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Assimilation and Discrimination:

The Contradictions of Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895-1945

By Luna Stevenson

This thesis is submitted in partial requirement for the degree of Bachelor of Arts with
Honors in History.

Department of History

Oberlin College

April 30, 2010

Acknowledgements

I thank my parents for their invaluable guidance and help through every stage of the process.

I thank my thesis advisor, Professor Emer O'Dwyer, for her tutelage and for inspiring the historian in me.

I thank Professor Carol Lasser for believing in my ability to complete this project.

I thank my friends Elisa Fernandez-Arias, Nora Frederickson, Rachel Gergen, and many others for their moral support throughout the process.

I thank my extended family for their help in Taiwan, and for the direction they gave me in shaping the final product.

-Luna Stevenson, 4/30/2010

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Introduction

One: Introduction to Thesis Topic

In the late nineteenth century, the ability to colonize marked a nation's status as a world power, one that was capable of spreading its civilization beyond its borders. Japan acquired its first colony, the island of Taiwan, in 1895 and sought to educate its inhabitants in a manner that assimilated them into the Japanese culture. Limited historical research has been done in English on Japanese colonial education in Taiwan, and the 1929 doctoral thesis of Lin Mao-sheng, a Taiwanese education official who studied abroad in both Japan and the United States, has not been made a part of this narrative. This paper examines Lin's arguments in his thesis, and sets them in the historical and political context of 1920s Taiwan.

Lin Mao-sheng was born in 1887 in Tainan, in the southern part of Taiwan to a family of the scholar-gentry class. He graduated from a middle school in Tainan, to which he later returned as an administrative official. He cared deeply about his alma mater and his country. Lin graduated from Tokyo Imperial University in 1916 with a degree in eastern philosophy, being the first Taiwanese to achieve this honor. After he returned to Taiwan he became a leading intellectual and recognized expert on both Chinese and western learning. Sponsored by the Japanese colonial government he went to Columbia University and earned his doctorate in 1929. His doctoral thesis, entitled *Public Education in Formosa under the Japanese Administration: A Historical and Analytical Study of the Development and the Cultural Problems*, is the focus of my paper. I discuss in detail the eighth and ninth chapters of his thesis, respectively entitled "Theoretical

Problems” and “Practical Problems”, which criticize the Japanese colonial government’s assimilation policy based on the elimination of Chinese language instruction in public schools.

Lin’s thesis could not be published during the Japanese occupation because of its sharp criticisms of the island’s current education system. Unfortunately for Lin, who had hoped that his work would inspire his fellow countrymen to promote Taiwanese culture, the Chinese Nationalist party under Chiang Kai-Shek proved as oppressive of Taiwanese nationalism as the previous Japanese colonial regime. Lin was among the 30,000 intellectuals in Taiwan who perished in the February 28 Incident of 1947. Martial Law was implemented by the Nationalist government to weed out any communist influence, and was not lifted until forty years later when the island’s first democratic presidential elections were held in 1987. Only after the political atmosphere in Taiwan had become substantially more relaxed was Lin’s work able to be published. It currently exists in a Chinese translation, having been translated by the author’s daughter and published in Taipei in 2000. The event of its publication coincided with a Taiwanese government-sponsored movement to revive the Taiwanese language (*min-nan-yu*), which is a dialect of Chinese, in schools, as well as to promote Taiwanese culture (*xiang-tu wen-hua*).

The main English work done in this field has been Patricia Tsurumi’s *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895-1945*, which provides a detailed account of the school system in the colony, and of how it developed under the shifting political climate of Japan during its fifty years of Taiwanese rule. She outlines the beginnings of the school system and of its change after the integration reforms of 1919 and 1922, the effects of Japan’s war effort on its colonial education system, the overall impact of

Japanese education on Taiwanese life, and the political activism of highly educated Taiwanese. Tsurumi provides a broad overview of Japanese colonial education in Taiwan over its fifty-year course, but does not examine the assimilation policy, or its effects on the Taiwanese people, in depth. This paper addresses the harmful effects of assimilation on the Taiwanese, and the contradiction between assimilation and racial¹ discrimination that was strongly present in the Japanese colonial government from 1895 to 1945. The last chapter briefly explores the deeper questions of assimilation and colonial education in a comparative context, in hope to inspire further research on the harmful effects of assimilation in other colonies.

I will focus on two important contributions made by Lin's work. One was the provision of a contemporary record of colonial education in Taiwan up to the late 1920s. The other contribution--more salient to the purposes of this paper--was the author's recognition of the crucial importance of a culturally appropriate form of education for the Taiwanese. A child who was in effect cut off from his or her native culture and language while in school, Lin observed, would not be able to develop into a confident and intellectually independent adult. Yet the Japanese administration threatened to do exactly this in imposing their colonial, strictly Japanese language-based education system on the Taiwanese², and it was Lin's goal to make people, both in Taiwan and abroad, more acutely aware of the implications of this policy.

¹ Although the Japanese and Taiwanese are both East Asians, the Japanese during this time considered themselves as members of a "Japanese race" that was distinct from other East Asian peoples.

² The term Taiwanese indicates the residents of Taiwan who are descendents of Chinese settlers that emigrated from China to the island in the seventeenth century. The term excludes both the aboriginal populations of Taiwan and the Chinese settlers who immigrated to Taiwan after 1945.

My thesis explores the assimilation question that was debated among Japanese bureaucrats throughout the period of colonial rule. At the beginning of Japan's Taiwanese administration, a policy based on gradualism was adopted, where at present the two peoples would be segregated, and through incremental changes, become fully assimilated in the distant future. However, in 1919, an immediate assimilation policy in the education system was implemented and continued in earnest until the end of the Japanese administration.

Supported by Lin's arguments, which I explore in the chapter that follows, I argue that the policy of assimilation enforced by the public school system was harmful and caused psychological damage to children. Arguably, Taiwanese language/culture and Japanese language/culture should at least have been valued equally, a practice which would have been beneficial to both the colonizer and the colonized. The more specific argument to be set forth here is that Japanese colonial education in Taiwan was guided by an assimilation policy that was discriminatory in practice, and the Japanese colonial government justified this contradiction with racist attitudes toward the Taiwanese. The hope was that the Taiwanese people should become in effect Japanese and be productive imperial subjects, but at the same time the Japanese living in Taiwan wished to maintain their privileges over the islanders.

The first chapter presents Lin's critiques of the assimilation policy as based on the elimination of compulsory Chinese language classes in public schools and of using Japanese as the language of instruction for all subjects. This chapter provides evidence for the harmful nature of assimilation, and argues for the adoption of a colonial policy

that would value the languages and cultures of Taiwan and Japan equally in the Japanese colonial education system.

Chapters two through five present evidence of the presence of the contradictions between assimilation and discrimination. In chapter two, I focus on Lin's analysis of the disadvantages faced by Taiwanese students in the Japanese education system, despite the promulgation of a 1922 education rescript, which proclaimed equal education opportunities for both the Japanese and the Taiwanese. Chapter three analyzes the work of Takekoshi Yosaburo, a Japanese bureaucrat who visited Taiwan in 1905 to report on the progress of the colonial enterprise on behalf of the Japanese Diet. Takekoshi's remarks and observations show that the Japanese colonial government provided an assimilative education for the Taiwanese people, but believed that the Taiwanese were too racially inferior to fully absorb an education that was fit for the Japanese. In chapter four, I look at accounts of the Canadian and British Presbyterian missionaries in the 1920s, which show that despite a fair amount of success in assimilation, the Japanese colonial government denied the Taiwanese people access to higher education. The fifth chapter reviews the observations of George Kerr, an American writer and educator who worked in Taipei and Tokyo in the late 1930s. Kerr's account reveals the effects of assimilation on highly educated, elite Taiwanese, and the ambiguous position they found themselves in as well-assimilated Taiwanese who still suffered from discrimination. Through analyzing the primary accounts of Lin, Takekoshi, the Presbyterian missionaries, and Kerr, I hope to provide evidence of Japanese racial discrimination against the Taiwanese, despite its official policy of assimilation and integration, from a diverse range of viewpoints.

In the sixth and final chapter, I review the education provided for Taiwan's aboriginal population, and make a comparison between Japanese colonial education in Taiwan for both the Taiwanese and the aborigines, and British colonial education in Jamaica. This diverges from the central argument and provides a launching point for the further study of colonial education in comparative context – a topic that extends beyond the scope of this paper. I chose the Jamaican case because I admired the approach taken in Brian Moore and Michele Johnson's *Neither Led nor Driven: Contesting British Cultural Imperialism in Jamaica, 1865-1920*, which emphasized the agency of the Jamaicans in preserving their heritage under a government that was fundamentally alien to them.

The Japanese colonial government sought to assimilate the Taiwanese at the very outset, far before assimilation became official policy in 1922. The Taiwanese had been under Chinese political control before the Japanese took over, but did not feel particularly strong loyalties toward the Qing emperor, because the island had remained a peripheral part of the Chinese Empire for nearly three hundred years.

Two: Taiwan Before and After Japanese Rule

Taiwan was settled by Han Chinese immigrants in the seventeenth century, and remained an unimportant backwater of the Qing Empire until Japan's rise to power threatened China in the late nineteenth century. After China lost the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, it ceded Taiwan to Japan in perpetuity. At that time a confused and hopeless attempt was made to declare the island independent and to block the oncoming

Japanese. This move failed entirely, and for the next half-century the island and its people underwent a remarkable technological, social, and economic revolution where its infrastructure, medical facilities, and education system were modernized. George Kerr remarked that by the 1930s the living standards of Taiwan were second only to Japan in all of Asia. This transformation left Taiwan a very different place when it was returned to Chinese rule in 1945. In the meantime, China had undergone remarkable political changes as well, and at that point the conflict between the Nationalists and the Communists were reaching their peak. The dramatic changes in both places explain why the return of Taiwan was fraught with so much conflict.

The following overview of the political history of post-war Taiwan owes much to George Kerr's *Formosa: Licensed Revolution and the Home Rule Movement 1895-1945*. The remarkable change that took place in Taiwan was one which a majority of the U.S. State Department's China experts chose deliberately to ignore. They were eager to foster China's postwar recovery under an effective government that would be allied with the U.S., whatever its political coloration might be. Taiwanese-Chinese minority interests could not be allowed to stand in the way. American officials did not wish to remind their superiors that a reconciliation of the Taiwanese people with the continental Chinese would be no easy task after all that had taken place during the preceding Japanese half-century. Unfortunately for such *realpolitik*, the Taiwan question would not vanish simply because bureaucrats in Washington would have it so.

When toward the war's end Japan was exhausted and faced defeat, American propaganda poured into the island, promising Taiwan an end to oppressive Japanese rule and the prospect of new life and dignity in a democratic postwar China. Island leaders

believed in this propaganda and imagined themselves welcomed by this new China, sponsored by the United States of America, guarantor of freedom and the richest and most powerful nation on Earth. The war's end was greeted with deep but mixed emotions in Taiwan. Some Japanese military men wanted to refuse the terms of surrender, and a few committed suicide. Japanese and Taiwanese civilians welcomed peace, and the Japanese prepared to return to their home country. The Taiwanese and the aborigines in the hills were happy to be rid of the colonial rulers, and thanked the United States- not China- for it.³

Beginning in October 1945, American ships and planes transported thousands of Chinese troops from the continent together with Nationalist administrative officers, their relatives, and their friends. Unfortunately for the Taiwanese, these new arrivals turned out to be rapacious carpetbaggers, eager for the spoils of war. The Taiwanese welcome was reserved. Within six weeks it had worn away. Within six months Taiwanese leaders were angrily protesting to the local administration and vainly attempting to invoke the attention of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek. By the end of 1946 the American consulate had to warn the ambassador at Nanking and the State Department at Washington that the Taiwanese were on the brink of rebellion. Taiwanese leaders felt that, under Chinese rule, they had been thrust back fifty years into the turbulent nineteenth century. They feared that all the gains made under the Japanese administration would soon be lost.⁴

On February 28, 1947, Taiwanese throughout the island began to rise in unarmed protest, demanding sweeping reforms in the Taipei administration. Some attempted to

³ Kerr, George H. *Formosa: Licensed Revolution and the Home Rule Movement 1895-1945*. Honolulu, HI: The University of Hawaii Press, 1974, xii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xv.

petition the Generalissimo for corrective action and others sought some form of foreign intervention to ensure reform and to keep Taiwan clear from the mounting civil war on the continent.

In the eyes of the continental Chinese- Nationalist and Communist alike- this was treasonable behavior. The Taiwanese were condemned as being not true Chinese, an island people spoiled by a tradition of rebellion and by fifty years of Japanese rule. Chiang Kai-shek's response to the Taiwanese reform demands was swift and brutal. A Chinese Nationalist expeditionary force of some fifty thousand well-armed men was sent out to the island. At least ten thousand Taiwanese, and possibly up to thirty thousand, were killed or imprisoned, and thousands in addition were forced to seek safety overseas. A generation of well-educated Taiwanese leaders disappeared. The February 28 Incident and its bloody suppression was a tragic event in Taiwanese history that deprived the island of leaders who held its interests at heart.

Under Japanese rule, Taiwan had been subject to a brutal assimilation policy that threatened the survival of Taiwanese language and culture. After 1949, the Chinese Nationalists continued assimilation, except now it was Mandarin, or standard Chinese (*pu-tong hua*) instead of Japanese, and continental Chinese culture instead of Japanese culture.

Three: Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan

A brief overview of Japanese colonial education in Taiwan is in order. The following overview is drawn primarily from Patricia Tsurumi's *Japanese Colonial*

Education in Taiwan. In 1895, Japan gained Taiwan and the Penghu islands from China as a result of the Treaty of Shimonoseki. Defeating China in the first Sino-Japanese War was a major turning point for Japan, as this gave it the status of a colonial power, raising it from a position of inferiority to one of equality *vis-à-vis* the West. Taiwan was Japan's first colony, and Japan was ill prepared for the role of colonizer at first. Nevertheless, it strove to assimilate the Taiwanese and turn them into loyal subjects of the emperor.

Japan began modernizing after the Meiji Restoration, and was a relatively new world power when it obtained its first colony. The Japanese as a unified people had been a conception found only among the Tokugawa elites, while the commoners felt strong local ties. The country's modernization and, correlated with this, the spreading of nationalistic thinking to all members of society, was a gradual process, one which was still in its early stages when Japan acquired its first colony in 1895. As a standardized Japanese language was one of the main tools used to unify Japan, the Japanese colonial government in Taiwan hoped that learning this language would also help the Taiwanese identify with Japan. The colonial government was headed by military men from 1895 to 1922, and again from 1936 to 1945, with a period of civilian rule that coincided with Taisho Democracy.

Governor-general Kodama Gentaro and his chief civil officer Goto Shimpei arrived in Taiwan in 1898. Their administration established elementary schools for Taiwanese subjects, called common schools (*kogakko*), while elementary schools for Japanese were called primary schools (*shogakko*). The common school aimed to give Taiwanese children a good command of the Japanese language and to teach them ethics and practical knowledge, in order to cultivate them as good Japanese citizens. The

curriculum consisted of Japanese language, ethics, classical Chinese, arithmetic, music, and gymnastics.⁵

In July 1899, the Education Bureau announced that it will only fund the traveling expenses and salaries of teachers, and that all other school expenses will be born by the people of the district. Hence, schools should only be established where the Taiwanese people undertook to support them out of their own pocket. In 1898 seventy-four common schools were accredited; by the end of Kodama's term eight years later, 180 government elementary schools served approximately 32,000 pupils, or about 5.3% of Taiwanese school-aged population.

The overall aims of the new education system were: (1) to win the support of the Taiwanese for the new regime; (2) to develop a stratum of Taiwanese sufficiently well-educated to serve the administrative and clerical apparatus of the colonial government; (3) to educate Japanese nationals living in Taiwan; (4) to popularize formal education for girls; (5) to produce Taiwanese teachers and medical personnel; and (6) to make the island's school system as financially self-sufficient as possible. To these ends, common schools, normal schools, and a medical college were created.⁶ Throughout his term in Taiwan, Goto espoused a gradual policy of assimilation. He believed that drastic changes should not be introduced into a society, because they would not be absorbed. Instead, step-by-step changes should be implemented, and eventually a society could be reformed.

Common school graduates had very limited educational opportunities on the island, and the demand for higher education grew. Eventually, the first middle school for

⁵ Tsurumi, Patricia E. *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977, 16.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 18.

Taiwanese boys was established in 1915. Taiwanese leaders exploited the colonial government's fear of the increasing numbers of Taiwanese studying in Japan in order to gain reluctant authorization for its establishment. This middle school was supported heavily by Taiwanese, and building expenses were paid for by Taiwanese donations. The school, located in the central part of the island, opened its doors in 1915 for one hundred male pupils. Students were required to live in dormitories and adhere to a Japanese lifestyle, and homesickness was common. The curriculum of the Taichu Middle School was inferior to that of middle schools for Japanese, despite Taiwanese aspirations for an equal education. It accepted boys who had completed only four years of common school instead of six years of primary school, its program of study was one year shorter than a Japanese middle school course, and vocational subjects such as agriculture and commerce were compulsory in all grades. Moreover, the school's course was not a prerequisite to any higher training program in the colony. As a result, well-to-do Taiwanese still looked to Japan as a place to send their sons who wished to get ahead. In fact, Taiwanese who studied in Japan often encountered less discrimination there than at home. They also became more integrated into Japanese society than they had ever been before.

The administrations of governor-generals Sakuma Samata (1906-1915) and Ando Sadayoshi (1915-1918) built upon the foundations laid by Kodama and Goto. A separate school system for Japanese children catered to the growing needs of Japanese residents. As the Japanese community grew, new primary and secondary schools were opened.

Meanwhile the quality of common schooling for Taiwanese children was steadily improving, while efforts were made to “Japanize”⁷ Chinese private schools and to reduce their numbers. Higher schooling for Taiwanese was developed slowly, sparingly, and with extreme reluctance. Japanese administrators reasoned that higher education, especially in law, literature, politics, and philosophy, would encourage unrest and even rebellion. Therefore it was to be avoided as much as possible. Apparently this was the lesson they drew from their studies of earlier and contemporary western colonialism. Thus Taiwanese who demanded an advanced education should be channeled into professional studies, which would produce the kind of trained personnel the colony required for economic growth. Hence, during the first decades of colonial rule, higher education for Taiwanese meant either normal school or medical school.⁸

Goto Shimpei’s gradualism remained essentially unchanged until Akashi Motojiro took office in 1919. Governor-general Akashi was a retired military man who carried a lot of authority, and he was able to autocratically begin reforms that pushed toward assimilation. He believed that the Taiwanese and Japanese should become one race, though his concept of assimilation by no means guaranteed equal rights and privileges; Taiwanese should still remain at the lower levels of society. Akashi’s 1919 education rescript unified all schools for Taiwanese into a single system. In addition, it established two new institutions, an agriculture and forestry college and a commercial college. In fact, Akashi’s reforms significantly increased education opportunities for the Taiwanese.

⁷ Japanize means, in this context, to supplant Taiwanese language and culture with Japanese language and culture.

⁸ Ibid., 214.

After Akashi's 1919 rescript, the education system for the Taiwanese looked like this, with the numbers on the left indicating year in school:⁹

QuickTime™ and a
TIFF (Uncompressed) decompressor
are needed to see this picture.

This system for Taiwanese students remained essentially unchanged until the end of the Japanese administration.

In 1922, Den Kenjiro became the first civilian governor-general of Taiwan. His administration announced assimilation as an official policy, though this idea had been the

⁹ Ibid., 85.

guiding principle behind education on the island since the earliest days of Japanese occupation. In the education rescript of 1922, all schools above the elementary level became integrated, meaning that they were equally open to both Japanese and Taiwanese. Admission to primary schools were now open to Taiwanese who were fluent enough in Japanese, and common schools opened its doors to Japanese students who lived too far from any primary schools. Although Den sincerely wished to increase education opportunities for Taiwanese, his reform actually reduced the number of Taiwanese who received higher training in the colony. The rescript gave colonial Japanese far more new opportunities than it gave the Taiwanese, since Japanese became eligible for the first time for admission to specialized schools previously only available to Taiwanese. Another reason for this unintended effect was that the Japanese bureaucrats who worked in the colonial government were set on protecting Japanese interests, and permitted the favoritism of Japanese applicants to middle schools and higher institutions.

The idea of co-education, or educating both Japanese and Taiwanese students in the same environments, met with protest by the Taiwanese. The common school curriculum was made closer to that of the primary schools. Japanese history was added, vocational subjects were reduced, and Chinese became an elective. Many schools used this excuse to drop Chinese altogether, and the disappearance of Chinese language from public education had far reaching consequences for Taiwanese identity.¹⁰

At first, the colonial government allowed traditional Chinese-style education (*shobo*) to co-exist in Taiwan alongside the modern Japanese educational system. However, in the 1930s acculturation began in earnest due to the changing atmosphere

¹⁰ Ibid., 79-106.

back in Tokyo. As Japan became increasingly militarized, it demanded intensified Japanization for the cultivation of loyal Taiwanese subjects,¹¹ and withdrew recognition of private schools on the island. The public school system remained essentially unchanged, but an ultranationalistic ideology seeped into the curriculum through revised textbooks. Compulsory education for Taiwanese was declared in the late 1930s, but was never carried out in earnest since Japan's resources were heavily invested in the war effort.

At the same time, thirty-odd years of Japanese education had greatly influenced most of the island's inhabitants. Besides schools, the Japanese government had implemented other measures of control. The colonial government forced Taiwanese residents to enroll in the *hoko* system, which encouraged neighbors to keep an eye out for unruly behavior among their own brethren. The police were often a part of daily life, and many residents felt compelled to become more Japanized due to the constant threat of disciplinary action. The colonial government implemented various social programs to reach people who did not attend schools, and to bring more Taiwanese citizens under the umbrella of Japanization.

Closely related to this was the fact that discrimination against Taiwanese was naturally part of this program of colonization and assimilation: it could be found everywhere, in schools and in the workplace. Most Taiwanese found it hard to enroll in institutions of higher education on the island despite being well-qualified. Those who did not have enough money to study in Japan were often frustrated and forced to take a blue-collar job. Despite subjecting the Taiwanese people to oppression and discrimination in

¹¹ Ibid., 127.

their daily lives, the Japanese government paradoxically espoused ideals of full assimilation and integration.

I. The Assimilation Policy

One: Exclusion of Chinese Language Instruction

The Kodama administration made the dissemination of Japanese language (*kokugo*) the first plank of its educational platform. Early educational endeavors geared toward an assimilation policy even though assimilation was not explicitly adopted. This policy had been considered by the colonial administration since its inception and was made the official policy in 1922.

Den Kenjiro integrated all schools above the primary level with the expectation that having Japanese and Taiwanese in the same classroom would dissolve racial differences. Den's 1922 education rescript, which Japanized the common school curriculum, made Chinese language classes¹² elective. To the great distress of Taiwanese parents, many schools used this excuse to drop these classes altogether. Furthermore, since the language of instruction was Japanese, this change meant that Chinese language disappeared from public schools. Lin Mao-sheng was very concerned with the absence of Chinese language classes in public schools, and began his critique of the assimilation policy by arguing that Chinese should not be dropped from the education system.

In his doctoral dissertation Lin provides several reasons not to eliminate Chinese classes in common schools, and to rely solely on Japanese as the language of instruction.

The first is that children in the lower primary grades, who spoke a Chinese dialect at

¹² In the Japanese colonial education system, Chinese language classes included teaching written Chinese at the elementary level and the Chinese classics at the secondary level. At first, the teachers spoke and taught in Taiwanese, though later on in the administration there was a push to teach the Chinese classics in Japanese, as was done in Japan. This created confusion and frustration for Taiwanese students, who were ethnically Chinese.

home, did not fully comprehend Japanese. Using only Japanese in schools would slow their progress in learning other subjects, as well as the development of their Chinese language skills, which were highly relevant to their daily lives. Second, because ninety-five percent of all Taiwanese did speak a common dialect of Chinese, they did not lack a common language. The Taiwanese recognized the value of speaking Japanese but they would not have been at all inconvenienced in their daily life without it.¹³

However, given that they had to learn Japanese in school and for school, Lin further argued that Chinese should still be used as a subsidiary means of instruction, because the Chinese and Japanese languages share many similarities. For example, sixty percent of Japanese vocabulary is written in Chinese characters with the same meaning. Hence, having Chinese language classes in school would actually aid the children in acquiring Japanese instead of hindering them. There would be, Lin argued, great value in keeping Chinese language in the schools as a supplementary means of instruction, since without continuing their formal study of Chinese the students' Japanese language learning capacity would be weakened, and the process of Japanization would be delayed.

Lin goes on to make a crucial point: language assimilation does not mean racial assimilation. After all, language is merely a form of social life, and a change in this form does not indicate an actual change in one's mind or thinking.¹⁴ Hence the official suppression of the native language of the Taiwanese, who would still be basically living their lives in that language, would only lead to resentment and hinder the progress of

¹³ Lin Mao Sheng. *Riben tong zhi xia Taiwan de xue xiao jiao yu : qi fa zhan ji you guan wen hua zhi li shi fen xi yu tan tao* (Public Education in Formosa under the Japanese Administration: A Historical and Analytical Study of the Development and the Cultural Problems). Taipei, Taiwan: Xin zi ran zhu yi Company, 2000, 208.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 209.

Japanization. There would be significantly less antagonism if Chinese classes remained part of the curriculum, and if Chinese was used alongside Japanese as a language of instruction. Since Chinese was an intimate part of the Taiwanese way of life, Japanese language could never really supplant it. After all, given that the Japanese constituted a minority of 200,000 among 3,500,000 Taiwanese, how could their language and customs, their way of life, actually overtake those of the Taiwanese? Rather, Lin contends, the two languages—and by extension cultures—should develop side-by-side, each one enriching the other with new vocabulary and new concepts.¹⁵

Lin further supports this argument by pointing out that the idea of completely assimilating a colony's people has never proved successful in history. More specifically, based on thirty-four years of records, Japanization has not worked in Taiwan, and it is a concept based on fallacy. Although assimilation has always been the goal of the government, how have the Taiwanese people been affected, Lin asks, after thirty-four years as a colony of Japan? First, their habits, customs, and clothing have not changed in the least.¹⁶ Second, while mixed marriage has proven to be a more effective means of assimilation than formal education, under the Japanese administration there have been fewer than 100 mixed marriages between Taiwanese and Japanese. This tiny statistic attests to the high degree of segregation between the two peoples. Third, once again, even though the Taiwanese language is not taught or used in schools it has remained the language used in daily life by the Taiwanese. Fourth, the many western technologies Japan brought into Taiwan, such as railroads, the telegraph, telephones, western shoes and clothes, may have benefited life on the island but they have not changed the nature of

¹⁵ Ibid., 210.

¹⁶ Ibid., 217.

the Taiwanese people, and in fact the Japanese themselves have only been marginally more westernized than the Taiwanese.¹⁷

Given the above facts, Lin makes several suggestions to the Japanese colonial government. In the lower elementary grades, all subjects, with the exception of Japanese language, should be taught in the students' native language. Then, in the upper elementary grades, the use of Japanese should be light at first and increased gradually as students demonstrate their ability to learn without confusion through this foreign language. Moreover, Chinese should once again be made a required subject in the public schools. In middle school, the Chinese classics should be taught in a traditionally Chinese manner. Currently, Lin notes, the Chinese classics are taught in Japanese, with the Japanese pronunciation of Chinese characters and with the Chinese being translated into Japanese, with its different grammatical structures. At the middle school level and higher, all subjects except Chinese should be taught in Japanese.¹⁸

Lin acknowledged that assimilation has always been the guiding principle behind the colonial education system. He argued that assimilation is impossible, because a foreign culture cannot supplant a native one that is alive and active. Lin also criticized the use of Japanese language instruction to Japanize the Taiwanese, and pointed out that attempting to replace Chinese with Japanese was counterproductive for assimilation. Hence, he believed that the languages and cultures of Taiwan and Japan should be valued equally, and that this in turn would benefit the colonizer as well as the colonized.

¹⁷ Ibid., 218.

¹⁸ Ibid., 212.

Two: Problems with Co-Education

For the first 24 years of Japanese rule, no co-education existed and pupils of Taiwanese and Japanese descent were systematically segregated. This resulted in consistently educating Japanese to be leaders and channeling the Taiwanese into subordinate positions. The evidence for this phenomenon is plentiful. Middle school education for Japanese existed since the earliest years of colonial rule, and the first Taiwanese middle school was founded in 1915 after many years of petition to a reluctant colonial government. The technical colleges, which were among the most advanced educational institutions in Taiwan, only prepared their graduates for the lowest-ranking office jobs. High status posts in civil service, education, and industry were all reserved for Japanese, in part to entice more Japanese to settle in Taiwan. The Japanese residents of Taiwan primarily consisted of doctors, civil servants, businessmen, technicians, teachers, and policemen and military officers.

In 1922 governor-general Den Kenjiro recognized co-instruction under the slogan “one system and one school”, and the Japanese built a unified system that was meant to educate both Taiwanese and Japanese students. But the curriculum of this system left out Chinese language and culture completely, and stressed only Japanese language and culture. This relegated the culture of the Taiwanese people to the past, and sought to supplant a living domestic culture with a foreign Japanese culture.¹⁹ The Taiwanese wanted their culture to be equally recognized alongside Japanese culture, and through the medium of education they wanted to transmit the heritage of their race to their children.

¹⁹ Ibid., 215.

By dropping Chinese classes from public schools, the colonial government denied the Taiwanese a legitimate means of transmitting their heritage.

At the same time, the Taiwanese people agreed to this integrated educational system, because they hoped that it would give them the opportunity to receive an education equal to that received by the Japanese, and thereby allow them to occupy positions of greater responsibility in their homeland.²⁰ Hence, the Taiwanese were caught in an ambiguous situation. They were aware of the dangers Japanization posed on the survival of their own culture, but they also recognized the value of a Japanese education in providing upward social mobility. Hence, Taiwanese leaders argued for a special place within the Japanese empire, one where their native language and culture could be preserved. They desired to be on equal terms with the Japanese, but at the same time retain a Taiwanese identity.

Japan's 1922 education policy was a policy for assimilating Taiwanese culture into Japanese culture. However, losing one's native culture can lead to the disintegration of one's personality;²¹ it will tend in the long run to weaken an individual's capacity for survival. The Taiwanese, as ethnic Chinese with their own highly developed culture, felt the pressure of Japanization as a negative force of assimilation. However, the Chinese people have historically always managed to survive adversity and preserve their culture. This is essentially what they did during the Japanese colonial period.

It is to be expected that a race with an advanced civilization and culture will, when constrained to a limited field of endeavor, rise above the limitations, or at least

²⁰ Ibid., 216.

²¹ Ibid., 217.

demand the opportunity to develop more fully.²² During the colonial period the Taiwanese people did express their desire to remove these limits and obtain more freedom to develop their intellectual capacity in the education system. An example is the movement leading to the establishment of the first middle school for Taiwanese boys. Taiwanese parents wanted better education for their children, and believed that if they attended schools equal in caliber to those attended by Japanese students, they would be equally prepared to occupy responsible positions, which at present were filled almost entirely by Japanese.²³ The Taiwanese yearned for the opportunity of intellectual development, and to produce leaders who had the best interests of Taiwan at heart. Implicit in Lin's argument, then, was the recognition that native leaders should aid Taiwan in its industrial and cultural development. Here, Lin's Taiwanese nationalism is clear. Unfortunately, the Japanese government was not prepared to depart from its traditional belief in limitations on education for the Taiwanese, as set forth by Kodama.

Japan was the undisputed leader of East Asia. Since Japan's triumph over Russia in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, Tokyo had become a hub for students from all over Asia, and the center of education in the East. According to Lin, the reality was that Asian peoples truly admired the Japanese for their achievements in modernization, and looked to them for guidance. At the same time, Lin criticizes Japan's attitude toward its fellow Asians and states that Japan's mission in Asia should not be one of Japanization, but rather one that helps other peoples in the development of their unique culture and attributes, and in turn giving them the capacity to return Japan's favors of assistance and guidance.

²² Ibid., 213.

²³ Ibid., 214.

Lin argues that this was also Taiwan's situation. If Japan allowed Taiwan to preserve its native culture, the Taiwanese would be able to tap into the vast and undeveloped resources of Mainland China, which would benefit Japan. Maintaining the friendship between Taiwan, Japan and China could only benefit all parties involved. Furthermore, Taiwan's ongoing relationship with China, as well as its own continuing development, demanded that the Taiwanese retain their language and culture.²⁴

Three: Assimilation Policy and Modern Education

Lin maintains in 1929 that though Japan has achieved success in terms of material development, its assimilation policy has failed. A theory that in thirty-four years has not been successful requires some revision and reconstruction.²⁵ A starting point is to critique the concept of assimilation—educating one culture within the framework of another, into which it must become assimilated—using modern theories of education.

Modern education, Lin claims, aims to develop the individual from within, not impose on him from without, for fear that the latter would spoil the creative power of the child. Lin bases his theoretical critiques of assimilation on the works of John Dewey, L.T. Hobhouse, and Henry Adams, and asserts that assimilation sets out to impose standards of its own from the outside that are unnecessary in daily life. The stress on Japanese language is for Lin a good example, for Japanese is not needed by the Taiwanese in the

²⁴ Ibid., 217.

²⁵ Ibid., 218.

home, or in the social life of a young child. On the contrary, instruction in the native language is what is needed, since this is intimately related to the child's home life.²⁶

Lin says that the very concept of modern education entails that education itself should be treated as an end and not as a means toward a preconceived further end, which has only a remote relation to the individual. And yet the colonial government has set Japanization, and more specifically Japanese language and cultural education, as the preconceived "further end" which they think the education of Taiwanese should achieve, whereas in fact this further end is far removed from the daily life of the Taiwanese people. Here Lin quotes John Dewey's *Democracy and Education*: "Education means growing. Since in reality there is nothing to which growth is relative save more growth, there is nothing to which education is subordinate save more education."²⁷

The idea that education is an end in itself is closely related, for Dewey, to the idea that education is "natural" in the sense that it is survival-based. The assimilative principle controverts this axiom, for it introduces a "further end" or "external purpose" as the object of education —assimilation of a strange culture, which the native child does not experience himself. Dewey's key point is that education has a pragmatic, empirical purpose: it helps a child learn to "solve problems" in order to deal with, and survive in, the empirical world. Thus when he says education has no purpose outside itself Dewey also means that we are always learning in order to survive, manage, and succeed in life.

Modern education, Lin therefore emphasizes, insists upon respecting the personality and natural capacity of the learner. Dewey ties this idea to the democratic

²⁶ Ibid., 219.

²⁷ Dewey, John. *Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education*. 1951st ed. New York, NY: The MacMillan Company, 1916, 60.

spirit, thus bringing in the political dimension, as well as to nature and survival.

According to Lin, psychological research has increasingly recognized the importance of the freedom of natural self-expression in childhood for the life and personality of the individual. The assimilative policy disregards this, and automatically takes the learner as an “object” of leaning, with no concern for his/her personality and natural potential. This can only cause psychological harm to the child.²⁸

Lin then quotes another passage from John Dewey in his *Elementary School*

Teachers regarding freedom of intelligence and emancipation of mind:

Modern life means democracy; democracy means freeing intelligence for independent effectiveness- the emancipation of mind as an individual organ to do its own work. We naturally associate democracy, to be sure, with freedom of action, but freedom of action without freed capacity of thought behind it is only chaos. ...I find the fundamental need of the school today dependent upon its limited recognition of the principles of freedom of intelligence.²⁹

Lin is equating this modern education with modernization itself, and is implicitly saying that if Japan wishes to become a modernized world power, then it should adopt modern educational principles as well. Here Lin also cites Hobhouse’s *Social Evolution and*

Political Theory:

“The greatest part of each man’s personal experience is made up out of his interaction with others in the multifarious relations of life, and these relations in the earliest societies were controlled by customs which arise out of the needs of social life and are maintained by the social tradition. Through this tradition society exerts a continuous control over the individual of which avowed and obvious coercion is the least important element. The vital factor is that from infancy upwards the social milieu into which he is born interpenetrates his thought and will and turns his individuality into a creation of the time and place of his life.”³⁰

²⁸ Lin, 220.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Hobhouse, Leonard. *Social Evolution and Political Theory*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1911.

The point here is that the original society of the Taiwanese, the one that has surrounded them from the moment of birth, is the Taiwanese society. Thus the kind of knowledge that modern education stresses, a knowledge that is direct, natural and immediately necessary to the life of the child, could only be imparted within a Taiwanese social and cultural context. If educated according to the principle of assimilation with its “external” ends, the child would become detached from that which is real to him, that which he is experiencing daily in his communal life.

By citing Dewey and Hobhouse, Lin concludes that assimilation was psychologically harmful to Taiwanese children. With a system of co-education, Taiwanese language and culture under the Japanese colonial regime was consistently devalued, and in its place children were expected to adopt Japanese language and culture. Lin argues that not only was devaluing Taiwanese language and culture in schools harmful to Taiwanese children, but it was unpractical for the Japanese as well, since the Taiwanese people, as members of the Chinese race, served as an entry for Japan into the vast resources of Mainland China. Hence, he hopes that the colonial government would reconsider its assimilation policy.

II. The 1922 Education Rescript

One: Elementary School Enrollment

Co-education was officially based on the presumption of equal educational opportunity for both the Taiwanese and the Japanese. However, in its actual functioning, this presumption was not borne out.³¹ In his thesis, Lin dispels the myth of “equality” that Den Kenjiro’s 1922 education rescript offered.

According to a 1926 government report, while only 43.34% of the Taiwanese boys and 13.11% of the Taiwanese girls attended common school, meaning a 28.23% attendance rate overall, 98.2% of the Japanese children in Taiwan attended primary school. There is a striking contrast between the percentages of Taiwanese and Japanese elementary school attendance.

Lin discusses reasons for the low enrollment percentage of Taiwanese elementary school students. Japanese authorities maintained that Taiwanese parents were not willing to send their children to school. But according to Lin, while this had been true thirty years earlier it was no longer true in the late 1920s, because the Taiwanese had already come to view Japanese education as an opportunity for upward social mobility. To support this, Lin states that common school classrooms, especially those in urban areas, were overcrowded, understaffed, and underfunded. The answer lay rather in the spending discrepancy between Japanese and Taiwanese school children. The government’s annual expenditure for educating a Japanese child in 1926 was 49 yen, while for educating a

³¹ Lin, 223.

Taiwanese child it was only 37 yen.³² This translates to better facilities and better quality of teachers for Japanese school children than for Taiwanese school children. This practice is not consistent with the 1922 reforms, the spirit of which was non-discrimination. Discriminatory treatment of Taiwanese children was only one aspect of discrimination in the colony, which contradicts the government's idealistic assimilation rhetoric.

Lin then points out that a considerable portion of the colonial government's budget for education was spent on middle schools and technical colleges, even though these institutions enroll far fewer students overall than did the common schools. He therefore questions whether, though the government is no doubt well-intentioned in its attempt to provide higher education in the colony, its money is being put to good use when 72% of all Taiwanese children do not have access to any education. It would be better for society as a whole, he suggests, to have everyone moderately educated than to have a few highly educated while most remained in relative ignorance. At a time when schoolhouses for Taiwanese children are scarce and poorly equipped, and 72% of Taiwanese children left wholly unprovided for, a few wealthy Taiwanese students are receiving special care in the island's technical colleges when they could easily be receiving an education in Japan for the time being.³³ In other words, the government's education budget is not being apportioned properly.

From 1895 to 1925, the yearly revenue of the colonial government's central treasury has increased, on average, by 2,700,000 yen per year.³⁴ This increase is due to industrial development, and because of the possibility of further development it is likely

³² Ibid., 228-229.

³³ Ibid., 230.

³⁴ Ibid.

that there will be a greater rate of increase in the future. Therefore it would not be too great a burden, according to Lin, for the treasury to increase its budget by 540,000 yen per year for the purposes of education.

Two: Admission to Middle Schools

Lin also discusses problems related to secondary education. Three quarters of the applicants to middle schools cannot be accepted. This shows that the education system has not kept up with the times, given the rapid increase in demand for a secondary school education.³⁵ The Japanese colonial government cited lack of funds as the reason for underdevelopment, but given the degree of the island's recent industrial progress Lin believes that adequate funds did exist. The main requirement for entrance into a secondary institution was passing an entrance examination, and recent statistics show that 46% of the Japanese applicants were admitted, compared with only 16% of the Taiwanese applicants. Under the 1922 education rescript, secondary schools were supposed to provide equal access to all those who have completed elementary school. Therefore Lin maintains that factors other than free competition and natural intelligence would help to explain this discrepancy.

Lin cites the Taiwanese students studying in Japan as evidence that Taiwanese were not intellectually inferior to Japanese. In 1925, around 800 Taiwanese students were studying in Japan, and they all had competed successfully with Japanese students for

³⁵ Ibid., 234-235.

entrance into Japanese secondary and higher-level institutions. The Taiwanese students achieved this despite facing several handicaps: (1) a potential language handicap existed, since Japanese was not the primary language used in their daily lives; (2) they attended institutions with inferior schoolhouses and academic rigor; (3) common school teachers were of lesser quality, since 29% of common school teachers did not possess official teaching certification, while just 8% of primary school teachers were similarly unqualified.³⁶

These handicaps account to a certain degree for the lower Taiwanese admission rate. However, Lin explains, there are also other factors at play. Although middle schools on the island are officially open to all, those that have traditionally only admitted Japanese students limit Taiwanese enrollment to under 10%. Middle schools that traditionally enrolled Taiwanese students also have a 10% quota for Japanese students who wish to enter. Hence, in order to live up to the principle of co-education, a small percentage of both groups were admitted to schools that have not been open to them before. However, twenty-four more middle schools for Japanese (34) had existed, as compared to middle schools for Taiwanese (10). In addition, the population of Taiwanese students was significantly larger than the population of Japanese students. All of these facts illustrate the disadvantages that Taiwanese faced at the secondary level, even under the banner of equality in co-education.³⁷

³⁶ Ibid., 235-236.

³⁷ Ibid., 237.

Three: Disadvantages at the Tertiary Level

The colonial government's discriminatory approach toward Taiwanese education meant that Japanese students were trained for leadership positions from the very outset, and the Taiwanese were expected to seek employment in positions of lesser responsibility. This tendency did not stop after the 1922 education rescript, and the integration of tertiary institutions on the island led to an increase in Japanese enrollment with a corresponding decrease in Taiwanese enrollment. Therefore from 1922 to 1926, more and more Japanese were receiving a higher education in Taiwan, as compared with fewer and fewer Taiwanese. During this period enrollment in the Medical College, the Agriculture College, and the Commercial College increased, sometimes doubling or tripling, for the Japanese, and decreased correspondingly for the Taiwanese.

This fact reflects a recent trend, after the 1922 reforms, of recruiting students from Japan to take entrance examinations for higher institutions in Taiwan and encouraging them to study on the island. Unfortunately, this trend effectively crowded out Taiwanese students.³⁸ Lin maintains that the colonial government's intent in recruiting Japanese students for Taiwanese institutions was to encourage more Japanese to emigrate. However, by making these institutions open to students from all of Japan the government made the competition for entrance very keen. Taiwanese students found it harder and harder to gain admittance to higher institutions on the island, and those who could not afford to study in Japan had very little opportunity to receive a tertiary education.

³⁸ Ibid., 239.

Lin further argues that the Taiwanese who do receive a higher education have little chance of getting a job that puts their education to good use. Japanese graduates filled most positions in government service and most of the higher positions in industry and academia, despite the desire of equally qualified Taiwanese graduates for these jobs. The rapid development of higher education, which was imperfectly suited to the colonial government's discriminatory practice, led to an alarming increase in the number of Taiwanese white-collar men seeking employment where no vacancies were available.

Finally, the curricula of the commercial, vocational and agricultural colleges should be revised to fit Taiwan's recent advances in industrialization. By merely copying the curricula of schools in Japan, the colonial government neglected Taiwan's actual needs. Lin argues that education should cooperate with industry so that all of the graduates may be absorbed into the service of various industries, where they could actively contribute to the furthering of Taiwan's progress on the industrial front. Taiwanese graduates of higher institutions on the island should be prepared for some form of useful service so that upon graduation they may step into a position of responsibility, one worthy of their level of education.³⁹ Taiwanese graduates should be allowed to share the responsibility of determining affairs in their homeland.

Lin maintains that the success of the revisions he proposes in his dissertation depended on the degree to which the colonial administration was willing to veer from its traditional policy on education, which greatly favored Japanese students. Japan's colonial education policy, Lin claims, has been and still is an experimental one, even if Japan has followed the usual path chosen by other colonial regimes. The Japanese colonial

³⁹ Ibid., 240.

education system in Taiwan had two main goals, which were to further economic development and to Japanize the Taiwanese in order to facilitate economic exploitation. These goals were in no way different from those of any other imperialistic nation once it embarked on a quest for raw materials and resources for industrial growth.⁴⁰ Lin acknowledges the exploitative nature of colonization, and recognized the universality of Japan's goals for colonial education in Taiwan.

Four: Conclusions

Lin draws the following conclusions in his thesis: (1) cultural assimilation through education is an unconscious process of give-and-take, for assimilation, once becoming conscious and forced from one side, will only cause resentment and be resisted; (2) the Japanese and Taiwanese people share many similarities in their languages, cultures, and worldviews; hence, through a form of education based on mutual respect, the Taiwanese people may voluntarily draw closer to the Japanese ideal, for a greater degree of assimilation may be achieved through greater mutual respect than through the current policy of forced assimilation; (3) equalizing educational opportunity is essential in order for a constructive educational program to be fully effective.

Thus in his conclusion Lin has some positive comments to make about the last thirty-four years of Japanese rule (1895-1929). During this time, he says, the growth in the island's education, in terms of both level and extent, has been remarkable. As of 1929, almost all Japanese children receive a primary education, as do about 28% of

⁴⁰ Ibid., 240-241.

Taiwanese children. The Japanese government has made a sincere effort to educate all the peoples living on the island and tackled the manifold task of setting up a modern educational system. It has also established a system that provides education from the lowest grade to the highest. It has made possible a working knowledge of the Japanese language throughout the island, and made available to many Taiwanese citizens Chinese translations of Japanese academic writings and literary works. For the sincerity with which it undertook these projects, Lin maintains, the colonial government deserved the praise of the Taiwanese people. Whatever defects or contradictions have arisen came in part from the defects and contradictions of imperialism itself.

On the other hand, Lin reminds us that while the colonial government had the good intention of increasing education opportunities for the Taiwanese in its policy of assimilation, it gradually came to see that a total Japanization policy inevitably sparked increasing nationalistic sentiment among the Taiwanese. Lin maintains that Japan had to make some crucial decisions about its education policy in Taiwan. Whether or not to persist in applying the principle of assimilation is one. Another is whether to continue grooming Japanese for positions of leadership on the island, thus contradicting its initial declaration of equal educational opportunity, or to allow the Taiwanese to help shoulder the responsibility for managing, leading, and governing their home island. The longer these two essential issues remained undecided, Lin argues, the more acute all the attendant problems became.

Finally, Lin Mao-Sheng ends his thesis by reiterating the importance of the following goals: compulsory education with a minimum emphasis on assimilation; a mutual respect, on the part of the island's Japanese and Taiwanese populations, for each

other's language and culture that is reinforced by education; education of the masses and the extension of higher education to train professionals in all fields required in a modern society; a multi-ethnic education system where differences are minimized and coordination between the two peoples are emphasized; and a unity of heart and mind, achieved by a wise use of power that seeks to uncover the source of misunderstandings⁴¹.

⁴¹ Ibid., 242-243.

III. The Japanese Prerogative

Takekoshi Yosaburo was a Japanese bureaucrat and a member of the Imperial Diet. He stayed in Taiwan from 1905-1906 to do research for his book, *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, which was published in 1907. The goal of this work was to truthfully present the conditions in Taiwan—referred to by Takekoshi by its old name, Formosa—and the island’s potential. In the ten years since Japan had acquired Taiwan, Takekoshi maintained that notable progress had been made in industry, public health, and education. Indeed, Japan felt that the island’s natural endowments, as well as the potential of its people, meant that Taiwan could be, under its tutelage, transformed into a loyal and productive colony. Using other colonies, such as Algeria and French Indo-China, as a basis of comparison for Japan’s performance, Takekoshi was proud of what Japan had achieved so far and wanted to show Taiwan off to the world.

In a preface to Takekoshi’s book, Goto Shimpei, the chief of civil administration under Kodama, wrote:

“Our administration in Formosa has been severely criticized, but the majority of our critics have not...had an opportunity of visiting the island and testing the truth of their suppositions by personal investigation on the spot; hence, in most cases, their conclusions are wrong, because they arise from insufficient knowledge, and are based on false premises.”⁴²

Goto opened with an acknowledgement of criticism, and made the case for Japan. He hoped that with this detailed report, fresh from the island itself, doubts about Japan’s rule

⁴² Takekoshi Yosaburo. *Japanese Rule in Formosa*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907, v.

would be pacified, because he considered Japan's effort to be a success. It is no wonder, since under Kodama the colony for the first time felt like an orderly and inhabitable place. The Kodama administration was responsible for pacifying brigands, winning the Taiwanese people over, and discontinuing military superiority over civil administration. This last achievement, in which Goto played a large role, was instrumental in getting people to trust the Japanese government.

In his own introduction, Takekoshi presented his work as proof, especially for those who may have doubted Japan's ability to colonize another country, that Japan was worthy of gaining admission into the elite club of colonial powers.

“Western nations have long believed that on their shoulders alone rested the responsibility of colonizing the yet unopened portions of the globe, and extending to the inhabitants the benefits of civilization; but now we Japanese, rising from the ocean in the extreme Orient, wish as a nation to take part in this great and glorious work... Some people, however, are inclined to question whether we possess the ability requisite for such a task. I felt that these would doubt no longer, could they but read the account of our successes in Formosa.”⁴³

Japanese Rule in Formosa served its purpose as a vehicle to put Japan's achievements onto the international stage and further Japan's ascension.

Takekoshi recognized the importance of education from the outset. In order to achieve the goal of Japanization, young Formosans must be educated in the appropriate manner.

“Education has a great future before it in Formosa. In fact, it may be looked upon as the most important means of civilizing the island. If the inhabitants are ever to be raised to a higher level, their customs and manners must be entirely changed; but this can only be effected by giving them such an education as will work toward a complete transformation in their characters.”⁴⁴

⁴³ Ibid, vii.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 293.

This was a declaration for the necessity of a policy of assimilation in order to civilize the island. A complete transformation of the Taiwanese was desired, and the only means of accomplishing this was by changing their customs and manners entirely through education, in effect Japanizing them.

Still, Takekoshi was an advocate of gradualism. He believed that it was not possible to achieve assimilation right away, and that complete Japanization of the Formosans would take many years to accomplish. Although neither Lin Mao-Sheng nor Takekoshi would have been surprised that Formosans had not become Japanese by the 1920s, Lin argued that Japanization was impossible because the thriving native culture of the Formosans could never be completely eliminated. Takekoshi, on the other hand, thought that with patience, the Japanese language and culture would eventually replace Formosan ones. He mentioned an occasion when a teacher in Formosa asked him when the Kodama government would be able to fully carry out the assimilation idea. He responded as follows:

“We must have a great deal of patience. You have not been here more than nine years yet, and nine years are but as a moment in the life of a State. How is it possible in such a short time to change the characteristics of the natives whose minds have been molded by the history of this island for the last three hundred years, and also by all that has happened in China during the past sixty or seventy centuries? It is fully a hundred years since England gained possession of India, but the people of that country are not yet fully assimilated. Here in Formosa at least the same amount of patience is required as has been exercised in India.”⁴⁵

Takekoshi’s exchange with the teacher showed that the goal of assimilation existed during the Kodama administration, even if it had not yet become official policy.

Takekoshi described the Taiwanese as greedy and uneducated, and as people who were ready to sacrifice everything, even life itself, for monetary gain. This inordinate

⁴⁵ Ibid, 298.

greed on the part of the Taiwanese was seen as “the natural outcome of his social surroundings and of his religious beliefs”.⁴⁶ For all classes of Formosan society have, according to Takekoshi, lost faith in the Chinese government and long since confined themselves to a life void of spiritual enlightenment.

“The Chinamen in Formosa shares neither the social pleasures nor the honors open to his friends in China. Only wine and women are left him. But he knows well that neither of these can be had without money. What wonder, then, that he does his utmost to make all he can, and becomes even more grasping than his relatives on the mainland”!⁴⁷

Takekoshi was also skeptical of the power and stability of the Chinese government. In the context of this work, written in 1905, such skepticism wasn't surprising, since the once mighty Qing Empire was in its final hours. As if being Chinese weren't already problematic, Takekoshi further identified Formosa as a backwater of China. The isolated island was removed from the cultural and political centers of Chinese civilization, and its inhabitants had “no higher ambition than to enjoy the mere animal pleasures of life”⁴⁸.

Going hand in hand with a penchant for material wealth is a perceived lack of education on the island. According to Takekoshi, education under the Chinese regime consisted of memorizing “meaningless and useless stories” that did not help them in any practical way. He further claims that Formosans have never seen any practical benefits of education. Since they were solely concerned with how much money an education would enable their children to make, and did not have any aspirations higher than crude material gain, they were unwilling to send their children to school. Formosa was a “southern wilderness” waiting to be civilized, and so the Formosans stand to gain much under the educational system set up by the Japanese regime. Notably, Takekoshi ignored entirely

⁴⁶ Ibid., 294

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

the educational achievements of Formosa's scholar-gentry class, which were considerable.

Takekoshi's description of Chinese education as meaningless and useless was inconsistent, since Japanese civilization was partially based on Confucian values, and the traditional Confucian texts were highly respected in Japan as well. This inconsistency on Takekoshi's part was exposed in one of the first acts of the administration that he worked for. Governor-general Kodama had sought to establish good relations with the scholar-gentry class. As well-educated men, Japanese political leaders respected Chinese scholarship and recognized the similarities between the two languages and cultures. Takekoshi's remark that Formosans have not seen the practical benefits of education is also inaccurate. Young Formosan scholars have sat for the Imperial Examinations, and of these over five thousand passed the lower examinations, and around three hundred and fifty held advanced degrees. There was an influential scholar-gentry class in Taiwan, versed in the Chinese classics, which existed before the Japanese occupation⁴⁹.

Takekoshi criticized the Chinese religious beliefs, and described them in a way that was reminiscent of a primitive culture, rather than the product of an advanced civilization from which Japan had once drawn inspiration. Formosans believed, he said, in a "bewildering tangle of superstition"⁵⁰ that was devoid of any moral teachings. In this regard Takekoshi also quoted Dr. George Leslie Mackay, a Canadian Presbyterian missionary who lived and worked in Formosa for 23 years. "Religiously the Chinese in Formosa are...all idolaters. The heathenism in Formosa is of the same quality as the heathenism of China. It is the same poisonous mixture, the same dark, damning

⁴⁹ Kerr, 71.

⁵⁰ Takekoshi, 299.

nightmare.” Takekoshi described Chinese religion as a combination of Confucian, Taoist, and Buddhist influences, “a commingling of conflicting creeds, degrading the intellect, defiling life, and destroying all religious sentiment” and “nothing but a meaningless tissue of superstition and devil worship.”⁵¹ Again, Japan has been much influenced by Buddhism as well as Confucianism, and Takekoshi did not come a civilization that was completely alien from the East Asian tradition. In this context, the comments made by Mackay could be more easily understood than those made by Takekoshi.

When Takekoshi visited common schools in Taipei, he gathered from the teachers who worked there that it was very difficult to educate the Taiwanese pupils in the true sense of the word, though it was comparatively easy to instruct them in practical sciences, such as physics, chemistry, and medicine. This anecdote revealed that even at this early stage of the administration, education officials already preferred to direct Formosan students toward a practical education, rather than one that leads to intellectual development. To Japanese teachers of Taiwanese students, educating, “in the true sense of the word”, was reserved for the Japanese.

Such hints of Formosan inferiority also existed in the following question, which faced the authorities immediately upon their acquisition of Formosa. They were eager to educate the Formosan people, but were debating the form that this education would take. Should the people be given a practical scientific education and thus enable them to better themselves, have more comfortable homes and make more money; or should they be given an education that would assimilate them with the Japanese? “If the latter course be adopted, but little time or energy can be devoted to teaching the practical sciences, and

⁵¹ Ibid., 300.

the idea that education is simply a means of enabling a man to earn more must be banished from their minds”⁵².

However, this dilemma was problematic. How could a practical scientific education be contrasted with an education fit for a native Japanese in terms of potential to earn income? Did the Japanese not make considerably more money, with their superior education and their positions of privilege on the island, than did the Formosans? Perhaps this comment was rooted in a deep-seated belief in the racial inferiority of the Formosans. If the Japanese were superior, and their education was superior, than the Formosans could not hope to fully master a Japanese education. Giving it to them would be a waste of time and resources, since they could not benefit fully from it. But a practical scientific education, on the other hand, though below a Japanese education in intellectual rigor, would benefit them with practical returns on their investment. Takekoshi disguised Japanese discrimination against Formosans as concern for the welfare and the traditional culture of the Formosans, even when that culture included love of money above all else. The Formosans were viewed as too imbecilic to want to learn at a higher level, and only wishing to earn money.

At the same time, the achievements of the Japanese administration should not be ignored, as Lin repeatedly expressed gratitude for the concrete improvements brought about by the Japanese colonial government in its new colony. In fact, Japan did a great deal for education in Taiwan, being the first to bring modernized education onto the island. In *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, Takekoshi also expressed his wish to compile suitable literature for Formosan youth. “Graduates from the Language Schools or from

⁵² Ibid., 295.

the other Public Schools have intellectual desires and longings which their textbooks fail to satisfy, and which the reading matter provided by ordinary bookstores does not meet.”

In the spirit of Fukuzawa Yukichi, the great educator who provided western education for early Meiji youth, Takekoshi thus hoped to bring knowledge to Formosan graduates of public schools by providing them good books to read. He called for publication of books about science, lives of great men, modern histories, inspiring and elevating stories, short statements of present-day politics, and descriptions of Tokyo, and stated that such materials would further the cause of education in Formosa⁵³. Such sentiments demonstrate that despite his criticism of Formosans, Takekoshi sincerely wished to raise the educational standards in Taiwan in order to indoctrinate Taiwanese youth in Japanese learning.

Takekoshi, as an agent of the Japanese colonial government, held that Taiwanese people had an inferior learning capacity, which justified the government’s policy of assimilating the Taiwanese into positions inferior to those occupied by the Japanese. It was necessary to civilize and Japanize the island and to mold Taiwanese people into obedient subjects of the emperor. However, a contradiction existed in the minds of Japanese colonials between their racist attitudes toward the Taiwanese and their need to maintain a position of privilege *vis-à-vis* the islanders on the one hand, and their desire to integrate the Taiwanese into Japanese society on the other. In order to assimilate the Taiwanese, the government provided an education that emphasized Japanese language and ethics, and provided training for technical fields. This discriminatory practice continued even after the 1922 education rescript, which espoused full equality.

⁵³ Ibid., 297.

IV. A Marginal Voice

One: The Canadian Presbyterian Mission

George Leslie Mackay, a Canadian Presbyterian missionary from Toronto, single-handedly founded the mission in North Taiwan in the late nineteenth century. From 1872 until the turn of the century, the North Taiwan mission was essentially the work of this highly energetic man. He established Oxford College in Tamsui in the 1880s. In 1900, Oxford College had thirty-seven male students and thirty-four female students in the girls' school. In the meantime, Taiwan became a colony of Japan in 1895.

A middle school was opened in 1914, and George Leslie Mackay's son, G. W. Mackay became principle. Although the missionaries were outwardly on friendly terms with the Japanese government, G. W. Mackay stated that the Japanese authorities were always suspicious of him.⁵⁴ This was because he himself was half-Chinese and was well regarded by the Chinese population. The government viewed him as a potential advocate of Chinese interests and therefore a threat, which underscored the distrust that the Japanese authorities harbored for the Taiwanese, despite their desire to assimilate them. Unlike their counterparts in Korea, however, the missionary schools in Taiwan were not an inspiration for nationalist sentiments.

In Korea, the Presbyterian mission schools had passed on democratic ideas to their students, and many leading opponents of the Japanese colonial regime in Korea were graduates. The March 1, 1919 Movement in Korea was brutally put down by the

⁵⁴ Ion, Hamish A. *The Cross and the Rising Sun*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Waterloo, Ontario, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1990, 142.

authorities, and missionaries were among the most vocal critics of the treatment of Korean freedom fighters.⁵⁵ Thus the fears of the colonial government in Taiwan were not unfounded.

However, Japan's success in modernizing Taiwan soon rendered competition from missionaries obsolete. The Canadian Presbyterian mission suffered from underfunding and understaffing throughout the Japanese Empire. In Taiwan, this had dire effects for the mission's medical aid programs. The Mackay Memorial Hospital in Taipei was primitively equipped, and by the 1920s could not compete with Japanese government-run medical facilities. When the mission had started in the 1870s, the sense was that whatever was provided would be better than what the locals had access to, but this was no longer the case after two decades of Japanese rule. In 1912, G. W. Mackay noted that "Taiwan had all the necessary accessories that went to make a civilized country",⁵⁶ a great transformation from the days of his boyhood.

In general, by the 1920s Taiwanese parents desired a Japanese education for their children, and the mission schools competed against increasingly popular Japanese public schools. After the integration edict of 1922, which aimed at complete Japanization of the education system, the mission schools lost official recognition by the government until 1938. Without recognition, the Japanese colonial authorities prevented graduates of mission schools from taking entrance exams for higher-level institutions on the island. However, wealthy graduates had the opportunity to study at Christian colleges in Japan. In the interwar years, one missionary estimated that, among graduates of Canadian and British Presbyterian mission schools, around 200 studied theology in Taiwan, 300 studied

⁵⁵ Ibid., 206-207.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 211.

medicine in either Taipei or Japan and practiced in Taiwan, a further 100 became dentists, and a similar number became pharmacists.⁵⁷

Christian converts in Taiwan came from the lowest social classes, and were generally outcasts in society. The Chinese intellectual tradition ran counter to Christianity, which meant that the literati were highly unlikely to become Christians. Hence, Mackay preached a very simple form of Christianity. In contrast, missionaries in Japan preached to a highly educated and literate class of ex-samurai. Educated Japanese could read Chinese, and thus they read about Christianity from Chinese sources as well as western texts. They often had some preliminary knowledge of Christianity before meeting with a missionary. To be successful in gaining converts, Japanese missions had to preach a more sophisticated form of Christianity, and be prepared to engage in debates and answer questions and even criticisms. Overall, missionaries in the Japanese Empire were very certain in their religious beliefs and very firmly rooted in their western tradition, which met with obstacle when they confronted societies that were equally sure of their own traditions.

Taiwanese leaders under the Japanese colonial government petitioned for self-government. Unlike the Koreans, they wanted an equal part in the Japanese Empire, not to be out of it. At the same time, the Japanese view was that Taiwan and its Chinese culture should be assimilated into Japan and Japanese culture, and not maintain a separate identity. Nonetheless, in 1920 a movement was founded in Tokyo to advocate the establishment of a Taiwanese legislature, which would supervise the budget of the government-general. In 1921, as one of his last political acts, the aged Ebara Soroku, who

⁵⁷ Ibid., 143.

was a member of the House of Peers in the Imperial Diet, submitted a petition to the House of Peers calling for a Taiwanese legislature. Between 1921 and 1934 the League for the Establishment of a Taiwan Parliament petitioned the Imperial Diet 15 times. To the Japanese colonial administrators and the Japanese government in Tokyo, however, the idea of a Taiwanese Parliament was incompatible with their basic policy: Taiwan's integration with Japan. As Wakatsuki Reijiro, the Japanese Prime Minister, noted in 1926, "Japan, including Formosa, is one country. There cannot be two legislative bodies."⁵⁸ It was clear to Duncan MacLeod, a Canadian Presbyterian and contemporary observer, that the Japanese policy of assimilation was achieving success.⁵⁹

Two: The British Presbyterian Mission

In 1864, James Maxwell arrived in southern Taiwan and began to teach and carry out medical work. The beginnings of the British Presbyterian mission were rocky, since the locals were hostile toward the foreigners and their messages. Angry mobs sacked chapels and murdered Chinese Christian converts. Similar conflicts on Mainland China marked missionary life in the 1860s. Not only were members of the local Taiwanese population not interested in the Christian message, but the educated classes, the literati

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 212.

⁵⁹ MacLeod, Duncan. *The Island Beautiful: The Story of Fifty Years in North Formosa*. Toronto: Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1923.

were also near impossible to convert. They shied even further away from Christians after conversions were made among the lower classes of Taiwanese society.⁶⁰

In 1880, a theological college was established in Tainan. It enrolled 15 students and taught various secular subjects in addition to the theological curriculum. In 1884 the English Presbyterians established a printing press and began printing religious materials in the Romanized Taiwanese dialect. Using Romanized script instead of Chinese characters increased the reach of the Christian message significantly, since less than 10% of the male members of the church in Taiwan could read Chinese characters.

In general, English mission schools in Taiwan were primitively equipped, and the education consisted of little more than teaching the Romanized script to enable people to read the Bible. Male members of Christian families aspired to enter the ministry or the medical profession after the Japanese established a medical school on the island.

The changeover from Chinese to Japanese rule in 1895 brought new opportunities for Christianity, since Japanese presence reduced the power of the Chinese literati on the island. The missionaries' impression of the Chinese regime was one of corruption and chaos, and welcomed the new Japanese authorities. From 1895 to 1905, church membership doubled from 8,000 members to 16,000 members. However, such rapid growth ended after 1905, when the Kodama administration gained effective control over the people. From then on, the missionaries served almost as the "protectors" of the Chinese. Their schools and hospitals offered an alternative to government-sponsored institutions, where opportunities were often limited. In contrast to the Presbyterian

⁶⁰ Ion, Hamish A. *The Cross and the Rising Sun, Volume 2: The British Protestant Missionary Movement in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan, 1865-1945*. Vol. 2. 2 vols. Waterloo, Ontario, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1993.

Church in Korea, the British church in Taiwan, like the Canadian one, never acted as an informal opposition to the Japanese government.

The missionaries recognized the limitations placed on educational opportunities on the island. Thomas Barclay, a British Presbyterian, stated in 1912:

“the Japanese, for whatever motive... are not making sufficient or indeed any provision for the better education of the youth on the island such as they themselves wish and their parents wish for them, and they are looking to us to see what we are ready to do...the Japanese authorities are not in favor of the higher education of their Formosan subjects, lest they should come to claim some share in self-government, such as is altogether denied them at present.”⁶¹

The Japanese administration did not want Taiwanese youths to receive a higher education *en masse*. For the Christian Taiwanese, however, there existed the option of attending Christian colleges in Japan after being educated in missionary schools. This was one benefit that the Presbyterian Church mission offered the Taiwanese.

Missionary education in Taiwan, unparalleled in the late 19th century, was being overtaken and undermined by the 1920s. The Japanese government prevented any funding of the missionaries by non-Christian Taiwanese, and funds from the mission itself and from Taiwanese Christians were limited. Hence, mission schools often could not compete with government schools. Increasingly, Taiwanese desired a Japanese education, and while the mission schools adapted to this trend by teaching some subjects in Japanese as well as Chinese, they could not compete effectively. Demand for girls' schools was also increasing, and some families sent their daughters to Japan for their education. Mission schools, though originally pioneers of education for girls in Taiwan, again began to fall behind, faced as they were with the demands for higher standards in women's education.

⁶¹ Ibid, 171.

The accounts of Presbyterian missionaries reveal several significant aspects of assimilation on the island. First, the missionaries recognized that the Taiwanese had already been to a certain degree assimilated by the Japanese, and that a Japanese education was desirable. Educated Taiwanese, unlike the Koreans, tried to gain an equal place in the Japanese Empire rather than to fight its yoke. Second, the missionaries experienced firsthand the success of Japan's modernization program on the island. As government facilities outstripped their own, the growing Japanese supremacy on the island hindered the Christianizing mission and forced the missionaries into a marginalized position. At the same time, Japan's contribution to the island's economic development increased Taiwanese faith in the government and aided assimilation. Third, the missionaries saw that the Japanese had deliberately limited higher education opportunities for the Taiwanese. They saw how the Japanese administrators reasoned that higher education in the fields of law, literature, politics, and philosophy, could encourage unrest and even rebellion among the Taiwanese, and therefore was to be avoided as much as possible.⁶² Even though the Japanese colonial regime wished to assimilate the Taiwanese, it did not trust the Taiwanese enough to provide them with an education that would fully develop their intellectual potential. This was another way by which the contradiction of assimilation and discrimination manifested itself.

⁶² Tsurumi, 214.

V. The Taiwanese Response

George Kerr was an American writer and educator who worked in Tokyo and Taipei between the years of 1935 and 1940, and became well acquainted with many foreign students from Southeast Asia and the Indies, and with students from Okinawa, Korea, and Taiwan. According to Kerr, the reactions of these students to colonial or semi-colonial status varied based on their background.

The Koreans, like the Indians, Indonesians, and Indo-Chinese, often revealed depths of irreconcilable bitterness. They were determined to achieve independence at whatever cost, and were ready to accept help from any quarter to reach that goal. The mild and notably patient Okinawans, on the other hand, clearly considered themselves Japanese, although sometimes they were irritated and even offended by instances of crass discrimination they suffered at the hands of Japanese from other prefectures. Between the Koreans and the Okinawans, stood the Taiwanese. The Taiwanese lost their loyalties to China after China had ceded the island without consulting its people beforehand.

“On the eve of the Pacific War the position of the young Formosans stood in marked contrast with that of the Koreans and the young men and women from European colonies in Asia. They did not like the Japanese en masse, to be sure, and deeply resented the arrogance of petty bureaucrats and hard-nosed police who served Tokyo in the colony, but there was no prospect of independence whatsoever, and no clamor for it. Instead, Formosan leaders argued for a special place within the Japanese empire. They asked for full participation in an elective island administration and just representation of Formosan interests in the National Diet in Tokyo. They asked the Japanese to respect island traditions and local customs, and to grant Formosans full recognition as political, social, and economic equals with the emperor’s subjects everywhere within the empire.”⁶³

⁶³ Kerr, xiv.

During this period Kerr traveled through Korea, Manchuria, and North China, and he observed great contrasts in opportunity between Taiwan and other regions in Asia. He could easily see why there was no desire on the part of the Taiwanese for a “return to China,” and why the island’s people sought, instead, an improved position within the framework of the Japanese empire. At that time Taiwan had a population fewer than six million, the island was richly productive and in all of Asia it was second only to Japan in terms of the general standards of living. This the Taiwanese recognized, and these benefits they did not want to lose. In the last decade preceding WWII, “old China” held little appeal; the island’s people were identified with the most modern and most powerful nation in Asia, “young Japan,” and through Japan the young Taiwanese looked toward the maritime world and the West.⁶⁴

Hence, the Taiwanese who had been educated in Japan did not wish to leave the Japanese empire. They recognized the benefits of being Japanese citizens, and had faith in Japan as an Asian power that could stand up to the encroaching West. The degree of assimilation was greatest among the most educated Taiwanese. One might assume that highly educated colonials would recognize their inferior position and become discontent, but instead they articulated a desire to remain within the Japanese Empire. This reflects a certain level of contentment. The young Taiwanese who studied in Japan, in fact, faced less discrimination than he did back home, and his education ensured him of lucrative employment in Taiwan.

Through his interactions with Taiwanese students studying in Tokyo, Kerr observed the effects of assimilation on members of the Taiwanese elite. Though the

⁶⁴ Ibid, xiii-xv.

Taiwanese faced discrimination and oppression from their colonizers at home, they had been assimilated into Japanese culture to a certain extent, and they did not wish to leave the umbrella of the Japanese Empire.

Thus, Kerr's observations illustrated the effects of the simultaneous presence of assimilation and contradiction on the elite Taiwanese people. Arguably, assimilation was most effective among educated Taiwanese, and indeed this class of Taiwanese identified themselves with the Japanese. At the same time, their act of petitioning the Imperial Diet for the formation of a Taiwanese legislature within the imperial system showed their recognition of their own status as second-class citizens compared to the Japanese. The Taiwanese did not enjoy equal political, social, or economic rights with their Japanese cousins, and this fact was painfully evident to the assimilated Taiwanese elite.

VI. A Comparative Perspective

The Japanese colonial administration made an effort to educate the aboriginal population of Taiwan. The census of 1905 showed a total aboriginal population of 113,63, living in 723 villages, each ranging from three to more than three hundred household units. There were over 20 different tribes, and each tribe had its own distinct language and culture. These people were of Polynesian descent and were distinctively different from the Han Chinese who emigrated in the 1600s. Before the Japanese occupation, relations between the Chinese and the aborigines were uneasy, and Chinese settlers forced the natives out of the coastal areas and into the mountainous regions. However, some tribes, such as the Ami, became influenced by Chinese culture, and through intermarriage the Ami tribesmen became pacified by the Chinese settlers. Other tribes were harder to bring under government control, and when the Japanese arrived they faced the challenge of pacifying the wild aborigine tribesmen.

After arriving in Taiwan in 1895, the colonial administration's efforts began almost right away, since they wished to bring the entire island under control as soon as possible. In order to achieve this, both the Chinese and the aboriginal populations had to be regulated. In July 1898, two government schools established in the Taito and Koshun districts became used exclusively for teaching Japanese to the aborigines. By 1904, the number of such schools had grown to 13, with 803 students altogether. The results of

these efforts were very encouraging, and many graduates became auxiliary police and assisted in pacifying their more wild brothers.⁶⁵

Under the Kodama administration, Goto Shimpei began a program in which he proposed to restrict the untamed aborigines to a temporary reservation and to begin a program of civilizing education for young aboriginal leaders in the rising generation.⁶⁶ He drew a line encircling the island's interior high country- enclosing some 7,407 square miles, or more than one-half of Taiwan's total area. To this vast region he assigned a special police force and established a permit system controlling passage into and out of the reservation. He proposed to reduce this special area by gradually shortening the boundary as border aborigines became civilized enough to be admitted to unrestricted association with the Taiwanese and the Japanese. Goto wanted to keep interference with the hill people at a minimum until they could be considered ordinary subjects of the emperor. All land within the unsurveyed interior- the Special Aborigine District- was declared to be State property. He believed, correctly, that the lowlands must be brought under full control before much could be done for the mountain people.

Goto founded five schools along the East Coast and planned for another forty to be built, one by one, when it became practicable to do so. The eight thousand Ami tribesmen living along the southeastern coast were easily persuaded to cooperate with the new administration. They were sedentary farmers who retained traces of seventeenth-century Dutch influence and had a close relationship with the Southern Ryukyu Islands. Before long a Japanese administrative unit with a governing staff of thirty members, a garrison of three hundred soldiers, and a settlement of about four hundred Japanese,

⁶⁵ Takekoshi, 296.

⁶⁶ Kerr, 79-80.

including teachers, had been established. Though the Ami were easy to pacify, coming to an understanding with the wilder mountain people- especially the Atayal and Bunun tribes of the central and northern high ranges- was far more difficult.⁶⁷

The aboriginal tribesmen presented a unique challenge for the Japanese as colonizers. Their efforts to pacify and civilize the aboriginal population were not unlike the efforts of French colonial authorities in Algeria. France, at the height of its imperial power, believed that it had a mission to civilize the rest of the world and to spread the understanding of French language and culture. The French *mission civilisatrice* emphasized mastery of rational thought over the forces of nature, the human body, and human social behavior.⁶⁸ Japanese colonial policy shared some similarities with the French mission. Through establishing modern education, the colonial government sought to civilize the Taiwanese by reducing old Chinese superstitions and by providing a basic knowledge of math and science. By improving public health, they reduced incidences of tropical disease and enhanced mastery over the body. But, while in the French case being civilized meant that one would become metropolitan French, an assimilated Taiwanese did not become fully Japanese in the minds of the colonizers.

Japan had viewed itself as the leader of Asia, and wished to assimilate other Asians for their own benefit, *vis-à-vis* the West. Other colonial powers were in a different situation, because they colonized people who were much more different from them. The case of British colonial education in Jamaica presents many similarities and thus can shed light on the practice of educating a colony. The British seized the island of Jamaica from

⁶⁷ Ibid., 80.

⁶⁸ Conklin, Alice. *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895-1930*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1997.

Spanish colonists in 1655. The island's economy was dependent on African and Indian slaves before emancipation came in 1838. The freed people came to regard Queen Victoria as their great emancipator, and regarded her with affection and respect throughout the period of colonial rule despite discriminatory treatment in the colony by white British.

The discrimination faced by black and brown Jamaican students was remarkably similar to that faced by Taiwanese students under their respective colonial administrations, given that greater similarities existed between the Japanese and the Taiwanese. When Japan acquired Taiwan in 1895, it looked toward other colonies for useful examples of various aspects of colonial governance, including education. The British government trained Jamaican colored students in basic literacy and numeracy, and expected them to function in a modern western society, but only at its lowest classes. Taiwanese students were assimilated into blue-collar jobs, and positions of responsibility were reserved for the Japanese.

Racial prejudice was evident in both cases. Taiwanese students were seen as intellectually inferior, and in Jamaica the belief that the “negro mind finds Euclid rather rough work” prevailed. At the same time, the British praised the Jamaicans for the “fine specimens of calligraphy and of map-drawing, for in the imitative arts the negroes make great attainments”.⁶⁹ These sentiments were not unlike Takekoshi's assertion that Taiwanese could not be educated in the true sense of the word.

⁶⁹ Brian Moore, Michele Johnson. *Neither Led nor Driven: Contesting British Cultural Imperialism in Jamaica, 1865-1920*. Kingston, Jamaica: University of West Indies Press, 2004, 207-208.

British officials pushed for practical agricultural education in primary schools. They were worried that children who had not been educated in the principles of honest work would grow up to be idle members of society and despise the manual labor that was expected of them as members of the colonized race. This idea met with stiff opposition from middle-class black and brown Jamaicans, who saw this as a way of setting back the social progress they had made as freed men and women. In Taiwan, students were similarly encouraged to learn about agriculture, business, and other practical sciences. The most talented students were encouraged to study medicine or to become teachers, and only a small group of elite students from very wealthy families could afford to study in Japan and escape the narrow confines of education in the colony.

Jamaican schools imported their curriculum wholesale from Britain, with the notion that a British education was a good one. Little thought was given to the suitability, or rather unsuitability, of such a curriculum for children who were being brought up in a very different climate and culture and under very different economic conditions. Songs about snow and ice skaters were favorites among Jamaican schoolchildren, though none had ever encountered such things.⁷⁰ Similarly, in Taiwan the curriculum was adopted from Japan as well. However, some lessons in the textbooks were changed to suit a Taiwanese setting better. The content of these changed lessons would preach a message of responsibility and obedience, rather than instill higher aspirations. The illustrations too would be changed to a tropical setting and would include details of Chinese households. Textbooks used in Taiwan were modified versions of those used throughout Japan, providing a fund for myth, folklore, and fact shared henceforth by the Taiwanese child

⁷⁰ Ibid., 221.

with his Japanese peers. Education in Taiwan sought to teach Taiwanese children about their own surroundings, and at the same time prepared them for a position in society that would be generally inferior to that of the Japanese.

A significant difference between Taiwan and Jamaica was that educational work in Jamaica was primarily carried out by missionaries, with little intellectual or monetary assistance from the government. In Taiwan, the Japanese government had drawn up detailed plans for an education system that comprised primary schools, middle schools, and institutions of higher education. The role of religion in Jamaican education cannot be overemphasized. As teachers tried to mold their pupils into moral, obedient, thrifty British citizens, they focused on teaching about Britain and the empire rather than about Jamaica. In a Jamaican history lesson, the leading figures in were all British, as no Jamaican was considered to have been prominently connected with Jamaican history.⁷¹ Similarly, for a school to lack a map of Britain was more lamentable than for it to lack one of Jamaica. This was in contrast to the moderate efforts made by the Japanese colonial administration to educate the Taiwanese on the geography and the climate of the island.

School attendance in Jamaica was lowered by parents' unwillingness to send their children to school. According to Jamaican teachers, children were frequently tardy or truant.⁷² This was mostly due to economic reasons, since there was a hefty school fee. Furthermore, poor peasant families needed an extra hand in the field. However, there was also a mistrust of British cultural influence and a reluctance to let any distance grow between parent and child. In Taiwan, there was at first a similar reluctance to let children

⁷¹ Ibid., 221.

⁷² Ibid., 214.

be educated by the Japanese, and people continued to study in traditional schools that taught the Chinese classics. However, by the 1920s, the Taiwanese had come to see the benefits of a Japanese education. Rather than aspiring to overthrow the system, Taiwanese elites sought equal status with the Japanese within the Japanese empire.

Beyond education, a cult of the monarchy and empire was promoted in Jamaican society to maintain a sense of British identity. An annual celebration of Queen Victoria's birthday was even invented in Jamaica, complete with a parade filled with pomp and pageantry, to celebrate the glory of the British Empire. Other celebrations that tied Jamaica to the crown were the anniversary of the coronation of Victoria and of her successor, Edward VII. White Jamaicans, worried about being subsumed into the Afro-Creole culture, were eager to perpetuate these celebrations as reminders of their British identity and of the privileges that accompanied it. However, Black and brown Jamaicans already felt loyalty to the Queen, because they regarded her as the one who had freed them from slavery. Most of them were unimpressed by other aspects of British culture and retained their African worldviews and beliefs in daily life. While the majority of Jamaicans adhered to Afro-Creole culture, Anglo-Creole culture was still the dominant and official way of life.

In this regard, Jamaica under British rule was similar to the Taiwanese case. The fact that the Taiwanese were the majority group rendered complete Japanization impossible, even though Japanese was the official language of the government and the public schools. Prominent intellectual leaders of Jamaica were forced to conclude that the civilizing mission had failed by the beginning of the twentieth century. In Taiwan, the intensity with which Japanization was forced onto the people in the latter stages of

colonial rule showed that early efforts of assimilation had been less successful than what the colonial government had hoped.

The initial inquiry for this chapter was regarding racial differences. Does a difference in skin color affect how well a population can be assimilated? The answer in this comparison is no. In Taiwan, fewer aboriginal children than Taiwanese children were enrolled in schools, accounting for tribes that were not directly under Japanese jurisdiction. At the same time, the figures for Taiwanese enrollment, about 28% of the school-aged population, are not significantly different from Jamaican and Algerian figures. The ethnic and cultural similarities between Japanese and Taiwanese did not result in a greater enrollment of students in government schools, as compared with cases where, as with the Jamaicans and British on the island of Jamaica, the ethnic and cultural differences would appear to be greater.

The Taiwanese people couldn't be assimilated because their native language and culture were thriving, and the Japanese were a small minority on the island. The Jamaicans couldn't be assimilated for similar reasons. Perhaps the real question is whether assimilation is ever possible. Goto Shimpei and Takekoshi Yosaburo, the Japanese bureaucrat who surveyed Taiwan in 1905, believed that with enough time, complete assimilation could be achieved. Later governor-generals sought assimilation in the present, believing that complete assimilation would benefit both Japan and Taiwan by eliminating the differences between the two. Lin Mao-Sheng, on the other hand, argued that assimilation was impossible.

Conclusion

The principle concerns of this paper have been, first, to include Lin Mao-Sheng's critiques of Japan's assimilation policy in the historiography of Japanese colonial education in Taiwan; second, to expand on Lin's argument that the Taiwanese continued to be discriminated against in the education system even after the Japanese government espoused full equality in the 1922 education rescript; and third, to compare assimilation in Taiwan to assimilation in British colonial Jamaica and to inspire interest in further research of colonial education in other colonies.

Since 1895, the very beginning of Japan's colonial administration, assimilation had been a guiding principle for education on the island. The colonial government set up public elementary schools for the Taiwanese, called common schools, that were separate from the primary schools for Japanese pupils. The curriculum of the common schools emphasized Japanese language and ethics, and was different from the curriculum of primary schools in that education authorities removed textbook lessons that would lead Taiwanese students to aspire to higher stations in life, since the colonial government wished to maintain the privileges of Japanese colonials over the Taiwanese. This illustrates the enduring contradiction of Japanese colonial rule—assimilation of the Taiwanese into Japanese society but only at the bottom. Such a contradiction illustrates the rapacious nature of colonialism itself—to exploit the natural and human resources of a foreign land for the colonizer's benefit.

The colonial education system directed Taiwanese toward practical scientific fields that did not encourage full intellectual development, and this was justified by racist attitudes toward Taiwanese customs, religion, and learning capacity. At the same time, in order to assimilate the Taiwanese, the Japanese colonial administration must provide an adequate education for their children that imparted Japanese language and culture. Hence, the Japanese colonial government provided an education for a people that they believed did not possess the capacity to fully absorb it. This resulted in, and perhaps justified, assimilating the Taiwanese at the bottom of Japanese society by denying them positions of responsibility in civil service, industry, and education.

Educated Taiwanese pushed for equality with the Japanese by petitioning for the establishment of middle schools for the Taiwanese, increased opportunities for higher education on the island, and the representation of Taiwanese interests in the Tokyo Diet. Recognition on the part of assimilated and elite Taiwanese of their own inferior status is evidence of the simultaneous existence of assimilation and discrimination, and perhaps one of the greatest ironies endured by the Taiwanese people under Japanese rule.

The Japanese government in Taiwan and in Tokyo was reluctant to depart from its traditional policy of assimilation when faced with frequent protest from Taiwanese leaders. Despite having achieved a certain degree of success in assimilation, the government did not trust the Taiwanese enough to provide them with an education that would fully develop their intellectual capacity, or an opportunity to represent their own interests in the government, because fundamentally, the Japanese still saw the Taiwanese as different and inferior.

One Taiwanese man who challenged the conception of Taiwanese intellectual inferiority was Lin Mao-Sheng, who not only competed successfully with Japanese students for a spot at Japan's most prestigious university, but secured government funding for graduate study in the United States. After Lin graduated from Tokyo Imperial University in 1916, he became a leading intellectual figure in Taiwan and a recognized expert on both Taiwanese and western history. Yet, when given the opportunity to pursue his doctorate degree at Columbia University, he chose to write about Japanese colonial education in Taiwan, which demonstrated that Lin's Taiwanese nationalism and identity was strong despite being the product of an assimilationist education. Lin himself was a figure who faced the contradiction between assimilation and discrimination, having completed a first rate Japanese education, but still deeply-rooted in his concerns for the Taiwanese students. His doctoral dissertation served to put the plight of the Taiwanese, under oppressive colonial rule, onto an international stage.

Lin's arguments, grounded in John Dewey's theory of modern education, emphasized that education is necessary to the transmission of life, and that replacing Taiwanese language/culture with Japanese language/culture in schools would eradicate the Taiwanese way of life. The act of transmitting one's own cultural content to the young of that culture is a fundamental necessity of life, and assimilation denied this.

Despite the negative consequences of assimilation, the Japanese administration was the first to bring modernized education and female education onto the island, among other significant contributions toward the economic and material development of Taiwan. Japan was not alone in its assimilation enterprise; the British colonial government in Jamaica sought to educate colored Jamaicans along the lines of the British model, though

the contradiction between assimilation and discrimination was less acute in Jamaica, since the racial and cultural differences between the British and the Jamaicans were far greater than those between the Japanese and the Taiwanese.

A comparative perspective also raises the question of whether assimilation of one culture into another is ever possible. This paper has presented evidence of both the successes and the failures of the Japanese assimilation policy in Taiwan, and the effectiveness of assimilation as a colonial policy is a complex matter that merits further study.

I conclude with a personal anecdote that illustrates the relevance of Japanese colonial education to the lives of contemporary Taiwanese. When I was researching in Taipei, I discussed my thesis topic with an older relative, and he remarked that the Taiwanese in his generation had been confronted with the problem of not knowing the history and the affairs of their homeland. Under both the Japanese and Chinese Nationalist regimes, the school curriculum had been lacking in Taiwanese history, language, and culture. If learning about one's immediate surroundings is essential to forming one's identity and to cultivating pride and affection in it, then the Taiwanese government must continue to promote a culturally fit education for Taiwanese children.

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