

Resistance or Subjugation?

Comparing Popular Responses to History Education in Colonial Taiwan and Korea*

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1. Introduction: Taiwanese Attitude towards Japanese Colonial Education

It may be an exaggeration to say that “History Education during Japanese rule” is becoming a central issue in contemporary Taiwanese academic study. Japanese language education has long been a major concern in the study of Japanese colonial education in Taiwan, and therefore a great deal of research work has been accumulated. On the other hand, there have been few academic works on history education in colonial Taiwan. To quote some, Chou Wan-yao (周婉窈) recently published an article comparing history education in colonial Taiwan, Korea and Manchuria.¹ She has also analyzed Japanese language textbooks (國語讀本) from a historical point of view.² Also, some graduate students at universities in Taiwan at the masters de-

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¹ 周婉窈, 歷史的統合與建構——日本帝國圈內臺灣·朝鮮和滿洲的[國史]教育, 中央研究院臺灣史研究所籌備處, 台北, 2002. In this article, she refers to the comparative study on history education in Japanese colonies in my book: 磯田一雄 「皇國の姿を追って」, Tokyo, 1999.

² 周婉窈, 鄉土臺灣在日治時代公學校教科書中的地位(初探一), 〈鄉土史學術研討會論文集〉, 台北, 1997. 周婉窈, 實學教育, 鄉土愛與國家認同——日治時期臺灣公學校第三期[國語]教科書的分析, 〈臺灣教育史研究, 第四卷·第二期〉, 中央研究院臺灣史研究所籌備處, 台北, 1997. 吳文星, 日治時期臺灣鄉土教育之議論, 〈鄉土史學術研討會論文集〉, 台北, 1997.

gree level have selected history education during Japanese rule as their research subject, and are analyzing history textbooks.³

Although the amount of research is still scarce, I expect it to begin flourishing soon, as many Taiwanese are now enthusiastically pursuing their identity, in which the influence of Japanese colonial education can not be ignored. Putting the matter in another context, one might say that study of colonial historical education has been discouraged in Taiwan the same way that education in Taiwanese history itself was ignored for a long time after the liberation of Taiwan from Japanese rule.

The main motive for these studies seems to be ascertaining whether Taiwanese acquiesced to and accepted the contents and ideology of Japanese history education in Taiwan, or rejected and resisted them. For instance, a Taiwanese graduate student recently wrote:

As a student, I have received no thorough history education of Taiwan under Japanese rule. I can remember only few brief statements: that Japanese colonial government in Taiwan was very barbarous, so the people resisted against it; the history of occupied Taiwan is a history of Taiwanese resistance to Japan, etc. But when older people who experienced the Japanese occupation era get together, they usually speak in Japanese to each other, sing Japanese songs, remember the amusements of the Japanese era, and praise men of "Japanese Spirit (日本精神)". I have never been able to find "History of Resistance to Japan with blood and tear". This experience brought me to realize the necessity of understanding the psychological situation of the Taiwanese people under Japanese rule.⁴

³ 許佩賢，*塑造殖民地少國民——日據時期臺灣公學校教科書之分析*，國立臺灣大學歷史學研究所碩士論文，1994。蔡蕙光，*日治時期臺灣公學校的歷史教育——歷史教科書之分析*，國立臺灣大學歷史學研究所碩士論文，1999。

⁴ 蔡蕙光，前揭論文，Preface。

I have had a similar sort of experience: when I said "Japan must reflect sincerely upon its colonial education in Taiwan" in my presentation at a symposium titled "Towards Multi-cultural Communication," a Taiwanese present protested against my statement, and claimed: "I joined the Pacific War as a Japanese soldier. I believe the education I received at that time was right! I hate that you are speaking of it from a critical view-point." (This is my own interpretation of what I think he meant, it is not an exact translation.) I was astonished and had to reflect upon the complexity of Taiwanese consciousness towards Japanese colonization. I could not interpret his attitude as genuine favor to Japan (親日), of course. It should be interpreted through analysis of his sub-consciousness, i.e. his wish to preserve his identity in moral crisis, I believe. It is certain "Japan bashing" only would damage the heart of this sort of person.

It is very clear that a "History of Taiwan" in an academic sense was not established at the time Japan began to implement colonial education in Taiwan, and also it is well known that teaching the "History of Taiwan" at public school level began only a few years ago, in the secondary school history textbook.⁵ This textbook has been criticized for "over-evaluating the modernization" which Japanese colonial rule brought to Taiwan.⁶ In short, the study of history education in the colonial age is important in that the Taiwanese history has been ignored for such a long time, yet it has a significant meaning for Taiwanese future.

It is almost impossible to study the history of Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule without being involved in the matter of "modernization and colonization."⁷ Recently it seems that a tendency to

⁵ 國立編譯館主編, 〈認識臺灣、歷史篇〉, 台北, 1997 (試用本), 1998 (正本).

⁶ For instance, 許南村編 〈認識臺灣教科書評析〉, 1999, Taipei.

⁷ 周婉窈, 失落的道德世界——日本殖民統治時期臺灣公學校修身教育之研究, 〈臺灣史研究, 第八卷·第二期〉, 中央研究院臺灣史研究所籌備處, 台北, 2002, p.45.

positively evaluate Japanese colonial education has appeared among Taiwanese. Chen Pei-feng argues that Japanese colonial education in Taiwan was exceptionally unique in that it carried out Japanese language education to the ultimate, and that the Taiwanese rather actively accepted it. This is a very rare case in colonial education.⁸

On the contrary, Japanese colonial rule in Korea, including colonial education, has generally been looked at very negatively, and often been criticized severely, as Patricia E. Tsurumi suggested in her well known book.⁹ And generally, Korean authors usually do not favor discussion of “colonial modernity.” For instance, observing the process of colonial education development from the view-point of Koreans' voluntary demand for modern education, O Sung-chul does not recognize the modernity of Japanese colonial education in Korea; he argues that education in Japan since 1880 was full of pre-modern character, having nothing to do with modern European education, and this pre-modernity reflected directly on colonial education in Korea.¹⁰ It seems to mean nothing to him that the school system used the “modern school” pattern, instead of continuing with the traditional school system.

2. Japanese History Education as Counter-culture against Westernization

Japan's colonial education was an "export" of Japanese elementary education with an emphasis on vocational training. Japanese officials saw Taiwanese and Koreans as educable, but culturally and

⁸ 陳培豐 「[同化]の同床異夢——日本統治下臺灣の國語教育史再考」, 東京, 2001, p.297. Taiwanese authors often point out the “good side” of Japanese rule along with its “bad side”. For example, 汪知亭「臺灣教育史料新編」, 台北, 1978.

⁹ Patricia E. Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895-1945*, 1977, pp.159-176.

¹⁰ O Sung-chul 吳成哲 *Formation of The Elementary Education*, Seoul, 2000, (The original text in Korean), p.226.

ethnically inferior.¹¹ To be more exact, as Izawa Shuji, the originator of Japanese colonial education in Taiwan, indicated, they had received the same traditional education and were not illiterate, but from a modern education point of view they were estimated as still in primitive stage of human development.¹² At the same time, the Japanese colonizers believed that the colonized should be definitely inferior in social status to the Japanese. So both in Taiwan and Korea they tried to replicate only the lower tier of mass education found in Japan.

Hence, history textbooks used in Japanese colony should be viewed and analyzed from the process through which they had developed from the original model. These textbooks were directly replicated with some modification, from textbooks designed for Japanese pupils. So we should first analyze the nature of Japanese elementary school history textbooks as the source of those used in colonial Taiwan.

Like the rest of East Asia, Modern Japan experienced “compressed modernization.” It had to modernize itself through western culture in a far shorter period than the westerners experienced in order to avoid colonization by western powers. Some Japanese scholars call this “self-colonization”.¹³ Adoption of Western civilization was inevitable, but most leaders of the time believed that in order to preserve Japanese identity and social order, Japanese spiritual values based on the emperor system had to be preserved and further developed. To them, an adoption of western spiritual culture as well as western technical culture would amount to cultural colonization. So they attempted to use Western technical civilization without changing “the inner man” through western spiritual culture. A central tool

¹¹ 小澤有作 「民族教育論」, 東京, 1967, p.64.

¹² 伊澤修二, 臺灣教育談, 「伊澤修二選集」, pp.570-71

¹³ For instance, Yoichi Komori said that Western powers would not admit to revise “the unequal treaty” without Japan's thoroughgoing “self-colonization”. 姜尚中編 「ポストコロニアリズム」 東京, 2001, p.7

in the preservation of Japanese spiritual values was emperor centered Japanese history, which they tried to seal off from all criticism from the philosophies of modern history. This was a fundamental contradiction.¹⁴

During the pre-modern Edo period (1600-1867), Chinese history was one of the main curricula in Japan's schools for the socially elite samurai class. Japanese imperial history as school curriculum first emerged in the later stage of Edo period. Soon it became a tool in the cultivation of national identity which could stand up to the western powers. As Japan's military power was desperately inferior to the western nations, the political leaders, facing the crisis of colonization of Japan, had no other recourse but to spread a strong ideology of "spiritual superiority of Japan" among the people.¹⁵

At the first stage of Japanese history education in Meiji (1868-1912) era, world history (Bankokushi 萬國史) was also taught at elementary schools, and modern theories of history began to be introduced. History scholars argued that social and cultural history should be included in Japanese history textbooks. To eyes of the conservatives, however, this smelled of cultural colonization, and they made every effort to avoid doing so.

As the result, in 1881, the purpose of history education was transformed from cultivation of knowledge to nurturing "national spirit," and the area of history was limited only to that of Japan. The aim of Japanese elementary education was prescribed "to cultivate reverence for the emperor and national pride." History education was made a strong medium for the cultivation of national identity. At the same time, the history education syllabus at the elementary schools was limited to political and military history, including the

¹⁴ W. E. Griffis said in his book about modern Japan, "The adoption of the Western changes the outer, but does not greatly modify the inner man.", William Eliot Griffis, *Japan in History, Folk Lore and Art*, Cambridge, 1892, 1900, Preface.

¹⁵ 田口卯吉「日本開化小史」, 1877, 東京, 講談社学術文庫, p.245.

myth of creation of the nation and legends of heroes, with almost no description of social and cultural history.¹⁶

This means the history education in modern Japan became a sort of “counter-culture” against western modernization, or cultural colonization, intended to preserve Japanese identity and the social order. This character of history education as a “counter-culture” against western civilization was “exported” later to Japanese colonies including “Manchuguo.”

Regarding this Japanese conservatism, the American priest and educator W. E. Griffis stated:

Even yet, in Japan, the Mikado is popularly believed to be divine or semi-divine. Hence it is not yet safe for a native of the divine Country to write about the emperor's ancestors as if they were men Even as late as the year 1892, a learned professor in the Imperial University was punished for studying Japanese history with critical cares, as Europeans study it, and saying that the Mikado's ancestors were Coreans[Koreans]. When the government says that Jimmu Tenno, the first Mikado, “ascended the throne” B. C. 660, or 2, 552 years ago, every Japanese is expected to believe it, at least believe it in the Japanese language. If he doubts it, he must doubt it in English, or German, or French.¹⁷

Yet the elementary school Japanese history textbooks kept for a while a limited level of influence of modernistic view of history: strips of social and cultural history were included along with narratives

¹⁶ 海後宗臣 「歴史教育の歴史」, Tokyo, 1969, pp.56-58.

¹⁷ Griffis, op. cit. pp.42-43. This description reflects the famous "Kume Accident" (久米事件), which occurred in 1892 just before publication of the first edition of Griffis' book. Benedict Anderson also refers to this matter. See, Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Community*, revised ed., 1991, Chap. IV, note 29.

heavily biased to military and political dimension. Gradually the lives of ordinary people like farmers, merchants and craftsmen decreased and eventually disappeared from historical scene, while the political and military dimension increased. This nationalistic tendency was emphasized even further in the so-called third period state-edited history textbook (“尋常小學國史,” 1920), which had been published for Japanese elementary school pupils, and was the model of the first history textbooks in colonial Korea and Taiwan.¹⁸

3. An Attempt at Cultural Colonization of Taiwanese through History Education

—Features of History Textbooks in Colonial Taiwan compared with those in Korea—

Japanese colonization policy in Taiwan and Korea is often called “assimilationist.” To be precise, it was not political and juristic assimilation, but fundamentally linguistic, cultural, and spiritual assimilation, or Japanization. The colonial officials’ first and utmost goal was to make every Taiwanese speak Japanese, through which they thought the Taiwanese could then understand the Japanese spirit as well. The first colonial schools in Taiwan were Japanese language schools founded in 1895, which after a short time became known as common schools (公學校), the elementary school for Taiwanese pupils. Japanese history was added to the curricula first in 1922. While Japanese language and ethics included some lessons about modernization and referred to both Taiwanese and Japanese culture, Japanese history had almost nothing to do with Taiwanese history

¹⁸ Confucianism was also seen as a central factor in counter-balancing power against western values. If appropriately applied, it could have become a common factor throughout East Asian area. While the teaching of Confucian morals in ethics (修身) had some value, the interpretation of Confucianism in Japanese history was too limited and narrowly self-centered, and not free from the prejudice of racism (Yamato-race-centered view-point).

and culture. Hence, we can say the history curriculum was introduced in order to strengthen cultural colonization.

Although both in colonial Korea and Taiwan history education as an independent subject was not implemented at the first stage of colonial education, Japanese language readers, the most important textbooks in Japanese colonial school, included some historical lessons. An independent history course was first introduced in 1920 in Korea, and in 1922 in Taiwan, and history textbooks were published the following year respectively. Significantly, the same year that the history course was introduced, the study of the Chinese classics (漢文) was made an elective subject and decreased substantially in total class hours.

To understand how Japanese colonial authority in Taiwan used history education to try to manipulate people's historical consciousness, it is very useful to analyze elementary history textbooks published for the common schools, and compare them with those for their Korean counterparts. The first history textbook in Taiwan was “公學校用日本歴史”, lit. Japanese history for the common school, 1923, and that in Korea is “普通學校國史”, lit. regular school national history, 1922. As already mentioned, they were both compiled, with some modification, after the model of 1920 history textbook, “尋常小學國史”. By examining these textbooks, we can easily find out that they were compiled not to give historical facts and knowledge to pupils but rather to train them as submissive and loyal to the Japanese empire. Especially those of the later stage were full of the ideology of Japan's “national entity” to indoctrinate colonial pupils. At the same time, it is clear that there were many differences between the history textbooks used in Taiwan and those in contemporary Korea.¹⁹

¹⁹ As for more details, see Chapter two of the above mentioned “皇國の姿を追って”.

(a) First of all, the history textbook was called kokushi (國史), lit. national history, in Korea, the same title as in Japan, whereas in Taiwan it was originally called Nihon-rekishi (日本歷史), lit. Japanese history, which sounds a bit more objective. In 1935, however, the title in Taiwan was also changed to “kokushi.”²⁰

(b) The second immediately apparent difference is linguistic. The first history textbook in colonial Korea was written in classic literary Japanese (bungotai 文語體), just like history textbooks used in Japan at that time, whereas the history textbooks for Taiwanese pupils were written in standard colloquial Japanese (keitai-kogo 敬體口語), which was far more familiar to pupils in Japanese colonial schools.²¹

The subject of history was established in Taiwan in 1922, but its textbooks were published in 1923. So the history teaching was implemented without textbooks for the first year. Colonial authority in Taiwan warned teachers not to hand history textbooks of the homeland (the above-mentioned 1920 history textbook, 尋常小學國史, which was the model of Taiwanese history textbooks) to their Taiwanese pupils in this initial teaching, because those textbooks were written in classical Japanese (文語體), therefore inappropriate for Taiwanese to read.²²

But in Korea, this model textbook was used together with some additional materials about Korean history until the publication of the history textbook compiled properly for Korean pupils, which was also written in the same classic Japanese. This suggests, as was gen-

²⁰ The title of the class subject was changed to “Kokushi” (國史 National History) in 1935; the title of the textbook followed suit in 1937.

²¹ In Taiwan some lessons in 文語體 also appeared in the upper grade textbooks. For instance, the lesson of 鄭成功, the only Taiwanese historical figure who appeared repeatedly, was always written in 文語體.

²² 台灣總督府「公學校教授要目」歷史 (Teaching Syllabus of the Common School, 1922, History), p.12. And the colonial authority in Taiwan also admitted the history textbooks for Taiwanese had to be modified, considering pupils' Japanese language competence. (臺灣總督府「公學校日本歷史編纂趣意書」, 1923.)

erally believed, that Korean pupils were more competent in Japanese language than Taiwanese, despite the fact that Taiwan had had longer experience of Japanese language education.²³

(c) The way of adjusting contents of textbooks according to the actual situation of the colony was very different between Taiwan and Korea. Although the substance of both textbooks was derived from the same above mentioned textbook, the textbooks for Korean pupils (普通學校國史) had exactly the same lessons as the Japanese textbooks as well as some additional lessons on Korean history.²⁴ The history textbooks for Taiwanese, on the other hand were much more simplified, rendering some materials into notes, and contained almost no descriptions of Taiwan history, except for the process of its annexation to Japan. Although there were some short statements about Taiwan which had no counterpart in both textbooks in the homeland and in Korea, they mainly contained materials from the previous Japanese state-edited textbook. In short, the Taiwan history textbooks were much thinner than Korea's, and written in far easier Japanese language.

More exactly, we should say that it is quite natural that there was no description of Taiwanese history, because there had been no political contact or state-to-state relationship between Japan and Tai-

²³ 加藤春城, 公學校に於ける國語問題, 1918, in 吉野秀公「臺灣教育史」p.274ff.

²⁴ Exactly, 5 lessons in the first volume and 3 in the second volume. According to the teacher's manual, these Korean history materials were added to the textbooks because it was a bit insufficient to teach the outline of Korean history solely with the original Japanese history textbooks. It was not, of course, intended to give ethnical and national consciousness to Korean people; e.g. a lesson of 朴赫居世王, an ancient Korean king, was added to inform the situation of contemporary Korean peninsula just before the mythological legend of the Japanese ruler Jingu-kogo (神功皇后) who was believed to have invaded and conquered Korean rulers. In another additional material, "the situation of Korea before annexation to Japan", Koreans are described as politically impotent.

wan until modern times. As Yanaihara Tadao has pointed out, it was Japan's fundamental policy to separate Taiwan from China and join Taiwan to Japan, e.g. to change its trade counterpart from China to Japan by means of Tariff Law, to prevent mainland Chinese from founding corporations in Taiwan, etc.²⁵ In the textbook as well, Taiwan was separated from mainland China historically.

Hsu Pei-hsian points out that, comparing textbooks of Japanese language 國語, ethics 修身 and Japanese history 國史, history had the smallest amount of Taiwanese materials; while textbooks of Japanese language and ethics included some materials related to the life and people of Taiwan, in history textbooks there are very little reference to Taiwan, except for the process of its annexation to Japan.²⁶

It is true that there were some materials about Taiwan in textbooks of Japanese language and ethics, but with some problem. In those materials, which lack historical background, central figures are always Japanese and Taiwanese are by-players. These are pure timeless sketches of daily life in Taiwan, lacking any historical or traditional sense.²⁷

(d) History textbooks were revised more frequently in Korea than in Taiwan. Five revisions of the history textbook in Korea were issued, while there were only two revisions in Taiwan during almost the same period, 1920-1945. Moreover, in Taiwan the same history textbook that was published by the Ministry of Education in Japan was used after 1944. Hence there were only two versions of history textbooks designated properly for Taiwanese, while five different history textbooks for Koreans. The contents in the textbooks also changed to a far greater degree in Korea at every revision. In Taiwan the history textbook was revised once in 1937. The major change was to restore the original Japanese material and form, which was omit-

²⁵ 矢内原忠雄「帝國主義下の臺灣」, 1934, reprinted in Taipei 1997, p. 233.

²⁶ 許佩賢, 前揭論文.

²⁷ 周婉窈, 第三期國語教科書分析, 1997, pp.43-45.

ted or degraded in the former edition, and to include somewhat the additional material about Taiwan, and describe nationalistic phrases a bit more clearly.

(e) We should also consider historical materials contained in the Japanese language textbooks (國語讀本). In Korea more historical materials were contained in the readers than in Taiwan. In Taiwanese Japanese language readers there were lots of geological materials, but only a few historical ones.

(f) Viewed from the curriculum development, curricula of history in Korea after 1940 were entirely different from those of Japan and Taiwan, because they were constructed as a circular system, i.e. students of the fifth and sixth grade studied twice the same history from the ancient divine age through the contemporary time from somewhat different view-points. Japanese Government-general in Korea believed that repetition was an effective way to indoctrinate.²⁸ This fact shows that apparently the Japanese colonial government in Korea felt a far more urgent need to spiritually colonize Koreans by all means. On the contrary, the difference of curriculum between mainland Japan and Taiwan shrank after 1937. But Japanese teachers of the common school were worried that, without using some circular curriculum, history education might be ineffective.²⁹

At the last stage of colonization, Taiwanese were assigned the same history textbook as Japanese (初等科國史), whereas in Korea, Korean and Japanese students were to use the same history textbooks compiled by the government-general in Korea.

²⁸ 朝鮮総督府教科書編輯彙報第六輯國史特輯, 1940.

²⁹ In particular, they were anxious about the lack of historical links between Japan and Taiwan they could use. So they tried to make up some sort of circular curriculum of history in the lower grades based on language and ethics lessons, as well as official social events. 桃園第二公學校「公學校下學年國史の取扱指導細目」, 1940.

4. Intermediating Factors in Effect of History Education

4-1 History and Morals—Which was more successful?

The colonial textbooks show only the colonizer's intentions, not its results, such as the influence on the people who used them. So we should get some relevant information about the people who used the textbooks through interviews or other methods. For this purpose I did two small tentative surveys in Liujia (六甲) using written questionnaires and in Shinying (新營) using group interview in 1997.³⁰ Although the number of respondents was small, the results of these surveys lead me to think that history education played no more than a minor role in the assimilation of the Taiwanese people. Actually, the effect of ethics subject (修身) seems to be much more decisive, whereas history was less memorized, or almost forgotten by the respondents.

This result might be interpreted more adequately in reference to the result of extended survey on effect of ethics implemented by Chou Wan-yao. According to her survey, ethics subject was evaluated as “the most impressive subject” and “the second most interesting subject” closely following Japanese language, and, “the most useful subject after graduation” for keeping good human relation. Considering the fact that only 2 hours per week were allotted to teaching ethics while more than 10 hours were allotted to Japanese language, the educational effectiveness of ethics can be said to be paramount. Com-

³⁰ I have to confess these “surveys” are very incomplete, and, at best, only preliminary. Surveying historical consciousness is extremely difficult. Throughout several interviews in Taiwan, it has been very rare to get answers about this dimension of colonial education. In the case of questionnaires, most give no answer to such questions at all. Factors about Japanese language competence and attitude towards it, on the other hand, were much better understood. But still a few is far better than none. In my experience, it has always been utterly impossible to raise this sort of question in Korea.

pared with ethics, history was evaluated the third most "impressive" (about 2/3 lower than ethics), and "third most interesting" (closely behind ethics), but socially not a useful (almost negligible) subject.³¹ These two surveys, Chou Wan-yao's and mine, show similar results of the effectiveness of history compared with ethics. The survey of graduates from girls' high school (高等女學校) in the colonial age also corresponds with the above two surveys concerning the usefulness of ethics.³²

Hence, we can say ethics was more effective than history. Besides, some figure appeared in ethics is very often mistaken as that in history. The typical example is Wu Feng (吳鳳), a Chinese official stationed in Taiwan during the Qing Dynasty. Stories about Wu Feng repeatedly appeared in the common school textbooks, i.e. in all Japanese language textbooks and one of the ethics, but never appeared in history textbooks.³³ A survey of common school pupils in 1915 found Wu Feng to be the most admired figure in the textbooks in the Japanese colonial age.³⁴

As mentioned above, although morals and Japanese history were both evaluated by former Taiwanese common school pupils as highly "impressive and interesting," ethics was evaluated as "very

³¹ 周婉窈, 失落的道德之世界, p. 34--35.

³² 新井淑子・山本禮子「戦前の女子中等教育の研究・高等女学校卒業生に対するアンケート調査資料 No.5, 台湾の高等女学校の分」, 1995.

³³ A similar case is Ninomiya Sontoku (二宮尊徳), a Japanese who was also very often favored and mistaken for a "historical figure". Although he is an Edo-period figure, he never appeared in common school elementary history textbooks.

³⁴ According to the survey conducted in 1915, when historical lessons were included only in the Japanese readers, Wu Feng was favored by 40 out of 41 pupils, while Yamato Takeru, a legendary hero from Japanese myth, was admired by only 13. Re-quoted from Komagome Takeshi 駒込武「植民地帝国日本の文化統合」, Tokyo, 1996, p.184. Also see Komagome Takeshi and J.A. Mangan, Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan 1895-1922: Precepts and Practices of Control, History of Education, 1997, 26:3, pp. 319-320.

useful” for keeping good human relations in daily life after graduation, while Japanese history was “not so useful.” Looking at the contents of the textbooks, both ethics and Japanese history were full of morals rather than objective knowledge, the former included filial morals as well as loyalty to the emperor and the country of Japan, whereas the latter almost exclusively emphasized being loyal to the emperor or the ruler of the time.³⁵

Taiwanese had been deeply immersed in Confucian morals which emphasized filial morals more than loyalty, which differed from the official Japanese morals. So they did not think Japanese history “useful,” even if they could enjoy its stories and legends. In other words, they accepted only those morals suitable to their traditional values and interests. This seems to be one of the reasons why Taiwanese are ambivalent towards Japanese colonization and its education. This ambivalent attitude often very easily leads to over-evaluation of Japanese colonial rule.

4-2 Historical Nationalism vs. Modernistic Nationalism

Among the intermediating factors which intervened in the learning process of Japanese history, the effect of Chinese culture may have been the most determining. As Ann Heylen argues, the elite Taiwanese received a dual education, both Japanese colonial education at the common school and Chinese classical education at home or at a private academy (Shufang, 書房). This dual education fostered an identity which was distinctive to the elite Taiwanese.³⁶

Patricia Tsurumi has pointed out, “by the end of the colonial pe-

³⁵ Since the purpose of history education was designated as “nurturing national spirit,” ethics and Japanese history have been ideologically closely interrelated. Chou Wan-you pointed out the interrelationship of instructional effect among the two subjects, and indicated correctly that interrelationship among the subjects played decisively important role in pupils’ mastering elements of lessons. (周婉筠, 前揭 失落的道德之世界, p.39).

riod, the Japanese-educated Taiwanese of the island's native middle and upper classes had absorbed a whole spectrum of Japanese taste and attitude. In Korea these same classes were seething with militant nationalism."³⁷

According to Chen Pei-feng (陳培豐), however, the elite class people in Taiwan were also nationalism-oriented. The critical difference is that their nationalism was "modernistic," while the nationalism of the Koreans was "historic." Taiwanese might have resisted against Japanese rule with historical nationalism, namely, by emphasizing the brilliant history, culture and tradition of their motherland China. But such resistance based on historical nationalism was rather rare in Taiwan. Most Taiwanese leaders after the first decade of colonization were mainly concerned with modernization in Taiwan implemented by means of Japanese language, rather than maintenance and preservation of Chinese culture and tradition.³⁸

Chen argues that Japanese rulers attempted to indoctrinate Taiwanese in Japanese historical nationalism by teaching Japanese language and history, but as the result they ended up in inducing them to something different, modernistic nationalism. After the Sino-Japanese War, nationalism developed both in Taiwan and mainland China, but with a different character: in short "modernistic" nationalism in Taiwan, and "historical" nationalism in mainland China. Japanese colonial education in Taiwan fostered modernistic nationalism among the Taiwanese by forcing them to study the Japanese language.³⁹

³⁶ Ann Heylen's suggestion at the Seoul Conference in 2000. This double schooling occurred in colonial Korea to a much greater degree, but with a somewhat different meaning. In Korea the traditional school 書堂 (so-dang) in the later stage was, in most cases, a sort of preparatory school for the regular school rather than school of ethnic culture, and continued to the end of colonization.

³⁷ Patricia E. Tsurumi, *op. cit.*, p.172.

³⁸ Chen Pei-feng, *op. cit.* p.302 & p.307.

As already stated, traditionally Koreans were strongly history-minded, and even textbooks for beginners included Korean history as early as in 1541. In Korea a modern school system was established in 1895, which implemented history from the elementary level. They urgently wanted to promote the study of Korean history in order to preserve their ethnical and historical identity. The colonial Japanese government in Korea abolished history classes in public schools right after Korea became a “protectorate” of Japan in 1905. So some Koreans set up private schools and requested the colonial government for permission to teach history classes at elementary level, but in vain.⁴⁰ This situation remained basically the same after the annexation to Japan in 1910.

In Taiwan, however, Taiwanese were instead strongly concerned in preserving Chinese Literature (漢文) classes, especially after 1922, when the Japanese colonial government in Taiwan considered dropping them from the common school curricula.⁴¹ At the time that history was introduced to the curricula of the common school in 1922, Chinese classics was degraded to an optional subject, and, as the result, was gradually dropped school by school until its official termination in 1937, despite strong opposition from Taiwanese. At the same time, those lessons implying “Japanization” increased greatly in Japanese language textbooks. We may conclude that in Taiwan, separation from Chinese influence in various aspects was the ultimate goal, while oppression of historical nationalism was the central concern of Japanese rulers in Korea.

³⁹ Chen, *op. cit.*, pp.307-308.

⁴⁰ At the annual conference of Japan Society for Historical Studies of Education 教育史学会 in 1995, Furukawa Noriko pointed out in her presentation, 併合前後の朝鮮における私立学校, that application for implementation of the Bible class as additional subject in private elementary schools was admitted by the colonial government in Korea, but application for history class was never permitted.

⁴¹ 吳文星, 日拠時期臺灣總督府推広日語運動初探 (下), 〈臺灣風物、第 37 卷第 4 期〉, 台北, 1987.

Korean history and Japanese history have been interrelated since the ancient time, having great deal of co-related matters. For instance, the story of Japanese invasion to Korea by Toyotomi Hideyoshi in the 16th century had its Korean counterpart of Yi Sun-shin 李舜臣 and the Kobukson (龜甲船, lit. turtle shell warship), which defeated Japanese army.⁴² On the contrary, there was no contact between Taiwan and Japan at state level before annexation; there had been no story of Taiwan-Japan relationship.

Since the abolishment of the Chinese classics course at school and the abolishment of the Chinese columns in the newspapers, ordinary Taiwanese who did not get Chinese classical education had no chance of receiving Chinese culture, at least in terms of literary culture, which is considered to be a key in fostering national identity. In short, they had no foundation to resist Japanese narrative of history. At the same time, for Taiwanese people Japanese history had almost no intermediating events through which they could absorb and assimilate it to themselves; it was entirely a story of foreign country. While Japanese language and ethics had materials of modern knowledge as well as feudalistic and/or Confucian morals, Japanese history (國史) included no modern knowledge, instead it was full of examples of imperialistic loyalty. So it might have been almost impossible for ordinary Taiwanese to accept Japanese history through these morals. Even if they had no literary Chinese culture, they still had tremendous traditional Chinese culture in their daily lifestyle.

From the view-points of both the ruler and the ruled, history education had only a secondary significance in Taiwan. In Taiwan the factor of historical nationalism was far weaker than in Korea. On the other hand, ethics achieved seemingly very effective results. Still, education did not destroy Taiwanese identity. Chou Wan-yao points

⁴² In the case of Korea, the fabricated theory of the common ancestry of Japan and Korea (日鮮同祖論) was also utilized in history education, but there was no ground to apply this sort of theory in Taiwan.

out that, although it influenced greatly, Taiwanese basic traditional character never ceased to exist. More precisely, Taiwanese accepted the values of ethics, assimilating it to their own tradition. Acceptance of these values was a realization of their autonomy.⁴³

Could Taiwanese identity be preserved, then? Or, was it lost? As for this point, it is my present tentative conclusion that history education of the Japanese colonizer could not penetrate deeply into the Taiwanese, because it failed to produce strong mass imaginary bondage, while ethics (修身) succeeded in gaining acceptance by the Taiwanese, although it was considerably transformed by acculturation with their moral tradition.

⁴³ 周婉窈, 前揭 失落的道德之世界, pp.48-49.

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