarded as a curiosity.⁸²

This contrasts with Korean research on the history of sports that tends to emphasize that “from 1880 to 1945 nationalism was the driving force in the emergence of Korean sport”.⁸³ In Korea, the issue of colonial sports education and performances is still strongly embedded in Korean postwar nationalist history, as De Ceuster demonstrated.⁸⁴ The Taiwanese equivalent does not single out colonial sport performances in the same nationalistic spirit.⁸⁵ However, it does so with Taiwanese musical achievement, contrasting the colonial with the postcolonial.

Taiwanese current interests are inspired by the questions such as what was it about physical education that transformed us into modern people, and how did we become active participants in colonial society by recognizing sports as a social practice in the budding mass culture? A clear example of the latter is Lin Mei-jun's 林玫君 research paper, entitled “Students and Mountain Climbing

⁸¹ Hwang Jin-lin 黃金麟, *Lishi, shenti, guojia: jindai zhongguo de shenti xingcheng (1895-1937)* 歷史、身體、國家：近代中國的身體形成 (1895-1937) [History, Body and Nation: The Formation of the Modern Chinese Body] (Taipei: Lianjing chubanshe, 2001) and “The Production of a Militarized Body in Nationalist China, 1927-1949,” paper presented at conference Political Economy of the ROC, SOAS, London (7-8 May 2002).

⁸² On a list of master and doctoral theses on physical education, see Fan Chun-yuan 范春源, “Tiyushique yanjiu dongtai” 體育史學研究動態 (1989-1999) [Directions in the History of Physical Education Research (1989-1999)], in *Taiwan jiaoyushi yanjiuhui tongxun* 臺灣教育史研究會通訊 [Newsletter of the Association for Researching Taiwan Educational History], no. 9 (2000), pp. 48-56.

⁸³ Cited in J.A. Mangan and Ha Namgil, “Confucianism, Imperialism, Nationalism: Modern Sport, Ideology and Korean Culture,” in J.A. Mangan, ed., *Europe, Sport, World: Shaping Global Societies* (London: Frank Cass, 2001), p. 71.

⁸⁴ Koen De Ceuster, “Wholesome Education and Sound Leisure: the YMCA Sports Programme in Colonial Korea,” *European Journal of East Asian Studies*, 2.1 (2003), p. 56.

⁸⁵ It remains to be seen to what extent “sport” may figure in an ideological platform in the current Taiwanese identity discourse about cross-strait relations, but this discussion is beyond the scope of this paper.

Activities under Japanese Colonial Rule 日治時期學生的登山活動” (2003).⁸⁶ This novelty of sport linked to the socializing process of the modern era in colonial Taiwan finds its exact expression through an increasing interest in applying classroom history methodology.

Towards a Common Denominator

One of the benefits of the classroom history is that it offers alternatives to transcend the national-identity paradigm and is inclusive of insights on the educational mentality and didactic reality of the past.⁸⁷ Depaepe’s approach to textbook analysis in *breaking the classroom door* observes that “a complete analytical perspective requires contextualisation of the texts- namely, including the historical interpretation of other source material in addition to what textbooks reveal about linguistic, anthropological, historical, ideological and even pedagogical dimensions in the colonial context.”⁸⁸

Two examples in Taiwanese scholarship demonstrate the scope of classroom history. Yeh Pi-ling’s 葉碧苓 analysis of calligraphy instruction in the colonial period, entitled “The Qualification Examination for Calligraphy Teachers in Secondary Education during Japanese Colonial Rule 日治時期中等學校書法科教師檢定考試之研究” instructs us about the didactic reality of the past (2002).⁸⁹ Yeh’s paper does not engage in a lament on how sadly Chinese calligraphy was ‘Japanized’ or stoop to an investigation of the ‘creation of a Taiwanese style’ (local color). In contrast, the paper treats calligraphy 書法 as a “classroom course”, renamed “writing class” 寫字科 and ventures into a discussion illustrating the Japanese engagement with the ‘professionalization’ of calligra-

⁸⁶ Lin Mei-jun, “Rizhi shiqi xuesheng de dengshan huodong” in *Taiwan jiaoyushi yanjiuhui tongxun* 臺灣教育史研究會通訊 [Newsletter of the Association on Research of the History of Education in Taiwan], no 27 (2003), pp. 10-20.

⁸⁷ Cited in Depaepe et. al, *Manuels et Chansons Scolaires au Congo Belge*, p. 32.

⁸⁸ M. Depaepe and F. De Boeck, “‘Indigenism’ and ‘Colonialism’ in Congolese Primary Education. A case study on the educational mentality and reality in the Belgian Congo (1908-1960), starting from the analysis of colonial textbooks and focusing on the Mbandaka-area. Leuven, unpublished paper (2000).

⁸⁹ Yeh Pi-ling, “Rizhi shiqi zhongdeng xuexiao shufake jiaoshi jianding kaoshi zhi yanjiu” in *Taiwan jiaoyushi yanjiuhui tongxun* 臺灣教育史研究會通訊 [Newsletter of the Association on Research of the History of Education in Taiwan], no 21 (2002), pp. 2-8.

phy writing in education. Using a series of contemporaneous materials, Yeh constructs a picture of what it took to prepare and qualify for the examination of calligraphy teacher. Interestingly, Yeh tentatively suggests that lessons may be learnt from the didactic reality in Taiwanese colonial classrooms in view of the current debate on educational reform in Taiwan.⁹⁰ Professionalization can act as a common denominator in furthering the exploration of colonial textbooks and educational materials to document the didactic reality of the past.

Equally noteworthy is Hsu Pei-hsien's recent conference paper, entitled "'Gymnastics', 'Singing' and the Regulation of the Body (1895-1911) '體操'、'唱歌' 與身體的規律化 (1895-1911) " (2002).⁹¹ Hsu diverts from what has already been written on development histories of music and physical education and ventures into a discussion of the social mentality during the first two decades of colonial rule. For instance, Hsu's discussion on music instruction addresses the following questions: (1) "What is the role of music instruction within the framework of colonial educational policies?", (2) "What is the ideological message of these songs?", and (3) "What do these songs teach us about the collective social imagination?"⁹² Supporting research materials include not only the curriculum textbooks, pedagogical journals with references and comparisons to music instruction within Japan proper compiled by the colonial authorities. These efforts are supported by a brief investigation into the models that Japanese educators adopted and by research on these particular courses in other colonies.

Hsu's contribution, however, lies in using discipline—regulation of the body—as a common denominator to integrate a discussion of musical and physical education as a social instrument in educational policies. Late 19th-century Japanese educational practices, resulting from 1868 educational reform in Japan

⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 7-8.

⁹¹ Hsu Pei-hsien, "'Tichao', 'changge' yu shenti de guiluhua (1895-1911)", paper presented at International Conference on Re-examining Colonialism and Modernisation. Institute of Taiwan History, Preparatory Office, Academia Sinica, Nankang (23- 24 December 2002).

⁹² For a recent discussion of music instruction in Belgian Congo addressing these same questions, see the two chapters by Masandi K. Kita in Marc Depaepe et. al., *Manuels et Chansons Scolaires au Congo Belge*, i.e. "La chanson scolaire dans l'éducation coloniale au Congo Belge: Référentiel Théorique," pp. 197-226, and "La chanson scolaire dans l'éducation coloniale au Congo Belge: Etude Thématique," pp. 227-253.

drew on Western models of order and discipline. Singing and physical movement integrated in the school ritual were a reflection of order and discipline.⁹³

So far, my textbook analysis has not yet addressed its value to the reconstruction of the educational mentality in colonial Taiwan, nor have we become any wiser about the didactic reality of Japanese education.

The Localization of Colonial Education

The History of Education in Taiwan not only serves the purpose of academic research, aimed at the reconstruction of the past. In addition, it also fulfills a significant social role, especially with regard to generating public awareness of Taiwanese nation-building and identity formation. In this context, I shall briefly address the ‘localization’ of Taiwanese as historical subjects as seen from the viewpoint of educational historiography. The localization is mainly reflected in three fields.

First, one notices the increase of in-depth studies in regional education during the Japanese colonial period. Some typical examples are “Elementary Education in the Yilan district during the Japanese Colonial Period (1895-1945) 日據時期宜蘭地區初等教育之研究 (1895-1945)” (Lin Cheng-fang 林正芳, 1992), “Elementary Education in Kao-Hsiung City during the Japanese Colonial Period 日據時期高雄市初等教育之研究” (Huang Wen-shu 黃文樹, 1994), “The Elementary Education of the Japanese Colonial Period in Nan-tou City 南投市日據時期的初等教育” (Chang Ching-lung 張慶龍, 1997), “The History of Education in Lukang Township (1895-1945) 日據時代鹿港地區的教育活動 (1895-1945) 日據時代鹿港地區的教育活動” (Dan Wen-jing 單文經, 1999), and “The Cradle of Colonial Elite Education: Taichung Number One Middle School 日治時期菁英教育的搖籃：以臺中一中為例” (Chu Pei-chi 朱佩琪, 1999).⁹⁴

⁹³ See Marc Depaepe, ed., *Order in Progress. Everyday Education Practice in Primary Schools: Belgium, 1880-1970* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2000), pp. 161-63.

⁹⁴ Lin Cheng-fang, “Riju shiqi Yilan diqu chudeng jiaoyu zhi yanjiu (1895-1945),” MA thesis, Chinese Culture University, History Department (1992); Huang Wen-shu, “Riju shiqi Gaoxiongshi chudeng jiaoyu zhi yanjiu” in *Gaoshi wenxian* 高市文獻 [Kao-Hsiung City Historical Reports], 7.2 (1994), pp. 1-31; Chang Ching-lung, “Nantoushi riju shiqi de chudeng jiaoyu” in *Taiwan Wenxian* 臺灣文獻 [Report of Historico-Geographical Studies of Taiwan], 48.1 (1997), pp. 179-219; Dan Wen-jing, “Riju shidai Lugang diqu de jiaoyu huodong (1895-1945)” in

Second, centenaries and anthologies, such as Wu Wen-hsing's recently published "Investigation of the Old Schooling System of the Tainan Normal School in the Japanese Colonial Period 日據時期舊制臺南師範學校之探討" in *A Centenary of Tainan Normal School* 南師一百年 (1998) and "The Cradle of Talented San Hsia People: Sanjiaoyong Common School 近代三峽人才的搖籃：三角湧公學校" in *A Centenary of San Hsia Primary School* 三峽國小一百年 (2000) have appeared.⁹⁵ The publication of these centenaries usually follows a series of commemoration activities held at the school (e.g. Hsu Pei-hsien, 1998).⁹⁶ On an academic level, we notice the organization of conferences that link the commemoration of Taiwanese Personalities with a focus on society and education in the Japanese colonial period. For instance in the year 1997, several conferences commemorated Lian Ya-tang 連雅堂 (Lian Heng 連橫), and a significant number of papers were attributed to Lian's education and literary activities.⁹⁷ Another example is the 2002 International Conference on "Colonial Education, Overseas Students in Japan and Taiwanese Society: Commemorating Mr. Lin Mao-sheng 林茂生" co-organized by the Academia Sinica, Preparatory Of-

Jiaoyuyanjiu Jikan 教育研究季刊 [Bulletin of Educational Research], 42 (1999), pp. 17-49 and Chu Pei-chi, "Rizhi shiqi qingying jiaoyu de yaolan: yi taizhongyizhong wei li," MA thesis, Tsinghua University, History Department (1999).

⁹⁵ Wu Wen-hsing, "Riju shiqi jiushi tainan shifan xuexiao zhi tantao" in *Nanshi Yibainian* 南師一百年 [A Centenary of Tainan Normal School] (Tainan, 1998); "Jindai sanxia rencai de yaolan: sanjiaoyong gongxuexiao" in *Sanxia guoxiao yibainian* 三峽國小一百年 [A Centenary of San Hsia Primary School] (San-Hsia County, Committee for the Centenary Celebration of San-Hsia Primary School, 2000), pp. 43-64.

⁹⁶ Hsu Pei-hsien 許佩賢, "Bainianxiaqing: lishi jiyi yu difang rentong" 百年校慶：歷史記憶與地方認同 [A Centenary of Schools, Historical Recollections and Local Identity] in *Taiwan jiaoyushi yanjiuhui tongxun* 臺灣教育史研究會通訊 [Newsletter of the Association for Researching Taiwan Educational History], no. 1 (1998), pp. 14-16.

⁹⁷ Chen Chao-hsiung 陳照雄, "Lian Ya-tang shidai zhi taiwan jiaoyu" 連雅堂時代之臺灣教育 [Education in Taiwan During the Times of Lian Yatang] in *Dierjie zhongguo jindai wenhua wenti xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 第二屆中國近代文化問題學術研討會論文集 [Proceedings on the Second Conference on Modern Chinese Cultural Issues] (Taipei: National Cheng-Chi University, 1997), pp. 45-60; Wang Wen-yan 王文顏, "Lian Yatang xiansheng de shishe huodong" 連雅堂先生的詩社活動 [Mr. Lian Yatang and the Activities of the Poetry Societies] in *Lian Heng: Zhongguo jindai wenhua de jiegou yu zhongjian* 連橫：中國近代文化的解構與重建 [Lian Heng, Framing and Reconstruction of Contemporary Chinese Culture] (Taipei: National Cheng-Chi University, 1997), pp. 101-118.

Office of Taiwan History, the Lin Maosheng Patriotic Culture Foundation and the Association of History of Taiwan Education.

Third, as a result of the popularity of public projects coalescing around Taiwanese education, one clearly sees the close relationship between the Taiwanese colonial experience and day-to-day life in expositions and other public projects. Examples are the 2000 exposition “Taiwanese Educational Materials”, at Academia Sinica, Institute for History and Philology displaying teaching materials, textbooks, and notebooks covering the late-Qing, Japanese colonial and early postcolonial period. Another example is the 2003 exposition featuring “Schoolbooks that Mother and Father Used to Read: Fragments in Modern Taiwanese National Education 阿公阿嬤讀的冊：近代臺灣國民教育點滴”, held in the Kao-Hsiung City History Museum from April 22 to August 3, 2003.

Finally, brief reference needs to be made to the educational debate on textbook deregulation and reform. In August 1997, the Ministry of Education (MOE) produced three standard textbooks for “*Know Taiwan*”: *Know Taiwan History Volume*, *Know Taiwan Society Volume* and *Know Taiwan Geography Volume*. These textbooks followed a revision of the history curriculum, including the addition of a new course for “Taiwan history”.⁹⁸ At academic workshops, history professors and secondary school teachers gather to discuss the further directions of the compilation of Chinese history textbooks and the method of teaching this history. Prevailing questions are the ideological perspective to be adopted, the incorporation of Taiwan history in the national history curriculum, and discussions of academic courses that teach Taiwan history at universities.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Laurent Michelin, “An Educational Reform... or a Political One? The Revision of School Textbooks” in *China Perspectives*, 15 (January-February 1998), pp. 52-57; Christopher Hugues and Robert Stone, “Nation-Building and Curriculum Reform in Hong Kong and Taiwan” in *China Quarterly*, 160 (December 1999), pp. 976-991; Stéphane Corcuff, “L’inspection Han à Formose. L’affaire des manuels scolaires Connaître Taiwan (1994-1997)” in *Etudes chinoises*, 20, no. 1-2 (2001); Chen Jyh-Jia, “State Formation, Pedagogic Reform and Textbook (De)gulation in Taiwan (1945-2000),” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison (2003).

⁹⁹ Ann Heylen, “From Local to National History” and Huang Dao-yuan 黃道遠, “Guonei gedaxue zhuanxuanxiao taiwan jiaoyushi xiangguan kecheng kaike zhuankuang” 國內各大學專院校臺灣教育史相關課程開課狀況 [Courses on Taiwan History at Universities and Colleges in Taiwan] in *Taiwan jiaoyushi yanjiuhui tongxun* 臺灣教育史研究會通訊 [Newsletter of the Association on Research of the History of Education in Taiwan], no 24 (2002), p. 28.

Conclusion

The transition from a Sino-centric to Taiwan-centric approach in history writing on the Japanese colonial period formed an integral part of Taiwan's historiographical revolution. It was accompanied by trends in international scholarship that likewise penetrated Taiwan's academic community. State-sponsored historical research in combination with private initiatives reveals tendencies to favor the particular over the general. However, it has not produced a body of scholarship that regards the Taiwanese as victim. On the contrary, this article demonstrated the predisposition for academic research methods. Classroom history enables the disclosure of the interrelations and interdependencies between Japanese, Chinese and Taiwanese subjectivities in a postcolonial educational historiography.