

WRITING “TAIWANESE”:
THE PÉH-OĒ-JĪ ROMANIZATION AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN TAIWAN,
1860S-1990S

BY

HUANG-LAN SU

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in East Asian Languages and Cultures
in the Graduate College of the
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2015

Urbana, Illinois

Doctoral Committee:

Professor Kaiwing Chow, Chair

Associate Professor Dan Shao

Associate Professor Gary Xu

Associate Research Fellow Lung-chih Chang, Academia Sinica in Taiwan

Abstract

This dissertation explores how Pêh-oē-jī (*Jiaohui roma zi/Baihua zi*, literally meaning “church romanization” or “vernacular script” in Chinese, POJ hereafter) was transformed from a “foreign” writing system as a religious tool for Bible study into an identity marker for various groups of “Taiwanese” (*Taiwan ren*) in Taiwan from 1865 through the 1990s. Under three political regimes— the Qing Empire, Japanese colonial rule, and the post-war Nationalist regime, POJ, originally created by the Presbyterian Church missionaries for Taiwanese peoples in the 1860s, was utilized in proselytism, school education, medical study, and as an expression of Taiwanese culture and nationalism under different social, political, and cultural circumstances. Looking into the various ways whereby POJ has become symbolically associated with different identities deepens our understanding of how it was important in the process and politics of identity making in modern Taiwan. Based on POJ materials, I aim to provide the first history of POJ literacy in Taiwan and to provide an analysis of the critical role of POJ in the formation of “Taiwanese” identities in modern China.

Acknowledgments

I am incredibly grateful to my dissertation committee members. This project would not have been possible without their support. My advisor, Professor Kai-wing Chow, always provided me with insightful observations as we discussed the outline, arguments, source materials, and writing style of my dissertation. I was truly lucky to have Professor Dan Shao on my committee. She has provided significant encouragement and support to me as I have worked to establish my professional career. Professor Gary Xu has provided me with invaluable assistance in navigating the challenges I have faced during the dissertation writing process. No words can fully express my gratitude to Professor Lung-chih Chang from Academia Sinica in Taiwan. I am grateful for his participation in this process. He raised tough questions, brought unresolved issues in Taiwan's history to my attention, and gave me a helping hand in the last stage of my doctoral studies.

I also want to thank my colleagues Jing Jing Chang and Dongxin Zou for their comments on working drafts of my dissertation chapters. We shared intellectual discussions that helped to further this project.

Finally I wish to thank my father who actively supported my career and insisted on having me complete my Ph.D. even as he was suffering from brain cancer.

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Introduction

My dissertation intersects with scholarship from four fields of historical inquiry: the history of Christian missions in China, the history of Taiwanese identities, the history of print culture, and the history of Taiwanese education.

This study explains how Pèh-oē-jī (*Jiaohui roma zi/Baihua zi* 教會羅馬字/白話字, literally meaning “church romanization” or “vernacular script” in Chinese, POJ hereafter) was transformed from a “foreign” writing system used as a religious tool for Bible study into an identity marker for various groups of “Taiwanese” (*Taiwan ren* 臺灣人) in Taiwan between 1865 and the 1990s. Across three political regimes, POJ printed sources were used in proselytism, education, medical study, and as an expression of Taiwanese culture and nationalism under different social and cultural circumstances. Looking into the ways that using POJ has become symbolically associated with different forms of identity deepens our understanding of how important a writing system is in the process and politics of identity making in modern Taiwan.

Using POJ was a marker of an individual’s identification with different groups of people between the mid-19th century and the late 20th century. In the 1860s, European Presbyterian missionaries introduced POJ as a proselytizing tool. It was primarily designed to transliterate the southern Fujianese language (*Minnan hua* 閩南話 or *Taiyu* 台語) which is the most commonly spoken language in Taiwan. POJ evolved from a foreign text imparted as a result of the Treaty of Tianjin (1858), to an auxiliary device for learning the southern Fujianese language for Japanese officers during the colonial period, to a tool for the development of a “Taiwanese” ethno-linguistic identity in the 1920s-1930s, to a forbidden writing system under the Nationalist government in the 1960s, to a symbol of “Taiwanese” national identity that was claimed by

Presbyterian church leaders, and finally to a phonetic tool in public education in the 1990s. This research project reveals the cultural and political circumstances that led to shifting understandings of what it meant to read and write in POJ in Taiwan.

The objective of this dissertation is to discuss the process by which POJ literacy was progressively attached to different forms of identity in Taiwan and ultimately to provide an explanation of how the use of POJ by different groups of users contributes to what it means to be “Taiwanese.”

My overarching research question is: how did a *foreign* transliteration system gradually increase its cultural and political importance— in evangelism, knowledge transmission, print culture, Christian and secular school education, western medical training, and finally, in the politics of ethnic and national identity construction— in a land of multilingual immigrants?

Based on POJ source materials, this dissertation argues that the formation and construction of various forms of identities through the use of POJ was closely associated with demands for an individual writing system in Taiwan from the 1860s through the 1990s. Southern Fujianese language speakers, the majority of the Taiwanese population, had no independent writing system before Presbyterian missionaries arrived in the 1860s. It is important to discuss the changing relationship of POJ users to the society so we can better understand the way that POJ literacy was connected to different types of group identity. Printed POJ sources represent the largest textual legacy of the mid- 19th and late 20th centuries in Taiwan, but they have rarely been the subject of major historical analyses. Since POJ has had an increasingly important impact on the general public in Taiwan’s education system, the study of POJ and its relations to society are extremely urgent and valuable to the writing of Taiwan’s history.

In the first several decades after it was taught in Taiwan, POJ served as a religious and linguistic tool for Bible studies in the Christian community. Learning POJ was a prerequisite for baptism. Being literate in POJ later became a feature of membership in the community of Taiwanese who had attended Church-affiliated schools or received Western medical training from Christian missionary doctors.

Under Japanese colonialism, the use of POJ expanded beyond the Christian community. The expanding use of POJ from the 1895 onward and its shifting meanings were driven by colonial policies and backlash against them. Japanese officers learned POJ in order to make the Taiwanese people more receptive to Japanese colonial governance. A cluster of Taiwanese intellectuals worked to transform POJ's significance from a medium of access to Christian or medical knowledge to a symbolic marker of ethnic identity. These Taiwanese elites promoted the use of POJ to highlight the difference between being "Taiwanese" and being "Japanese" through the promotion of "Taiwanese culture," written language, and literature. They emphasized the differences between themselves and the Japanese as an act of resistance to their political exclusion from the Japanese empire.

Over the last three decades, the symbolism of POJ has been transformed in relation to Taiwanese politics, social movement, and education. During the post-colonial period, the Republic of China (R.O.C., the Nationalist government) enforced the use of Mandarin Chinese in public education and suppressed the use of POJ and the southern Fujianese language until the 1980s. POJ supporters tried to adapt POJ into the Mandarin Phonetic System so it would be included in national education. The supporters' attempts to support the R.O.C. and its language policy ended after the R.O.C. withdrew from the United Nations. They feared that once the R.O.C. lost its UN seats the P.R.C. would attempt to invade Taiwan in order to occupy it as the

23rd province of China. In response, the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan made a Declaration on Human Rights to claim Taiwanese Independence in 1977. Since the Declaration came from the Presbyterians who learned POJ in church or school, it transformed the use of POJ into a symbol of “Taiwanese” political identity. The most important symbolic outcome of the Declaration was the creation of the Mother-Tongue Movement in the 1980s. Movement supporters convinced the R.O.C. regime to include POJ and local languages in the language curriculum for public schools. Nevertheless, the inclusion of POJ in compulsory education created a language hierarchy in which Chinese script became the main writing system and POJ became a phonetic device for learning mother tongues.

The definition of writing systems has changed over time. Powell Barry defined a writing system as “a system of markings with a conventional reference that communicates information.”¹ His definition does not clearly identify what types of markings should be considered writing. Instead, he emphasizes that a unique difference between human beings and animals is the ability to write, which echoes Peter T. Daniels’ argument—“Humankind is defined by language: but civilization is defined by writing.”² In order for Taiwan to be recognized as a unique civilization, culture, and nation, it needs its own writing system.

A writing system, in this dissertation, refers to a system characterized by “the use of graphic marks to represent specific linguistic utterances.”³ In other words, a writing system is not a language, but it represents spoken language. It is a visual form of a spoken language. As

¹ B.B. Powell, *Writing: Theory and History of the Technology of Civilization* (Hoboken, N.J.: John Wiley & Sons, 2012), 13.

² P.T. Daniels and W. Bright, eds., *The World's Writing Systems* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 1.

³ H. Rogers, *Writing Systems: A Linguistic Approach* (Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley, 2004), 2.

most linguists might agree, writing indicates a series of systemized graphemes that represent phonemes and morphemes; that is, sounds and meanings. If a spoken language displays how sound and meaning are related, then writing, ideally, should be able to preserve that relationship as well. This is why Daniels and Bright go on to state that the meaning of writings “can be recovered more or less exactly without the intervention of the utterance.”⁴ No definition can perfectly embrace all features of writing. Grounded in Henry Rogers’ classification of writing systems, in which an utterance can be represented “by writing at any of three levels: phonetic, linguistic, and semantic,” POJ, rather like the International Phonetic Alphabet, is a phonetic writing system not affiliated with a particular language.⁵ It does not matter what the language is as long as its phonemes and morphemes can be precisely represented in POJ.

Since POJ is a phonetic writing system, it was a practical tool for transliterating the southern Fujianese language, Hakka, and indigenous languages in Taiwan. Yet, Presbyterian missionaries introduced POJ to serve mainly as a transliteration of the southern Fujianese language. The official language, the Beijing dialect, was not the main spoken language in Taiwan during the Qing dynasty. The southern Fujianese language was (and is) the most common form of verbal communication in the island. Less than half of the native language speakers spoke Hakka and most of them could speak the southern Fujianese language as well. Another small portion of the population spoke indigenous languages and they were divided into more than ten Austronesian language groups. Whenever a missionary planned to disseminate the Gospel in an aboriginal village, he or she had to learn an individual indigenous language which complicated mission work significantly. Later, although the Japanese and R.O.C. governments tried to designate a single “national language” for Taiwan neither regime could neglect the fact

⁴ Daniels and Bright, *The World's Writing Systems*, 2.

⁵ Rogers, *Writing Systems: A Linguistic Approach*, 269.

that the southern Fujianese language was the most widely spoken language from the Qing Dynasty onwards (and probably earlier).⁶ Although each regime attempted to impose their language as the national language of Taiwan, they were not successful in replacing the southern Fujianese language in people's daily lives. Each regime had to adjust their language policy according to the reality of social practice.

As the use of language changes over time, the names for a language change as well. The southern Fujianese language has been called *Minnan yu/hua* 閩南語/話 (southern Fujianese language), *Taiwan hua* 臺灣話, *Taiyu* 台語 (both *Taiwan hua* and *Taiyu* refer to Taiwanese language), *Holo* (Hoklo) *hua* 福佬話 (Holo language), *Taiwan yu* 臺灣語 (*Taiwango*) or *Tuyu* 土語 (*dogo*, both *Taiwango* and *dogo* refer to indigenous language), etc. Southern Fujianese language speakers called the language *Minnan hua/hua*, *Taiwan hua*, or *Taiyu*.⁷ The Hakka people referred to the language as *Holo*. During the Japanese colonial period, colonial officials referred to the language as *Taiwan yu* or *Tuyu* as part of an attempt to distinguish between different groups of Japanese subjects.

⁶ See Lin Qingxun's *A Brief History of Taiwanese Minnan yu* (Taipei: Xinlu chuban she, 2001), 18; Shuanfan Huang, *Language, Society, and Consciousness of Ethnicity* (Taipei: Crane, 1995), 19-21; Hakka Affairs Council, *Annual Research Report of Hakka Affairs Council—A Survey of Hakka in Taiwan, 2010-2011* (Taipei: Hakka Affairs Council, 2011), 174. The annual report conducted a survey of self-identified ethnicities. 67.5% of the entire Taiwanese population stated that they are Hoklo people, but this did not clarify if they spoke southern Fujianese language. As not all Hoklo people speak southern Fujianese language and some Hakka people are bilingual in southern Fujianese language and Hakka, we are not given enough information to calculate the precise number of southern Fujianese language speakers.

⁷ From the databases of *Taiwan wenxian congkan* 臺灣文獻叢刊 (The Taiwan Literature Series) and *Taiwan fangzhi* 臺灣方志 (Taiwan Gazetteers), *Minnan yu* was not found used by the end of Japanese colonial rule. *Minnan hua* appeared once in the commentary about missionary's records. But we are not given sufficient information regarding when the commentary was written. *Taiwan hua* was used once in a letter by Minister Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 (1823-1901) in 1874 discussing Charles W. Le Gendre's 李仙得 (1830-1899) involvement in Taiwan's Mudan Incident 牡丹社事件 (Taiwan Expedition, 1874). *Taiwan yu* 臺灣語 and *Taiyu* 臺語 were used mostly by Lian Yatang 連雅堂 (1878-1936) in his publications such as *Taiwan yu dian* 臺灣語典 (Dictionary of Taiwanese Lanaguge, 1933) and *Taiwan tong zhi* 臺灣通史 (General History of Taiwan, 1920) during the Japanese colonial period. Some of Qing publications such as Liu Jiamou's 劉家謀 (1814-1853) *Haiyin Shi* 海音詩 (Poems of the Sea's Sounds) also used *Taiyu*. All the above usage of *Taiyu*, *Taiwan yu/hua*, *Minnan hua* refer to the southern Fujianese language in Taiwan as a regional language.

For the Taiwanese people deciding whether to refer to the language as *Minnan yu/hua* or *Taiyu* is complicated. Each name is associated with the awakening of ethnic and national identities in a different period of Taiwanese history. The R.O.C. used the name, *Minnan yu/hua*, after World War II, because they did not recognize the southern Fujianese language as a separate language from Mandarin Chinese and referred to it as a *fangyan* 方言 (topolect) of Mandarin, although the two languages are unintelligible.⁸ *Minnan yu/hua* refers to the southern Fujianese language spoken by different waves of immigrants moving from China to Taiwan who mostly originated from southern Fujian province. The language from the southern Fujian province is the dominant language in that province.⁹ Since there were so many immigrants to Taiwan from this province, the majority of Taiwanese people today, at least 70 percent of them, speak this language. Though the provincial language is linguistically divided into Zhangzhou 漳州, Quanzhou 泉州, and Amoy accents, with assimilation of local phonemes, grammar, and vocabulary, speakers who use the different accents can understand one another.

Since the 1970s, many Taiwanese have chosen to refer to the southern Fujianese language as *Taiyu* as part of their attempts to construct a Taiwanese national identity. This is a savvy strategy to “de-Sinicize” the language that outmanoeuvres any cultural and political

⁸ Regarding the differences between language and topolect, or dialect, Victor H Mair has clearly explained and cited Xing Gongwan’s three conditions of claiming the speech of members of two communities to be *fangyan*, rather than separate languages. They are “they share a common standard language, they share the same script, and they can converse directly.” Even though the southern Fujianese language in the Qing Dynasty and under the Nationalist regime shared the common official languages and the same Chinese script in some cases, they are not intelligible. In a dictionary of a linguistic terms, it is usually understood that people speak different languages if they do not understand each other. In my understanding, Chinese languages as sinophone all belong to the group of the great Sino-Tibetan language family, but it is not necessarily to mean they can communicate with each other. It however becomes an issue on defining *fangyan* and *yuyan* (language) when some groups of language speakers are unable to mutually understand each other but are governed by the same political regime. See Mair’s “What Is a Chinese ‘Dialect/topolect’? Reflection on Some Key Sino—English Linguistic Terms,” *Sino-Platonic Papers* 29 (1991): 1-31.

⁹ Among the languages used in Fujian province, *Minnan hua* occupied 66.1 % of entire Fujian population. See Lin Qingxun’s *A Brief History of Taiwanese Minnan yu* (Taipei: Xinlu chuban she, 2001), 5.

association between the language and Chinese regimes, including the P.R.C. (People's Republic of China) and R.O.C. (Republic of China, i.e., Taiwan). In some instances, people have shied away from using the term *Taiwan hua* and called the language *Taiyu* so as to avoid triggering conflict with another self-proclaimed group of "Taiwanese," namely the Hakka.¹⁰

The preference of using the term southern Fujianese language mostly in this dissertation has fuelled concern from readers who speak the southern Fujianese language from different corners of the world, but who have no shared history that is analogous to what their Taiwanese counterparts have gone through. Other names might mislead readers in an attempt to conflate cultural experience with identity. Referring to the language as the southern Fujianese language indicates its linguistic connection with Fujianese language users in a global context and recognizes the language as a complex system of oral communication that has been used in Taiwan and is changing over time.

In my dissertation, "Taiwanese" in most cases is used with quotation marks because its definition has changed over time. I do not intend to provide a comprehensive definition of what it means to be "Taiwanese" in my dissertation, though my analysis touches upon how an individual writing system became a symbol of Taiwanese ethnic and national identities in Chapters Four and Five. Taiwanese people having the ability to write about their experiences in Taiwan is different from their self-identification with a group of "Taiwanese." When people in Taiwan by the 1920s-1930s shared their life experience and cultural opinions in writing, they did not spontaneously believe that they belonged to an ethnic community because of their writings. Their experiences as writers were attached to their membership in other types of groups such as

¹⁰ Qinan Li and Weiren Hong, "A Language has no Name?" *Journal of Taiwan Literary Studies* 15 (2007): 36-41.

writing or religious clusters. They might not have self-identified with the people they depicted as the “Taiwanese” as we understand them now. Before the 1920s, POJ writers were not pushed to distinguish Taiwanese culture from Japanese culture. They were southern Fujianese language speakers and used POJ for different purposes, e.g. learning Chinese or reading the Bible. By the awakening of the Taiwanese culture in the 1920s, the “Taiwanese” in their writings had no clear ethnic features that distinguished them from others and definitely should be understood differently from the “Taiwanese” that later writers identified with after the 1920s.

My research is shaped by scholars who began to research and analyze cultural aspects of Taiwan’s society because of the Mother Tongue Movement in the early 1990s. As native speakers of this language, my family, Taiwanese educators and scholars taught me that southern Fujianese language speakers in the 1990s constituted an ethnic community where being “Taiwanese” was defined as being able to write in a unique writing system that was notably different from Chinese script. Writing, however, is simply a measurement, a visual representation of human minds, of how the world is observed and of what we might anticipate learning about. Being “Taiwanese” can be demonstrated through other aspects of identity as well. Among the ethnic labels in language, appearance, history, race, region, customs, food, habits, class, genealogy, medical ailments, etc. each feature could represent a category of people. There is no clear-cut indication of criteria that define membership in a specific group because ethnic markers change temporally and spatially following cultural and economic development. Based on the dimension of writing, my dissertation describes a *social practice* in which the symbolic and practical significance of POJ literacy changed as it was identified with different communities of people from the mid-1860s forward.

The complexity of what it symbolically means to be “Taiwanese” exceeds standard expectations. Nowadays, the discourse of the ethnonym “Taiwanese” is still evolving. Issues related to “Taiwanese” identity, particularly in politics, have been fervently debated. Defining what it means to be “Taiwanese” is challenging. Individuals who are evaluating their ethnic identity as “Taiwanese” must subjectively consider whether or not they are part of the Chinese people. Even though colonial and post-colonial governments attempted to give the native “Taiwanese” a sense of ethnic and national identity that was grounded in their own cultures, the “Taiwanese” were able to resist the imposition of an outside ethnic identity if they wanted to. Defining what it means to be “Taiwanese” is also contentious because we all have our own perspectives supported by different historical materials and narratives that we rely on to make judgments about identity. Examining both the experiences of individuals and collective actions can give us a more complex and complete picture of the development of identity. We also have to pay attention to how temporal and spatial factors influenced people’s understanding of their ethnicity and the role that using a specific writing system played in creating that ethnicity.

The process through which POJ usage and identity intertwined is noteworthy. In my dissertation, identity refers to what you write and how you utilize a writing system, specifically to the idea that those practices are “among the most normatively significant and behaviorally consequential aspects of politics.”¹¹ This reference does not arbitrarily simplify the complexity of identity, but, as Rawi Abdelal, Yoshiko M. Herrera, Alastair Iain Johnston, and Rose McDermott all suggest, it treats “identity as a variable” that has to be conceptualized in one’s scholarship.¹² From a historical sociolinguistic point of view, my research explores the identities

¹¹ Roger Smith, “Identities, Interests, and the Future of Political Science,” *Perspectives on Politics* 2:2 (2002): 301-12.

that were formed through the use of POJ and the dynamic social practices associated with POJ under different regimes in Taiwan. Attributes of identities are fluid and situated in certain sociocultural contexts. The ever-evolving features of membership in a specific group can be self-selected, given, and/or responsive to changes and conflicts in a society. In other words, investigating POJ's centrality to constructing identities helps us to understand the myriad social relationships of 19th-20th century Taiwan. Users decide whether or not a written language will be incorporated into their sense of identity when they chose to use it or not use it to communicate with diverse groups of hearers. "Identity is the source and the outcome of culture;" written language is a type of cultural production that indexes its users' social status, ideology, age, ethnicity, education, gender, religious belief, and nationality.¹³ When a linguistic utterance or text is created, it is symbolic of both self-perception and given knowledge to the interlocutors.

Walter Ong's theory of written language fleshes out the link between writing systems and identity. According to Ong, a writing system structures a user's consciousness in a way that is distinguishable from the influence of a spoken language.¹⁴ His comments stress the properties of writing as literature or other types of complicated presentations of thoughts. Some POJ users believe that written presentations in POJ are much closer to text than they are to literature which is a production that is stylistically shaped in genres. POJ writing is supposed to accurately transliterate an utterance without (re)shaping its meaning. Unlike Chinese characters or written English, POJ is not a written language with its own vocabulary that native languages are 'translated' into. It is a spelling system that enables speakers to 'transcribe' their speech. The

¹² R. Abdelal et al., *Measuring Identity: A Guide for Social Scientists* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 17.

¹³ Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall, "Language and Identity," in Alessandro Duranti, ed., *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology* (Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2006), 369-94.

¹⁴ W.J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (New York: Routledge, 1982), 123.

problems that are associated with written formats of language, which could change the readers' understanding of the spoken language, seem inapplicable to POJ. However, POJ writings should be considered 'translations' of texts because of the way that the meanings of words are re-shaped in the POJ Bible, textbooks, and medical knowledge reference books.

Writing systems label a group of people and allow them to separate themselves from other groups. In his analysis of written language and the construction of identity, Roz Ivanič suggests that writer identity is "an understanding of the way in which the use of written language is connected to other aspects of social life."¹⁵ Different forms of literacy highlight different aspects of identity, e.g. writing newspapers or school textbooks.¹⁶ Using POJ in various genres might develop different people's sense of belonging to different POJ communities.

Understanding the identities of POJ users in Taiwan is important since POJ literacy influenced the construction of group identities in Taiwan. Learning POJ improves a person's ability to speak the southern Fujianese language, but a southern Fujianese language speaker cannot automatically use POJ without training. The southern Fujianese language speakers in Taiwan were not required to study POJ if they were enrolled in elementary school before the 1990s. Taiwanese Christians and church attendants were the exceptions since POJ was the main writing system of Church publications by the end of World War II.

Since POJ was not the official written format of the southern Fujianese language we need to understand why some users chose to study it. First, POJ offered a shared writing platform for non-southern Fujianese language learners to learn pronunciation and tones. Secondly, the language speakers used POJ as a convenient mechanism for writing in the language. A recent

¹⁵ Roz Ivanič, *Writing and Identity: The Discoursal Construction of Identity in Academic Writing* (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 1998), 71.

¹⁶ Ibid.

study demonstrated that the naturalized spouses of Taiwanese citizens from Vietnam and other Asian countries generally show interest in learning POJ for daily communication in the southern Fujianese language. The author suggested that speaking the southern Fujianese language should be a priority for long-term foreign residents in Taiwan, inasmuch as it is the most useful language for daily life.¹⁷ No matter how much a speaker can use the southern Fujianese language, POJ is a visual demonstration of the language. Since more and more Mandarin speakers are capable of understanding the southern Fujianese language, thanks to living in an immersive language environment, my research explores how identity information and construction is influenced by being able to write in a major language in contemporary Taiwan.

In current scholarship, the study of POJ as a marker of identity is part of the study of the Taiwanese people. Most scholarship tends to include several factors in understanding the Taiwanese people: knowledge (re)production through printing, written language preference, the post-1945 R.O.C. language policy, deteriorating political relations with the “Chinese” who retreated to Taiwan from China after 1945, speaking the southern Fujianese language, the influence of the Presbyterian Church, and the shared fate of people in Taiwan. Many scholars do not situate their studies in the shifting historical and cultural circumstances in Taiwan thus obscuring how understanding and markers of ethnicity and identity changed over time.

While political science scholars urge us to believe that the construction of Taiwanese identity cannot be examined outside of the political field, Chang Miao-Chuan’s 張妙娟 study outlines how printing technology promoted missionary teaching in terms of the comprehensive

¹⁷ Hak-Khiam Tiuⁿ, “Pêh-oē-jī and the Modernization of Taiwanese Written Language,” *An Anthology of International Conference on Taiwanese Romanization in 2004* (Tainan: National Taiwan Literary Museum, 2004), 1-17.

introduction of the first newspaper, *Tâi-oân-hú-siâⁿ kàu-hōe-pò* 臺灣府城教會報 (Taiwan Church News), which has been in circulation since the 1880s in Taiwan.¹⁸ As Chang convincingly argues, the newspaper in POJ encouraged using POJ instead of Chinese characters in Christian schools, churches, and private meetings. Furthermore, POJ learners gained two advantages from their studies. First, POJ is a system that can be quickly learned. Second, some editions of the paper advertised that as long as POJ was studied first, the difficulty of learning complicated classical Chinese characters would decrease by studying POJ annotations alongside characters. In addition to advocating the study of POJ, the newspaper printed school news and religious messages for church educational institutions as well. A writing language community was gradually fashioned that included only POJ users, most of whom were Christian. Consequently, Chang implies that a Taiwanese religious identity formed around reading the printed language.

The use of POJ could convey how social status was identified within a writing community. Pan Wei-Hsin's 潘為欣 work further examines the contrast between using *kana*, syllabic Japanese scripts, and POJ to compose southern Fujianese language during the Japanese colonial period.¹⁹ An interesting discovery by Pan demonstrates, surprisingly, that POJ publishers did the exact opposite of what the Japanese government expected by publishing Confucian classics in POJ, whereas *kana* were used more for transliterating folklore. According to Pan, this commercial publishing phenomenon explains an established idea—namely, that there existed a language hierarchy between “phonetic tools” in *kana* and “vernacular writing” in POJ.

¹⁸ Miao-Chuan Chang, *Kaiqi Xinyan-Taiwan Fucheng Jiaohui Bao Yu Zhanglao Jiaohui De Jidutu Jiaoyu* (Open Your Eyes and Minds-Taiwan Church News and the Christian Education of Presbyterian Church) (Tainan: Presbyterian Church in Taiwan Press, 2005).

¹⁹ Wei-Hsin Pan, “Relationship Between Taiwanese Vernacular Writing and Writing Symbols during Japanese-Occupied Period—Centering on Specialized Taiwanese Education Magazine and Taiwan Prefectural City Church News,” (M.A. Thesis, National Taipei University of Education, 2011).

The former was designed by the educator Izawa Shūji 伊澤 修二 (1851-1917) for Japanese in Taiwan to manage a foreign spoken language, while the latter was created by the Church to substitute for characters which occupy the dominant position of Chinese literacy and tradition. From a comparative perspective, Pan's research unexpectedly bridges a gap in Chang's book. By integrating Chang's insight with Pan's textual materials, it is reasonable to conclude that POJ was used by diverse classes of people in printed versions of individual literary compositions, information exchange, and commentaries of Confucian works circulated through literacy media.

From a sociocultural anthropologist's point of view, Melissa Brown boils down her research to the fact that Taiwanese identity was fashioned by social experience, e.g., the ordinary people's life experiences, rather than by state invention or the ideology of the elite. Many of her works focus on the plains indigenous tribes during the Japanese period. She argues that local ethnic identity "can have a different basis than that which is claimed by a larger ethnic group or society."²⁰ Even though a group of plains tribes, or their adopted daughters, were registered as Han people by virtue of having a patrilineal line of Han in a census, local individual memory viewed them as plains tribes members, since they were immersed in an aboriginal society. Evan Nicholas Dawley's view aligns with Brown's analysis. His dissertation deals with Taiwanese identity in the context of a port city, Keelung 基隆. Dawley, as a historian, makes an argument that ethnicity and identity are constructed from within through the agency of islanders, not by state enforcement. Through developing an in-group and out-group sense in their social organizations, work, and religious traditions, to name a few, local Keelung people connected with one another by means of actual historical conditions. By his logic, the ethnic identity

²⁰ Melissa J. Brown, "Reconstructing Ethnicity: Recorded and Remembered Identity in Taiwan," *Ethnology* 40:2 (2001): 153-64.

constructed in Taiwan went through a distinctive route in order to build a Taiwanese nation-state and ethnic group, though both were imagined to be independent from each other. Political regimes invented a set of Japanese- or Chinese-oriented identities for the people, but they were found to be invalid. Instead of simply receiving the identities given them by outsiders, the people developed their own ways of calibrating their responses to state policies and of delineating ethnic boundaries from the formulated ones.²¹

POJ was an evangelical tool invented by Presbyterian Church missionaries in order to provide a common reading medium for the promotion of a foreign religious system, as well as to provide an orthography for non-script readers who were mostly “illiterate.” The actions taken by and related to the Church cannot help being closely associated with what the use of POJ has stood for at different given times. Lee Weicheng’s 李偉誠 “A Tale of Two Worlds” emphasizes how far-reaching the impact of the Presbyterian Church in post-war Taiwan has been on the formation of Taiwanese ideology underlying the nationalistic movements of the 1970s.²² Since the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan released its Declaration on Human Rights for Taiwanese independence in the 1970s, the Church’s subsequent activities have attracted attention from international political liberals. Lee implies that the Church’s political involvement made using POJ or the southern Fujianese language a symbol of an individual’s political antagonism toward the KMT’s diplomatic decision to withdraw from the United Nations. It was also seen as a symbol of a person’s anger over the regime’s incompetence in dealing with international relations in the Cold War era.

²¹ Evan Nicholas Dawley, “Constructing Taiwanese Ethnicity—Identities in the City on the Border of China and Japan,” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 2006).

²² Weicheng Lee, “A Tale of Two Worlds—Presbyterian Church in Taiwan and Post-war Nationalism,” (M.A. Thesis, National Tsing Hua University, 2009).

Some scholarship takes for granted the continuous use of the spoken southern Fujianese language as a consistent identifier of Taiwanese identity. Some scholars, such as Thomas Gold, have proposed that during the political awakening of the early 1980's, the emergence of a Taiwanese identity expressed through speaking the language confirmed the formation of an anti-hegemonic ideology. Without the consideration of the sociolinguistic history of POJ, his theory simply emphasizes the language use as a political issue.²³ Gold assumes that using this language naturally leads to the construction of a Taiwanese identity to distinguish from the Chinese-identified R.O.C. government, and that language users naturally acquiesced to the process with little or no resistance. However, such a tidy explanation seems simplistic. Leo Ching, in his *Becoming Japanese*, encountered a telling predicament wherein the imagined Taiwanese individuals could not be clearly identified, and were grouped, however arbitrarily, by their ability to speak the language and by governmental fiat.²⁴

Similar to Lee's argument, Hsiao A-Chin's 蕭阿勤 "Language Ideology in Taiwan" elucidates one alternative cause as to how speaking the southern Fujianese language came to be viewed as a marker of being Taiwanese; this notion was a result of the Nationalist (Kuomintang, KMT) language policy.²⁵ In his article, Hsiao points out that the KMT's National Language Movement (*guoyu yundong* 國語運動), initiated in 1946, had exalted Mandarin and suppressed other local languages. In order to defend linguistic hegemony, the Nationalist regime not only banned Japanese columns in newspapers and magazines, but compelled Taiwanese people literate in Japanese to become "illiterate." He argues that the KMT government seemed not to

²³ Thomas Gold, "Civil Society and Taiwan's Quest for Identity," in *Cultural Change in Postwar Taiwan*, eds. Stevan Harrell and Huang Chun-chieh (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), 47-68.

²⁴ L.T.S. Ching, *Becoming Japanese: Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation* (Oakland, C.A.: University of California Press, 2001).

²⁵ A-Chin Hsiao, "Language Ideology in Taiwan: The KMT's Language Policy, the Tai-yü Language Movement, and Ethnic Politics," *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 18:4 (1997): 302-15.

consider the extent of the population's language use, as the southern Fujianese language speakers of Hoklo made up 75% of the island's population, while 70% of the population was literate in Japanese at the time.

As Hsiau states, the use of Mandarin spontaneously turned into a testimony to the Chinese identity of the KMT, as well as a linguistic marker of mainlander (*waisheng ren* 外省人) identity. Any support for speaking the southern Fujianese language in a public space would be deemed ideologically anti-KMT, or even as an agitation for independence movements. Starting in 1945, those who were incapable of speaking Mandarin were classified as "Taiwanese." Classification through language, as Pierre Bourdieu has shown, has become an everyday social and cultural experience practiced in contemporary Taiwanese society. It even serves to outline normative voting expectations, exacerbating the differences between mainlanders and native Taiwanese (*bensheng ren* 本省人), who have resided in Taiwan since before 1945, in the cultural context of political elections since the 1990s.

The southern Fujianese language plays a less important role as a self-selected marker of Taiwanese identity in John Tse's article. The survey he conducted in 1996 and subsequent surveys of similar focus bring us the results that on the one hand, the category of "New Taiwanese," as a supra-ethnic identity, proposed by previous president Lee Teng-hui 李登輝 (1923-), was not well established at the time. On the other hand, the most salient factors that influenced a person's sense of being Taiwanese were "born in Taiwan, identifying with Taiwan, living in Taiwan, regarding self to be Taiwanese, and listing Taiwan as an ancestral birthplace."²⁶ It is intriguing to learn that his survey echoes the results of the survey conducted

²⁶ John Kwock-ping Tse, "Language and a Rising New Identity in Taiwan," *International Journal of Social Language* 143 (2000): 151-64.

by the Election Study Center of the National Chengchi University. They both indicate that a growing number of people in Taiwan identify themselves as Taiwanese since 2001 and that they outnumber those who consider themselves both Chinese and Taiwanese since 2008. Based on the new statistics, Hsiao revised his understanding of Taiwanese identity to include democracy as an essential element, partially due to China's rapidly growing economic power.²⁷

Why the use of POJ as an identity marker has been neglected in scholarship on the history of Taiwan is complex. The most important reason for this oversight is the fact that the corresponding spoken language of POJ, the southern Fujianese language, is situated in a relatively inferior position in Taiwan. The language had no written form as late as the mid-19th century. In contrast to this, every dominant regime in Taiwan established an official written language for use in the educational and literary fields. Different administrations have institutionalized their accepted written forms in publication. For that reason, POJ has been marginalized as long as the southern Fujianese language has regarded as a non-official means of spoken communication, a situation that continues into the present. This bias is evidenced in the literature. For instance, Hsiao's argument pays less attention to how such a large number of the southern Fujianese language speakers, who were illiterate in Japanese and Chinese characters, could communicate in written form and pass the usage of the language on to the next generation.

To present a decentering history, my dissertation project attempts to fill a gap in the extant research.²⁸ Specifically, by studying POJ materials, I explore how the narrative of

²⁷ A-Chin Hsiao, "Taiwanese Identity—Island Spirit Rising," *China Economic Quarterly* 14 (2010): 31-34.

²⁸ Natalie Zemon Davis, "Decentering History: Local Stories and Cultural Crossings in a Global World," *History and Theory* 50 (2011): 188-202. Davis proposes decentering history, to move research topics to the working class, women, communities that defined race and ethnicity, and so on. Her approach heavily impacts my epistemology on writing history in which human society is not composed simply of those central subjects. Cultural interaction can cross the two ends between the center and marginal and between the local and the global, and sometimes blur their boundaries. The representation through a writing system that for a long time was used by the majority of the population of Taiwan, though not overlapping the power centers, is noteworthy for historians to rethink the relationship between the center and non-center.

identities changes when it is informed by written reflections from the “Taiwanese” people. Their perspectives should be examined over a long period of Taiwanese history since identity is a slowly shifting concept. Taiwanese people have formulated different forms of identity through the long-term use of POJ. On the one hand, the Presbyterian Church has continually promoted POJ literacy within and outside of their religious community. On the other hand, different types of identity have been defined by people’s POJ literacy following its changing relations with the society and the state as responses to social circumstance and national policies. The continuous use of POJ from its introduction by missionaries in the 1860s onward is closely tied up with the development of identities associated with writing in “Taiwanese” native languages during different periods.

Most significantly, previous scholarship has focused on Chinese and Japanese printed records of Taiwan’s past and many of them are either one-sided or lacking long-term observation of the changing society. A full contemplation of the topic of identity formation requires more than merely recognizing that written language is an attribute of identity formation. Rather, we have to face an important yet overlooked fact. POJ materials from the 1860s forward, with the exception of 1969 when POJ was temporarily banned, are an unbroken historical repository of written sources in which the “Taiwanese” people are being “Taiwanese” in terms of the use of a non-character writing system.

With a number of theoretical supplements, this dissertation uses three theoretical concepts as the basis of analysis — Pierre Bourdieu’s concepts of “ethnic” identity and the power of “standard” language²⁹ in a linguistic market, and Benedict Anderson’s notion of “print

²⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power: The Economy of Linguistic Exchanges* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991).

language.”³⁰ When discussing the criteria of “ethnic,” or regional, identity, Bourdieu formulated the concept of “mental representations.” As he suggests, no matter whether the criteria are defined as dialect or accent, “ethnic,” or region, is merely a name for a *classification* created by a monopoly of power that imposes a “vision of the social world through principles of di-vision.”³¹

Particularly, the power relations constructed through classification are highlighted in the process of the standardization of language use. An educational system plays a decisive role in defining language competence or the capacity to write and speak. As Bourdieu explains, a linguistic market is “an objective competition in and through which the legitimate competence can function as linguistic capital, producing a profit of distinction on the occasion of each social exchange.”³² That is to say, speakers lacking the competence are “de facto excluded from the social domains or are condemned to silence.”³³ Thus the southern Fujianese language taught officially—in national schools—would improve its users’ status in society and politics. The symbolic power given through language competence might strengthen a person’s identity when using a legitimate language, as the construction of the ethnic identity of “Taiwanese” responds to the education reforms in Taiwan that began in the late 1980s.

More specifically to a sociolinguistic issue, Anderson underlines the point that the dissemination of languages and dialects forms a simultaneously imagined world in which people learn what happened to their own kind. The sharing of their written languages is not necessarily used within an official broadcasting system because it also extends to communities where the written language can be understood. It is the “fatality of linguistic diversity” that makes

³⁰ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006).

³¹ Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, 220.

³² *Ibid.*, 55.

³³ *Ibid.*

linguistic unification impossible, so that particular languages associated with specific territorial units can accidentally generate a reaction against universal language. Anderson's words advise us that the significance of printed language lies not only in its ability to provide a unified field for conversation, but a new *permanent*, stabilized form in public media. The power of language thus is produced when a community decides how to use the written language as their imagined commonality in the centralization of public media. Anderson's brilliant insight into the power of printed language benefits my examination of the historical role played by POJ in the formation of "Taiwanese" as an ethnic identity, especially in light of other possible means of phonetic transcription such as Chinese characters, Japanese syllables, and even other Roman-letter scripts.

Through analyzing archival materials, individual collections and conducting interviews in Taiwan, Japan, China, and the United Kingdom, this dissertation aims to provide sociocultural interpretations to the research questions and issues. My source materials will include missionary and individual diaries, memoirs, newspapers, gazettes, religious texts, textbooks, medical references, Confucian classics, church administrative reports, government regulations, and films. The majority of them are either written in POJ or spoken in the southern Fujianese language. The wide range of materials to be transliterated and investigated will surely provide a rich and extensive account of POJ's influence on Taiwanese identity construction.

A summary of archival sources is as follows: The Presbyterian Church Records (1860-1960); Minutes and reports of the Foreign Mission Committee (FMCPCC, 1860-1960); George Leslie Mackay's diary (1844-1901); Minutes of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (1912-1942); Minutes of the Presbyterian Church in Southern Taiwan (1931-1956); The Presbyterian Church of England Foreign Mission Archives (PCEFMA, 1847-1950); *The Messenger* (1850-1947); *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (1867-1941); *Taiwan Youth* (1920-1922); *Journal of*

Language (1909-1931); *Taiwan Church News* (TCN, 1885-2002), southern Fujianese language films (1950s to 1980s); Archive of Taiwan Memory.

In addition to archival materials, I am indebted to a number of Presbyterian Church elder pastors and presbyters who provided original copies of POJ sources from their repositories and conversed with me about the experience of using POJ across different political regimes.

This introduction will conclude with brief descriptions of the four core chapters of this dissertation. The chapters are organized thematically. Chapters One and Two focus on POJ users' religious identity and the ways they used POJ as a linguistic tool to increase literacy first in the church and later in westernized schools and hospitals. In Chapters Three and Four, I analyze the transformation of POJ literacy into a symbol of Taiwanese ethnic and national identity as the POJ community expanded beyond the church. Since then, POJ users have not only promoted POJ literacy but also have encouraged people to use POJ as an expression of their "Taiwanese" identities. POJ was still used within the church, but POJ literacy spread to non-religious circles whose members used it as a marker of their membership in various ethno-linguistic, political and ultimately national groups.

Chapter One explores POJ's early relationship with evangelicalism, print culture, and imperial power in Taiwan. The European Presbyterian mission, supported by British imperial power, created the earliest POJ literacy circles as a prerequisite for becoming Christian in Taiwan after the 1860s. This chapter focuses on how the early writing systems in Taiwan were closely associated with Christianity. The Dutch regime brought the Sinkan writing system into Taiwan in the 17th century. To effectively civilize plains aborigines, the Dutch ministers translated religious knowledge so that they could educate the Formosan peoples in Western

culture and religion. This writing system was not in continuous use one hundred and fifty years after the Dutch left the island in 1662. The Presbyterian Church missionaries arrived in Taiwan in the 1860s as a result of the Treaty of Tianjin (1858). Following the example of their successful missions in Amoy and Shantou, China, this group of evangelists decided to use POJ as the main written language to teach Christianity to Taiwanese people who were illiterate in Chinese characters. POJ enabled its users to access knowledge written in POJ and classical Chinese, and to the world beyond local neighbourhoods via POJ newspapers. In the first several decades of the Presbytery Church mission era, POJ writing and reading communities defined the legions of Taiwanese inhabitants illiterate in Chinese. Before POJ was disseminated, they were a group of people who spoke southern Fujianese language but who had no common written medium of communication. Within their communities, they shared thoughts, ideas, and religious teachings, and thus became aware of each other through POJ publications. With the assistance of a western movable-type press, POJ publications were circulated around the island and to other areas where the southern Fujianese language was used. Broad circulation of POJ publications did not necessarily lead to the formation of “Taiwanese” identity in this period because POJ was only used in the Christian community. At this stage, POJ literacy was not associated with the sense of belonging to a “Taiwanese” ethnicity. POJ helped to create a linguistic and religious identity for people who identified themselves with the ability to read and write the Taiwanese Fujianese language.

Chapter Two explains POJ’s role as a language of Christian and general school education. It also discusses the role that POJ played as a language for western medical studies and training from the late Qing through the end of the Japanese colonial rule. The significance of using POJ shifted from a requirement for baptism into a linguistic device associated with

school education and medical study. Following its philosophy of school education, the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan founded schools to replicate its successful educational mission work from Shantou and Amoy, China. Moreover, the previous achievement of medical missions in China also motivated the Church to open clinics and hospitals in Taiwan. Church hospitals were thus established but they quickly realized they were short staffed. Taiwanese people who showed an interest in working with hospitals often had no knowledge of Chinese characters or other written languages. Since it was easy to teach the students POJ, the missionary doctors decided to use POJ to conduct medical training classes. POJ literacy created a new route to professionalization for the Church's students. It also enabled church-affiliated school attendants to study Chinese texts and a variety of western subjects.

Chapter Three researches how the POJ community expanded under Japanese colonialism. During the colonial period, the use of POJ increased beyond non-Christian educational circles and became associated with a distinct Taiwanese ethnicity and culture. The expansion was a response to the Japanese government's colonial policy. More specially, it first reflected Japan's promotion of POJ and the southern Fujianese language. In order to further their communication with Taiwanese people, Taiwan Sōtokufu, the highest Japanese authority in Taiwan, encouraged Japanese police and prison officers to learn the southern Fujianese language for daily conversation. POJ was selected to write this local language. Some Japanese educators thus promoted the use of POJ in Taiwanese- Japanese dictionaries and magazines. Information written in POJ newspaper was even translated and published in Japanese journals.

Secondly, the POJ community expanded in response to the shifting Japanese assimilation policy. Colonial officials hoped that Taiwanese people would become "Japanese" by studying the Japanese language and culture. However, for the Empire's leaders, being "Japanese" was not

equivalent to becoming Japanese citizens. Title No. 63, a law promulgated by the Empire, shifted the assimilation policy and excluded the Taiwanese from making laws to help govern their own land. Some Taiwanese intellectuals tried hard to repeal the law while others resisted it by working to develop an independent Taiwanese culture. Some elites developed a sense of Taiwanese ethnic identity as a way to symbolically resist Japan's assimilation policy. A group of elite started to promote the difference between being Japanese and being Taiwanese through the work of the Taiwanese Cultural Association and other private organizations. They promoted the adoption of POJ as a Taiwanese written language for producing Taiwanese literature so that a distinct Taiwanese culture could emerge. This formation of a "Taiwanese identity" was not only a byproduct of colonial policy but also a response to intellectual movements across China, Taiwan, and Japan in the 1920s. It was also influenced by the worldwide atmosphere of post-war self-determination. The freedom to write POJ in public spaces had inspired users to construct a "Taiwanese identity" and an understanding of "Taiwanese" culture in POJ essays and literary works.

By examining the multilayered contexts of POJ literacy, Chapter Four elaborates on two interconnected processes: ethnic identity formation eventually creating the impetus to demand the authorization of POJ in national education, and the inclusion of POJ in public education re-enhancing the sociocultural configuration of Taiwanese identity through a language hierarchy in which Mandarin and mother tongues and their writing systems are emphasized to different degrees in social and school use. This chapter investigates the process of changing POJ from a forbidden language to securing its inclusion in national school education in the post-colonial era from 1945 through the 1990s. During the process, the use of POJ evolved into a nationally recognized marker of "Taiwanese" identity and an authorized language tool for teaching mother

tongues in public school. All of the above changes demonstrate that a national consciousness of “Taiwanese” identity in the 1970s involved a negotiation with the R.O.C.’s national language policy.

The R.O.C. government enforced Mandarin Chinese as the national language and suppressed other languages and writing including the POJ Bible and the southern Fujianese language. In order to legitimize the newly-established regime, the Nationalists drew a clear-cut distinction between the national language and dialects. Implementing language standardization created a language hierarchy in Taiwanese society. Using Mandarin was compulsory in school education and media broadcasting. Speaking Mandarin was also considered superior to speaking any other language in Taiwan.

The 1970s sociopolitical events were landmarks in the history of Taiwanization. The Presbyterian Church’s immediate response when the KMT came to power was to adapt POJ to the Mandarin Phonetic Symbols so that POJ could coexist with the national phonetic writing system next to Chinese characters. In response to Chiang Kai-shek’s regime’s loss of seats in the United Nations, the Church announced the Declaration on Human Rights to claim Taiwanese independence in the 1970s. Following this liberal trend, Taiwan was enveloped in a series of debates about Taiwanese literature and ideology and movements. The most important one was the mother-tongue movement. Taiwanese activists argued that mother tongues (southern Fujianese language, Hakka, and aboriginal languages) should be included in the curricula of compulsory education. The R.O.C. accepted their request and followed up by including native language classes in several county-level elementary schools in the late 1980s.

Subsequently, a revised POJ scheme, as a system of phonetic alphabet, was recognized for use in national-school teaching. Learning POJ to enable mother tongues education in public

school has given student users different identities from those who learned POJ through the promotions of the Church and other channels of social organizations. Under the policy of promoting Mandarin, Taiwan is a multilingual society in which the phenomena digraphia and diglossia occur because its students are taught to use languages hierarchically.

My dissertation is not an attempt to comprehensively analyze the historical development of “Taiwanese identity” in Taiwan. Instead, I examine the history of how using POJ was involved in the process of identity formation for people in Taiwan. POJ evolved from a religious training tool for Taiwanese people who were illiterate in characters in the mid-19th century to an educational device for promoting mother tongues after the Chinese character literacy rate increased up to 98% through the Nationalist Mandarin language policy.³⁴ In the process, the multi-layered identities attached to POJ remind us of the roles that POJ plays in shaping and reshaping identities in Taiwan, the ways that POJ users participated in awakening the sense of being “Taiwanese,” and the changes that POJ language education made in strengthening an established identity.

A person’s choice to use POJ, instead of other scripts, is only one aspect of many that influence her sense of identity. Many POJ users use multiple languages to express their sense of identity and their understanding of events in Taiwan. Messages carried in a written language for daily practice help us to understand the ways people define themselves in relation to others. Hence, people, messages, events, education, and language politics are key elements highlighted in my dissertation to examine a number of sociocultural contexts in which POJ users’ social status gradually increased from the mid-19th century on as POJ was adopted and endorsed by elite users.

³⁴Statistical Yearbook of the Interior, *Literacy Rate 2013*, sowf.moi.gov.tw/stat/year/list.htm (accessed 27 August 2014).

Chapter 1: Evangelicalism and Missionary Print Culture, 1865-1895

From the 1860s to 1895, POJ served two functions in Taiwanese society. First, it was a prerequisite for baptism into the British Presbyterian Church and a critical means through which religious knowledge was spread to Taiwanese people. Specifically, POJ was used to transliterate the Gospel into Taiwanese native languages, including the Southern Fujianese language, Hakka, and aboriginal languages. The Church also used it to publish a newspaper in the native languages. Furthermore, missionaries used it to teach Chinese script to converts and church workers. Missionaries encouraged Christian POJ users to study Chinese script transcribed in POJ so that learning POJ could help converts access other texts. The early promotion of POJ should be understood in the context of how European Presbyterian missionaries, supported by British imperial power, bolstered evangelicalism by teaching people POJ and encouraging them to participate in missionary print culture through reading and writing for a church publication.

Native Taiwanese have not been able to write about their homeland for very long. In order to capture how the island was imagined before its native inhabitants could write, this chapter begins with an account of how outsiders of Taiwan named and mapped the island. Most of the early Taiwanese writers were closely associated with Christianity. In the 17th century (1624-1662), Dutch ministers invented the Sinkan script, a writing system based on the Roman alphabet, for the plains aboriginal people in southern Taiwan so they could have a common written medium to facilitate Bible study. The Sinkan romanization was not continuously used after the early 19th century for unknown reasons.

Two hundred years after the Dutch left Taiwan in 1662, the British Presbyterian Church arrived in the wake of the Treaty of Tianjin (1858). In the 1860s, they copied the successful

mission model used to develop POJ in Amoy, China, to introduce POJ to Taiwanese Christians. The Church required Taiwanese converts to learn POJ before they could be baptized because many Taiwanese natives were illiterate in Chinese script and other written languages.³⁵ Converts learned POJ so that they could read the Scripture and church-disseminated brochures and booklets at home or with the aid of a dictionary. Having the congregations read by themselves lightened the burden of travel back and forth to the plains and mountain areas for clergy.

POJ also enabled the British missionaries to transfer knowledge to the native inhabitants via printed sources. POJ functioned symbolically to (re)produce knowledge in a written format through the practices of transliterating Chinese and western epistemology, learning Chinese script and culture, and circulating church publications. In fact, Taiwanese converts were not the only people using POJ to study texts written in other languages. Everyone in Taiwan who could speak the southern Fujianese language could use POJ to improve their access to written knowledge. In order to effectively disseminate religious information, the Church imported the first western movable-type press to Taiwan. Since 1885 they have printed the *Taiwan Church News* to create a public forum for sharing information about the Church. Christian POJ readers became writers as they participated in the life of the Church by writing essays for the newspaper.

The number of POJ users increased not only because learning POJ secured their access to Chinese studies, but also because the Presbyterian missionaries were supported by British imperial power. The power relations between the local government and the British authorities

³⁵ Literacy in nineteenth-century Taiwanese society referred to the ability to read and write in Chinese before the introduction of POJ. For Chinese immigrants and Taiwanese natives, except some plains aborigines who used Sinkan romanization until the first two decades of the century, knowledge acquisition and production were customarily recognized through the system of Chinese script and evaluated by the civil service examinations. Illiteracy in the Chinese context traditionally meant those who did not know the first thing about Chinese writing, nor reading. This definition, however, changed when literacy in POJ made knowledge and Chinese written information accessible. Even so, the use of POJ in its early phase was limited to a small group of people, namely, Christians in Taiwan, and overall as not recognized by the majority of Taiwanese residents, particularly Chinese scholars.

assured Christians—and thus POJ users—that they could access “benefits” associated with their religious participation including safeguards and advantages in their interactions with local officials. The Presbyterian missionaries further demonstrated the social power of becoming a Christian to the Taiwanese natives when they used their status as British citizens to broker the non-violent takeover of Taiwan after China ceded it to Japan at the end of the First Sino Japanese War. The missionaries approached the Japanese Army on behalf of their congregants. They asked the invading army to leave the people and their property alone in exchange for the people’s cooperation. After the Army agreed to their request, the number of people who were willing to become Christian converts increased notably. By 1895, supported by the Treaty of Tianjing, the Church provided political “benefits” to attract Taiwanese converts. Christian POJ users had access to political protection and preferential treatment in legal matters.

Understanding “Taiwan” through the Lens of Outsiders

Before Koxinga (Zheng Chenggong, 1624-1662) and Chinese immigrants on a large scale retreated from the mainland to the isolated island after the mid-17th century, “Taiwan” 臺灣 was an island where Chinese, Japanese, Americans, Europeans, and other worldwide sojourners visited or stayed for residential, commercial, religious, political, and research purposes, or simply for pleasure.³⁶ Travelers recorded their experiences in different languages, and in the process they shaped how the borders of “Taiwan” were envisioned and how people thought of the island. Chinese visitors and foreigners created a great volume of travel writings and official documents about “Taiwan” in Chinese and other languages before POJ was used to discuss the

³⁶ John E. Wills, “The Seventeenth-Century Transformation—Taiwan under the Dutch and Cheng Regime,” in Murray A. Rubinstein, ed. *Taiwan — A New History* (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 2006), 84-106.

island. Foreign contexts shaped representations of “Taiwan” in maps and travel writings before POJ became a communication medium for native Taiwanese.

Foreigners who learned about Taiwan by studying maps gained symbolic information about the island.³⁷ Symbolic depictions of a place or city are generally processed through linguistic descriptions and visual representations. Learning from maps and stories involves the use of imagination, because map or text readers often have no real experience of a place or concrete ideas about the spatial and cultural configuration of it. The Dutch approach to mapping Formosa had a great impact on how the island was later represented by cartographers. Formosa has not always been drawn as a single “yam” oriented on a vertical axis. Instead, as with other island chains, most of the atlases by Dutch captains and Spanish merchants by the 1720s pictured Formosa as a horizontal archipelago because of their use of shared Formosan maps.³⁸ Although maps presented an imagined contour of this small island, the lack of further details about its culture and society called for textual elaboration, especially in its various names (Maps 1, 2, and 3).

The names used for “Taiwan” demonstrate how it was identified by translators in transliterations of the southern Fujianese language. People named Taiwan by discussing it in terms of its location relative to other places. Its names were also influenced by the fact that people discussed Taiwan in multiple different languages. No matter which name (including

³⁷ Guy Denhiere and Michel Denis, "The Processing of Texts Describing Spatial Configurations," in *Knowledge Acquisition from Text and Pictures*, eds. Heinz Mandl and Joel R. Levin (Elsevier, 1989), 249-61.

³⁸ Kaim Ang, "Yam-Shaped Taiwan: Study of 16th and 17th Century Taiwan Maps," in *New Perspectives on Geographic Space: International Symposium on Historical Cartography* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2008)

“Liuqiu 琉球,”³⁹ “Beigang 北港,”⁴⁰ “Dongning 東寧,”⁴¹ and “Dongfan 東番”) was used for the island in Chinese texts by the mid-18th century, it was necessary to look into information across textual descriptions and the culture of cartography at the time the maps were released for further validation of the names. For instance, “Liuqiu” referred only to the northern part of Taiwan, Keelung 雞籠, as “Tyowan”⁴² (sounding like Tâi-oan in the southern Fujianese language and Taiwan in Mandarin Chinese) indicated a specific area of southern Taiwan during the Dutch period. Cross-language references demonstrate an interesting phenomenon specifically that “Formosa”⁴³ was not the only name for the island in Westerners' travel notes.⁴⁴ Instead, often in their voyages travelers called Taiwan “Lequeo pequeno” (sounding similar to Sió-liû-kiû in

³⁹ See Shen Shuzhou's 申叔舟 (Shin Suk-ju, 1417-1475) *Chronicle of the Countries of Eastern Asia* 海東諸國紀 (1471). Ang has proposed an explanation that China had known Taiwan and Liuqiu (Okinawa now) in the Ming period. To distinguish the former from the latter, Chinese people called Formosa Xiao Liuqiu 小琉球 and Okinawa Da Liuqiu 大琉球.

⁴⁰ *Formosa under the Dutch* (Chapter 1) and *Voyages et aventures du Capitaine Ripon aux Grandes Indes 1617-1627* (pp.122) mentions that Chinese people called the island “Beigang” 北港. The name is used in the Chinese context, too. In the *History of the Ming Dynasty*, Mount Keelung is stated to be located on the northeastern side of Penghu Islet; thus, it is also called “Beigang.” Even so, “Beigang” also referred to Taiwan, an area of southeastern Penghu Islet in Gu Zuyu's 顧祖禹 (1631-1692) *Notes on Reading the Geography Treatises in the Histories* 讀史方輿紀要. It seems that in the early Qing period, Chinese scholars used the same place name to refer to different areas of Taiwan.

⁴¹ *Taiwan wen xian cong kan* (Historiography of Taiwan) records that Koxinga's son Zheng Jing 鄭經 changed the name of Taiwan to Dongning because its previous pronunciation, Tyowan, in the southern Fujianese language sounded inauspicious. However, later when Zheng's regime in Taiwan was overthrown, the place was returned to being called Taiwan. Dongning is also seen in *A Map of the Myriad Countries of the World*, printed by Matteo Ricci in 1602, and *Illustrated Sino-Japanese Encyclopedia*, compiled by Japanese doctor Terajima Ryōan in 1713.

⁴² Chen Kan's 陳侃 (1489-1507) *Records to Liuqiu* 使琉球錄 (1534) and Zheng Shungong's 鄭舜功 (n.d.) *A Mirror of Japan* 日本一鑑 (1567-1572).

⁴³ An appellation from a non-Chinese language instead fixes the very first name of Taiwan—“Formosa” (meaning “beautiful island” in Portuguese) in its history and post-colonial school textbooks, though no existing textual material directly proves this word slipping out of the mouth of a Portuguese sailor. The latest research supports the notion that this Western name originated from a Spanish captain. Kaim Ang, “Portuguese and “Formosa”--with a Discussion of the Shipwreck in 1582,” *Historical Monthly* 220 (2006): 72-79.

⁴⁴ Formosa was not a name circulated by Chinese travel writers, but on the Chinese mainland among English readers from the 19th to 20th century. For instance, the English periodical, *The Chinese Recorder*, published in Fuzhou, Shanghai, Canton, and Hong Kong expressed the fact that Formosa was a familiar name in Romanized publications. Soon after the news that Taiwan had been ceded to Japan was released to the Taiwanese people, the newspaper (June 1895) wrote that “Formosa declared independent by the governor,” despite the use of Taiwan in the Treaty of Shimonoseki in which Japan formally took jurisdiction of Taiwan.

southern Fujianese language and Xiao Liuqiu 小琉球 in Mandarin Chinese).⁴⁵ In addition, “Tangarruan,” a transliteration of “Tang-hoan” in southern Fujianese language (dongfan 東番 in Mandarin Chinese), was another case which demonstrates the mixed use of names among Chinese and Western travelers. Coincidentally, Spanish priest Martín de Rada's (1533-1578) naming of “Taiwan” as “Tangarruan” in his 1575 voyage echoes the Chinese travel notes *Dongfan Ji* 東番記 (An Account of Eastern Barbarians).⁴⁶

Scholars have yet to determine when the name “Taiwan” was first used to refer to the entire island. The name “Taiwan” was used in different types of Chinese transcriptions as early as the late Ming dynasty. The Qing emperor incorporated Taiwan into his empire’s domain by officially creating the administrative unit “Taiwan-fu” 臺灣府 (Taiwan prefecture) in 1684.⁴⁷ In the same year, the Zhuluo 諸羅 county governor of Taiwan, Ji Qiguang 季麒光 (1634-1702), wrote that the pirate Yan Siqu 嚴思齊 (1589-1625) had occupied Taiwan during the Wanli 萬曆 period of the Ming Dynasty. Subsequently, the island was called Taiwan.⁴⁸

Historian Emma Teng’s Chinese-language perspective on the travel writings and illustrations of Taiwan from 1683 through 1895 and Laura Hostetler’s understanding of cartography in early Modern China are marked by gaps associated with the process of imagining “Taiwan” via maps and texts from non-Chinese source materials.⁴⁹ Both Hostetler and Teng

⁴⁵ Ang (2006) ascribed the inaccuracy to the merchants and navigators of Zhangzhou and Quanzhou, Fujian province. Notwithstanding the danger and illegality, it was a route back and forth for Macao, Amoy, and Japan for trading merchandise by water dated as early as the 15th century. Due to the tradition of sailing through the regular course, a pile of travel notes and merchant records correspond to the fact of calling Taiwan “Liuqiu” 琉球.

⁴⁶ See *Dongfan Ji* (An Account of the Eastern Barbarians) by the Chinese scholar Chen Di (1541-1617).

⁴⁷ Taiwan became a part of the Qing Empire's map in 1684.

⁴⁸ *Historiography of Taiwan*, 73.

⁴⁹ Emma Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683-1895* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004); Laura Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise: Ethnography and Cartography in Early Modern China* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2001)

concentrated on historicizing Qing Empire building and the construction of the discrepancies between the political center of the Empire and its remote provinces. Drawing on Edward Said's notion of "imaginative geography" and Benedict Anderson's concept of "imagined communities," Teng devotes her discussion to Chinese travel writings, 1697-1847. She argues that the changing conceptions of "Taiwan" in the imagination of the Qing literati's travel notes were significant to understand the Qing Empire's imagined expansion beyond the seas. These writings were essential to the process of establishing the juxtapositions, the center versus the borderland and the civilized versus the uncivilized, which were the key to defining the Empire. Hostetler applies a similar approach to her analyses of the Qing state's choice to use Western cartography to demarcate its territory and define its relative position in the world since the technique was universally readable.⁵⁰ They created representations of "Taiwan" because of power relations between themselves and non-Western nations.

Early Writing Systems and Christianity

Sinkan Manuscripts

By 1684, the year Taiwan was included in the map of the Qing Empire, the island's settlers were Spanish, Dutch, Chinese, and mostly aboriginal tribes who had no written language, except for those who lived in the areas of Sinkan 新港.⁵¹ Current research indicates that the Sinkan Manuscripts (Xinkang wenshu 新港文書), a collection of Sinkan romanization created in

⁵⁰ Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise: Ethnography and Cartography in Early Modern China*, 23.

⁵¹ According to George Barclay, the number of inhabitants of Taiwan by the 16th century was only a few thousand, but it experienced great growth soon after Koxinga arrived with new migrants who moved to Taiwan. The population was up to more than two million by 1895 (George W. Barclay's *Colonial Development and Population in Taiwan* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1954).

the 17th century, are the earliest written records by plains islanders.⁵² A Dutch missionary group established the first Western-style education in Taiwan to teach plains aborigines the Bible by using the Sinkan script.⁵³ The missionaries struggled to communicate in Taiwan's multilingual environment. Not only were inhabitants from different linguistic groups unable to understand each other's speech, but also some people from different subgroups who shared the same language could not understand each other's pronunciations of specific words.⁵⁴ This language environment spurred the missionaries to create a shared writing system that could be used by people who spoke different languages. Their larger goal was to create a script to write a

⁵² Henning Klöter claims that the earliest romanized script for the community of southern Fujianese language speakers, titled *Doctrina christina en letra y lengua china (The Christian Doctrine in the Chinese Script and Tongue)* dates "back to the 16th century." Klöter, in addition, asserts that another anonymous manuscript that transliterates the Fujianese languages, titled *Diccionario de la lengua Chincheo que contiene los vocablos tambien simples que compuestos, con los caracteres generales y peculiares a questo dialecto, segun lorden del alfabeto español y las cinco tonadas chinas* (Dictionary of the Zhangzhou language, containing simple and compound words, with peculiar characters of this language, in Spanish alphabetical order and the five Chinese tones) most probably dates from 1609. We do not know of any direct evidence that demonstrates that these romanizations were used in Taiwan, since the southern Fujianese language was spoken worldwide within Chinese diaspora communities. Hopefully, future studies will bring to light any and all possible sources for clarifying how Spanish visitors could communicate with Taiwan's plains aborigines in writing. See Henning Klöter, "The History of Peh-oe-Ji," in *2002 International Conference of Taiwan's Peh-Oe-Ji Teaching and Studies* (Taidung: National Taitung University, 2002), 1-2. In addition, the Spanish regime (1626-1642) in Formosa overlapped some years of the Dutch occupation and they may have taught a particular Roman alphabet orthography to plains natives, but no extant texts have convincingly proved this point of view. According to Nakamura Takashi's "Spanish Enlightenment Campaign in Taiwan in the Seventeenth Century" (*Japanese Culture* 20: 25-61), Rev. Esquivel published *Vocabulario de la lengua de los Indios Tanchui en la Isla Hermosa* (Vocabularies of Danshui Languages) and *Cristiana en la lengua de los Indios Tanchui en la Isla Hermosa* (Catholic Doctrines in Danshui Languages). However, we lack extant textual evidence to support his statement.

⁵³ Albrecht Herport (1641-1680), who traveled to Taiwan with Kommandeur Joan van der Laen (a Dutch general), in the second section of his voyage titled "Formosanen," jotted down that the Dutch established a church and converted a number of plains residents to Christianity. He noticed that a pastor by the name of Hambruch conducted Christian teaching in a type of Latin letter system in which the Bible was translated into the Sinkan language. Herport believed that this was a good indication that Formosa's Christian children could accept education. See Chia-jaan Lee, *Shiqi Shiba Shiji Ouzhou Wenxian Dangan Zhi Fuermosha Wenxue Kao (a Scholarly Research of European Literatures & Archives Concerning Formosan Literature in the 17th-18th Centuries)* (Taipei: Tangshan chuban she, 2007), 115.

⁵⁴ William Campbell, *Formosa under the Dutch: Described from Contemporary Records* (London: Kegan Paul, 1903), 305.

catechism that could be used around several villages of plains aborigines who spoke the Sinkan language, or Siraya 西拉雅, in the Sinkan *she* 社 and its contiguous *she*.⁵⁵

The Sinkan Manuscripts demonstrate that the Sinkan script was used in formal documents and private records by regional aboriginal users. The 19th century collection of Sinkan Manuscripts at the National Taiwan Museum suggests that native inhabitants used the Sinkan romanization alone or a mixture of Sinkan script and Chinese characters to record land contracts. Some of these deeds were also accompanied by hand-drawn maps.⁵⁶ The script was also used in writing village administrative rules and daily notes, including price lists for goods and a booklet with Chinese translations of aboriginal surnames (Fig. 1).

It is important to note that plains aborigines did not have to have a writing system in order to form an ethnic identity that differentiated them from other groups. Ann Heylen, a linguist who studies Taiwanese languages, asserts that the Sinkan Manuscripts show that the Sinkan peoples' identity was defined against the Han people from the mainland through the use of land contracts.⁵⁷ Resistance might be demonstrated through writing, but claiming that Sinkan

⁵⁵ Such as Soulang, Mattau, Teopan, Tifulukan, Taffakan, Bakloan, and Tefurang. In fact, Dutch missionaries needed a common language to facilitate communication with the natives. Grounded in the layout of *Formula of Christianity*, approved for printing by the Amsterdam Classis in 1650, the Dutch church in Amsterdam requested that Formosan converts learned the Dutch language. A proviso, attached to the approval, states that the *Formula* must be published "in the Dutch language alone, and also Formosan and Dutch in parallel columns." Thus, the evangelical givers and receivers shared Dutch language as a common language in the long run. Soon after that, a letter to the Governor-General and Council of India from N. de Hooghe implied that the Governor-General believed that teaching plains aborigines the Dutch language would be feasible since the island had *no* united language at that time. Before teaching the Dutch language, the use of a mixed language and multi languages hampered missionary work because it was impossible for a minister could not master all the languages that circulated in southern Taiwan. See William Campbell, *Formosa under the Dutch: Described from Contemporary Records*, 251, 182, and 196.

⁵⁶ Ornithologist Joseph Beal Steere (1842-1940) from Michigan, U.S.A., found about thirty pieces of Sinkan Manuscripts during his travels around Formosa in 1874. He was surprised that the teaching in Sinkan writing had been successfully used to transcribe different languages. His findings were associated with property transfers and mortgages from 1723 through 1800. See J.B. Steere, *Formosa and Its Inhabitants* (Taipei: Academia Sinica, Institute of Taiwan History (Preparatory Office), 2002 reprint), 120.

⁵⁷ Ann Heylen, "Helan yuyan zhengce yu yuanzhumin shizi nengli de yijin, 1624-1662 (Language Studies under the Church in Dutch-Controlled Formosa-Dutch Language Policy and the Literacy of Native People, 1624-1662)," *Taipei Historical Documents* 125 (1998): 81-119.

writing was the natives' proclamation of their unique ethnicity is farfetched. In the Sinkan Manuscripts, not every document was recorded in two languages. The majority of the texts were written in Sinkan languages with no juxtaposition of Chinese characters.⁵⁸ That is, they were written for members of a specific writing community and the content of the texts might have had nothing to do with the Han community. They do not prove "resistance" to the Han, as Heylen assumed. Adoption of a non-Chinese writing system can scarcely be attributed to fighting with outland races since aborigines were the main residents of the island in the 17th century. Whenever indigenous landowners traded with Han immigrants, written records were made in each of the parties' native language. This practice protected both signers in a fixed format and ensured that both parties could understand the documents they were signing. In addition, so far we have not discovered textual evidence that clearly shows the Sinkan peoples using the romanization to distinguish themselves from outsiders.

The use of Sinkan romanization was a distinctive feature of religious identity that was given to the native aborigines by a foreign colonial power. Religious authority was granted to the missionaries because their empires had military supremacy in Taiwan. Evidence of the relationship between proselytizing missionaries and politicians could be found as early as the Dutch rule.⁵⁹ The first Dutch missionary, Rev. Georgius Candidius 干治士 (1597-1647), requested that the third Formosan governor, Pieter Nuyts (1627-1629), intervene on behalf of the evangelists. Candidius discovered that the plains aborigines in Sinkan accepted his residency because they wanted protection from the Dutch military. The military protected Sinkan's inhabitants from attack by neighboring aborigines in the Madou *she* 麻豆社. The Sinkan natives,

⁵⁸ Paul Jen-kuei Li, *Studies of Sinkang Manuscripts* (Taipei: Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica, 2010), 6.

⁵⁹ Changhua Lin, "The Founder of the Dutch Reformed Church in Formosa—Rev. Georgius Candidius," *The Messenger* (2008): 35-41.

who were inferior in weapons and numbers, felt constantly threatened by the Madou natives. If Dutch people lived nearby, the natives and Dutch settlers benefited since the Dutch government guarded its people against disturbances from nearby natives. Based on his observation, Candidius urged Nuyts to visit Sinkan. Nuyts aided the missionaries by guaranteeing the Sinkan natives that he would protect them from other tribes as long as they converted to Christianity. Furthermore, the Governor-General's office sent gifts to Sinkan, including meat, beverages, and cloth, as rewards for conversion under the name Candidius. After that, in his daily notes, Candidius “complained” about his business of teaching day and night to cater to everyone's work schedule. Formosan Christians were secured by the Dutch as long as they were willing to read the Lord's Prayer and catechism in Sinkan script. Sinkan script users were clearly distinguished from non-Sinkan script users in Formosan society.

The Sinkan romanization was not used in Taiwan after the 1830s, one hundred and seventy years after the Dutch's occupation (1624-1662) ended.⁶⁰ Recent research has not explained why Sinkan script disappeared several decades into the 19th century. The next missionary group came in after the Qing Empire lost the Second Opium War (1856-1860). The Chinese were forced to compensate the victorious countries in the Treaty of Tianjin of 1858. Article 11 stated that British subjects could frequent the Taiwan port (now Anping Harbor 安平港 in Tainan), so British missionaries enjoyed privileges and considerable advantages over the islanders since the port was already opened to them for trade. Under the treaty's protection, the first Scottish doctor-missionary, James Laidlaw Maxwell 馬雅各 (1836-1921), a graduate of

⁶⁰Paul Jen-kuei Li, “Preliminary Interpretation of the 15 Recently Uncovered Sinkan Manuscripts,” *Studies of Taiwan History* 9:2 (2002): 2-5. Although the last piece of Sinkan script is dated in 1818, Li suggests that it might take one or two more decades for stopping using a written language. Also see Li, *Studies of Sinkang Manuscripts*, 1.

Edinburgh University, settled in Taiwan-fu (the capital of Taiwan, now Tainan) in 1865, two hundred years after the Dutch left. He brought another romanization system, POJ. Benefiting from the treaty and the rise of British imperial power, the British Presbyterian Church took advantage of a foreign-introduced romanization to conduct evangelism in the 1860s.

POJ's Origin and Its Relationship with Formosa

Formosa was not the first place where POJ was used to help spread Christianity. POJ was used in Amoy and Malacca before it was formally introduced in the first newspaper in Formosa by Rev. Thomas Barclay 巴克禮 (1849-1935). Linguistic studies concur that Rev. Walter Henry Medhurst 麥都思 (1796-1857) was the first writer to use POJ to transcribe the Fujianese language. His work launched the use of POJ among the Chinese communities of early Fujianese emigrants in Malacca and Singapore.⁶¹ Restricted by Qing law, foreigners were not allowed to form a mission in China's territories or learn Chinese languages from the natives before the Treaty of Wangxia was signed in 1844. Before the treaty, the most convenient approach to learning Chinese languages was to reside in countries with large Chinese diasporas. Medhurst therefore studied Mandarin Chinese and the Fujianese language in Malacca.⁶² Regardless of the ban on foreigners' printing in Chinese, he chose to have his first Fujianese language dictionary, *Dictionary of the Hokkeen Dialect of the Chinese Language*, published in

⁶¹ See Fangyuan Dong, "The Historical Positions of Taiwanese Romanization," *Taiwan Wen Xian* 55:2 (2004): 289-324 and Ann Heylen, "The Historical Meaning of the Taiwan Romanisation," in *The 1st Conference for Young Scholars on Taiwanese Romanization* (Tainan: Kailang, 2008).

⁶² Wei-Jen Hong, *Annotated Bibliography of Taiwan Historical--Language* (Taipei: National Taiwan Library, 1996), 198. For more about the prohibition against foreign mission by Yongzheng emperor, please refer to Guo Chengkang's *History of Yuan and Qing Dynasties* (Taipei: Wunan Books Inc., 2002), 498. After the James Flint Incident in 1759, the Qianlong emperor disallowed native Chinese to be taught foreigners Chinese languages. Therefore, for later missionaries, it was very difficult to hire a Chinese teacher in China and purchase language textbooks (See *Guangzhou Daily*, July 30, 2013).

Macao by the East India Company Press in 1832.⁶³ The layout demonstrates that this dictionary was codified for English, Mandarin Chinese, and Fujianese language users (Figs. 3 and 4).⁶⁴

The relationship between Medhurst's system and the previous Sinkan romanized writing systems warrants discussion. Referring to Yoshihide Murakami's article, linguistic scholars Wei Jen Hong and Henning Klöter argue that Medhurst's dictionary was not based on the earlier romanization from *Dictionario de la lengua Chincheo* (The Fokien Dialect Dictionary) codified by the Spanish in 1609, which was mentioned in footnote 18.⁶⁵ As for the connection with the romanized system in the Sinkan Manuscripts devised by the Dutch preists, Medhurst admitted that since he had never been to China before 1832, he did not have access to the Dutch documents in Formosa, let alone have any contact with Formosan plains natives to help him develop his written sources. In addition, a linguistic comparison of the systems suggests that the two romanization systems differ in spelling and tonal markers.⁶⁶

The Fujianese language transcribed by Medhurst is not the same as the one spoken in Amoy or Formosa. The different languages spoken in Amoy and Fujian province might not have been mutually intelligible. Moreover, Medhurst had never been to Amoy before his publication was released for public use. This implies that the Fujianese language he learned in the Malacca

⁶³ A type of romanized writing published by the British East India Company, it was the first extant Fujianese language dictionaries, but not exclusively for the Amoy language. Since Fuzhou was one of the five ports open to foreigners in the Treaty of Tianjin, Western missionaries were allowed to preach religion in Fuzhou, Fujian. However, this does not mean that no mission works were engaged in in the interior of China before the Treaty was signed. According to Hong Wei-jen (*Taiwan shumu jieti*, 1987), Medhurst was a friend of Robert Morrison (1782-1834) and continued Morrison's mission after his death. At that time, missionaries were not permitted to live in China, so Medhurst found his work especially difficult when he first arrived in Kuangzhou.

⁶⁴ In his preface, Medhurst proudly states that the collection of 12,000 Chinese characters originated from the colloquial idioms of the Fujianese language. Medhurst's dictionary was grounded in *Fifteen Sounds* 十五音 (1818) and followed the spelling of nasal tones from Dr. Robert Morrison's (1782-1834) *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language* (1819). Medhurst's dictionary was the first of its kind in POJ and was later revised for day-to-day use in Amoy.

⁶⁵ Yoshihide Murakami, "W. H. Medhurst in the history of Chinese linguistics," *Tenri Journal of Religion* 7 (1965): 59-63.

⁶⁶ For example, the phrase "public" (gong zhong 公眾) is transliterated in Sinkan romanization as "kong-siung" but spelled as "kong chiòng" in POJ.

archipelago differed significantly from the one spoken in Amoy. Later lexicons based on Medhurst's romanized system were developed to transliterate other Fujianese languages.⁶⁷ Several dictionaries in the Amoy language published after his work indicated that the Amoy language speakers and foreign missionaries were in need of practical references for use in everyday life. In addition, the table of orthographic alternations in POJ shows that POJ was continuously revised until the early 20th century due to the southern Fujianese language's complexity in accent and word usage (Fig. 2). This could indicate that the missionaries transcribed different Fujianese languages, or accents, whereas the basic POJ used in Amoy was not exactly identical to the southern Fujianese linguistic structure used in Formosa.

To encourage more people to read the Scriptures and other types of religious texts in Medhurst's romanization, John Van Nest Talmage 打馬字 (1819-1892)⁶⁸ and his Christian colleagues restructured POJ with seventeen letters expressing consonants and vowels, with several tone marks to transliterate the Amoy language, a type of language close to the southern Fujianese language used in Formosa.⁶⁹ They codified the first POJ textbook *Tng-oē Hoan-jī Chho-hák* 唐話番字初學 (Romanized Amoy Dialect for Beginners, 1852) for Amoy missionaries and non-Chinese character users. Rev. Talmage's incomplete lexicography, *E-mng im e Jitian* 廈門音的字典 (Dictionary of Amoy Dialect), published two years after his death by

⁶⁷ For instance, Rev. Samuel Wells Williams' (1812-1884) *Yinghua fen yun cuoyao* (Tonic Dictionary of the Chinese Language in the Canton Dialect, 1856) used Medhurst's system to transliterate Cantonese.

⁶⁸ J.G. Fagg, *Forty Years in South China the Life of Reverend John Van Nest Talmage* (Whitefish: Kessinger Publishing, Reprint., 2004), See section "Romanized Colloquial," 106.

⁶⁹ Zhou Changyi in his *Minnan fangyan da cidian* (Dictionary of Southern Fujianese Dialects, 2006, 29-34) compares the finals of the southern Fujianese language used over Taipei, Amoy, Zhangzhou, and Quanzhou. His comparison shows that those finals spoken in Amoy, Zhangzhou, and Quanzhou were all collectively used in Taiwan.

the Chūi-keng-tōng 萃經堂 bookstore in Kulang yu 鼓浪嶼, Amoy, China, was the earliest dictionary of POJ for the Amoy language in China.⁷⁰

Some dictionary authors were trying to help the missionaries learn Chinese characters and native languages by spelling out words from the native languages in characters (Figs. 5 and 6).⁷¹ Yet, the missionary linguist, Carstairs Douglas 杜嘉德 (1830-1877), pointed out that the Amoy language “is a distinct language,” not a Chinese dialect, and therefore deserved to be written in its own unique writing system instead of in characters.⁷² Douglas’s lexicon did not include Chinese scripts next to English or the transliteration of the southern Fujianese language. In his preface, he justified the changes in his layout.⁷³ Arguing that the “vernacular of Amoy is an independent language, which is able to stand alone without the help of the written character,” his lexicon was not designed to teach Chinese characters.⁷⁴ Furthermore, he criticized the united Chinese writing system for being a “dead language,” much like Latin in relation to modern

⁷⁰ Rev. Talmage’s incomplete lexicography, *E-mng im e Jitian* (Dictionary of Amoy Dialect) was published in 1894. The first, probably the most important, POJ lexicon in Formosa, *E-mng-im Sin Ji-tian* 廈門音新字典 (A Dictionary of the Amoy Vernacular Spoken throughout the Prefectures of Chin-chiu, Chiang-chiu and Formosa, 1913) by Rev. William Campbell, was a revised version of Talmage’s and has been in constant use ever since.

⁷¹ See the layout of Medhurst’s, Elihu Doty’s (1809-1864) *Anglo-Chinese Manual with Romanized Colloquial in the Amoy Dialect* (1853), Carstairs Douglas’ *Chinese English Dictionary of Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy* (1873), and William Campbell’s *A Dictionary of Amoy Vernacular Spoken, Spoken Throughout the Prefectures of Chin-Chiu, Chiang-Chiu and Formosa* (1913).

⁷² A modern Taiwanese linguistic scholar also claims that the southern Fujianese language and the northern languages, e.g. the Beijing language, are different language systems. Their relation is not language vs. dialect because the speakers of the two languages are not intelligible to each other. In other words, they are supposed to be able to understand one another if they speak language and dialects. However, without preparation and studying, Beijing language speakers cannot understand the southern Fujianese language, and vice versa. As a matter of fact, Emperor Yongzheng of the Qing dynasty complained that the oral presentations by officials from Fujian were almost unintelligible. That is because the emperor only understood the Beijing language and those Fujianese officials did not speak the language well. They instead spoke their native languages. See Lu Guangcheng’s *Taiwan minnan yu gai yao* (A Brief Introduction of Taiwanese Southern Fujianese Language) (Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc., 2003), 118.

⁷³ “...It (the Amoy Colloquial) is not a mere colloquial dialect or patois; it is spoken by the highest ranks as by the common people, by the most learned as by the most ignorant [...]. Nor does the term “dialect” convey anything like a correct idea of its distinctive character; it is no mere dialectic variety of some other language; it is a **distinct language** (underline added), one of the many and widely differing languages which divide among them the soil of China,” vii.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, viii.

southwestern European languages. In his understanding, the Chinese character system was not phonetic, but could be pronounced in different forms, such as the southern Fujianese language or Cantonese. His dictionary was designed to teach English users the Amoy language without the distraction of Chinese characters placed next to the romanization. He also complained that there were no corresponding characters for between a quarter and a third of the Amoy language. Borrowing characters of the same sounds would break the semantic connection between the spoken and written systems.⁷⁵

As Douglas observed, the missionaries had spent a significant amount of time learning Chinese characters as well as spoken languages, but after several years in overseas missions, even they could not master Mandarin Chinese. They were also still struggling with the Amoy language which was linguistically very different from Mandarin. He suggested that they concentrate on learning the Amoy “language” first instead of Chinese writing in southern Fujian. A POJ version of the Bible therefore was a welcome invention for missionaries, who found it useful for helping them master the local language much faster, and for the use of local illiterates who did not know the first thing about how to read Chinese characters. POJ was successfully popularized among the Amoy missionaries and their churches because they could all skip the tough process of learning Chinese script and begin to read a transliteration of the Amoy language. Regardless of whether his understanding of the Amoy “language” was recognized,⁷⁶ the Formosan missionaries found his dictionary to be a great help in the study of POJ and actually purchased three copies of it in their early periods of studying the southern Fujianese

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ William Campbell disagreed with this thinking and preferred to use a POJ dictionary as a “cheap convenient little Handbook for helping those who use it to a fuller and more accurate knowledge of the written language of China.” (See his *A Dictionary of Amoy Vernacular Spoken throughout the Prefectures of Chin-chiu, Chiang-chiu and Formosa*, iii).

language in Taiwan.⁷⁷ Rev. Douglas' argument demonstrates the hardships that missionaries experienced in their struggle to learn Chinese script and the hope that using a simpler written format, i.e. POJ, gave them for furthering their work.

The Amoy language and the Fujianese language in Taiwan were mutually intelligible. The British missionaries modeled their mission on the successful strategy of using the local language in Amoy. Most of the missionaries chose to learn the southern Fujianese language because it was used by the majority of the population. In a letter to Mr. George Barbour of Edinburg (n. d.), Rev. Carstairs Douglas recorded his first impression of language use in Formosa. On a nice day in October 1860, while he and Rev. Hen. L. Mackenzie (n. d.) traveled around the Bang-kah 艋舺 area (in northern Formosa), he found that a large group of people from the Fujian province had probably emigrated there from Zhangzhou and Quanzhou of Fujian province since they spoke the same accents of the southern Fujianese language. Not only did they use the same language that was used in Amoy, but the language was spoken all over Formosa as well. The constant interactions between natives, foreigners and immigrant groups made it a natural choice to evangelize Taiwan using the same strategy they employed in Amoy. As Douglas blurted out, "it seems quite strange, after crossing the sea, to find the very same language, while a hundred miles, or even seventy, on the mainland, would bring us to unintelligible languages. Therefore, the call from Formosa is very strong to us..."⁷⁸ After he discovered the same language (meaning the southern Fujianese language) being used in the city of Bang-kah, Douglas decided that the missionaries were called to Formosa! By suggesting "the same missions" as at Amoy, he meant that they should copy the proselytism strategy and the medical missions being used in Amoy. Douglas's observations during the 1860 journey were no

⁷⁷ "Letter from Rev. Hugh Ritchie," *EPM*, December 1, 1873, 314.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

doubt a shot in the arm to the prospect of a Formosa mission. Such a strong call finally induced Dr. James Maxwell to journey to Formosa after he read the 1860 report of Formosa news from *The Chinese Repository* (Zhongguo cong bao 中國叢報).

In addition to the hospital work, the medical missionary Dr. Maxwell prioritized teaching POJ as a common writing and reading medium for Taiwanese converts.⁷⁹ It was the most urgent service in the Formosan mission. The British missionaries learned the colloquial written format several months before they arrived in Taiwan. They usually stayed in Amoy with senior colleagues in order to get themselves acquainted with local languages and the culture of the missionary work in China. They found reading the Chinese Bible was too challenging for converts who were illiterate in Chinese characters.⁸⁰ Public readings of the Scriptures could only temporarily attract irregular listeners who had no opportunity to read the Gospel for themselves. The ability to read and write facilitated the process of spreading knowledge of the Gospel. POJ enabled the missionaries to spread their message effectively since it enabled them to speak and study with potential converts in the converts' native language. With prayers and hymns written in Roman letters, people who "were ignorant of the language (meaning Chinese) were able to join with the natives in singing the psalms in their own language during the evening service."⁸¹

Learning POJ was not simply an auxiliary tool to participate in worship. It was a requirement for the examination for Presbyterian Christian baptism in Taiwan. Being baptized signified the ability to read POJ in the early phase of the missions since the examinations required Formosan converts to answer questions from the missionary and the Gospel that they could not have studied without first learning POJ. The written language training was intended to

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ The London Mission Society published Chinese New Testament in High Wenli in Delegates version in the 1850s in Shanghai and Canton.

⁸¹ "Formosa," *EPM*, December 1, 1874, 296.

ensure that a Christian illiterate in Chinese characters could read the Bible at home or with dictionaries at hand. Although baptismal candidates did have to learn POJ there were also people outside of the Church who learned POJ.⁸²

To expand the use of POJ, the church's leaders became engrossed in the task of translation and lexicography. Dr. Maxwell transliterated the New Testament into a POJ catechism in the 1870s.⁸³ From then on, converts could read the Bible on their own. Furthermore, publishing Chinese-Amoy dictionaries demonstrates POJ's importance to the missionaries' knowledge of Chinese. A Chinese-Amoy lexicon was designed to assist Taiwanese native POJ users in recognizing characters. Foreign evangelists valued it for different reasons. They wanted to be qualified POJ users so they could study Chinese culture, literature, and languages via the romanized system. They believed that precise knowledge of self and the other, in this case the Chinese culture, would enable them to convert people.

Moreover, POJ did not just help Taiwanese natives who were illiterate in characters to read the Gospel. Learning POJ helped to convert people who were literate in characters from Confucianism to Christianity because it introduced them to the Taiwanese Christian community. In comparison to Dr. Maxwell's focus on transliteration and lexicography, Rev. Hugh Ritchie (1840-1879), the second minister who came to Formosa on December 13, 1868, paid more attention to teaching POJ. Through the process of his enthusiastic religious teaching in POJ, a notable baptism case in the 1870s occurred that is worth mentioning. Rev. Ritchie witnessed a beautiful moment when a Chinese degree-holder (equivalent to a BA degree in England), who should have been able to read the Chinese Bible, asked to be baptized after he learned POJ.⁸⁴

⁸² "The Close of 1880 at Ka-gi, Formosa," *EPM*, April 1, 1881, 63-65.

⁸³ "Formosa," *EPM*, October 1, 1873, 260.

According to his testimony, this young man spontaneously destroyed idols and tablets at home that were symbols of his former Confucian beliefs since keeping them was incompatible with practicing Christianity. Mr. Ritchie described this conversion as an illustration of the enlightening and regenerating power of teaching people POJ and encouraging them to read the Gospel in POJ.⁸⁵ We do not know if the young man acquired Western medical knowledge as a medical assistant through the Presbyterian training hospitals as his brethren who were illiterate in Chinese did. Such an extraordinary case of conversion demonstrates that even a Chinese scholar, fluent in classical Chinese, might choose to learn POJ and be greatly changed in the process.

Knowledge Transmission: The First Newspaper in Taiwan and Learning Chinese Script in POJ

Missionary work can be described as a form of knowledge transmission in which various vehicles carry knowledge through different cultures and languages.⁸⁶ In the case of Formosa, three vehicles: POJ, the southern Fujianese language, and printing culture, drove POJ users to cross the boundaries between non-Christians and converts, the literate and the illiterate, and Chinese and non-Chinese readers. POJ functioned symbolically to transfer knowledge in the written format as people used it to write and read the Church newspaper and to translate and read Chinese texts. The introduction of a writing system changes the modes of knowledge transmission because written modes of communication enable their users to convey more complex ideas and information than spoken modes. Some ideas are too complex to be fully grasped through oral communication. The new forms of acquiring “knowledge and transmission

⁸⁴ For the Chinese graduate here, he probably meant jinshi 進士 (a degree holder). Mr. Ritchie did not offer further information about the degree in Chinese title.

⁸⁵ In his letter to *The English Presbyterian Messenger*, August 8, 1871.

⁸⁶ Jürgen Renn, Robert Schlögl, Bernard F. Schutz, Beatrice Gabriel, eds. *The Globalization of Knowledge in History* (Germany: Epubli, 2012), 7-28.

that necessitated result in social changes.”⁸⁷ A printed form of knowledge transmitted through POJ could definitely do more.

Rev. Thomas Barclay, who arrived in Formosa in 1875, founded the first newspaper *Taiwan Church News* on July 12, 1885. It was circulated through the Taiwan-fu (capital of Taiwan) area of Formosa to propagandize POJ after Dr. Maxwell donated the first western movable-type printing press. To move the mission and amplify the effects of Dr. Maxwell’s written language strategy, this Scottish minister made his mark by devoting himself to the publication of the POJ newspaper and teaching.⁸⁸ His great work to convince the Presbyterian Church in Formosa to use POJ earned him a reputation as the most authoritative promoter of the romanized writing.⁸⁹

On the first page of the first issue of *Taiwan Church News*, Barclay explained that the newspaper was designed to promote POJ as an innovative instrument for reading the Bible (*sēng keng* 聖經), acquiring knowledge, and studying Chinese classics. He said,

... We are here to broadcast the words of the Kingdom of God; therefore, we urged you to read the Bible. We hope that you will gradually learn the truth from God and do not rely on Reverends or pastors to lecture God’s messages if you can read on your own. Although you read alone, you still learn from the instruction of God. Unfortunately your Chinese written language is very difficult, and only a few people can read. We therefore use other written language. We use POJ in publication so as to make general public easily read. Also, recently the Taiwan-fu has set

⁸⁷ M. Farr Whiteman, ed. *Writing: The Nature, Development, and Teaching of Written Communication* (Hillsdale, N.J.: L. Erlbaum Associates, 1981), 91.

⁸⁸ Edward Band, *Barclay of Formosa* (Taipei: Ch'eng Wen Publishing Co., 1972), 139-51.

⁸⁹ Early ministers applied the romanized vernacular to reading Scripture. Rev. Barclay engaged in revising Dr. Maxwell’s POJ Bible starting in 1884 as Maxwell’s transcription was based on English Bible and thus was different from the original Bible. Due to the heavy workload of the daily mission and the war in Shanghai, his revision was not published until 1916 and reprinted in 1933, when the New Testament and Old Testament were published separately. John Lai, *Database*, www.laijohn.com/Bible/F/about/skkh.htm, (accessed 12 December 2013).

up a printing press. Prints looked as they were in newspaper. We hope that you will try hard to learn POJ in order to read later publication from us. People should not have blind faith in thinking that it is not necessary to learn POJ because one can read Chinese or it is a language for children. The two languages are both useful, but POJ is much easier to learn. Therefore, people should learn it first. After that, it is good to lean Chinese. Hence, I again urge that Christian and laity, women and men, and the old and young, all come to learn POJ...⁹⁰

The promotion of POJ was not a rejection of using characters (called *Khóng-chú-jī* 孔子字, Confucius' words, in the newspaper).⁹¹ Barclay's opening statement in *Taiwan Church News* clearly indicated that he believed POJ was beneficial for learning Chinese characters for all groups of people.⁹² POJ language education was not designed to exclude the elite, but the missionaries were primarily concerned with the linguistic needs of the common people. Barclay's goal was to see that Taiwanese Christians could read the Bible in their homes without the aid of a pastor. POJ was a new language tool to increase the natives' ability to read the Bible

⁹⁰ *TCN*, July 1885, 1. "Goán kòe-lâi chit-pêng sī in-ūi ài thoân Thian-kok ê tō-lí.... só-í goán taúh- taúh khó-khng lín tióh thák-chhheh lâi khòaⁿ Sèng-keng, ñg-bāng lín náⁿ-kú náⁿ-bat Siōng-tè ê tō-lí; iā m̄ bián tek-khok óa-khò Bók-su á-sī Thoân-tō-lí ê lāng lâi kóng hō lín thiaⁿ; in-ūi lín pún-sin khòaⁿ sèng-chheh, Sèng-sîn ê kám-hòa, sui-jiân bô lāng lâi kà-sī, lín iau kú ēchai Siōng-tè ê chí-i. Khó-sioh lín pún-kok ê jī chin oh, chió chió lāng khòaⁿ ē hián-tit. Só-í hoán ū siat pát-mih ê hoat-tō, ēng pēh-ōe-jī lâi in-chheh, hō lín cheng-lāng khóaⁿ khah khoài bat. Iā kīn-lâi tī chit-e Hú-siāⁿ goán ū siat chit-ê in-chhek ê khi-khū, thang in-jī chhin-chhiuⁿ chit hō ê khoán-sit. Taⁿ goán ñg bāng lín cheng-lāng beh chhut-lát ôh chiah-ê pēh-ōe-jī; āu-lâi goán nā in sim-mih cheheh lín long ê hiáu-tit khoaⁿ. Lāng m̄-thang pah-sng in-ūi i bat Khóng-chú-jī só-i m̄ bian óh chit-hō ê jī; iā m̄-thang khòa-khin i, kóng si gín-á só that-ê. Nñg-iūⁿ ê jī long ū lō-ēng. Put-kò in-ūi chit-hō khah-khoai iākhah-bēng, só-í lāng tióh tãi-sheng thák-i. Āu-lâi nāⁿ beh sòa thák khóng-chú-jī sī chin hō; chóng-sī pēh-ōe-jī tióh khah tãi-seng.... só-í goán khó-khng lín cheng-lāng, jíp-kàu í-kíp thiaⁿ to-lí ê lāng, lâm-hū ló-iù, bat-jī, m̄-bat-jī ê lāng long-chóng tiók kín-kín lâi óh.... "

⁹¹ In most contexts, *Khóng-chú-jī* means a Chinese character as the stereotype that classical Chinese mainly elaborates Confucian doctrine so that script seems a language written for Confucius. In addition, the calling symbolizes that learning characters is as difficult as understanding the sage's philosophy.

⁹² Based on his conviction about the importance of promoting POJ, he also supplemented Rev. Douglas's dictionary in adding the newly usage of the southern Fujianese dialect in Formosa after 1867. The changes on listing Chinese characters along with POJ suggest his stand on reading Chinese as an additional value of studying the dialect. He thus came out with the *Supplement to the Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Amoy* in 1923. See Edward Band, *Barclay of Formosa*, 67-70.

and later Chinese script. Barclay urged people not to look down on POJ and he invited everyone, regardless of their sex or age, to learn POJ.⁹³

The Church did not discourage missionaries from learning the Chinese script.⁹⁴ POJ was designed as an auxiliary device for studying Chinese texts. A remarkable message annotated in the POJ New Testament suggested that the Church hoped that a "striking gain" of teaching people POJ was that it would also help them teach everyone to read in romanized Chinese.⁹⁵ POJ's disadvantages include the fact that it is less appropriate than characters to articulate profound ideas in the Fujianese language. Yet the advantages of learning POJ incontestably overrode its disadvantages. Study activities recorded in Rev. George Leslie Mackay's (1844-1901) diary bear witness to its benefits.⁹⁶ Every week, he and his students recited classical Chinese. With the aid of POJ, they could read the Chinese classics aloud. Native islanders who were illiterate in Chinese script had as much difficulty learning to read it as for foreign missionaries did. Rev. Barclay, an accomplished scholar, confessed that in grappling with the complexity of characters, missionary teachers did not understand many of the ones that were necessary to understand the meaning of Chinese classics.⁹⁷ POJ transcriptions were very helpful to Chinese script learners. As long as they could speak the southern Fujianese language, learners could easily grasp the meanings of romanized Chinese script even though the typical issues of translating a text from one language to another occurred.

Foreign missionaries working throughout Formosa and Amoy utilized POJ to popularize Chinese values in the southern Fujianese language. In 1908, a POJ version of the *Sheng yu*

⁹³ *TCN*, July 1885, 1.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 68.

⁹⁶ *Mackay's Diaries*, March 16, 1875.

⁹⁷ "Chinese characters versus roman-letter words in the Formosa mission," *EPM*, April 1, 1881, 68.

kuang xun 聖諭廣訓 (Sacred Edict) was published in Taiwan which eased the pain of studying the Chinese version. Protestant missionaries designated the *Sacred Edict* a must-read text because it was the most widespread educational material circulated in the Qing dynasty. Emperor Kangxi (1654-1722) issued sixteen maxims in 1670, and Emperor Yongzheng (1678-1735) elaborated his father's rules into sixteen essays and a preface in 1724. The *Sacred Edict*, composed of the two emperors' words, was promulgated in the same year that all civilians, from scholars and officials in the capital area to county people, young and old, were asked to read the edicts. Staff from every county administration had to publicly read out the edict twice a month. Central officials or regional gentry would gather people in the municipal temple, township meeting plaza, or any adequate public space for further interpretations of the meanings of its content. The law also demanded civil service examinees, at both county and capital levels, to write the edict from memory. To pass the examinations their copies could not contain mistakes or revisions.⁹⁸ The Tainan Mission Council in Formosa prescribed the *Sacred Edict* as one of the textbooks for recently arrived missionaries to help them understand Chinese culture.⁹⁹ It was agreed that this didactic work was valued as "a model of style, the principles on which the Emperors of China profess to conduct their rule are to be found in it in the smallest possible compass."¹⁰⁰

The book of emperors' rules was the best textbook for missionaries to acquire eloquent speaking skills in the language to deal with incidental religious conflicts and to learn how Chinese

⁹⁸ Jenn-wang Liao, "The Meaning of the Emperor' on Protestant Missionaries' Publishing and Understanding of the *Sacred Edict* in 19th Century China " *Chinese Studies* 26, 3 (2008): 225-62.

⁹⁹ In his preface, Rev. Campbell said he was indebted to Chinese-language intellectual Lâm Bō-seng (Lin, Mosei, 1887-1947), the first Formosan who received a Ph. D from Columbia University, U.S.A.. With his help, Campbell completed and promoted his transcribed work throughout southern Fujianese dialect communities.

¹⁰⁰ Rev. William Campbell trans., *The Sacred Edict--Translated into the Vernacular of the Bible Used Throughout Chinchew, Changchew and Formosa* (Amoy: The Poe-Bun-Tsai Press, 1908), preface.

officials propagandized imperial ideology. In addition to publishing vernacular translations of the text, the Empire's administrators believed that regular public lectures elaborating on the edict were necessary to help the general public understand the emperors' profound instructions in the sublime classical Chinese in which the edict was originally written. Lecturers would prepare handouts in a variety of vernacular spoken languages to simplify the emperors' words.

Missionaries learned how Chinese people performed political rites and how the State propagandized the top-down decrees by attending the lectures. For the foreign evangelists, observing these public acts could not have been more significant to the advancement of their mission in China. Understanding the Chinese people's own strengths and weaknesses was a sure way to success for the foreign missions. According to Rev. H. R. Eichler (n.d.), missionaries liked to read the *Sacred Edict* because they first patterned their missions after the Qing government's method of moral education. Secondly, they learned lessons that helped them explain why some critical issues emphasized in Buddhism and Daoism were not included in Christianity.¹⁰¹ In Formosa, such refutations in religious debates were important to help the native inhabitants adopt Christianity.

The benefits of using the romanization was also noted by POJ users in essay competitions. Intriguingly, before Barclay published the first issue of his newspaper, an Amoy pastor, Tōng Hián-Lí organized a POJ writing competition on "Pèh-ōe-jī ê Lī-ek" 白話字的利益 (Discussion of the Benefits of POJ) in 1884. All the POJ users in Amoy and Taiwan were encouraged to submit creative essays. The process of this competition and the compositions by the first and second place winners, Iáp Hàn-chiong and Lâu Bō-chheng, were published sequentially in the newspaper. In their long essays, the authors did not focus simply on opinions

¹⁰¹ E. R. Eichler, "The K'uen Shi Wan or, the Practical Theology of the Chinese," *The China Review* 11 (1882): 94-5.

about benefiting the illiterate. Rather, both essayists focused on the time consumed in studying Chinese. Iáp suggested that if people could acquire knowledge in a few weeks, or an even shorter period, by reading texts written in POJ, they should not bother with several years of reading characters.¹⁰² For the laboring class who worked every day, as opposed to the elite, learning POJ meant saving time.

Most strikingly, these composition's authors voiced their enthusiasm for women's education, which was specifically targeted to women from non-elite families. Iáp said that Western women were capable of educating their children because a good number of mothers could read. By comparison, their Chinese counterparts were stuck studying numerous pictographic characters. Reading made women wise, Lâu claimed. In addition, women's aptitude for reading was not in any way lower than men's and, therefore, women should be taught to read. Another article echoes the point that women were expected to be the better half of married couples (lōe-chō 內助).¹⁰³ If they were not educated, there was no way for them to teach their children. The author, Ông Chiap-thôn, criticizes the Chinese tradition that valued sons over daughters. He believed that if women's education could be popularized as it was in the West, then Taiwan would have female doctors, teachers, and reporters.¹⁰⁴ Women's capacity to study was not doubted since girls from elite families were already sometimes educated. These POJ writers emphasized that all women, rich or poor, should learn to read and write.

Taiwanese natives who were illiterate in Chinese characters shared their ideas and cultural values publicly in POJ publications. Some people who could not read characters probably wanted to be able to learn by reading Chinese texts, but they did not have enough time

¹⁰² *TCN*, July 1885, 2 and January 1886, 7.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ Ông Chiap-thôn, "Lē-lú-hák" (Encouraging Girls' school), *TCN*, November, 1902, 86.

to tackle the complexity of the Chinese characters. Making a living was the priority of their lives. If they learned POJ in a short time, other users could share miscellaneous information and social values with them. One day, Iáp's missionary friend obtained a pamphlet in POJ telling of a girl's filial piety to her father. They were both touched by the narrative and felt it would benefit people, both inside and outside the church, if the story were reprinted. The following year, a historian's anecdote attracted Iáp's friend's attention. The friend not only admired the protagonist of the story but also wanted to share the story with others. Upon the friend's request, Rev. John Van Nest Talmage, who revised POJ from the Amoy language, transcribed the story for him. The friend published it later.¹⁰⁵

Apart from supporting POJ transcription, Iáp criticized Chinese translated copies of the Bible as inadequate. Iáp argued that the Chinese translation of the Scriptures often contained mistakes that derived from the language's inability to articulate the texts phonetically as POJ did. Characters also have a multitude of morphemes that were not identical to a single word (e.g., *gou*; dog), but rather, they matched a compound word (e.g., *putao*; grape). The original meaning of the Bible was gradually lost in the transcription with each new error. Iáp also complained that the errors in the translation were being spread throughout China since people were actively using the faulty translation and the Church was not sending out a corrected copy.¹⁰⁶

Iáp's argument seems reasonable, but was problematic in practice. He neglected two factors in his argument. Firstly, his argument did not make the translation issue clear in the process of information sharing. He neglected the fact that the Bible was first translated to Chinese script from English or other languages and later was transcribed into POJ from the

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

Chinese version.¹⁰⁷ That is the reason why he believed that if the Chinese version was wrong, then the POJ one could not be correct. He ignored the possibility that the POJ version might be incorrect even if it was translated from a language other than Chinese into POJ. Secondly, he criticized that during the process of translating the Scriptures to Chinese, sometimes it was difficult to find corresponding words within each linguistic system which would cause mistranslation. He paid less attention to the fact that some POJ "transcription" in fact was "translation," which was not monosyllabically sounded text, but a paraphrase of the original text of the language into a colloquial context or with an additional explanation. Mistranslations from foreign languages to Chinese could occur in the process of transliterating the southern Fujianese language from classical Chinese writing.

Figure 7 in *The English Presbyterian Messenger* displays a contradiction to Iap's assertion that POJ was always phonetically transcribed text. The figure is an example of the translated New Testament (John 3:16) that was used in Formosa. As juxtaposed, the Delegates' Chinese version of the New Testament was listed in the left column along with the POJ transliteration in the right column.¹⁰⁸ The writer of this example commented that the POJ version was a "translation" of the Delegates' vision, not simply a reproduction. It was translated because a fixed sound to each character would generate a "dead language" that "conveys no meaning at all."¹⁰⁹ It had to be translated into "the language of common speech" so that a precise meaning of the original was retained. In other words, even though POJ was designed to

¹⁰⁷ Walter Benjamin, in his "The Task of the Translator," claims that "translation is a mode of its own." A translator has the task of generating meanings from the original texts, a task different from that of a poet. However, no matter how great a translator is in translation, we have to face those issues that occur in the two sides of the author, as the creator of the work, and reader, as the translator. To solve the predicament located in the middle ground in which two languages find no precise correspondence, the latter must decide on his/her own which phrase, or word, articulates better for the former. To some extent, translation is a representation of the original.

¹⁰⁸ Finished by Rev. Medhurst, John Stronach, and William Charles Milne in 1850.

¹⁰⁹ "Chinese characters versus roman-letter words in the Formosa mission," *EPM*, April 1, 1881, 67.

transcribe speech, the transmission from the classical Chinese of the Delegates to the southern Fujianese language in POJ was necessary for meaningful delivery. That is, verbatim transliteration, word by word, was not feasible, based on the linguistic nature of the transliterated text.

The ability to read and write POJ was an essential instrument for religious knowledge transmission. This language strategy earned the foreign mission a great number of local converts when compared to the number of Christian conversions in Amoy and Swatow, Guangdong province.¹¹⁰ The statistics on Formosan converts from the 1860s-1880s showed that the number of native converts who did not know Chinese characters increased dramatically as a result of the use of POJ.¹¹¹ This implies that the majority of the Christian population in Formosa may have been illiterate in Chinese characters. Moreover, the Taiwanese tribal culture also benefited from the increase of POJ users. In the 1870s, Dr. Maxwell sent a letter to the church in Amoy highlighting the spectacular phenomenon of collective conversion. In reality, the tribal structure often brought in additional family members after the head of a family decided to believe in God.¹¹² The congregations and the use of POJ prospered coincidentally thanks to the indigenous groups' exclusive ethnicity.

POJ as a Writing Repertoire to Share Knowledge and Records

Printing, at its very beginning, was devised to solve the problem of the shortage of religious teaching pamphlets in POJ delivered from Amoy.¹¹³ Intense demand for printed

¹¹⁰ Before the Hainan and Singapore missions were added in, most church statistics, notes, and news were reported from Formosa, Amoy, and Swatow, the three main areas of Foreign mission of Presbyterian Church in southern China.

¹¹¹ "Missionary notes," *EPM*, May 2, 1880, 90.

¹¹² "Formosa," *EPM*, August 1, 1870, 185-187.

¹¹³ William Campbell, *Handbook of the South Formosa Mission*, 67.13, 144.

catechisms and hymnals spoke volumes about the fact that Christianity had spread more rapidly than expected. In addition, the early reports repeatedly argued that the Formosa mission was short-handed. Since the aboriginal Christians had risen in number, the demand for more churches increased. However, in most remote areas, there were no on-site ordained or diaconal ministers. Rev. Campbell complained continuously that missionaries were exhausted from traveling to distant churches to preach. They had to regularly confirm converts' progress in POJ studies, examine new Christian candidates, baptize converts, and most significantly, give medical treatment to the diseased who lived far away from cities. They were frustrated not just because they were overextended, but also from the lack of printed sources.¹¹⁴ Dr. Maxwell's donation of a printing press from England in 1880 diffused the crises in labor and printed matter. Native converts could read printed Bibles and catechisms and thus lessen the missionaries' burden of having to read the Gospel to church members.

Early Printing and POJ

POJ imprints were the first western moveable-type printed texts, but were not the first printed works produced in Formosa. The earliest extant printed text issued by Ming adherent Zheng Jing 鄭經 (1642-1681), the eldest son of Koxinga, was *Yongli datong li* 永曆大統曆 (United Calendar of Yongli Period) in 1671. Its printing was an indication of the persistence of the regime of the last emperor of the southern Ming dynasty (1647-1662). When Koxinga landed in Amoy, a temporary military base for staving off the Dutch, the Office of Revenue, called *huguan* 戶官, was founded. All woodblock prints for the purpose of military

¹¹⁴ Rev. Campbell was even forced to leave Formosa because of his anxiety over missionary work. Rev. Maxwell and Dr. Barclay suffered from high fever when they left, with no support, to get a handle on church affairs and teaching

announcements and prohibitions were produced by this office. A group of woodblock carvers traveled with the Ming so they could print official declarations at any time.¹¹⁵ Koxinga died of an acute disease (believed to be malaria or pneumonia crouposa)¹¹⁶ several months after his conquest of Taiwan. Designated by his successor Zheng Jing, Wu Fengtai 吳鳳胎 (1605-1680), a grand scribe in the conquered land, issued the united calendar.¹¹⁷

The history of printing in Taiwan prior to the Koxinga period is sketchy.¹¹⁸ After Koxinga's occupation, the technique of woodblock printing was imported to Tainan and was disseminated across Taiwan. Before his arrival, observing Qing officials' woodblock publications, such as Ji Qiguang's 季麒光 *Taiwan za ji* 台灣雜記 (Miscellaneous Notes of Taiwan, 1685), Sun Yuanheng's 孫元衡 (1661-?) *Chikan ji* 赤崁記 (Book of Chikan, 1710), and Zhu Jingying's 朱景英 (n.d.) *Haidong zha ji* 海東札記 (Notes of the East of the Sea, 1774), we see that most authors hired individual carvers and proofreaders.¹¹⁹ Only books produced in mainland China and shipped to Taiwan indicate their publishers and sometimes the names of carvers. Considering the large number of books published throughout the Qing rule, we can speculate that a group of woodblock makers had developed their business in Taiwan.

¹¹⁵ Dianquan Huang, *Zheng Chenggong Shishi Yanjiu* (Studies of the History of Koxinga) (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1996), 26.

¹¹⁶ Yangjun Zheng, "Zheng Chenggongsiyin Kao (An Investigation of the Cause of Death of Koxinga)," *Gaoyuan University Press* 12 (2004): 214-17.

¹¹⁷ Ziwen Zhang ed., *Taiwan Lishi Renwu Xiaozhuan* (Bibliography of Historical Characters in Taiwan) (Taipei: National Library, 2003), 143-44.

¹¹⁸ Tianbin Wang's *Taiwan Baoye shi* (History of Newspaper in Taiwan, 2003) and *Taiwan xinwen chuanbo shi* (The Evolution of Mass Communication in Taiwan, 2002) both claimed that the first information from texts started in 1807 when the Garrison Commander of Taiwan, Wulongge, engraved *Shengyu Guangxun zhu* (Annotated Imperial Edicts and Wide-Reaching Instructions) in copper blocks, but no further evidence has verified whether the printing was done in Taiwan.

¹¹⁹ Yongzhi Yang, *Mingqing Shiqi Tainan Chuban Shi* (Publishing History During the Ming-Qing Periods of Tainan) (Taipei: Taiwan xue sheng shu ju, 2007), 51-217.

The publishing industry had developed in Taiwan during the late Qing period, even though it was convenient for Taiwanese readers to directly order publications from Fu Zhou 福州, Quan Zhou, Tongan 同安, Amoy, and Zhang Zhou of Fujian province. As early as 1821, several private publishers started operating bookstores in the capital, Taiwan-fu. The first known publisher in Tainan, Songyun Xuan 松雲軒, owned by Lu Chongyu 盧崇玉 (n.d.), who served as an official in Taiwan-fu, focused its core business on woodblock printed religious manuscripts and classical editions of medical nursing texts, such as *Taichan bidu* 胎產必讀 (A Must-Read for Childbirth) and *Cuisheng fujue* 催生符訣 (Symbolic Formula of Augmentation).¹²⁰ Until the Japanese rule, private publishers in Taiwan remained small-scale businesses due to the high price of wood materials and small market demand.¹²¹ Readers had to order books for leisure reading from the mainland.

The early private publishers in Taiwan produced a good number of religiously-oriented works. The Songyun Xuan bookstore, for instance, focused on printing Buddhist and Daoist texts.¹²² As for Christian texts, the shortage of missionary laborers and technical assistants to operate the printing press delayed the first western movable type imprint of POJ schoolbooks until 1884, though the press had arrived in Taiwan four years earlier. Soon after the press's arrival in 1880, Rev. Campbell requested that the Amoy church hire a printing labor force to work in Formosa. However, the request was denied. Instead, the church suggested sending a missionary to learn how to operate the press.¹²³ As no spare hand was available, the eleven boxes of machinery languished unpacked until after Rev. Barclay returned from his first

¹²⁰ Ibid., 284-87.

¹²¹ Qiongfang Shi, *Shilanshan Guan Yi Gao* (Bequeathed Draft of Shilanshan Guan) (Taipei: Longwen chuban she, 1992), 7.

¹²² Yongzhi Yang, *Mingqing Shiqi Tainan Chuban Shi*, 51-217.

¹²³ William Campbell, *Handbook of the South Formosa Mission*, 121.3, 189.

furlough. Thus, the printing press was initially designed to supply a sufficient number of printed copies of the catechism.

As usual, the British and Foreign Bible Society furnished local Christian churches with copies of the Scriptures. Even so, every individual church society was responsible for making "hymnbooks, tracts, and Christian literature on their own."¹²⁴ A local publication office in Taiwan was desperately needed. Not only would it alleviate the anxiety caused by insufficient labor, but it could offer enough texts that were promptly printed. During his vacation back to Scotland, Barclay learned the printing process from Mr. Aird and Mr. Coghill, two British printing mechanics, so that he could assemble the press immediately upon his return to Formosa. The first printed item from the press was dated May 24, 1884.¹²⁵ A simple, yet well-equipped printing room was located in close proximity to the back of the City Tengakha chapel on the west side of the Theological College library. Its name, Chū-tin-tông 聚珍堂, was formally announced shortly after construction of the building was completed.

Symbolic Importance of a Printed Romanization in the Late-Qing Taiwan

Romanized imprints in Taiwan were used for much more than Christian teaching during the last few decades of the Qing Empire. At first, they offered a diachronic information platform for didactic sharing in lieu of synchronic oral communication. In addition to advancing the Theological College's work by making it easier to create more teaching materials, the technique of western movable-type printing, which was more efficient and less labor-intensive than the woodblock-type printing, eased Rev. Campbell's anxiety about tackling the shortage of

¹²⁴ Edward Band, *Barclay of Formosa*, 71.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 71-72. The first issue was deferred until July 12, 1885, because of the interruption of the Sino-French War (from August 1884 to April 1885).

missionaries for the plains aboriginal tribes.¹²⁶ Colporteurs made regular trips to remote churches in mountain and rural regions to distribute religious flyers and pamphlets for free. POJ users, who resided in remote areas, owned their printed copies without having to share them with churches.¹²⁷ So the missionaries did not have to travel to remote areas to see congregations as often. With a united and clear layout of the printed format, social interaction and interpersonal communication between Taiwanese Christians was maintained in spite of topographical limitations and ethnic boundaries.

An anonymous essay in 1892 attests to the essential role that a printed language played in circulating information in Christian society. The author stated that anything posted in *Taiwan Church News* was important to deliver to Christian communities. The more the church was established, the more Christianity was accepted, but its expansion was hindered by the obstacles they encountered circulating the newspaper. Christian values, great achievements, school and church rules were circulated through the newspaper to other churches as far as it was possible. Information about newly opened churches, donations, an increase in conversions, and hiring missionaries needed to be shared with the Christian community. Furthermore, reading the newspaper guarded against potential nuisances from precedents set by other churches, such as problems with alcoholism among church members. The most favorable aspects of the Christian community were displayed in the newspaper, a space in which the intelligent and wise expressed their points of view on issues of interest. Before the operation of the press, the profound preaching of erudite pastor-teachers was only available to those who lived in the immediate vicinity of the church.¹²⁸ Western movable-type printing technology not only improved people's

¹²⁶ *EPM*, March 1, 1884, 122.

¹²⁷ In *TCN*, it was often mentioned that colporteurs' job was to regularly travel back and forth to the plains and mountain areas for book and publication delivery for free.

access to well-developed sermons but also the structure of social interaction to which the Christian community was closely tied.

Benedict Anderson's view of the printed language is worthy of examination since it helps explain the significance of POJ itself. He argues that Protestants used print-capitalism, by "exploiting cheap popular editions," to create a new readership among those who had little knowledge of the classical written language.¹²⁹ This phenomena occurred during the 19th century in foreign missions in Formosa. The unique characteristics granted by the printed language, what he calls "fixity" for various dialects, were probably similar to those found in transliterated works. Printed POJ, as a type of transcribed language, was designed for southern Fujianese language users' convenience to distribute information and carried no "image of antiquity" from the romanized letters themselves. It was, instead, kept in a "permanent form" and was simply a *form*, since printed POJ had no fixed meanings in spelling.¹³⁰ In POJ, meanings are received as soon as the sounds of an intelligibly composed phrase or sentence are read aloud. POJ publications were different because their linguistic features did not nurture anything related to "national consciousness." In the 19th century, the spread of POJ was not mobilized by a political drive or ideology of the Qing empire's or Taiwan's historical glory.

Furthermore, romanized publishing signified a decisive turning point in the use of POJ, because it began the process of transforming POJ readers into POJ writers. POJ compositions in public spaces were an evaluation of POJ and Bible studies. The new writing population established an "imagined community" of POJ users. Participants identified their writing community as a group who would never meet but whose members would become acquainted

¹²⁸ Anonymous, "Lūn Kàu-hōe-pò "(An essay on *Taiwan Church News*), *TCN*, January 1892, 3.

¹²⁹ B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Verso, 2006), 40.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 44.

through reading one another's works in the newspaper. The imagined writing community created a type of POJ writing identity which largely overlapped with the Christian society in Amoy and Taiwan.

We do not have sufficient information to demonstrate whether or not non-Christian participants were involved in this "imagined community". In comparison to Chinese characters, POJ was relatively easy to master for southern Fujianese language speakers. The first local operator of the donated press, Saw Sa (n.d.), only spent three days learning POJ, and the general public might need a few weeks at most.¹³¹ The writing community members had no obligation to contribute to church activities. They could simply pay six *qian* monthly¹³² or read the paper for free by standing in front of the bulletin board at any church.¹³³ Though without textual and statistical evidence, one can speculate that being baptized was not a prerequisite to be a POJ user at that time. Some of them might simply have taken a shortcut to the written information or paid a regular visit to the church in order to receive the benefits offered by the missionaries.

Taiwanese natives experienced noteworthy transformations as they went from being illiterate in Chinese script to being literate in POJ via the published language. Following the definition of literacy as the ability to read and write in social practice, being illiterate in the early context of the Formosa mission meant being "without book-learning or education and ignorance or lack of learning or subtlety" in classical Chinese.¹³⁴ Becoming literate in Chinese typically took a few years' study of the Chinese script. Traditionally, having an education meant receiving

¹³¹ Band, *Barclay of Formosa*, 71.

¹³² Ten *qian* was equivalent to one tael. According to "1882-1991 Taiwan Danshui Haiguan baogao shu" (A report of Danshui custom from Taiwan, 1882-1991) from *Taiwan jingji shi yanjiu* 台灣經濟史研究 (Studies of History of Taiwan's Economy), volume 6, the rice price in 1885 was more expensive than any year during 1882-1891, and the average price was about 1.75-80 tael per dan (1 dan was equivalent to 100 liters).

¹³³ One or two pages in every *TCN* have larger font size, most likely for bulletin board reading.

¹³⁴ Alastair Pennycook, *Critical Applied Linguistics: a Critical Introduction* (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., 2001), 76-77.

instruction in a private Chinese academy (*sishu* 私塾) or from home tutors. Chinese characters, as the official written language of Fujian province and Taiwan during the late Qing periods, were the only officially-recognized written medium through which to acquire knowledge. People who were illiterate in characters were not supposed to be able to read or publish texts. The Taiwanese who were illiterate in Chinese script were unable to create their own texts before the advent of POJ. This underrepresented group, including the blind, women, and poor, was stereotyped as unable to produce their own written works. POJ publications signal nothing short of a revolutionary change in the "illiterate's" cultural involvement.

POJ users belonged to a special group in which some were conditionally illiterate and marginalized for their lack of proficiency in characters or had been natively taught in another language system. Others were purely illiterate and had not received any training in writing. They were remarkable inasmuch as they all learned a set of letters beyond the mainstream writing system and might have wished to enable themselves to read characters. They definitely were not incapable of producing their own works, for their literary works were published in the newspaper. Publishing the newspaper in POJ publicly demonstrated that a foreign-imported transliteration system equally transformed foreign intellectuals and the domestic uneducated into a group of writers, though many of them were still "illiterates" in Chinese script.

Print language played a prominent role in enlightenment. No matter what genre it was used for, be it textbooks, the Bible, catechetic handouts, novels, or medical guidance, printed POJ provided a text-friendly environment, and POJ promoters advocated at the outset for equal opportunity in education for both genders. An article by Ông Chiap-thôn urged that girls and boys should be treated equally with regard to education, but he observed that most Chinese parents in Taiwan did not allow their daughters to attend school. Education, he believed, would

release women (hū-jîn-lâng 婦人人) from their hell of ignorance.¹³⁵ This hell prevented females from being informed. Thus he concluded, “how could we expect women to be responsible for children's education at home?”¹³⁶ Ông argued that Taiwanese people simply took for granted that women learned from life's experiences, and not from texts or school education. He argued that this fallacy had to be examined. He proposed that free printed POJ course books and cheap tuition (four silver *yuan* per year) in women's boarding schools sponsored by the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan were an incentive, especially being tremendously attractive for plains native girls, to attend.¹³⁷ He, however, overlooked the fact that elite families allowed their girls to go to Chinese academies or be educated by tutors at home. His statements oversimplified women's education in Taiwan, which centered on the large proportion of female illiterates.

Unlike the writing community using Chinese script, members of the POJ writing community could participate anonymously. Both Kai-wing Chow and Robert J. Griffin, from Chinese and Western contexts respectively, might agree that big name authors with literary reputations contributed to book sales in the seventeenth century in the Jiangnan area of China and in London respectively. Using author's names for marketing books revealed a diversity of culture. In the late Ming period, commercial bookstores in the Jiangnan area used paratextual strategies to increase book sales by requesting famous authors to write prefaces for books as endorsements of the works.¹³⁸

¹³⁵ Ông Chiap-thôn, “Lē-lú-hák,” *TCN*, December 1902, 86.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ Anonymous, “Khui-siat Lú-óh” (Launching a Girls' School), *TCN*, November 1886, 17.

¹³⁸ There were certainly a number of publishing items actually not authored or edited as they were purported to be. For example, nine anthologies of poetry listed Li Panlong 李攀龍 (1514-1570), a literary critic and imperial scholar who passed the highest imperial civil service examination, as the editor, but eight of them were published after his death. Another example investigates Li Mengyang's 李夢陽 (1472-1529) career in publishing. Chow argues that Li “did not edit or anthologize other writer's books” but several titles under his name in *Zhongguo shanben shu tiyao* 中國善本書提要 (Annotated catalog of Chinese rare books) relate him to the editing of Tang poems by Meng Jiao 孟郊 (751-814). To “misonymize a book to a famous writer” meant the publishers had to make a plausible case by

During the 1710s, this was not the relationship between copyright and naming in British publishing. When an author was protected by the Copyright Act, the value of a publication as a commodity returned to the author, who therefore signified a brand name to identify certain types of literary works in terms of quality. The transformation of literary values triggered by the legal protection of property, quoted by Griffin from Foucault's descriptions, is demonstrated in the absence of an author's name.¹³⁹ Although "anonymous" gives no reference to the name of a specific author, Griffin suggested that extra information about the anonymous author came from how the author established the "homogeneity" of his or her works in texts. Thus, even though the cover page lacked the legal name of an author, anonymous, or a pseudonym, could refer to authors we might know. Famous writers such as Jane Austen have published anonymously. The poetical personality of an author might be presented in "multiple entities."

Griffin's conclusion about different levels of discourse on the legal and aesthetic identities of authors enables us to speculate on the essentials of aesthetic identity and literary reputation in POJ publications. That is whether the author's name, whether it was unlisted or it was a celebrity's name, significantly affected the market for a specific work.

In the early period, the authors of POJ publications were less concerned about paratext or sales promotion. This special print culture deemphasized readers' association with writers. By the time of the Japanese rule, many POJ writers in *Taiwan Church News* were listed as "anonymous." The relationship between the readership and the authors, unlike their Chinese and Western counterparts, was not tied by commercial profits; thus, it was not necessary to identify authors, although names such as the Reverends Barclay and Campbell were sometimes listed.

selecting the appropriate author in the genre, thereby making it necessary for the name to be visible. See K.W. Chow, *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China* (Stanford, CA.: Stanford University Press, 2004), 179-205.

¹³⁹ Robert J. Griffin, "Anonymity and Authorship," *New Literary History* 30:4 (1999): 879.

Every church was obligated to order at least one copy of a work for public use. Designated missionaries of the South Formosa Mission Council wrote a number of works under the name “Phian-chíp-sek” (editing room).¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, their anonymity arose from non-authorial anonymity. Through the feature of sharing global news, some articles carried by-lines of "Bùn Iok-hān kì ê" (reported by Wen Yuehan), while others had "Phoaⁿ Bùn-bêng chò ê" (done by Pan Wenming). Travel literature that was the result of first-hand observation was not considered a genre, nor an individual work with a conception of copyright, but rather a paraphrase of events, phenomena, and happenings. The goal of POJ publications was information sharing and religious teaching for non-character users. Reporters and anonymous authors most likely cared less about, or lacked knowledge of, their intellectual property as authors.

Imperial Power and the POJ Population

The empire’s endorsement of the European Presbyterian missionaries indirectly backed up their promotion of POJ and its publications. Many marginalized indigenous groups converted to Christianity and thus become POJ users because the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan would bring them "benefits" in exchange for their profession of faith. The Church extended favors to natives who became Christians. The local government also offered converts “benefits” such as dealing with litigation cases with neighboring ethnic groups.¹⁴¹ The church, on behalf of native converts, could heavily impact how local officials ruled on legal cases.

John Shepherd, an anthropologist who specialized in Taiwan's non-Han aboriginal groups explained why Chinese immigrants showed less interest in conversion to Christianity. For the

¹⁴⁰ Chang Miao-Chuan, *Kaiqi Xinyan-Taiwan Fucheng Jiaohui Bao Yu Zhanglao Jiaohui De Jidutu Jiaoyu*, 102-03.

¹⁴¹ John Shepherd, "From Barbarians to Sinners: Collective Conversion among Plains Aborigines in Qing Taiwan, 1859-1895," in Daniel H. Bays, ed. *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Stanford: Stanford Universtiy Press, 1996), 120.

Chinese, only the traditional institutions (the imperial bureaucracy and Confucian institutions) could confer access to power, prestige, and wealth. Since they already had access to power through existing cultural institutions, converting to Christianity was unnecessary and might cost them access to the traditional institutions as well. Shepherd concluded that the plains aborigines were looking for short-term advantages by adopting Christianity. They also sought "a worldview and reference group that enables them to set a higher value on their own cultural identity."¹⁴² Since the Qing officers from China regarded plains aborigines as "barbarians," the plains natives found a champion in Christianity to restore their self-esteem. The foreign religion might not be very well received among the indigenous people, but it interested them because of the leverage it offered to rival the Chinese immigrants and other ethnic groups.

Apart from safeguards and advantages, the political influence of foreign missionaries authorized by imperial endorsement increased the number of Christians. It was exemplified when the missionaries peacefully escorted the Japanese army into Tainan as Formosa was ceded to the Japanese Empire as a result of the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895. The British missionaries were not simply escorted by their imperial Army; they were mediators between the Japanese state and the Taiwanese residents. At the time, the Black Flag Army, mustered by the independent regime of Liu Yongfu 劉永福 (1837-1917), had retreated to Guangdong province, China, although social order and riots were temporarily kept under control by his military, while the Qing lost their authority over Formosa. A senior naval officer informed the South Formosa Mission Council that he would soon withdraw the Navy guarding Anping harbor and also provide safe passage for British, German, and American subjects to Amoy in June of the same

¹⁴² Ibid., 132.

year.¹⁴³ Not having the heart to turn down their church members and other Taiwanese people, Revs. Barclay and Ferguson walked to submit the signed petition to the Japanese barracks at Ji-chan-hang 二層行 in northern Kaohsiung. General Nogi Maresuke 乃木 希典 (1849-1912) accepted the plea only with the condition that no one would be harmed as long as the entire city surrendered peacefully. However, this agreement could be reversed if any uprising occurred. As a result, General Nogi ordered Rev. Barclay to deliver this conditional oral consent throughout the city. He asked Rev. Ferguson to lead the Japanese army through the city gate the next morning. Surprisingly, the takeover was concluded as the missionaries had hoped.¹⁴⁴

The natives developed a significantly better impression of the missionaries since they had the power to broker the peaceful transition to Japanese rule. Prior to that point, many Taiwanese residents had a negative impression of the missionaries because they believed that Taiwan had been forced to allow the missionaries into the country because of the treaty of 1858.

As a result of their intervention, the missionaries earned back a great increase in the number of baptized Christians and a larger POJ user population in the early years of Japanese rule. At the end of 1895, there were about 1,256 regular churchgoers involved with church activities, but the number of baptized adults in southern Formosa rapidly increased to 2,190 between 1896 and 1901.¹⁴⁵ However, even by the end of 1901, expulsions from the church in

¹⁴³Wm. Campbell, *Handbook of the English Presbyterian Mission in South Formosa* (Hastings: F.J. Parsons, 1910), 471.2, 599. Foreigners were strongly advised to temporarily leave since the coast guard intended to depart soon. It is, however, surprising, that no words about the history of any negotiation with the Japanese General were recorded in the *Handbook of the South Formosa Mission* in which every important decision made by the Council of the South Formosa Mission, a foremost board of the British foreign mission in Formosa, should be listed. No meetings or Council minutes accounted for anything that happened from August 1 to October 29, 1895, while the Japanese army took control of Taiwan-fu on October 21. On October 30, the Council "noted" Japan's takeover and was preparing a list of damaged chapels for compensation from the Japanese authorities. We thus can reasonably imagine that the situation was so desperate that Rev. Barclay had to take action to negotiate with the colonial authority immediately rather than reporting to the Council or waiting for further instruction from senior church dignitaries in Amoy. However, he later sent a letter to the mother church for details. (See Campbell, 474.1, 602).

¹⁴⁴ "Letter to Foreign Mission," 1895, from special archive stored at SOAS, University of London.

¹⁴⁵ Campbell, *Handbook of the English Presbyterian Mission in South Formosa*, 84.

plains native groups occurred from time to time.¹⁴⁶ The Missionary Council attributed their betrayal of the church to a lack of knowledge about Christianity. They were not serious converts, but opportunists. The opportunism of renegade converts demonstrates the importance of political influence in conversion. The change of political regime complicated foreign missions in Formosa.

Conclusion

To encourage new Christians to read the Bible on their own, the British Presbyterian mission in Taiwan promoted POJ as a religious marker for the Taiwanese Christian community. During the early decades of the mission, POJ played a pivotal role by helping Taiwanese Christians write about their own culture. The European ministers decided to use the southern Fujianese language and POJ to engage in the same missions they were using in Amoy because of the linguistic similarities between Taiwanese natives and the Amoy people. It was also appropriate to do so because the majority of Taiwanese converts were illiterate in Chinese script. All Christians had to pass POJ examinations in order to participate in church activities. Becoming Christians symbolized not only their transformation from illiterate in Chinese script to literate in POJ, the process also enabled users to study Chinese script and culture. Knowledge transfer through POJ was expanded from religious information exchange to the Chinese language world. This expansion could not have been completed without the assistance of the western movable-type press donated by Dr. Maxwell. The Church invented a print culture through the first Taiwanese newspaper in which POJ users became writers and shared church information.

The British missionaries came to Taiwan with the endorsement of the military in power. The missionaries could provide “benefits” to attract more converts and therefore POJ users. The

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

imperial power behind the missionaries played an important role in the early success of the Presbyterian mission in Taiwan and the increasing number of POJ users.

Chapter 2: School Education and Western Medical Training, 1880s-1940s

POJ was primarily used in Presbyterian school education and western medical training programs from the 1880s through the 1940s.¹⁴⁷ The Presbyterian school education and western medical training system differed in important ways from the Chinese and Japanese educational systems. In addition to its initial use for religious proselytizing, POJ literacy rates expanded from the 1880s as it became a central component of these church-affiliated education programs. Becoming degree holders and medical professionals by learning POJ changed the lives of many Taiwanese students. POJ literacy enabled many Taiwanese who were not fluent in Chinese and Japanese to become upwardly mobile. The Church educated professionals constructed a new social community and professional network of people who were literate in POJ. Within this community and network, Taiwanese people, particularly Christians, developed a sense of group identity associated with their use of POJ and their participation in Westernized education from the late Qing dynasty until the end of Japanese colonial rule.

The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan decided to provide public education and medical training based on the educational principles they adopted from Scottish Presbyterianism. From the 1880s, or earlier, the Church was devoted to providing equal access to education regardless of a student's gender or family income. They also hoped to replicate the successes of the educational and medical missions in Shantou and Amoy. The Church's choice to make POJ their primary written language in school and medical study led to its expanded use and survival in Taiwanese society. Yet learning POJ and receiving a Presbyterian education or medical training

¹⁴⁷ Foreign missionaries were requested by Japanese government to return homeland due to the Pacific War in 1941 so that church property, including schools and hospitals, were transferred to the administration of native pastors. The secondary schools, seminary colleges, and missionary hospitals still operate now. See the regulation from *Communique of Taiwan Sōtokufu* (Taiwan Zongdufu fubao 臺灣總督府報), no. 4271, August 21, 1941.

did not come without the Taiwanese natives also being willing to participate in an expanding Christian network.

The Church organized and developed an independent and holistic educational system for students from preschool through college starting in the late 19th century. POJ was the official written language of the Taiwanese Presbyterian educational system. It was used in elementary schools, middle schools, girls' and women's schools, and theological colleges. Until the end of Japanese rule, the faculty primarily taught their courses in the southern Fujianese language; it was the main spoken language of their system. POJ was adopted as the writing system for the schools because it was easy to transcribe the native language in POJ. They also adopted POJ because most of the students were illiterate in Chinese or Japanese and it was easier to teach them how to use POJ than a whole new written language. Missionary teachers transliterated western textbooks and Chinese classics into POJ for use in the schools.

The Church also had missionary doctors who offered medical care and training to the Taiwanese. Their clinics and hospitals provided medical treatment to many Taiwanese who were too poor to afford to see traditional Chinese physicians. The medical missionaries were quickly overrun with patients and they realized they had an urgent need to train Taiwanese medical personnel. Thus they began to offer medical training programs through their missionary hospitals where they used POJ and the southern Fujianese language to facilitate communication with their patients and to teach medical students who wanted to obtain certificates issued by the missionary doctors. Students were also required to use medical textbooks written in POJ.

The Educational Philosophy of the Taiwanese Presbyterian System

School education is a cornerstone of the Reformed Church tradition. The Presbyterian Church originated from the Reformed Church tradition which stressed that humanistic education

belonged to the sovereignty of God, and so it should be extended to human civilization and shape its relation to Christianity.¹⁴⁸ John Calvin (1509-1564), the founder of the Reformed Church, viewed education as an arena for proselytizing young adults outside of the church.¹⁴⁹ Three hundred years later, the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan inherited this philosophy of education from British missionaries.

British Presbyterians also believed they had a moral duty to educate people in order to save them from poverty and vulnerability. For them, providing people with an education was just as important as providing them with medical care. They also embraced the belief that everyone deserved access to education regardless of their social class or gender. The Presbyterians' willingness to provide school education for women and the poor differentiated them from the conventional Chinese education system. In the late 19th century, the underrepresented and the poor, particularly women, had few opportunities to attend Chinese schools. Most of the time they were doing work for their families and they did not have time or money to invest in an education.

The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan created a western educational system that accepted both male and female students and utilized POJ to teach them. The rest of the chapter will examine how POJ was used to teach Christianity, general education and medical studies.¹⁵⁰

POJ as a Language of Religious and General Education

Christian School Education: Theological Colleges

¹⁴⁸ W.L. Lingle and J.W. Kuykendall, *Presbyterians: Their History and Beliefs* (Atlanta:John Knox Press, 1978), 20-28.

¹⁴⁹ Yang-en Cheng, "The Influence of Scottish Enlightenment on the Early Taiwan Christianity: Tracing the Root of Modern Educational Ideas of George Leslie Mackay," *Taiwan Wen Xian* 63 (2012): 143-44.

¹⁵⁰ General education means that the church started to offer non-religious school curricula. General school education did not aim to train evangelists since they were trained in theological colleges or women's bible schools. Instead they attempted to include western school subjects, such as physics, in daily teaching.

Since clergy who would work in Taiwan were in short supply, the Presbyterians' first venture in their education system was to establish theological colleges to formally educate native-born Taiwanese pastors. By the time the first college was founded, church officials in the two biggest ports, Dakao 打狗 (Kaohsiung) and Anping 安平 (a suburb of Taiwan-fu), had already started two classes (1875-1876) for seminary students who could serve in suburban areas. The Reformed Church in Amoy appointed a Chinese teacher, Lu Liang 盧良 (n. d.), to serve in Tainan, Taiwan.¹⁵¹ Rev. Barclay merged the two training classes to create the Tainan Theological College, the first seminary in Taiwan, in 1880. All the students moved into a new building near the northeast corner of the hospital in Taiwan-fu.¹⁵² They had regular classes, teaching materials, classrooms, students, and an executive committee which was administrated by the Council of the English Presbyterian Mission in South Formosa (hereafter the South Mission Council).¹⁵³

The Tainan Theological College was not very successful in recruiting and training new clergy for the Presbyterian missions in their earliest years. Their program numbers did not increase over time and they had some years when there were no new seminarians in training.¹⁵⁴ Foreign ministers recommended local candidates. Yet their recommendations guaranteed nothing more than that the applicants were of a decent moral quality. Attracted by a guaranteed job after graduation and free accommodations, students often hid their daily gambling habits or

¹⁵¹ *The English Presbyterian Messenger*, October 1876, 97.

¹⁵² W. Campbell, *Handbook of the English Presbyterian Mission in South Formosa*, 139.

¹⁵³ Rev. Campbell explained there were two missionary centers in Tainan and Dakao (Kaohsiung) continuously reported to the Committee of London Overseas Mission. In order to make the Formosan missions work efficiently and train local clergy, after Rev. Barclay arrived in Tainan in 1877, missionaries decided to merge two centers to become the Council of the English Presbyterian Mission in South Formosa. From then on, this Council was the administrative center for all church-affiliated organization, affairs, and activities. See W. Campbell, *Handbook of the English Presbyterian Mission in South Formosa*, xiv.

¹⁵⁴ Tainan Theological College, *Tainan Shenxueyuan qingzhu bashi zhounian te kan* (A Special Issue for the Celebration of Eighty Years in Taiwan Theological College) (Tainan: Tainan Theological College, 1957), 232-44.

other behaviors that would disqualify them from seminary. When their inappropriate conduct was exposed, the faculty had no choice but to expel them from the school.¹⁵⁵ An individual's moral conduct was the most significant criterion in deciding whether they were accepted to the seminary. It is clear, based on the South Mission Council's expulsion records, that the success of students in seminary was based on their moral purity and not on their intellectual capacity. Many foreign ministers believed that Taiwanese theological colleges produced inferior clergy by comparison with Scottish theological colleges. Even so, the Taiwanese theological college created a system for ordaining future ministers who received a western missionary education. Their graduates went on to serve as local missionaries.

The first Canadian Presbyterian Church missionary, George Leslie Mackay (1844-1901), who worked in northern Taiwan, started another type of training education, called a "Peripatetic College" or "Itinerant College."¹⁵⁶ By 1882, his itinerant college lacked classroom buildings, but he was not discouraged. Instead, he believed that to educate clergy, "great buildings, large libraries, and wealthy endowments might be helpful, but they are, however, not indispensable. As good work cannot be done without these, but if the work done is genuine, increased facilities will follow."¹⁵⁷ Even without facilities, he could still start lessons by singing hymns every day. In good weather, his students sat outside to recite the Bible, study, and take their exams. At night the class moved into the church, took notes in POJ, reviewed, and prepared for the next day's lessons. They used field trips to help them apply what they learned to daily practice. On their walks in the country, the teacher and his students discussed evangelism and how to conduct missions. They also collected plants, flowers, insects, and other samples of nature to use in

¹⁵⁵ Campbell, *Handbook of the English Presbyterian Mission in South Formosa*, 192-93.

¹⁵⁶ John Lai, "Mackay's Peripatetic College," *TCN*, May 25, 13.

¹⁵⁷ George Leslie Macdonald and J. A. Mackay, ed., *From Far Formosa. The Island, Its People and Missions* (New York and Chicago: F.H. Revell Co., 1896), 287.

biological experiments and study when they arrived in nearby towns.¹⁵⁸ Mackay claimed that the purpose of mobile training was to enable students to serve as "effective workers, fluent speakers, skillful debaters, and successful preachers."¹⁵⁹ He offered theological courses in various settings before formally founding Oxford College 牛津學堂 along the Tamsui River 淡水河 in 1882 after seeking new funding from Canada in 1880.

Church members complained that Presbyterian seminarians educated in Taiwan did not know enough about topics outside of Christian theology. This prompted the church to add courses on secular topics to seminary training. This change was advantageous for students because it helped them broaden their education. These additional courses also attracted non-Christians to the Presbyterian education system. The Church therefore expanded their system to include secular primary schools which easily attracted impoverished non-Christian students who could not afford to attend the other secular schools available in Taiwan.

General Education: Elementary and Middle School

The transition from offering religious training to general education in elementary and middle schools was supported by the Scottish educational philosophy. According to Zheng Yang-en's 鄭仰恩 research, the early foreign missionaries were influenced by the spirit of the Scottish Enlightenment (1730-1790), a scholarly movement that urged the integration of general and Christian education.¹⁶⁰ The interdisciplinary dialogue of the Scottish Enlightenment created a culture where the Christian faith, scholarship, and education were tied together. Educators

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 287-89.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Those designated to the south came from British Presbyterian Church and those to the north originated from Canadian Presbyterian church since Canada was colonized by British Empire from the signature in Peace of Paris in 1763 to 1870-1880s.

integrated religious education into their universities in order to create students who possessed a 'democratic intellect.'¹⁶¹ Influenced by the Enlightenment, educators were encouraged to teach non-religious subjects and humanitarian values.

Elementary Schools

In the 1880s, the Taiwanese Presbyterian church opened an elementary school that offered a general education curriculum instead of completely centering on teaching Christianity. From that point on, they focused more on teaching non-religious subjects and opened their school system to non-Christian students.¹⁶² At the beginning, the elementary school lacked both pupils and qualified teachers. In the early 1880s, several Taiwanese churches opened a small elementary school on a trial basis. They encountered problems with low enrollments because impoverished Taiwanese parents were reluctant to allow their children to attend school every day since it limited the children's ability to work. The parents were less bothered by their children attending Sunday school because they all took the day off on Sundays.

The system initially recruited both Christian and non-Christian teachers for the primary school. Unfortunately, they found that some of their non-Christian teachers would not adhere to the moral standards of conduct that they expected teachers to possess. Two non-Christian teachers in the elementary school were fired because of their addiction to opium. The incident led the Presbyterian Conference of Formosa to ban the practice of hiring non-Christian teachers

¹⁶¹ A type of education claims to educate "the whole child and student as a whole, and to see child as a part of whole." However, what the "whole" means is not clearly defined. Please see S. H. Forbes, *Holistic Education: An Analysis of Its Intellectual Precedents and Nature* (Oxford, UK: University of Oxford, 1999), 2.

¹⁶² Jiaying Lin, "A Study of the Development of Sunday School in Presbyterian Church in Taiwan," (MA Thesis, National Taiwan Normal University, 2006), 79.

in 1885.¹⁶³ From that point on, Church brethren were recruited to teach on a part-time basis and traveling preachers filled the other teaching needs for the school.¹⁶⁴

Their curriculum was grounded in POJ and scriptural studies but they also offered classes on non-religious subjects including mathematics, geography, and Chinese studies.¹⁶⁵ Expanding the curricula helped the schools attract more students. One of the main reasons the school adopted a general curriculum instead of continuing to only cover religious topics was that religious education did not fulfill the government's prerequisites for entering middle school. Since middle school graduates could serve as elementary teachers in the Presbyterian system, they were expected to possess a certain amount of knowledge.¹⁶⁶ Primary school, in contrast to religious learning in Sunday schools, was designed to prepare students for secondary education. The Church's primary school offered an expansion of the curriculum they offered in Sunday school over the course of a longer school day.

Many of the Church's elementary school graduates went on to pursue training at Tainan seminary. Since the Church did not have a middle school before 1885, seminary training was one of the only options available for further education. The theological college also had a shortage of students and most students only needed a recommendation from a church member to gain admission. In *Taiwan Church News*, the following accounts of two Presbyterian elementary

¹⁶³ Campbell, *Handbook of the English Presbyterian Mission in South Formosa*, 288.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 276.

¹⁶⁵ However, church elementary school put special importance on POJ and Chinese script. The exam and class schedules of Nâ hōo church elementary school dwelled on the weight of these two subjects. Every Saturday, the school tested students on POJ writing and reading, mathematics, and Chinese-character reading and writing practice. The teacher Ņg Sin-kí recorded that everyday teaching started with explaining a section of Bible and then praying before reading the Chinese classics. A short recitation of Chinese articles would come before one-page Chinese-character practices. Prior to dismissal for lunch, the teacher would give a lesson on mathematics. In the afternoon, after reading POJ and writing 1-2 passages from the Bible, the class was allowed to take a short break. After the interval, they read POJ Bible until it was time for individual studies. During lesson review, the teacher would make corrections on students' POJ and character-writing practices. When it was close to sunset, the entire class recited several pages of Four Books and Three-Character Classics with a subsequent textual annotation and the day's studies were at an end. See Ņg Sin-kí, "Siau-sit" (News), *TCN*, August 1894, 82-83.

¹⁶⁶ Anonymous, "Tāi-huē ê Ki-liók" (Minutes of the Synod), *TCN*, December 1885, 34.

school graduates demonstrate that morality was a more important factor for seminary admission than academic training in its early years. The accounts demonstrate both the shortage of seminarians and the lack of a complete western education system.

The first case discusses Tiō Sî-hôe's experience of studying to become a clergyman with the moral endorsement of Rev. Barclay. Tiō learned to read and write POJ at the Tang-káng 東港 Church primary school.¹⁶⁷ One day, Rev. Barclay met Tiō on one of his regular visits to Tang-káng Church and found him to be a diligent boy with a promising future. Barclay brought him to Taiwan-fu and employed him at the church as an assistant in order to strengthen his spiritual development and enrich his life experiences. The minister was satisfied with Tiō's moral conduct, and recommended him as a candidate in the theological college in Tainan. During his college life, Tiō got along well with all his classmates and showed sincere respect to his professors. In Tiō's case, Rev Barclay's recommendation made up for the fact that Tiō did not have a middle school diploma. Tiō was not admitted simply because he was literate in POJ but because the people of the Taiwan-fu parish helped him cultivate the morality that was required to become a seminarian.

In the second case, the life of Rev. Chhî Chhun-ki and his journey from a disadvantaged child to a respected pastor also demonstrates the influence a Presbyterian education could have on the social status of poor Taiwanese. Chhî, a local of Fengshan 鳳山 County, lost his father in early childhood. Without their main breadwinner, the family fell apart. His mother remarried and Chhî had no choice but to become a child laborer at a very early age to feed himself. His employer was the husband of a plains native who invited Chhî to church. He enrolled in the

¹⁶⁷ Lâu Chùn-sîn, "Tiō Sî-hôe ê Sió-tōan" (An Biography of Zhao Shihui), *TCN*, October 1909, 84.

church's elementary school in 1871 at the age of eighteen.¹⁶⁸ Two years after he began attending the school, at the age of twenty, he was baptized. The next year, the seminary was in need of students. Many of his fellow parishioners thought that he was highly eligible, so they asked their minister to recommend him.¹⁶⁹ After graduation, Chhî and Tiō both served as pastors in suburban churches.

The Education Edict for Public School, promulgated by the Governor-general's Office, increased the difficulties that church affiliated elementary school administrators had in attracting new students in 1898.¹⁷⁰ The South Mission Council was very distressed about the difficulties that their elementary schools experienced because of this act.¹⁷¹ The edict announced that all Taiwanese school-aged students were eligible for Japanese public school for free. In spite of the anger of their congregants, the Presbyterian elementary schools could no longer retain a sufficient number of students.

After 1898, the Council gradually closed all the church elementary schools. Enrollments in the Presbyterian schools did not drop simply because of the educational reform sponsored by the colonial government. Taiwanese parents had ongoing concerns about their children's ability to pursue further education after they graduated from church-sponsored schools. Church school graduates had to learn Japanese for several years before they could become students in the

¹⁶⁸ According to this news, an elementary school was opened in 1871. But we have no further information about it including discussion of curricula and school faculty. It could be the author's misinformation in year.

¹⁶⁹ Phian-chip-sek, "Chhî sian-si" Chhun-ki ê sió-toān" (A biography of Mr. Xu Chunzhi), *TCN*, August 1907, 60. The College was officially founded in 1880. Sources suggest that college-level training began informally somewhat earlier than 1880.

¹⁷⁰ After the promulgation, a number of church parents switched their children to government-funded schools for ages ranged from 8 to 14 years old. Due to the influx of pupils into public schools, church elementary schools were gradually abolished and replaced by official-supported education.

¹⁷¹ Jiaying Lin, "A Study of the Development of Sunday School in Presbyterian Church in Taiwan," 43.

Japanese educational system. Students who earned their primary school degrees from public schools did not encounter that problem.¹⁷²

Middle School

The Presbyterians founded a middle school in Tainan in 1885 to provide teenagers with religious instruction and an expanded general education. They expected their graduates would benefit the church as well as the society. The first middle school taught Chinese characters, reading literacy in POJ, geography, mathematics, world history, and astronomy.¹⁷³ In order to attract more students, the first-year class accepted illiterate students who were twelve years old and over. They only requested a small registration fee: ten *yuan* for a year's worth of meals since it was a boarding school.¹⁷⁴ The Church waived fees for the poor who were eager to learn but could not afford to attend. The first principal, George Ede (1856-1905), urged the rich in the church to help the poor pay their school fees by offering them financial support.¹⁷⁵

Starting in July 1886, the middle school began to enforce proficiency in POJ as a prerequisite for enrollment. Teachers saved time by not having to teach basic POJ language classes.¹⁷⁶ Students were supposed to use POJ to further their knowledge acquisition. The middle school's administrators set their sights on helping students engage in more sophisticated learning than they undertook in elementary school. By the end of the third decade of the colonial

¹⁷² Moreover, school administrators also had concerns about the ability of Christian families to afford to send their children to elementary schools full-time. The school administrators' concerns reflect the fact that church-sponsored primary schools were mostly targeted to Christian children, and in many cases Taiwanese Christian families needed their children to work in addition to going to school. Even so, Sunday schools and elementary schools were not strictly restricted to Christian children. Some churches even accepted as many as 50% non-Christian students. See "Chiong-hoà Chú-jit-òh" (Sunday Schools in Zhanghua), *TCN*, June 1914, 4, and "Chú-jit-òh" (Sunday school), *TCN*, January 1914, 4.

¹⁷³ Anonymous, "Lūn siat-lip tiong-òh," (A discussion of founding a middle school), *TCN*, June 1885, 3.

¹⁷⁴ George Ede, "Formosa—Opening of Middle School," *EPM*, January 1886, 11-12.

¹⁷⁵ Moreover, to carry out his educational philosophy, he strongly advocated that the church should start a holistic educational system starting with elementary school through middle school, to college. Anonymous, "Tāi-hōe ê kí-liók," (Minutes of the Synod), *TCN*, December 1885, 34-35.

¹⁷⁶ Anonymous, "kàu-hōe ê siat-sit," (News from the church), *TCN*, July 1886, 89.

period, students were still required to be able to read POJ before they could be admitted to the Presbyterian middle school. The POJ writing system functioned throughout the Japanese colonial era as a channel of access to classical Chinese studies and Western knowledge and science in school.

The middle school enlightened young adults through Confucian classics transliterated in POJ. In 1885, Principal Ede annotated and transcribed *Sām jū keng* 三字經 (Three-Character Classic), a textbook in which Chinese characters, POJ, and transcribed annotations were printed side-by-side in columns (Fig. 8). After its publication in 1897, the book became a required text for the entrance examination for the middle school.¹⁷⁷ The POJ promoter, Rev. Barclay praised the text in the press. He believed that there was no transliterated book in China better than Ede's. It was useful for both students and foreign teachers who were unfamiliar with Chinese characters. The annotations also provided careful and detailed explanations of the historical background of the original text.¹⁷⁸ Ede's book demonstrated the importance of teaching Chinese history, virtues, and worldview in Taiwan. School administrators wanted their students to internalize a Christian understanding of these Chinese texts. They were not simply teaching a Confucian interpretation of the text. Southern Fujianese language speakers and foreign missionaries were interpreting these texts very differently than their Chinese peers.

The Chinese Classics written in characters were interpreted in different ways in pre-modern China. Scholars debated how to identify Confucian philosophy and morality through the texts. The various annotations by later scholars created more contradictory interpretations for readers to consider. In spite of these difficulties, foreign missionaries devoted themselves to

¹⁷⁷ Houji Chang, "One-Hundred-Year History of Private Chang Jung Middle School, 1885-1985," (Tainan: Chang Jung Middle School, 1991), 23.

¹⁷⁸ Rev. Barclay, "Formosa," *EPM*, April 1895, 84.

learning Chinese culture via classical Chinese texts. Missionaries believed that they had a responsibility to familiarize themselves with Chinese culture.¹⁷⁹ Even though they desired to learn from the texts, foreigners' ability to interpret these texts was hindered by their lack of higher level of education in Chinese intellectual history and culture.

POJ transcribers created their own alternative interpretations of Chinese texts. For local Taiwanese pupils, they might include an imagined collective memory of China or an interpretation of Chinese culture that fit the needs of the missionary teachers. It is possible that foreign ministers lacked sufficient knowledge of the texts they were transcribing in order to do so accurately. On the other hand, church transcribers like Ede chose to manipulate their readers' interpretation of classical Chinese texts via their own annotations. A remarkable example of this phenomena is the interpretation of the parallel phrase "Men at their birth are naturally good" (*ren zhi chu, xing ben shan* 人之初, 性本善). Ede's POJ version includes an annotation that says "Three-Character Classic indicates a contradictory instruction from our Bible which teaches us that men are sinful at birth. The sin is inherited from our ancestors Adam and Eve..."¹⁸⁰ Through these annotations romanized Confucian Classics became a cultural medium for teaching Christianity. Transcribers compared and privileged Christian ideas over Confucian ideas in texts that were originally designed to teach Confucianism. The annotated POJ texts were designed to shift Taiwanese students' understanding away from traditional Confucian morality.¹⁸¹ The

¹⁷⁹ Starting from the top-down spiritual principles of the emperors was recommended. The decision made by South Mission Council to include the Campbell's transcription of the *Edict* into the examination subjects for foreign ministers weighted the importance of the POJ version, especially if exam-takers decided not to take the plunge to read the Chinese *Edict*. Rev. William Campbell trans., *The Sacred Edict--Translated into the Vernacular of the Bible Used Throughout Chinchew, Changchew and Formosa* (Amoy: The Poe-Bun-Tsai Press, 1908), preface.

¹⁸⁰ I Jiâu-lí (George Ede), *Sām jū keng Sin choān pèk-ōa chū kái* (New Interpretation of the *Three-Character Classic* in POJ 三字經新撰白話註解) (Tâi-lâm: Tâi-lâm Hú-sia, 1894), 2.

¹⁸¹ It is similar to transcribed books such as *Zhongguo lidai pulue* 中國歷代譜略 (Chinese Historical Periods, 1890) and *Wanguo jilu* 萬國輯錄 (World Georagphy, 1887)

Church included Christian education materials in the middle school's curriculum by adapting *Three-Character Classic* to help them proselytize teenagers. The content of the teaching materials were completely different from the conventional Chinese interpretation of the text.

POJ not only made Confucian Classics readable for Taiwanese students, it also made it possible to introduce Western subjects such as physiology, physics, arithmetic, and gymnastics.¹⁸² Some of these subjects had more or less appeared in Chinese publications but were not all included in secondary school curriculums. By 1895, traditional Chinese academies in Taiwan continued to focus on literary studies to help students pass the civil service examinations. The overemphasis upon preparation for the exams meant that students in the Chinese academies often received insufficient science education. Students studying for the civil service exams were not required to study physiology, so they did not study it. In contrast, the Presbyterian schools included Sin-thé lí-hák 身體理學 (physiology) classes which gave students a basic knowledge of how the body works. Church educators believed that God created the human body. Learning to take care of their bodies was a way for students to honor God by caring for His creations.¹⁸³

Presbyterian educators placed an equal emphasis on learning how to read and write in POJ. Learning to read POJ might allow a person to transform his or her social status from illiterate to literate; learning to write POJ made it possible for a person to become a scholar. The school acknowledged the differences between reading and writing. Initially, in 1895, students were required to read in POJ to enter the middle school; the ability to write in POJ became the

¹⁸² Chang, "One-Hundred-Year History of Private Chang Jung Middle School, 1885-1985," 32.

¹⁸³ Kó lōng-sū chūi keng tōng, *Sin-thé-lí chóng lūn* (A Brief Introduction of physiology) (Amoy: Kó lōng-sū chūi - keng -tōng, 1896), 1.

prerequisite for admission to the middle school in the next school year.¹⁸⁴ Students were sorted into grade levels based on their degree of reading and writing fluency in POJ.

The *Taiwan Church News* began to publish students' essays written in POJ in order to give them a forum for practicing written communication. POJ writers' cultural status improved because they could create their own works for publications. The newspaper also published an honor roll to reward excellent students for their academic achievements.¹⁸⁵ Being listed on a public honor roll was a novel idea in Taiwan for motivating students to study hard. POJ publications created a new Taiwanese social group who wrote in a language that had not been recognized by any previous political regime.

The South Mission Council frequently sponsored essay competitions and posted winning articles as praiseworthy models in the newspaper. They hoped to encourage more people to write publications in POJ. Prizes for the top essays were highly desirable. In the 1889 essay competition on "Lī-ik gín-ná ê lūn" 利益孩子的論 (Essays on benefits for children), each of the first-prize winners received four *yuan*; the second place were awarded half that amount, and so on.¹⁸⁶ Considering that five *yuan* paid for one semester of middle-school meals in 1889,¹⁸⁷ the awards were an excellent motivation for young writers. The essays were not limited to religious topics. The laity were welcome to join the competition as long as their submitted works satisfied the selection criteria from the South Mission Council.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁴ Anonymous, "Tiong-óh," (Middle school), *TCN*, October 1893, 114.

¹⁸⁵ Anonymous, "Tiong-óh," (Middle school), *TCN*, January 1895, 3.

¹⁸⁶ Anonymous, "Lī-ik gín-ná ê lūn" (Essays on benefits for children), *TCN*, May 1889, 39.

¹⁸⁷ Middle school teachers' monthly salaries ranged from 7 to 10 *yuan*, depending on their teaching experience. For example, Gōo Kuah's (1853-1901) salary in 1888 was 10 *yuan* per month but Phun bêng-chu's (1864-1899) salary in 1894 was only seven dollars. A Japanese-Taiwanese interpreter earned 12 *yuan* in 1896. See *One-Hundred-Year History of Private Chang Jing Middle School, 1885-1895*, 17, 22, and 32.

¹⁸⁸ Ng Goát-tek (1843-1907), as an example, was in charge of the renovation of school and church buildings in southern Taiwan. Serving as the laity for dozens of years, he decided not to be baptized until he was forty-six. By then, he smoked opium, milked a cow for missionaries, and worked as a colporteur. Thanks to his close connection with the church, he studied POJ hard, and that earned him the great reputation of a top-ranking essay published in

The Middle School's Encounter with Colonialism

The Japanese Empire was not initially aware that supporting POJ-based education might hinder the adoption of the Japanese language. At the time Japanese was not the central language in the Christian middle school but it was becoming the language of Taiwan's job market.¹⁸⁹ The school did not make Japanese a required course until 1904. In 1906, the 5th Governor-General, Sakuma Samata 佐久間 左馬太 (1844-1915), recognized the Presbyterian middle school as a registered private school (Fig. 9).¹⁹⁰ Official recognition brought the school into the educational market in competition with Japanese public schools. The middle school's policies and academic subjects were matched to the state's course of linguistic education. After this adjustment, the middle school graduates could continue their education in Japanese schools.¹⁹¹ From 1911 on, the national language, Japanese, was part of the material covered in the middle school's entrance examinations along with other requirements, including passing POJ, *Three Character Classic*, and arithmetic exams.¹⁹² Taiwanese Christian education was a multilingual endeavor because Japan's colonial language policy required students to learn Japanese in school. Chinese characters, POJ, Japanese, and English were all taught in the school, and the southern Fujianese language remained the most common spoken tongue.¹⁹³

the *Church News*. It was such an unprecedented case that the church authorities urged that all Christians in southern areas of Taiwan to read this model essay by a non-Christian. See *TCN*, July 1886, 91-94; Maoqing Huang, *Ninety-Year History of Thài-Pêng-Kéng Maxwell Memorial Church* (Tainan: Thài-pêng-kéng Maxwell Memorial Church 1988), 146-47.

¹⁸⁹ Ko Thian-sù, "Tiong-ôh khah hó á-si Jit-pún óh khah hó?" (Taiwanese middle school is better or Japanese public school is better?), *TCN*, February 1897, 15.

¹⁹⁰ The document noting the approval of the founding a private middle school (under the name 私立臺南長老教會高等學校) by the Governor-General of Taiwan, Sakuma Samata 佐久間 左馬太 (1844-1915), is stored at private Chang Jung Senior High School.

¹⁹¹ Bân Êng-hôa, "Tiong-ôh ê Kò-péh," (Announcement from the middle school), *TCN*, March 1915, 11.

¹⁹² Liâm Tek-liát, "Tiong-ôh ê Kò-péh," (Announcement from the middle school), *TCN*, January 1911, 3.

¹⁹³ Anonymous, "Tiong-ôh ê Khó" (Courses in middle school), *TCN*, August 1904, 71.

The Presbyterian Church schools administrators stayed out of trouble with the Japanese colonial government for the most part. Both educational systems coexisted peacefully until 1919, although the general curricula were designed differently. The 1919 Education Law regulated school education in regards to particular ritual practices. On national holidays, to reinforce Japanese nationalism, all schools had to hold a national worship ceremony in honor of Prince Kitashirakawa Yoshihisa of Japan 北白川宮能久親王 (1847-1895).¹⁹⁴ In the same year, the Presbyterian middle school's administrators were asked to re-register the school as an authorized private institute. In the beginning, they did not take the request of re-registration seriously and ignored the 1919 Law because Christians only worship God so it would be sacrilegious to hold a worship service for the Emperor. The administrators' refusal to re-register the middle school did not create an open conflict.

Unfortunately their refusal made their graduates ineligible for admission to public high schools and national colleges. Colonial post-middle education administrators in Taiwan refused to recognize the middle school's diplomas as long as they were not compliant with the 1919 Law. Under the circumstances, Presbyterian middle school students had no choice but to transfer to schools in Japan to continue their education. The Church decided to re-register the school as a private institution in order to enable their students to pursue further education in Taiwan.¹⁹⁵

During the process of re-registration, Japanese authorities attempted to force the Presbyterian schools to stop teaching classes in POJ. Izawa Shūji, a minister of Academic Affairs under Taiwan governor-general, designated by the Taiwan Sōtokufu, criticized the school for teaching in POJ and argued that conducting classes in POJ dangerously undermined

¹⁹⁴ Xiqing Xu, "Regulations of Taiwan Public General High School," *Taiwan Jiaoyu yange zhi* (History of Taiwan Education during Colonial Period) (Nantou: Academia Historica, 2010), 348-51.

¹⁹⁵ Edward Band, "New Education Edict, 1919," 25.

reverence toward the Emperor. He contended that Presbyterian missionaries were resisting Japanese cultural education by using POJ.¹⁹⁶ In order to escape their legal difficulties, the Church recruited Japanese educators to teach Japanese. They also seized every opportunity to exhibit how the schools were successful and well-managed under the Empire's domination in order to administrate the school as it was and continue using POJ.¹⁹⁷ All of the students worked cautiously and fearfully to prepare for regular examinations that were made by the Inspector's Office. From the perspective of the Head of Civilian Affairs, their behavior demonstrated the success of civilized education led by the colonial government.¹⁹⁸ In consideration of the middle school graduates' future careers, school administrators showed compliance with the colonial law even as the church aimed to maximize Taiwanese missions in education as well as medical service. The school continued using POJ and the southern Fujianese language as the main school language throughout the colonial period.

POJ in Girls' and Women's Education

The Church recognized that women should be educated since they played a central role in raising the next generation and maintaining family morality. Scottish ministers observed that some Taiwanese elite families sent their unmarried daughters to Chinese schools. In order to be able to teach their future children, girls were permitted to go to school if their families could afford it. Many families in Taiwan would not invest in a woman's education because they did not see a reason to do so.¹⁹⁹ In the Scottish evangelists' minds, Scottish girls received their

¹⁹⁶ Shinano Kyōikukai ed. *Isawa Shūji senshū* (Anthology of Isawa Shūji) (Nagano: Shinano Kyōikukai, 1958), 571.

¹⁹⁷ Edward Band, "Tainan Middle School, Report for 1926," *EPM*, April 1927, 337-38.

¹⁹⁸ Anonymous, "Bîn cheng tiú-koa sūn Tiong-ôh" (The head of civilian affairs at Taiwan Sōtokufu inspected the middle school), *TCN*, July 1917, 2-3.

¹⁹⁹ R. A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Illiteracy and Society in Scotland and Northern England, 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 127.

education in a similar manner to Taiwanese girls. They typically received as much education via informal methods as they did through public schools. Self-teaching and dame schools which were designed to educate poor women were increasingly common in Scotland by the 18th century. By 1872, disadvantaged groups of people in Scotland enjoyed access to school education or informal studies.

Formal education and learning are different matters.²⁰⁰ Generally, writing or reading literacy was closely associated with the pursuit of formal academic study. In the Chinese context, literacy was taught through a variety of activities including reading and writing in classical Chinese. Chinese character readers proved they were literate by reading the governor's posted announcements, prescriptions, family letters, bills, and property contracts. Nevertheless, school was not considered necessary for everyone, particularly for women. Women could study at home to become literate.

Literacy education was also a gendered process in Taiwan. A traditional girls' education in Taiwan included instruction on morality that was based on Chinese classics taught in private academies or with tutors. Private Chinese instructors taught girls by having them read the *Nü lunyu* 女論語 (Female Analects), *Three-Character Classic*, *Xiao Jing* 孝經 (The Classic of Filial Piety), *Lienü zhuan* 列女傳 (*Biographies of Exemplary Women*), and *Guize* 閨則 (Rules in Female Chamber).²⁰¹ Although some girls attended mixed gender classes in private Chinese academies, their teachers made it plain that literacy would not be of use to them and that sewing, cooking and other domestic duties should be their focus. Girls did not practice their writing skills but were instead urged to derive knowledge from reading. Their education was designed to

²⁰⁰ B.V. Street, *Cross-Cultural Approaches to Literacy* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), 169.

²⁰¹ Ningyan Liu, *Second Edition of Gazetteer of Taiwan Prefecture*, Vol. 6 (Taipei: Academia Historica, 1994), 103.

make them good wives and mothers, not to help them contribute to scholarly debates. Girls only made up 0.2 percent of registered students in Chinese academies in Taiwan in 1898.²⁰²

As early as 1879, Rev. Hugh Ritchie (1835-1879) planned to begin offering girls' education.²⁰³ The first modern middle school was designed for male students only.²⁰⁴ The Presbyterian Church Girls' school did not open until Feb. 14, 1887 due to the lack of institutional support and staff. The school accepted girls who were nine years old and older. To attract students, they charged a relatively low tuition of four *yuan* per year, only half that of the middle school.

Taiwanese parents in southern Taiwan allowed girls to attend Christian schools so they could learn to read the Bible not so they could study academic subjects. In the beginning, missionary teachers had to persuade parents that girls should be educated. The parents, however, were hesitant about sending unmarried girls to boarding school. In the first semester, the school only had 18 students: 13 girls lived with their schoolmates and 5 commuted between home and school every day in Tainan.

Christian girls' education equipped them with reading literacy in POJ and moral cultivation. School subjects included POJ studies, Chinese classics, arithmetic, family hygiene, parenting, physiology, bible studies and a variety of sewing techniques. Christian girls' education in Taiwan was partially based on the Chinese traditional perception of women. Teachers used *Lí-ke Iàu-Liòk* 理家要略 (Principles of Family Management) and *Tāi-bêng Jîn Hào Hông-hō Lōe-hùn* 大明仁孝皇后內訓 (Internal Principles by Queen Renxiao of the Ming Dynasty) in POJ in the early years to make girls virtuous, well-mannered and intelligent. The

²⁰² Association of Taiwan Education Ed., *History of Taiwan Education* (Taipei: Nantian Publisher, 1939), 84.

²⁰³ Campbell, *Handbook of the South Formosa Mission*, June 11, 1879, 47:3.

²⁰⁴ Chang, "One-Hundred-Year History of Private Chang Jung Middle School, 1885-1985," 539.

texts used in the school were POJ transcriptions of Chinese morality texts.²⁰⁵ The texts the Presbyterian missionaries used for female education were written specifically for female audiences. They were designed to reinforce traditional gender identities and perpetuate the associations between women and the home that were expressed in the Chinese texts.²⁰⁶

Four years earlier, in 1883, Rev. Mackay founded Tamsui Girls' School, the first northern Christian girls' school, in northern Taiwan. Before this school officially became the Tamsui Girls' School, it was essentially a female educational camp where Mackay attempted to recruit the daughters of non-Christian farmers, labors, and merchants to be students.²⁰⁷ The school was sponsored by the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. They hired native teachers and requested instructors from Oxford College to co-teach. Unlike the school in the south, it had less well-equipped school facilities and classrooms. Teachers were unpaid, as the founder spent the available funds to build the school. Most of the time, experienced or elderly Christian volunteers taught POJ and catechisms. In Mackay's opinion, girls did not need to master the use of Chinese characters, or learn sewing from foreign women because the native girls were already experts in embroidery. His primary objective was for all the girls to read the Bible in POJ.

This girls' school selected native students so they could train them to be evangelists. Consequently the school taught fewer Western school subjects by comparison with its southern counterpart. Bible study was prioritized over all of the school's other curriculum. Girls read, wrote, sang hymns, and studied geography and history through the Bible. In order to be able to

²⁰⁵ Chang Jung Girl's Senior High School, *The One-Hundred-Year History of Private Chang Jung Girl's Senior High School, 1887-1987* (Tainan: Private Chang Jung Girl's Senior High School, 1987), 46.

²⁰⁶ So far, I have not seen POJ transcriptions of Japanese cultural texts on womanhood. They probably had some, but I have not seen extant materials that showed that the church or the school taught the Japanese ideas of morality. The curricula in the middle and girls' schools were completely different from the Japanese public school's curricula.

²⁰⁷ Mackay, *From Far Formosa: The Island, Its People and Missions*, 305.

serve the church as soon as possible, they also studied catechisms as well as other necessary religious knowledge. Mackay believed that these promising female Christian evangelists experienced a healthier life at the learning center because of their studies.²⁰⁸ He also insisted that hiring native female missionaries rather than foreigners was a wise plan. He observed that foreigners in Taiwan had difficulty getting used to local customs, weather, and language. Foreign female missionaries also had to be sent back home if they became ill which wasted time and money. Moreover, the salary of a native woman was a tenth of the salary of a foreign missionary. They also believed that potential converts would feel more at ease with native missionaries who had a good command of the language and customs by comparison with foreign female missionaries who were struggling to speak the language. Native evangelists were also very successful at converting their sisters, friends, neighbors, and relatives.²⁰⁹

Mackay's contemporaries, including Marjorie Landsborough (1884-1984), the wife of a missionary doctor, wrote about the native women's success in converting their families. Their stories demonstrate that Taiwanese women possessed religious autonomy from the late Qing period on. Landsborough's manuscript discusses the role that women's family gatherings played in conversions. One of the most interesting stories described the successful conversion of a high-ranking lady, Mrs. Six, by an evangelist named Mrs. Righteousness. Mrs. Six visited a Christian church where she met Mrs. Righteousness. Afterward she invited Mrs. Righteousness to her home to teach her family POJ. During the visit, Mrs. Six lay on a sleeping couch and smoked opium. She was surrounded by concubines and her fellow wives. Although Mrs. Six's husband, Squire Li, objected to his wives studying POJ and practicing Christianity, both Mrs. Six and Squire Li's second wife decided to accept baptism. A number of their maidservants also

²⁰⁸ Ibid.,306.

²⁰⁹ Mackay, "Lün koo-niû" (Essays on female missionaries), *Tâi-pak ê kì-liòk* (Records of Taipei), Manuscript.

converted. As a result of their conversion, the concubines sought drug treatment at Canadian Presbyterian Mission Hospital in Taihoku (now Taipei) so that they could stop using opium.²¹⁰

It was a cultural innovation for Taiwan that the Church allowed married women into schools instead of forcing individuals to hire family tutors. Teaching married women enabled schools to conduct an alternative and public assessment of literacy. In Taiwan, women's household tasks included sewing, cooking, and managing domestic relationships; only a minority of them managed their household accounts. Financial management, which required reading literacy, was typically a man's task in the family. School training helped wives take care of household tasks, and it also facilitated these women's social tasks, e.g. evangelism, outside of the home. Most graduates of women's school were expected to serve the church and missionary hospitals.

The Presbyterian Church's choice to offer married women's education was unprecedented. The Church allowed married women to enroll in the Women's Bible School in southern Taiwan and the Women's School in northern Taiwan. The Women's Bible School, founded in 1896 by Miss Margaret Barnett (?-1933), accommodated women who were too old to attend the Girls schools or who suffered from family problems.²¹¹

In 1910, the Women's School admitted elderly women to pursue a two-year program, focused on Bible studies, POJ, singing, Chinese characters, and Japanese.²¹² These students increased women's visibility in their male-centric society and expanded their career opportunities

²¹⁰ Marjorie Landsborough, *Stories from Formosa & More Stories from Formosa* (Tainan: Church News Publisher, reprint, 2004), 140-51.

²¹¹ C.H. and Cheng Hus, L. M. eds., *A Centennial History of the Presbyterian Church of Formosa, 1865-1965* (Tainan: Presbyterian Church of Formosa centenary publication committee, 2000), 187.

²¹² Board of Foreign Mission of Presbyterian Church in Canada, *Report of the Board of Foreign Mission of Presbyterian Church in Canada for 1911* (Toronto: Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1912), 114.

in the process.²¹³ Most students, however, did not complete a degree for various reasons.²¹⁴ These schools hoped to improve the financial and social well-being of lower income women through education. Learning POJ and being able to read the Scriptures improved the students' capacity to participate in society in meaningful ways. A women's school where the curriculum was limited to learning the Bible and POJ helped marginalized women confidently venture into the world with support from the church.

POJ and the Bible were the core subjects in the schools because the female students were being trained as missionaries and church workers. They were also required to preach in missionary church hospitals, if needed. In hospital wards, these groups of female laborers developed a novel occupation as working women. Female clergywomen taught patients POJ in waiting rooms; moreover, religious teaching on the wards was the most important opportunity to convert the sick to Christianity.²¹⁵ Female preachers from the Women's Bible School and the Women's School were in charge of evangelical work in hospital rooms as long as their audience showed an interest in learning about God.²¹⁶

Learning POJ improved women's education and social position. POJ advocate Cai Peihuo believed that men looked down on women in Taiwan for their lack of education. Educating women through POJ, in Cai's understanding, would push men to respect them more.²¹⁷ This Taiwanese scholar argued that women were given fewer opportunities for education so that they could focus on looking after their children and families due to their husbands' selfishness

²¹³ Board of Foreign Mission of Presbyterian Church in Canada, *Report of the Board of Foreign Mission of Presbyterian Church in Canada for 1921* (Toronto: Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1922), 82.

²¹⁴ The most famous example was Ciwang Iwal, a native woman whose marriage fell apart and who appealed to the church. She later became the mother of a native church.

²¹⁵ Duncan Macleod, *The Island Beautiful* (Toronto: Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1923), 202.

²¹⁶ Hildur Hermanson, Zhuo Banghong trans., "My Life," *An Anniversary Issue—The One Hundred and Fifth Year of Mackey Memorial Hospital* (Taipei: Mackey Memorial Hospital, 1985), 287.

²¹⁷ Pôe-hôe Chhòa, Lūn Lú-chú ê tãi-chì" (Views of women's positions), *Cháp-Hāng Koán-Kiàn* (Ten essays about Taiwan 十項管見) (Tâi-lâm Sin-lâu Chheh-pâng, 1925), 56-74.

which prevented women from being as well educated as men. Cai urged that women should go to school so they could fulfill their obligation to raise good citizens. Moreover, as he believed, women were mothers who served as their children's teachers. Being literate would help them contribute more to the running of their households.²¹⁸ Cai's rationale for bolstering female education mirrored the aims of female education that were regulated in Japan's 1919 Taiwan Education Law.²¹⁹ The colonial government assured that women should be educated so that they could become good wives and wise mothers (ryōsai kenbo 良妻賢母).

The curricula in the Girls' School in Tamsui demonstrates that Chinese, Christian, and Japanese ideologies about women's education had coalesced. Unlike the Western subjects taught at the Presbyterian middle school, girls received a series of religious and home management courses, including Bible study, music, languages (POJ, Chinese characters, English, and Japanese), arithmetic, family hygiene, and Western-style sewing.²²⁰ Taiwanese Christian women's and girl's education was designed to make women better housewives and mothers by nurturing their Christian faith. Since their emphasis was on making women better mothers, one of the women's schools allowed married female students to live with their children in single sex dorms.²²¹

The Role of POJ in Medical Training and Evangelism in Missionary Hospitals

Church leaders believed that providing medical services was as important as their educational mission in Taiwan. They created the *same mission* in medical service for Taiwan

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Chien-ming Yu, *The Women Education in Taiwan under Japanese Rule (1895-1945)* (Taipei: Institute of History, National Normal Univ., 1988), 270-71. The 1919 Education Law promulgated that General Girls' High Schools were the venue where students acquired useful knowledge and skills for life and cultivated female virtues.

²²⁰ Board of Foreign Mission of Presbyterian Church in Canada, *Report of the Board of Foreign Mission of Presbyterian Church in Canada for 1907* (Toronto: Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1908), 104.

²²¹ TamKang Senior High School Ed., *History of Tamkang Senior High School* (Taipei: TamKang Senior High School, 1997), 130.

that they used in Shantou and Amoy.²²² Missionaries did not create medical missions solely to promote conversions; there was a genuine need for medical treatment in Taiwan. The first Presbyterian Church missionary to Taiwan, James Laidlaw Maxwell (1836-1921) was a doctor.²²³ His first impression of the island was that beggars' untreated sores and unwashed bodies filled the air with terrible smells.²²⁴ A lack of hygiene and medical care caused fatal diseases in these people.²²⁵ After Maxwell's arrival, a temporary clinic was immediately founded in Taiwan-fu (later moved to Dakao). The poor sanitation and the lack of western medical care encouraged Presbyterian missionaries and doctors to provide medical services. Impoverished native Taiwanese patients were not only in need of medical care; they were not able to afford care from traditional Chinese doctors. It also happened in northern Taiwan. Based on his medical training, the Canadian missionary George L. Mackay found a desperate need to offer simple treatments such as dental extraction, surgery assistance, and prescribing quinine for malaria, sometimes for free. In his diary, Mackay regularly ordered Western medicine and medical supplies from Europe.

Church authorities were concerned about the effectiveness and appropriateness of making medical missions a strategy for evangelism in Taiwan. Rev. Campbell Naismith Moody (1865-

²²² Rev. Carstairs Douglas, "A Visit to Formosa," *EPM*, October 1, 1860. Medical missions were considered one of the most effective strategies in the evangelical career. For more information, please see Peter Williams, "Healing and Evangelism: The Place of Medicine in Late Victorian Protestant Missionary Thinking," in W.J. Sheils, ed. *The Church and Healing: Papers Read at the Twentieth Summer Meeting and the Twenty-First Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (UK: Ecclesiastical History Society, 1982).

²²³ He was a graduate from the University of Edinburgh who later worked for the General Hospital, Birmingham.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*

²²⁵ According to the *Medical Reports*, authored by European doctors between 1871 and 1895 (a medical report from 1871 to 1895 recorded by foreign doctors hired by the Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs Service in Taiwan-fu and Takao), malarial fever, syphilis, diseases of the eye, leprosy, and rheumatism were the most common diseases in Taiwan. A number of missionaries suffered from malaria themselves, including Rev. Mackay and Barclay; Rev. Hugh Ritchie even died of it. Under-developed public hygiene, an unfavorable natural environment, and fatal epidemic diseases created a high demand for medical care. Mackay was also concerned that repeated illness would hinder foreign missionaries from being effective in the medical field, particularly female missionaries. See Wenfeng Dai, "Medical Reports of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs Service and Diseases," *Thoughts and Words* 33: 2 (1995): 157-211.

1940) praised medical missions, but he also wondered to what extent a doctor should attempt to convert his patients to Christianity. During their practices, doctors also rarely had enough time to witness to their patients, let alone busy doctors like Dr. David Landsborough (1870-1957) whose hospital was always bursting at the seams. His "long-suffering-kindness" earned him a beautiful reputation but also contributed to the natives' uncertainties about his motivations for caring for them.²²⁶ Some locals believed that Western doctors were a group of professionals healing people for small money or free and asking nothing in return.²²⁷

Missionary doctors had an absolute faith that patients' acceptance of their treatment signified that the patients believed in their charismatic power and their capacity to heal illnesses.²²⁸ They also believed that treating patients helped demonstrate God's love and benevolence over human beings one and all, rich and poor alike.²²⁹ Even though Taiwanese patients wondered about the motivation behind the free treatment, doctors worked tirelessly and even fell ill due to overwork.²³⁰

After three decades in Taiwan, the doctors gradually discovered that they needed help from medical specialists to meet the demand for health care.²³¹ When Dr. James Laidlaw

²²⁶ Campbell N. Moody, *The Heathen Heart: An Account of the Reception of the Gospel among the Chinese of Formosa* (Taipei: Ch'eng Wen Publishing Co., reprint 1973), 23-26.

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ In fact, not all foreign doctors agreed with the strategy of free treatment. Non-missionary doctors such as Patrick Manson (1844-1922), who served as a Customs doctor in Takao suggested that it was necessary to charge patients in order to attract elite natives and local officials' trust in Western medicine. Free treatment would only attract attention from the poor, coolies, opium smokers, farmers, soldiers, beggars, vagrants, and prostitutes, which would hurt the career of Western medical science in China. See Patrick Manson, *Report of the Amoy Chinese Hospital for the Year 1873* (Amoy: A. A. Marcal, 1874), 3-4.

²²⁹ Native people believed in the power of Western medicine, but were unaware of the structure of the Western medical system. Non-medical missionaries such as George Leslie Mackay and William Campbell, in their diaries and sketches, mentioned their regular routes to distribute medicine even though they had no medical degrees or certificates. They claimed that they could recognize malaria, and experience had taught them the best medicine at the time to cure the disease was quinine. Therefore, medicine takers, especially those plains natives, fell over themselves to demand quinine as a panacea.

²³⁰ James Maxwell, "Letter from Dr. Maxwell," *EPM*, January 1866, 19-20.

²³¹ Roujin Chen, *Taiwan's First Experience of Western Civilization* (Taipie: Rye Field Publishing Co, 2005), 57.

Maxwell arrived at the southern island, Taiwan had no western-trained medical professionals. The Scottish doctor requested medicinal assistants from Amoy which was not a permanent solution for the shortage of medical technicians. After the founding of clinics, hospitals, and sanatoria, the church's doctors realized they would have difficulty keeping track of their patients without adequate support personnel.

In addition to recruiting more colleagues who had theological and medical degrees from the homeland, the church called for doctor's assistants in the *Taiwan Church News* and offered training classes and final certificates for volunteer trainees in 1896. Unfortunately, many who showed interest in the work were illiterate in both Chinese characters and English. In that case, Chinese and English medical publications were rendered useless even though they were invaluable in medical practices and education. Missionary doctor teachers therefore formulated a unique training plan to teach Western-styled medical knowledge in POJ so that they could communicate with native trainees.

Missionary doctors founded medical programs through learning POJ and working in church-affiliated hospitals in Tainan, Taipei, and Changhua. Missionaries were the first group of people who brought Western medicine into the non-West. Western Protestant missionary doctors, who came with the imperial overseas expansion, offered medical services in the context of modernization and standardization. They were trained to understand diseases as the result of "structural abnormalities and physiological malfunctions," which were systematically identified and effectively controlled by Western medicine.²³² To understand more about diseases, Taiwanese medical interns studying at the Presbyterian hospitals had to be able to read and write in POJ. Students received four years of training and a medical certificate after the completion of

²³² I. Loudon, *Western Medicine: An Illustrated History* (Oxford University Press, 2001), 249.

training. If a student could not afford the tuition, funding was available but he/she had to approach the physicians about it directly.²³³ Students were not required to be able to read or write in Chinese characters, English, or Japanese. Most of the prospective student assistants spoke the southern Fujianese language and could easily learn POJ to enable written communication with their teachers. The interns, who were commonly illiterate in Chinese and Japanese, received modern hospital training, education in Western advanced treatment, and medical knowledge from the Presbyterian Church mission. They acquired scientific knowledge by reading and writing POJ in Presbyterian medical training practices.

To make hospital service cooperative, Dr. George Gushue-Taylor 戴人壽 (1883-1954), who was influential in the medical field of Leprosy and served as a director in the missionary hospital in Tainan and Mackay Hospital in Taipei, planned to hire nurses and founded a school of nursing in northern Taiwan.²³⁴ The nursing school administrators gave preference to candidates who were girls' school and public school graduates. They were expected to be Christians who could read and write POJ and possess tenderness and diligence. Students had to be between eighteen and twenty-five, physically healthy and possess a love for their patients.²³⁵

POJ literacy gave Taiwanese students access to western professional medical knowledge through the Presbyterian system. Dr. Gushue-Taylor subsequently announced the publication of his textbook *Lāi gōa kho khàn hō hāk* 內外科看護學 (The Principles and Practice of Nursing) in POJ in 1917.²³⁶ It included nursing science, anatomy, physiology, and general medical science.

²³³ Anonymous, "I-Koán ê Kò-péh" (News from hospital), *TCN*, October 1896, 78.

²³⁴ Dr. George *Gushue-Taylor* was very important to the promotion of medical knowledge through POJ and the treatment of Hansen Disease in Taiwan. He founded the first special hospital for the patients of Hansen Disease in Bali, a suburban area of Danshui. See Zhenyi Zhu, "Dr. George Gushue-Taylor," *Taiwan yi jie* 51 (2008): 358-62.

²³⁵ Tè Jîn-siū, "Tâi-lâm Pī-īn" (Tainan Hospital), *TCN*, January 1918, 12.

He also announced a forthcoming POJ publication on teaching midwifery with detailed illustrations. By publishing POJ textbooks, he demonstrated that he was benefiting sisters, their neighbors, and the church.²³⁷ In order to improve nurses' medical knowledge, he bought every nurse a Chinese version of *A Handbook of Nursing* translated by Zhong Maofang 鍾茂芳 (1884-?), the first Chinese overseas graduate who received a nursing education in England. Dr. Gushue-Taylor used Zhong's translation²³⁸ and twenty or so other medical references to complete his first POJ nursing text in 1917 for southern Fujianese language speakers who could not read Chinese characters.²³⁹

Many western medical textbooks and reference books available for the Taiwanese interns were written in POJ. Even though Chinese and English versions of popular science publications were accessible, Taiwanese medical novices and interns could quickly absorb knowledge of biomedicine through POJ texts. Reading POJ publications was as easy as speaking the southern Fujianese language because POJ was a transliteration system for the language. Immediate benefits came particularly from practical books, like Dr. Gushue-Taylor's, as, without much knowledge of abstract theory, any aide could directly apply the illustrated information to patient care. For instance, feeding methods and instructions for medicine distribution were clearly described in his book. He created charts of medical terminology and untranslatable terms were written side-by-side in POJ, Chinese characters and English for further reference. Soon after his book was published, almost every western medical professional in Taiwan had a copy at hand.

²³⁶ There must have some other handouts or medical pamphlets published before this textbook since the hiring of medical interns in *Taiwan Church News* started in 1896. I unfortunately have not found other medical-related text that was published earlier except Sin-thé lí-hák 身體理學 (physiology, 1907)

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ G. Gushue-Taylor, *Lāi gōa kho khàn hō hák* (The Principles and Practice of Nursing) (Taiwan, Formosa, English Presbyterian Mission Hospital, 1917), preface.

²³⁹ John Lai, *Database*, www.laijohn.com/works/kangsu/14.htm (accessed 25 December 2013).

Foreign missionary surgeons who held medical degrees probably did not have a practical need for the textbook. However, it served a vital function by teaching Western missionaries medical vocabulary in the southern Fujianese language. When they were unsure how to term diagnoses and procedures in the language to their patients and students, they could consult Dr. Gushue-Taylor's book.²⁴⁰

Having more medical personnel who could read and write in POJ enabled the missionaries to assign medical support personnel the duty of teaching illiterate patients about the gospel of Christ. Missionary doctors did not have time to read the Bible with their patients. During busy days, there were around 400-500 patient visitors and perhaps 200-300 on a less busy day.²⁴¹ To treat the endless stream of patients day and night from every corner of the island, the hospital asked ten patients to enter the preparation room at a time. Doctors complained of being swamped with patients and questioned if medical services could really help the church grow if they were not able to talk to people about Jesus in the course of their work. Training nurses and students helpers to share the Gospel for them resolved the dilemma.

Taiwanese intern doctors and nurses were trained to provide supporting medical care. Compared to their teachers, they had more time to attend to non-emergency patients. Western medicine, delivered by missionaries, had symbolic power to heal both sick bodies and fragile souls. Doctors' assistants conducted evangelical activities on the wards during their lunch hours.²⁴² Patients were particularly receptive to the medical personnel's proselytizing efforts since Chinese doctors would not treat them due to their inability to pay their medical bills.²⁴³

²⁴⁰ Meiling Chen, "An Introduction of the Principles and Practice of Nursing " *Changhua Christian Hospital News* 19:5 (2002): 22-24.

²⁴¹ Gân Chín-seng, "Lâm-pō Kàu-hōe I-liâu Thoân-tō-sú" (History of medical mission in southern church), *TCN*, June 1941, 4.

²⁴² Lôⁿ I-sing, "Tōa-siā ê I-Koán" (A Clinic in Tōa-siā), *TCN*, January 1891, 3.

²⁴³ Âng Iók, "Tâi-Lâm I-Koán" (Tainan hospital), *TCN*, September 1896, 68.

Churchgoers were given preferential treatment by the medical missionaries. If a person attended a church service, they could pre-register for a clinic visit. Once they had seen the doctor they were only charged one-tenth of a yuan. Patients who had not pre-registered at a church service were charged twice as much to see the doctor.²⁴⁴ They were charged twice the regular service fee because the missionaries wanted them to be preached to in addition to receiving medical care. If they had not already gone to church, the medical personnel would have to be paid to preach to them in the hospital in addition to treating their illnesses.

The medical training offered in the missionary hospital system was a crucial factor in increasing the number of native doctors and medical personnel. There were simply not enough medical missionaries to meet the needs of the native population. When any of the European doctors left for furlough, the hospital would always have to close until their return unless a substitute could fill the vacancy immediately. A shortage of medical professionals was an ongoing problem. Even though there was no Western medical education or health care system in Taiwan before the missionaries came, there were established native Chinese medical doctors and practices. Yet there were no formal systems for education and training in traditional Chinese medicine. Traditional doctors qualified themselves via independent study and experience taking care of patients. For a native traditional doctor, “custom is the only law, and success the only diploma.”²⁴⁵ By experimenting on himself or on others “a man may come to know something of the medicinal values of certain compounds.”²⁴⁶ The Western-trained doctors thus suffered because there was no ready medical education system or labor force to support their missions. Initiating an apprentice training system resolved the professional labor shortage. Hospitals

²⁴⁴ Liāu Tīt, “Tâi-Lâm I-Koán” (Tainan hospital), *TCN*, July 1920, 10.

²⁴⁵ Mackay, *From Far Formosa: The Island, Its People and Missions*, 308.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

served as schools which provided interns with coursework and a practical training ground as well as experience in religious proselytism.

Apart from medical practice during the day, missionary hospitals scheduled lectures and experimental classes for students at nights. In addition to basic knowledge of physiology from *Sin-thé-lí* (physiology) taught in middle school, physician educators taught students drug science. In order to optimize the quality of the study, in 1922, Dr. David Landsborough published the first POJ pharmacopoeia *Tâm-Lâm Chiang-Hòa Tiú-Ló-Kàu Kong-iōng ê Iòh-Hng* 臺灣彰化長老教會用的藥方 (The Pharmacopoeia of the Tainan and Shoka Hospital of the English Presbyterian Mission Formosa) which he co-edited with Dr. James Laidlaw Maxwell Jr. (1873-1951),²⁴⁷ and Dr. Percy Cheal (n.d.). In six chapters, his book introduced the common drugs used in hospitals and restrictions of use, how to formulate medicine, treat hookworms, examine urine, and prepare samples for microscopy. The pharmacopoeia was essential not only in class discussion but also for the interns' future medical careers as pharmacists and practitioners.

Teaching medical knowledge through POJ texts unexpectedly improved social mobility. The capacity to use and compound drugs secured the interns' careers and transformed them into professionals. Through POJ, they quickly acquired Western medical information in their mother tongue, the southern Fujianese language. Although hospital trainees would not earn a medical degree, graduation certificates in both Chinese and English were issued by doctors of medicine in whichever subjects an intern had satisfied examiners.²⁴⁸ Native doctors could use their certificates to get jobs at hospitals founded by the Presbyterian Church. Their economic futures were secured through their educations.

²⁴⁷ James Laidlaw Maxwell Jr, *Thai-Peng-Keng Maxwell Memorial Church*, tpkch.dyndns.org/weblink/missionary/James_Maxwell.htm (accessed 15 April 2014).

²⁴⁸ Committee Members, *A Limited Territory Medical Doctor* (Tainan: PCT Press, 2008), 22-23.

Certified medical professionals earned money by selling drugs as they acquired the knowledge from Dr. David Landsborough's book. During the first two decades of the 19th century, classification of pharmaceutical interns and certified physicians had not been standardized by the missionary medical teaching system. The church did not restrict their certified doctors to serving as physicians. They were free to sell drugs if they preferred as long as they could create their own markets. At the time, to abstain from opium and escape from high fever, manufactured opium pills and quinine powder were still in great demand. The brisk market had attracted unscrupulous hucksters who charged outrageous prices. *Taiwan Church News* repeatedly urged its readers not to purchase inauthentic medicine from unauthorized sellers who might state untruthfully that they were Dr. David Landsborough's assistants.²⁴⁹ In fact, the church strongly advised doctors to stop missionaries from selling drugs to cure illness (bē-iòh h́ng-i 賣藥行醫).²⁵⁰ Rev. Mackay and Campbell found that giving medication to cure illnesses provided them with an effective opportunity for missions in their early years in Taiwan.²⁵¹ But, from the church's perspective, evangelical preaching was the most important aspect of mission work. Medical practice, including drug sales, could not replace the work of spreading the gospel. Christian hospitals therefore, created on-site positions for ministers to assist medical missionaries.²⁵² Interestingly, the degreed intern doctors were free to open pharmacies and specialized clinics. The aim of educating medical interns was not to prepare them to become clergymen. Many native doctors eventually marketed Western drugs and practiced as certified doctors in their own pharmacies.

²⁴⁹ Anonymous, "Tâi-tó siat-sit—Phiàn-sùt" (News of Taiwan, trick), *TCN*, March 1916, 11-12.

²⁵⁰ Anonymous, "Siat-sit, Lūn-kàu Thoân-Tō ê bē-iòh h́ng-i, Thoân-Tō bē-iòh ê chó-gāi" (Essays on selling drugs for mission), *TCN*, November 1893, 127.

²⁵¹ See George Mackay's Diary On November 12, 1872, December 31, 1872, May 28, 1873, and February 22, 1882.

²⁵² Anonymous, "Kò-péh" (News), *TCN*, August 1901, 59.

The Presbyterian Church supported certified doctors' business in drug sales in the POJ newspaper which served as a medium for advertising western medical modernization and success. The large space for medicine advertisements in the *Taiwan Church News* until the 1940s demonstrates the fact that the church publicly endorsed formulated medicinal products created by the newly-generated middle class, the certified doctors. Illustrated advertising slogans demonstrate that there was a high demand for medical care and medications. Published flyers encouraged readers to see their doctors regularly and taught them how to treat their symptoms with Western medicines. If a newspaper reader diagnosed him- or herself with an irritated stomach and had symptoms of indigestion and flatulence as the ad suggested they might, they were encouraged to purchase medicines from a pharmacist or the company publishing the ad instead of seeing a doctor.²⁵³ “Before” and “after” comparison photos were very persuasive.²⁵⁴ Furthermore, the juxtaposition of POJ and characters with actual photos suggests that the newspaper had expanded its service to people who read Chinese characters (Fig. 10). Advertisements generally ran in newspapers for anywhere from several months to more than a year. Pharmacies reaped enormous profits which helped them pay for marketing and they probably made more via other types of media such as radio since they could access a large number of non-Christian southern Fujianese language speakers through voice transmission who they could not reach through the newspaper.

Illiterate native's training and participation in foreign medical practices eventually enabled them to become members of the elite in their own right. In Christian medical training, POJ was the bridge between the original illiterate in Chinese and later elite and between medical service providers and patients, in most cases within the Christian community.

²⁵³ Anonymous, “Khai-ūi Kāin-pī-oân” (Pills to increase appetite), *TCN*, September 1938, 31.

²⁵⁴ Anonymous, “Uí-lô Pó-siû-chiap” (Weilao nutriment), *TCN*, February 1937, 31.

Beyond the Christian community, the first encounter between the medical community and the law occurred in colonial regulations. Newly passed laws concerning medical specialists and certificates by the colonial government made a turning point in the ecosystem of these church-trained doctors. Most intern graduates were unqualified to practice as a “master doctor” (*isi* 醫師), but they were qualified to practice as a “doctor” (*isei* 醫生). In 1896, the Japanese state promulgated a law that designated “master doctors” as people who had received certificates from the ministers of Internal Affairs or Taiwan Sōtokufu. To accommodate the status quo, a rule stated that those who had practiced medicine in Taiwan could apply for “doctors” certificates from the governor’s office by the end of 1901. In other words, the government had noticed that the group of missionary-trained doctors occupied the field of Western medical services. The 1916 law stipulated that a master doctor must graduate from either the Taiwan Sōtokufu-sponsored medical school (founded in 1898, now the College of Medicine at National Taiwan University) or a foreign medical school. In the same year, another rule categorized this exclusive group of specialists into “certified doctors in restricted places” (*Genchikaigyōi* 限地開業醫). They were doctors but could only practice in regions where there were no hospitals or certified medical personnel within 2 kilometers and only if they passed exams. More strictly, the permission of “practice tied to specific areas” expired in three years. To avoid constant moving, this cluster of medical professionals had to study in a Japanese medical school or switch to another line of work. Restricted by language, some of them preferred to stay in their original status, some decided to study for exams, and some chose to open pharmacies instead.²⁵⁵

²⁵⁵ See Taiwan Sōtokufu. *Regulations of Taiwan Sōtokufu* (Taipei: Taiwan Daily Newspaper, 1912), 76-78; Taiwan Sōtokufu Digital Archive, “Ritsuryō No.1: Law of Master Doctor in Taiwan,” January 1, 1916, vol. 2488-9; Taiwan Sōtokufu Digital Archive, “Rules of Certified Dentists and Doctors in limited places,” July 11, 1918, vol. 6507-9.

POJ played a decisive role in creating a modern Presbyterian system for both Christian and general school education and Western medical science in Taiwan from the late Qing through the Japanese colonial period. The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan worked to provide open access to school education and medical training in order to uphold the teaching philosophies of the Reformed Church tradition. They only required learners to show an interest in studying and to be able to use POJ. With an education or professional training conducted in POJ, any interested individual, poor or rich, male or female, could become educated. Moreover, POJ literacy was significant in Taiwanese education because anyone could become a degree holder or obtain a professional certificate by learning to use POJ instead of Chinese characters or Japanese. Some of the Taiwanese Christians associated using POJ with Western school education and professional knowledge. The Presbyterian education system gave Taiwanese who were illiterate in Chinese or Japanese an alternative route for upward mobility which was not open to those who could not use POJ. By using POJ as the primary language of their education and medical training system, the Presbyterian Church created new groups of people who associated the use of POJ with their educational and professional identities.

Chapter 3: Japanese Colonialism and the Expansion of Peh-oē-jī Community, 1895-1940s

During the Japanese colonial period, Taiwanese residents expanded the use of POJ beyond evangelism, church sponsored education programs, and Western medical training. The POJ community also expanded as a result of Japanese colonialism in Taiwan. Japanese colonial officials promoted POJ to help officers communicate with Taiwanese southern Fujianese language speakers. The shifting goals of Japan's assimilation policy and the Taiwanese response to those shifts also increased the use of POJ and ultimately changed the meaning of POJ literacy for Taiwanese elites. The function of POJ in Taiwanese society expanded as it went from a language used to facilitate education and proselytism in the Christian community to a marker of Taiwanese ethnic identity.

The Japanese colonial government's policy for ruling Taiwan transitioned through four stages over their 50 year rule. They pursued "assimilation as the main policy from 1895 to 1919, integration from 1919 to 1930, differential incorporation and coercion from 1930 to 1937, and the subjugation (Kōminka 皇民化, literally meaning "Japanization") and mobilization of 'imperial subjects' to participate in the 'holy' war in Asia from 1937 to 1945."²⁵⁶ The main thing that shifted in their policy was the degree to which they wanted the Taiwanese people to identify themselves as Japanese citizens.

The Japanese lacked experience in governing colonies and they were unsure if it was appropriate to fully assimilate the Taiwanese. Consequently, they did not allow their Taiwanese subjects to become full citizens in the Japanese empire. The government's official assimilation policies and principles were not consistent with the laws that they passed to govern Taiwan. In

²⁵⁶ Ping-hui Liao, "Taiwan under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1895-1945: History, Culture, and Memory," in Liao Ping-hui and David Der-wei Wang eds. *Taiwan under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1895-1945: History, Culture, and Memory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 2.

1896, the Imperial Congress decided that Taiwanese islanders should not be fully incorporated into the Japanese citizenry and so they passed Title No. 63. Title No. 63 barred the Taiwanese from participating in the governance of Taiwan and created a virtual dictator, the Governor-General of Taiwan, Taiwan Sōtoku, to govern the island. Although Title No. 63 was replaced by Title No. 31 in 1906, the Empire still did not grant Taiwanese residents the right of political inclusion.

The head of civilian affairs at Taiwan Sōtokufu, Gotō Shinpei 後藤 新平 (1857-1929), implemented a gradual assimilation policy that initially focused on Japanese national language education. In addition to helping the Taiwanese understand Japanese culture through education, the colonial government also urged Japanese officers to improve their ability to speak the most widely used native language in Taiwan and to use its writing system. The POJ community expanded because the colonial administrators encouraged policeman and other bureaucrats to study POJ and the southern Fujianese language in order to further the public's cooperation with their governance of Taiwan. This practice was emblematic of the Empire's initial colonial policy. While they ultimately desired for Taiwan to be linguistically and culturally absorbed into Japan, they were willing to allow the native Taiwanese to continue to use their own languages to facilitate governance and Japanese language education.

In the 1910s, a joint group of Taiwanese and Japanese elites founded the Association of Assimilation in Taiwan (Taiwan Dōkakai 臺灣同化會) to promote Taiwan's assimilation into the Japanese empire. The Taiwanese members' initial aspiration was to be assimilated into the Empire so that they would have all the rights and responsibilities of Japanese citizens. In 1919, it seemed their ambition might be achievable when the government announced that the laws

governing the Japanese mainland would now be the law in Taiwan (*Naichi enchō syugi* 內地延長主義).

After the promulgation of the 1919 *Naichi enchō syugi*, Taiwanese elites expected that the law which governed their political participation would be amended soon but it was not. The elites soon realized that they were not going to be fully assimilated into the Japanese citizenry. Japan's 1919 Education Law gave Taiwanese residents a lesser legal status than residents of the Japanese home islands. Specifically, people who were not fluent in Japanese would be educated differently than people living in the homeland. The Taiwanese elites were galvanized into political and cultural action after the Empire continued to refuse to allow them to participate in the governance of their island.

A cluster of Taiwanese intellectuals who were disappointed by their exclusion from full political participation at that point began to use POJ as an act of cultural protest against the Japanese government. In response to the political exclusion and assimilation policy, they established a Taiwan Cultural Association 臺灣文化協會 to promote a unique Taiwanese culture and language that helped Taiwanese people define a difference between being "Taiwanese" and being "Japanese." This group of Taiwanese elites, who were primarily educated in Japanese, promoted POJ for the creation of a Taiwanese culture and literature. As a result of their actions, POJ evolved from a "church" language into a "Taiwanese" written language. POJ also became a symbolic marker of ethnic identity for the "Taiwanese" that enabled them to write their own culture in their native language.

Colonial Policies on Ruling Taiwan

Initially, the Japanese empire's administrators were unsure of how they wanted to govern Taiwan. Gotō Shinpei admitted that he lacked experience in governing colonies. He hired

professionals and experts in various fields to write reports and advise him, but he would not completely adopt or implement anyone's suggested policies. Before the Japanese army officially took over Taipei on June 17, 1895, members of the Taiwan Affairs Bureau discussed two proposals from foreign advisers. The French adviser suggested that assimilation (*dōka*) should be Japan's guiding principle for governing Taiwan based on the French belief in universal law and the 1789 Revolution. Conversely, the British adviser urged the Japanese to adopt different laws for each country because of the differences between their cultures. The Bureau members' understanding of colonial relationships was largely based on Western colonialism. They knew that many Western countries justified colonialism in the name of "rescuing" people who were assumed to be racially and culturally inferior. They were hesitant to refer to Taiwan as a "colony" because they did not want to imply that the Taiwanese were racially or culturally inferior to them. Instead the Bureau decided to adopt the principle of assimilation in order to stress the close relationship between the Japanese and Taiwanese in East Asia.²⁵⁷

Gotō stated that there were no clear guidelines from the Empire for the administration in Taiwan. That is, he sensed that assimilation would be an ongoing project that should not be forcefully implemented in a short span of time. The Japanese regime would take time, at least three generations, to finalize their specific policies.²⁵⁸ He disagreed with immediately enforcing an extreme assimilation policy over Taiwanese society without respecting native customs and traditions. He preferred to understand Taiwanese culture first and assimilate the people gradually.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁷ Tay-Sheng Wang, *Legal Reform in Taiwan under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1895-1945* (Seattle and London, University of Washington Press, 2000), 37-38.

²⁵⁸ Yūsuke Tsurumi, *Autobiography of Gotō Shinpei*, Vol. 2 (Tokyo: Sanshusha, 1937), 24-30.

²⁵⁹ Yūsuke Tsurumi, *Autobiography of Gotō Shinpei*, Vol. 1 (Tokyo: Taiheiyō Kyōkai Shuppanbu, 1943), 44.

In the short term, Gotō decided to focus on getting the Taiwanese people to learn and utilize Japanese. He suggested that it was time for teaching the Japanese language, but not for governing the native Taiwanese in Japanese. He believed that the Taiwanese people would become Japanese by gradually adopting the Japanese language and cultural customs. He believed that language assimilation was the first step to help the Taiwanese understand Japanese colonialism.

Assimilation through National Language Education

The Japanese language educational policy in Taiwan required all Taiwanese to learn Japanese. The Japanese authorities believed that pushing the Taiwanese to adopt the Japanese language would help transform them into “Japanese” citizens. Initially the Taiwanese were resistant to Japan’s language policy because Japanese was a *foreign* language. Within six weeks of The Treaty of Shimonoseki 馬關條約 (April 17, 1895), the first Japanese national education institute was founded in Shilin 士林, a suburb of Taipei. It was forced to close after an insurrection in January of 1896. Six Japanese teachers and staff were murdered by anti-Japanese activists. The Japanese Army took its revenge on the Taiwanese attackers by massacring about 1,500 natives and burning down 10,000 houses.²⁶⁰

The first minister of academic affairs under Taiwan governor-general, Izawa Shūji, was not discouraged by the outrage. He insisted that language education was the only strategy to conquer the spirit of the natives.²⁶¹ He then founded the National Language School (*Kokugo gakkō* 国語学校) and National Language Learning School (*Kokugo Tenshūsho* 国語傳習所) for

²⁶⁰ Izawa Shūji, *Selected Collection of Izawa Shūji's Works* (Nagano: Shinano Kyōikukai, 1958), 94-95.

²⁶¹ See the first and 13th articles of Japanese language training school in Xiqing Xu, trans. *History of Taiwan Education* (Nantou: Academia Historica, 2010), 72-3.

Japanese and Taiwanese natives respectively. The mission of both institutions was to transform the “Taiwanese” into loyal subjects of the Emperor of Japan and to build a sense of being “Japanese” in the Taiwanese. The National Language School prepared Japanese educators to teach in Taiwan’s public schools. In later periods they accepted Taiwanese public-school graduates who had a working knowledge of Japanese for teacher training. The National Language Learning School created a Japanese language education system for the Taiwanese and later became a public school (*kō gakkō* 公學校) in order to accommodate more Taiwanese students and to expand the school subjects offered as preparation for middle-school studies. Students were granted a certificate for the four-year study of Japanese language speaking, writing, reading, and arithmetic (also conducted in Japanese). Additionally, the school trained Taiwanese-Japanese translators. Students who had completed their study of *Sishu* 四書 (Four Books) and *Wujing* 五經 (Five Classics) were allowed to take a shortcut and be awarded the certificate in one year. Their lives were much improved thanks to free public education, subsidies for tuition, and guaranteed job offers after graduation, which also attracted Chinese scholars who passed the basic level of the civil service examination.²⁶² Both of these schools referred to Japanese as the “national language” (*kokugo* 國語), rather than calling it “the Japanese language” (*Nihongo* 日本語).

A single language was desperately needed to enable communication between the Taiwanese people and the Japanese state, and among different groups of speakers, since the southern Fujianese language, Hakka, and aboriginal languages were all used in Taiwan.²⁶³ In Izawa’s reports to Taiwan Sōtokufu, he proposed that language assimilation was the best policy

²⁶² Ibid., 77.

²⁶³ Kiwata Ide, *Taiwan Chisekishi* (Taipei: Taiwan Daily Newspaper, 1937), 330-31.

to gain support in the newly dominated territory.²⁶⁴ Izawa claimed this single language must be Japanese. He therefore considered Japanese language education a priority of the colonial enterprise. But at the same time, Japanese administrators were willing to learn the native language and its writing system to make it easier for themselves to converse with their Taiwanese subjects.

Japan's Promotion of the Southern Fujianese Language and POJ

During the first several decades of the Japanese administration of Taiwan, both Japanese officers and the Taiwanese learned each other's languages. The Japanese officials promoted the study of the southern Fujianese language to facilitate communication with the Taiwanese. They required Japanese people who wanted to serve as officers and policemen in Taiwan to learn the southern Fujianese language because it was the common language of Taiwanese natives.

In the beginning, the Japanese colonial government in Taiwan was dependent upon interpreters to communicate with its Taiwanese subjects. In December 1895, Taiwan Sōtokufu began to request that Japanese civil servants and military officers learn the southern Fujianese language (*dogo* 土語 or *Taiwango* 臺灣語) during their leisure time for better communication with the natives.²⁶⁵ The second Governor-general of Taiwan, Katsura Tarō 桂太郎 (1848-1913), urged policemen to view themselves as duty-bound to study the southern Fujianese language, inasmuch as their jobs involved direct contact with the populace.²⁶⁶ Izawa Shuji suggested that all Japanese officers study Taiwanese languages for daily use. To carry out his policies, instructors, basic conversation materials, and Native Language Training Schools (*Dogo*

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 71.

²⁶⁵ Xiqing Xu, *History of Taiwan Education*, 71.

²⁶⁶ Kiwata Ide, *Administration in Taiwan* (Taipei: Nantian, 1937, reprint), 254.

Kōshūsho 土語講習所) were desperately needed.²⁶⁷ The Japanese colonizers sensed that the language barrier between themselves and the Taiwanese might slow down the Japanese immigrants' adjustments to their new lives and imperial officials' administration. Making Taiwan more culturally Japanese was the primary goal, but before that goal could be achieved, the two linguistic groups had to be able to converse with each other. Encouraging the colonial officers to learn the southern Fujianese language as the second language used in Taiwan was an urgent work. Their language study increased the use of the native language and POJ as it was transliterated in POJ and discussed in Japanese writing.

The large number of periodicals about Taiwanese language education provides evidence of the prosperity of training for prison and police officers and Normal schools (*Shihan gakkō* 師範學校, schools for training Japanese teachers in Taiwan) in the native language. The education of prison and police officers is worthy of special attention because they played a double role as police officers and interpreters. In 1898, Taiwan Sōtokufu issued a decree that police officers were allowed to hold the post of interpreter.²⁶⁸ Between 1898 and 1903, another decree allowed only police officers to become qualified interpreters.²⁶⁹ The colonial government trained entry-level civil servants as bilingual professionals instead of hiring linguists to handle basic affairs. Japanese periodicals, such as *The Language Collection*, *Taiwanese Language Magazine* 臺灣語學雜誌, and *Magazine for Taiwan Police Association* 臺灣警察協會雜誌, all provided forums for southern Fujianese language discussion and listings for official southern Fujianese language examinations.²⁷⁰ Most of the southern Fujianese language discussions in the above periodicals,

²⁶⁷ Ibid., 3-4.

²⁶⁸ Documents of Taiwan Sōtokufu, May 14, 1898, <http://db1n.th.gov.tw/sotokufu/> (accessed April 14, 2014).

²⁶⁹ Documents of Taiwan Sōtokufu, January 9, 1903, <http://db1n.th.gov.tw/sotokufu/> (accessed April 14, 2014).

references, and examinations were based on Izawa's *Shu wu yi* 十五音 (Taiwan Fifteen Sounds, 1896)²⁷¹ and referred to Ogawa Naoyoshi's 小川 尚義 (1869-1947) *Japanese and Taiwanese Dictionary* 臺日大辭典.²⁷² Encouraging policemen to become southern Fujianese language interpreters unexpectedly promoted the transliteration of the southern Fujianese language into both *katakana* and POJ.

In the early stages of colonization, the colonial government and Japanese scholars created a large quantity of southern Fujianese language instructional materials written in POJ. The most important reference book of the romanized southern Fujianese language by a Taiwan Sōtokufu interpreter was Iwasaki Keitarō's 岩崎敬太郎 (1880?-1934) *Dictionary of Taiwanese Language* 臺灣語典.²⁷³ Iwasaki used POJ to teach pronunciation of the southern Fujianese language for daily usage. His dictionary diverges from other types of references by focusing on methods of speaking the language, emphasizing the southern Fujianese language's special grammars and ways of speaking. It also listed the expressions that were frequently used but were difficult to master in the vernacular southern Fujianese language. For instance, he explained the usage of “have” (ū, 有) and the “question marker” (bō, 無). The sentence “Do you have parents?” should read, “Lí ū pē-bú bō?” However, in some situations bō is also used to mean, to “have not,” for instance, “Laū-pē ū, laū-bú bō” (I have a father but I do not have a mother).²⁷⁴ This is a very

²⁷⁰ For more materials for teaching Japanese southern Fujianese language, please see Lai Hsin-yi's “The Taiwanese Teaching Materials during the Japanese Governance-A Case study on “Taiwanese Textbook,” (Master Thesis, Master Thesis National Taiwan Normal University, 2011); Ihara Daisaku, “Taiwanese Language Textbooks Used During the Early Period of Japanese Rule: An Historical Analysis,” *Compilation and Translation Review* 6:2 (2013): 67-98.

²⁷¹ He regulated *Taiwan Fifteen Sounds* (1896) with eight tones, as the standard transcription of southern Fujianese language, and published a revision in 1901.

²⁷² Inspired by the Izawa's regulation, Ogawa Naoyoshi (1869-1947), a prominent linguist, designated by the Taiwan Sōtokufu, published *Japanese and Taiwanese Dictionary* in 1898 and later issued an expanded version in 1907. See Wei-Jen Hong, *Annotated Bibliography of Taiwan Historica--Language* (Taipei: National Taiwan Library, 1996), 343-51.

²⁷³ Keitaro Iwasaki, *Dictionary of Taiwanese Language* (Taihoku: Taiwan Goten Hakkōjo, 1922).

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 47.

common occurrence in southern Fujianese language conversations that might easily confuse Japanese-speaking learners. Iwasaki nicely juxtaposed katakana next to Chinese characters in a horizontal column followed by a translation in Japanese and transcription of POJ. Some of the Chinese was nonsensical in semantics but it was there simply to help learners understand the corresponding southern Fujianese language pronunciation (Fig. 11). Katakana and POJ helped learners gain accurate pronunciation while the Japanese words clarified the meaning of words and sentences. The Chinese script likely served as an auxiliary tool that got learners acquainted with the ways of the southern Fujianese language written in characters. Japanese learners of the southern Fujianese language were familiar with Chinese script, since they were a part of the Japanese writing system, even if some characters had different meanings in each language.

The multi-lingual writing culture rid southern Fujianese language users of the difficulties associated with using a single written language. Multilingual juxtaposition demonstrates the acceptance of digraphia (the use of more than one writing system for the same language) by society and the state. Therefore, information exchange in different publications was unsurprising. In *The Language Collection* 語苑, a periodical for Japanese officers to discuss southern Fujianese language studies and compose literature, writers would transcribe news from the POJ newspaper, *Taiwan Church News* into Japanese or Taiwanese using a different writing system.²⁷⁵ This evidence demonstrates that different groups of written language readers overlapped, and that southern Fujianese language users were capable of employing several written forms for information acquisition.

²⁷⁵ Wei-Hsin Pan, "Relationship Between Taiwanese Vernacular Writing and Writing Symbols during Japanese-Occupied Period—Centering on Specialized Taiwanese Education Magazine and Taiwan Prefectural City Church News," 133.

The bilingual or trilingual written language interactions of kana, POJ, or characters suggest that southern Fujianese language learners learned from each other through each writing system. A kana user might have no difficulty in reading Zhang Hongnan's 張洪南 (n.d.) *A Self-Study of POJ* 臺灣羅馬白話字自修書 (1922), thanks to its romanization.²⁷⁶ The main language of this small brochure was kana; POJ juxtaposed key concepts in kana and spelled out a southern Fujianese language pronunciation (Fig. 12). In addition to helping those studying the language using multiple written forms, a side-by-side multilingual translation was also helpful for Confucian studies. As long as a reader could read one of the listed writings in characters, kana, or POJ, he or she was able to access the world of classical Chinese texts, pronunciation and Confucian writings.²⁷⁷

Iwasaki's dictionary and Zhang's work show the central role that the southern Fujianese language played in facilitating communication with various groups in Taiwan. Having a single written form of the language might meet the needs of only one specific group of users. For instance, *Koa-á booklets* 歌仔冊, a form of narrative song, were written for southern Fujianese language speakers who could read Chinese script. POJ publications were designed to assist non-character users. Southern Fujianese language reference books in kana were codified for Japanese readers. The textual co-location of the three writing forms was not merely a colonial creation designed to accommodate the needs of a multilingual setting. It was also a reproduction of translingual spoken practice. The southern Fujianese language was the primary spoken language

²⁷⁶ Hongnan Zhang, *A Self-study of POJ* (Taipei: Mori Bun sha, 1922), 2.

²⁷⁷ Another case comes from Liu Qingyun's 劉青雲 *Interpretation of the Great Learning* 大學精詳 (1941). It was an instruction manual for sounding out classical Chinese in southern Fujianese language. Advertising his book as "An instruction from an old wise sage; A must-read for the modern," Liu was filled with an ambition to enhance the shared moral values by Japanese and Chinese philosophy. The layout of his book satisfied the majority of linguistic groups in Taiwan, in which Chinese, southern Fujianese language, and Japanese users acquired language as well as morality ranging from daily use to national administration.

because it could be represented in each of the three different writing systems. Southern Fujianese language users with multiple literacies were allowed the freedom of writing in their preferred written system. Over the years of the Japanese occupation, there was no single written language that monopolized the market of the southern Fujianese language's written formats. The language users were free to learn any of the above writing systems for daily communication or literary writings. From the late 1910s on, colonial assimilation policymakers focused on integrating Taiwanese elites into the Empire through cultural activities instead of teaching them how to write their native language, the southern Fujianese language. So the bulk of language users, elite or commoners, did not have a standardized written system to use to write the southern Fujianese language.

The Understanding of "Assimilation" and the Policy of Extending Mainland Statutes

The first twenty years of Japan's rule had immersed the Taiwanese people in the process of adopting Japanese culture and language. The Taiwanese people were also willing to participate in these cultural assimilation activities. As early as 1914, a semi-official sponsored assimilation association was established to discuss how Taiwanese people could be assimilated into the Japanese citizenry other than simply through a national language education. A group of both Taiwanese and Japanese members founded The Association of Assimilation in Taiwan (Taiwan Dōkakai) in November 1914 in order to propagate pan-Asian solidarity.²⁷⁸ Of the 3178

²⁷⁸ With support from the Japanese liberalist Itagaki Taisuke (1837-1919) and authorities Ōkuma Shigenobu (1838-1922), a Japanese minister, and Uchida Kakichi (1866-1933), the head of civilian affairs at Taiwan Sōtokufu, Lin Xiantang, Cai Huiru (1881-1929), Cai Peihuo, and Itagaki Taisuke (1837-1919) organized the Association of Assimilation in Taiwan (Taiwan Dōkakai) in November 1914. But the Association was banned after a year since the government claimed it violated the colonial administration's policy.

members of the Association, 3134 people were upper-class Taiwanese. They were local elites, administrative officers, and heads of big lineages.²⁷⁹

Members claimed that to successfully incorporate Taiwan into the Japanese Empire, assimilation was the most promising strategy. They also asserted that since Japanese and Chinese people were both Asian peoples they should collaborate to resist Westernization. Taiwanese islanders, who were ethnic Han and had become Japanese subjects, had a unique role to play by forging an amicable relationship between the Chinese and Japanese cultures.²⁸⁰ Since they could link the two cultures, Taiwanese elites expected to be treated the same as other subjects of the Japanese empire because they thought they were Japanese too. These Taiwanese intellectuals accepted assimilation so that they could gain equal rights to those enjoyed by people living in the Japanese home islands.

The assimilation supporters believed that if they were effectively assimilated into Japanese society they would automatically gain equal rights within the Empire. The minister of Academic Affairs of Taiwan Sōtokufu, Kumamoto Sigekichi 隈本繁吉 (1873-?) rejected the logic of their claims. He believed it was impossible for the Taiwanese to completely assimilate into Japanese culture in a short period of time. Until the Taiwanese were fully assimilated, different treatment was necessary.²⁸¹ In 1915, the association was disbanded upon the request of Taiwan Sōtokufu because its goals conflicted with the Japanese administration's assimilation policy. They also suspected the group would cause political disorder in Taiwanese society.²⁸²

²⁷⁹ Bowei Lin, *The Hardship of Taiwan Cultural Association* (Taipei: Taiyuan wenhua jijinhui), 36-37.

²⁸⁰ Bureau of Police Office in Taiwan Sōtokufu ed. Wang Shilang trans. *History of Police Office in Taiwan 2:2* (Taipei: Daoxiang, 1995), 13-14.

²⁸¹ Pei-feng Chen, *The Different Intentions behind the Semblance of Dōka* (Taipei: Chengbang, 2006), 33.

²⁸² Bowei Lin, *The Hardship of Taiwan Cultural Association*, 37.

Four years later, Den Kenjirō's guiding policy reassured the Taiwanese intellectuals about his legal impartiality.

In 1919, the 8th Japanese Governor-general of Taiwan, Den Kenjirō 田 健治郎 (1855-1930) announced that he would extend the laws that governed the Japanese mainland to Taiwan (*Naichi enchō syugi*) and those ordinances would serve as the guiding principle of colonial policy. He planned to govern the people of Taiwan in the same way that the people of Japan were governed. To eliminate ethnic distinctions, he urged colonial officials not to use the word “colony” to refer to Taiwan. Moreover, he discouraged the practice of referring to the Taiwanese people as the “people of the island” (*hontōjin* 本島人). Calling the Taiwanese people “hontōjin” was designed to differentiate them from Japanese citizens who were known as the “people of the mainland” (*naichijin* 内地人).²⁸³ Many Taiwanese believed that the extension of the mainland's laws to Taiwan was the first step in the full assimilation of the Taiwanese into Japanese society.²⁸⁴ They were hopeful that the Japanese were finally going to give them the right to participate politically in the ruling of the Empire and that being Taiwanese would no longer be synonymous with being second class citizens.

However, the principles of Japan's assimilation policy and the laws they made to govern Taiwan were not always compatible. The 1919 Education Law linguistically demarcated islanders from people who could fluently use Japanese in the mainland. The Law stated that education in Taiwan and Japan should be different based on the fact that Taiwanese were not good at using Japanese. The Tokyo Privy Council wanted all Japanese citizens to be treated

²⁸³ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan Ed., *Minutes of Titles 63, 31, and 3 in Taiwan* (Tokyo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 1966), 404-19.

²⁸⁴ Jintang Cai, “The Reality and Imagination of Assimilation Policy During Colonial Rule,” *An Annual Report to Interchange Association, Japan in 2001* (Taiwan: Interchange Association, Japan, 2001), 4.

equally in education without ethnic discrimination by using terms such as “Joseon people” (朝鮮人 Korean people) and “Taiwan people” (臺灣人). The Educational Law was amended in 1922 because these two peoples received a different education than their comrades in Japan. In the amendment, “frequent users of the national language” replaced “people of the Japanese mainland,” and “Joseon and Taiwan people” were changed to “infrequent users.”²⁸⁵

The Japanese nation-state functioned as an enforcement machine of ethnic and political conversion through language. People’s ethnicity was defined in terms of their fluency in Japanese. Groups who had been colonized were also juxtaposed with “Japanese mainlanders and national language”. “Becoming Japanese” was not simply an individual struggle for ethnic identity among Japan, China, and Taiwan, as Leo Ching argues. It was also a top-down, progressive re-education process that preceded their political inclusion in Japan.²⁸⁶ The more fluently a citizen spoke Japanese, the more he/she was deemed Japanese. Izawa Shuji argued that the objective of education was not merely gaining knowledge and information. The foremost goal of Japanese education was to create loyal Japanese citizens.²⁸⁷ Shuji’s thoughts on language education demonstrate that Japan’s plan to create a nation-state where all nationals were Japanese, or Japanese-to-be, regardless of their native languages, was ambitious and likely to encounter resistance.

Resistance to “Assimilation” and the Emergence of Taiwanese Consciousness

Different groups in Taiwan chose to resist “assimilation” into the Japanese empire as they tried to bridge the gap between being assimilated and being treated equally. Some people

²⁸⁵ Yoshizō Kubo, *Educational Policies in Emperor System Nation-State* (Tōkyō: Keisō shobō, 1979), 290-339.

²⁸⁶ L.T.S. Ching, *Becoming "Japanese": Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*, 186.

²⁸⁷ Shūji, *Selected Collection of Izawa Shūji's Works*, 587-649.

resisted being incorporated into the Japanese empire because they were attached to using the southern Fujianese language and POJ. Many individuals who wanted to hold on to that linguistic heritage also clung to a vision of themselves as the descendants of the Han Chinese. The more strongly they imagined that Taiwanese culture was rooted in the Chinese past, the harder they resisted their full assimilation into the Japanese empire. Some people accepted being linguistically assimilated but rejected being excluded from full political participation in Japanese society. If they were going to be assimilated, they wanted to have the same language, culture, and civil rights as any other Japanese citizen living elsewhere in the empire. When they were not given equal access to political participation, they questioned the legitimacy of the entire assimilation process.

Taiwanese intellectuals like Lin Mosei 林茂生 (1887-1947) found it difficult to accept the language assimilation policy.²⁸⁸ Influenced by his father, who taught Chinese writing in the Presbyterian middle school, Lin criticized the Japanese immersion model in public schools. In his opinion, national language training schools should have included more Chinese classes and been taught in the southern Fujianese language. That way, more Taiwanese students could have overcome the language obstacles easily and thus acquired more knowledge. He argued that suppressing the use of the southern Fujianese language in national language training school would provoke resistance to the Japanese government as it was the language that was most widely used in the island.²⁸⁹ The differences between a student's school and family languages

²⁸⁸ He was the first Taiwanese Ph.D. recipient and an educator. He taught in the Presbyterian Church Middle School after he graduated from Columbia University, USA.

²⁸⁹ Lin suggested that it was fallacious to believe that language assimilation is equivalent to racial assimilation, though it, to some extent, helps cultural assimilation. He thus quoted the Japanese educators, Tadao Yanaihara's 矢内原忠雄 (1893-1961), opinions that suppressing the language of the colonized might cause resistance to the colonizer and colonial policy. See Mosei Lin, *Public Education in Formosa under the Japanese Administration* (New York: Columbia University, 1929), 116-17.

negatively influenced their ability to use each language. The students experienced a growing conflict between their linguistic priorities because of these differences. Lin worried about the potential for tremendous change; namely, that Japanese would replace the Taiwanese language in Taiwan (here he meant the southern Fujianese language).²⁹⁰ He fiercely attacked the Japanese government's belief that the Taiwanese could be ethnically assimilated through a national language policy because he feared that they were correct. Contradictory to Izawa's philosophy of Japanese language education, Lin's Taiwanese-centered approach spoke volumes about the lack of persuasive motivation toward linguistically "becoming Japanese."²⁹¹

Gotō Shinpei's early concern about whether it was feasible to implement a full-scale assimilation project over the Taiwanese people is noteworthy as it contributes to our understanding of this conflict. He consulted the British legal advisor, William Montague Hammett Kirkwood (1850-1926) for advice on colonizing Taiwan. Although his reports seemed to have had little impact, Kirkwood's observation and concern about the gap between assimilation theory and practice foreshadowed the resistance to and problems with Japan's assimilation policy. Kirkwood argued against the logic of the original plan that treated all Taiwanese equally as Japanese citizens. He believed that the distinctions between the colonizer and the colonized should be clearly drawn and that the key distinction between people and conditional citizens in the Japanese empire should be the people's fluency in Japanese. By the time of his reports, the Taiwan Sōtokufu provided free Japanese language education to Taiwanese subjects, but tended not to recruit islanders into public employment. Since they were not actively recruiting native Taiwanese into public service, he argued that they should restrict language education to a specific group of people. Candidates supported by government officials

²⁹⁰ Mosei Lin, 117-18.

²⁹¹ Mosei Lin, 116.

who were morally qualified to coordinate the society and the state should be taught Japanese and ushered into the civil service. Students from elite families were preferred.²⁹² He argued that Japanization should be restricted to a small cluster of promising natives who could afford education. Kirkwood warned Japanese policymakers against the popularization of Japanese as a national language; otherwise, public school graduates in Taiwan would resent the lack of opportunities in public service after succeeding in school.²⁹³ From the perspective of language learners, he advised that any dreams of serving the government would be shattered when they realized that nothing changed in the political hierarchy after graduation.

Like Kirkwood, Gotō embraced conditional assimilation. Gotō asserted that he had never been an advocate of full assimilation. He believed that the Taiwanese should be immersed in Japanese culture until the point that Taiwan was ready to be ruled by the same laws and standards that governed the Japanese mainland.²⁹⁴ Clearly the Taiwanese colonial authorities had a different understanding of assimilation than the Taiwanese subjects who believed that they should be civil and political equals to all other Japanese citizens. From the Japanese perspective, if the Taiwanese had become Japanese it meant that they would feel a moral duty to die for Japan. It however did not mean that Taiwanese subjects could exercise civil rights in the Empire.²⁹⁵ Although Izawa's assimilation policy provided a rationale for language colonization, the implementation of that policy was problematic. The natives quickly discovered that they were not really going to be included in the Japanese empire as equal citizens, particularly after

²⁹² From Database of Gotō Shinpei Monjo, a report to Governor Gotō Shinpei written by William Montague Hammett Kirkwood about how to colonize Taiwan, section 2, article 1, March 8, 1898.

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Pei-feng Chen, *The Different Intentions behind the Semblance of Dōka*, 127.

²⁹⁵ L.T.S. Ching, *Becoming "Japanese": Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*, 89-210.

Den Kenjirō extended the Japanese mainland statutes to Taiwan and their legal status did not change.

Title No. 63 from 1896 to 1921: A Law that Blocked Full “Assimilation”

In March 1896, the central government and the Imperial Diet announced Title No. 63 which shaped the legislative process in Taiwan (臺灣ニ施行スベキ法令ニ關スル法律).²⁹⁶ The law stated that, due to the particularities of Taiwan, it was inappropriate for the Japanese government to use the same laws to govern Taiwan that they used to govern Japan. The law also created the new administrative position “Governor General of Taiwan,” who could issue ordinances in the same way that Japanese statutes were made by the Diet. Title No. 63 was originally supposed to be amended three years after it became the law but it was not actually replaced by Title No. 31 until 1906. Title No. 31 stipulated that Taiwanese ordinances passed by the governor general were not allowed to conflict with those passed by the Japanese Diet for Taiwan.²⁹⁷ Title No. 31 did not make significant changes from Title No. 63 because the Japanese still were the final legal authority in Taiwan.

Some members of the Association of Assimilation in Taiwan argued that Title No. 31 was contradictory to the assimilation policy they understood. They were angry because Title No. 31 still blocked their ability to participate in the governance of Taiwan. In 1918, some former members of the Association of Assimilation called a meeting in Tokyo to discuss repealing Law No. 31.²⁹⁸ This group of Taiwanese elites decided to form a political society to promote the repeal of the law. They resisted their “de facto and de jure” status as second class citizens by highlighting the differences between the “Taiwanese” and the “Japanese.” They believed that

²⁹⁶ “A History of Law No. 63,” *Taiwan Youth*, December 1918, 6-7.

²⁹⁷ Tay-Sheng Wang, *Legal Reform in Taiwan under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1895-1945*, 38-42.

²⁹⁸ Bowei Lin, *The Hardship of Taiwan Cultural Association*, 48-49.

the unique Taiwanese ethnic identity was grounds for their political authority in Taiwan. They, fundamentally, were also resisting Japan's assimilation policy.

Later, this group of elite, including Lin Xiantang 林獻堂 (1881-1956) and Cai Peihuo 蔡培火 (1889-1983), withdrew their petition for the repeal of Title No. 31. Instead they petitioned the imperial government to establish a Taiwanese Parliament in 1920.²⁹⁹ For them, the act of asking for the repeal of imperial laws symbolized Taiwanese disobedience to Japanese Imperial domination. They did not want to be labeled political activists who were demanding autonomy for Taiwan. They, instead, showed their willingness to be subject to Imperial Japan as citizens by asking for a change in the law through legal channels. Having a Taiwanese Parliament was the bottom line for elites who wanted to claim their citizenship. From 1921 to 1934, they filed fifteen petitions for a Taiwanese Parliament. The Imperial Congress commented “not to be considered” (*hu sai taku*, 不採擇) on each petition. The political demands of the Taiwanese elites were not a concern of the Imperial Congress. As a matter of fact, to follow Den's policy, in 1921, Title No. 31 was changed again to Title No. 3. It reduced the power of the governor general of Taiwan. In Title No. 3, the newly-minted “ordinance for exception,” also restricted ordinances by the governor-general of Taiwan to some circumstances. Even though Taiwan could have the same laws as Japan, because of Title No. 3, the Taiwanese were not included in the process of lawmaking. Disappointed by the assimilation policy and the amendment of Title No. 63, some of the elites started to distinguish themselves by developing the Taiwanese culture in Taiwan. They argued that it was distinct from the Japanese culture in order to gain attention for their grievances from the Japanese government.

²⁹⁹ Cai Peihuo, “Taiwanese Movements during Colonial Period,” *Taiwan Wen Xian* 16:2 (1965): 176.

The Taiwan Cultural Association and Cai Peihuo: the Promotion of Taiwanese Culture in POJ and its Role in Defining “Taiwanese Identity”

Beginning in the late 1910s, a cross-island discourse of Taiwanese culture 臺灣文化 emerged in the public activities in Taiwan and the Japanese islands as Asian countries were influenced by the culture of post-war self-determination and the New Culture Movement that originated in China. Sponsored by Lin Xiantang in Tokyo in 1915, the Takasago Youth Association 高砂青年會 aimed to advance “Taiwanese culture in Japan” through the work of a group of Taiwanese student fellows who studied in Japan.³⁰⁰ It initially provided a gathering space for Taiwanese students studying overseas. Later, it evolved into a cultural and political organization after changing its name to the Tokyo Taiwanese Youth Association in 1920. Takasago was the Japanese name for people from Taiwan and the name change signaled the group’s unwillingness to be named in the language of their colonizers. A group of elite had started their journey in search of a culture and language that was distinct from Japanese culture. Echoing the periodical *New Youth* 新青年, published by Chinese intellectuals in China, the Association issued *Taiwan Youth* 臺灣青年. From *Taiwan Youth* (The Tāioān Chheng Liān) in 1920, to *Taiwan* 臺灣 (The Formosa) in 1922, to *Taiwan People’s Newspaper* 臺灣民報 in 1923, through *Taiwan New People’s Newspaper* 臺灣新民報 in 1930, the choice to identify as “Taiwanese” expanded from the youth to the people (*min* 民) and thus created a new people (*xin min* 新民) a distinct ethnic group from the Japanese.

³⁰⁰ According to the research fellow Zhan Sujuan from Academia Sinica in Taiwan, the term Takasago used for calling Taiwan during the 16th and 19th centuries as a destination of voyage. It means “the prosperity of the country and people.” In 1895, the term was exclusively used to call Taiwanese indigenous tribes as Takasagozoku (高砂族). The aboriginal army of volunteers assigned by the Japanese government to fight during the World War II was called the Takasago Volunteer Unit. Source from Encyclopaedia of Taiwan, <http://taiwanpedia.culture.tw/en/content?ID=3452> (accessed March 19, 2013).

A turning point occurred in the ethnic history of Taiwan in 1920. In the first volume of *Taiwan Youth*, Cai Peihuo, a member of Tokyo Taiwanese Youth Association, claimed that “Taiwan is owned by the Taiwanese.” This volume was destined to be prohibited by the Home Ministry in Japan because of the wording. A more moderate reading of Cai’s article suggests that he was seeking an ethnic identity for the Taiwanese people rather than national independence. He wrote in Japanese:

“What is the relationship between the island of Taiwan and Taiwanese? In other words, how can we situate Taiwan and what connection do we island-born Taiwanese perceive to relate to the island? What life do we therefore live?We should not live lightheartedly all the time as incompetent [in politics]. **Taiwan is subjected to the Japan Empire and meanwhile owned by Taiwanese** (boldface added)...(台湾は帝国の台湾であると同時に、我等台湾人の台湾である...)”³⁰¹

It is an over-simplification to read Cai’s message as an awakening call for Taiwanese independence. Cai, on behalf of the Taiwanese, was hoping to gain an autonomy for Taiwan, but only within the Empire of Japan. In practice, he wanted the Taiwanese people to be in charge of the day-to-day affairs of the island while still remaining subordinate to the Japanese empire. Japanese nationals on the mainland and overseas Taiwanese students might interpret Cai’s statements as political agitation for Taiwanese political independence. Yet, Cai’s identification of himself as “Taiwanese” was not dependent on removing Taiwan from the Japanese empire. He was a conservative who was influenced by Chinese tradition and the global movements for self-determination and more clearly defined ethnic identities. His writings and political activities suggest that he was more interested in creating an ethno-linguistically based identity for the Taiwanese people and gaining a voice for the Taiwanese in policy making over the island as a

³⁰¹ Peihuo Cai, “Our island and we people (Wagasima to Warera 我島と我等),” *Taiwan Youth*, October 1920, 13.

part of the Japanese empire. He was not calling for an independent Taiwanese nation which is demonstrated by how he reacted to the repeal of Title No. 31.

Cai enthusiastically promoted Taiwanese culture. He announced that the New People Association 新民會 in Japan,³⁰² as a continuation of the Tokyo Taiwanese Youth Association, would issue *Taiwan Youth* as a channel of raising awareness of Taiwanese culture among Taiwanese youth.³⁰³ His usage of the pronoun ‘we’ and its positioning in his announcements about the journal indicate that he wanted to explore, along with the island youth, the Taiwanese past and work to define its future. He argued that since *they*, their Japanese counterparts, had been so serious about launching sociocultural movements in Japan, we (Cai and the Taiwanese youth) should also work to develop a Taiwanese culture. His subsequent account argued for the reform of undesirable Taiwanese traditions.³⁰⁴

It was not surprising that Cai did not elaborate more about the relationship between the “Chinese” and “Taiwanese” when he was discussing the distinction between the “Japanese” and the “Taiwanese.” Cai and many other Taiwanese elites believed that the Taiwanese were Han Chinese. Cai’s rationale for promoting the Taiwanese culture was based primarily on the Taiwanese people’s ignorance of their culture and historical relationship to Chinese civilization. Secondly, although it was unalterable that the Taiwanese shared a past that included the Chinese people, that fact would not change the reality that Taiwan was under Japanese governance. Furthermore, its people were still legally and culturally demarcated by the colonial policy. His

³⁰² As a continuation of the Takasago Youth Association and the Tokyo Taiwanese Youth Association.

³⁰³ See *Taiwan People’s Newspaper*, July 19, 1930, 19. The initiators of the New People Association, such as Cai Peihuo, Cai Huiru, Lin Chenglu, Cai Bofen (1895-1984), and Chen Xi (1893-1947), raised a fund to found the journal *Taiwan Youth* at Iidamachi 飯田町 in Tokyo, Japan. Cai Peihuo served as an editor and publisher.

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

understanding of Taiwanese people's blood tie with the Chinese will be analyzed later in an analysis of his POJ work.

Constructing a cultural identity, via internal consciousness as well as external classification, helps us to differentiate ourselves from one another. Cai Peihuo worked to construct "Taiwanese identity" by urging the Taiwanese public to ponder the ethnicity of Taiwanese people, the features of Taiwanese culture, and the subject of "Taiwan" as a special individual entity. These reflections necessarily pushed the Taiwanese to consider their identity in relation to China and Japan.

In 1921, some members of the New People Association of Taiwan and native elites founded the Taiwan Cultural Association (TCA, 1921-1931) in Taiwan in order to attract more local Taiwanese to cultural learning. The Taiwanese culture promoted by the Association played a decisive role in helping the Taiwanese resist ethno-linguistic assimilation into the Japanese empire. Unlike previous associations, the Association popularized POJ and the cultural exploration of a Taiwanese identity. It affirmed that its goal was to develop the culture of Taiwan while avoiding political agendas.³⁰⁵ Its mission statement asserted that the status quo in Taiwan was to be disengaged from the world because of its remote location on the southern side of the Japanese Empire. However, the waters of the Sea of Japan flowed to Europe and the U.S., and thus ideas from other parts of the world would converge in Taiwan sooner or later.³⁰⁶ It goes without saying that TCA members expected to engage in straightforward discussion with the

³⁰⁵ Before the TCA was officially approved to launch, one of the most important founders Lin Xiantang conversed with the director of Police Office, Kawasaki Takukichi 川崎卓吉 (1871-1936). Lin seriously promised Takukichi that the association would not involve any political activities. Any members who considered relating to political movements would have nothing to do with the TCA. This conversation before the submission of TCA's application indicates that both the Taiwanese elite and Japanese officials presumed that political involvement was not allowed but developing a Taiwanese culture indeed was encouraged. See Bureau of Police Office in Taiwan Sōtokufu ed. Wang Shilang trans. *History of Police Office in Taiwan* 2:2 (Taipei: Daoxiang, 1995), 252.

³⁰⁶ Peihuo Cai, *History of National Movement in Taiwan* (Taipei: Zili wan bao, 1983), 286.

Western world. Cultural activities and scholarly meetings on the establishment of morality, and general, physical, and art education held by the TCA were open to the public in Taiwan, Japan, and China as they were working to (re)define Taiwanese culture.

Dialogue between Chinese intellectuals and Taiwanese elite addressed how the complexity of the colonial, political and historical contexts fashioned a Taiwanese culture and thus an “identity” that was created through input from several cultures. To explain this idea more fully, we must first imagine Taiwanese culture and its relation to identification. Elites were determined to rescue the people from their so-called cultural deficiency by awakening them to a sense of being “Taiwanese,” articulating the characteristic morality of Taiwanese people, and lecturing on how to situate the people and culture in the world stage.

The Taiwanese elite wanted to define Taiwanese culture in terms of social norms such as loyalty to the family, society, and the state. They hoped those social norms would shape the behavior of individuals by helping them learn to be Taiwanese.³⁰⁷ The TCA members believed that the “Taiwanese” people had a frail body and lacked a distinctive culture. A Taiwanese doctor named Chiang Weishui 蔣渭水 (1891-1931) gave an opening talk in the first TCA meeting. Analogous to the advocacy of the cultural movements in China during the 1910s-1920s, he used Taiwan as an allegorical figure for the Taiwanese people to promote the message that the Taiwanese were sick because they lacked knowledge.³⁰⁸ Chiang created a story of Taiwan’s past and its connection with China. He said that “Taiwan” by birth, was registered in Fujian, China, but moved to live under the Sōtokufu’s administration. “He” was a descendant of Chinese sages and had been healthy as a child during the Koxinga 鄭成功 period (1661-1683).

³⁰⁷ Bureau of Police Office in Taiwan Sōtokufu ed. Wang Shilang trans. *History of Police Office in Taiwan 2: 2* (Taipei: Daoxiang, 1995), 251-52.

³⁰⁸ Weishui Chiang, “‘I’ in Five Years” *Taiwan People’s Newspaper*, August 1925, 45.

But his body had become increasingly weak since the Qing Dynasty, as a result of the Japanese Empire's harassment. Long starved of knowledge, his afflictions sapped his mental and moral vitality.³⁰⁹ To heal the weak-minded Taiwanese people, Chiang believed, education, libraries, and a newspaper study group would create a permanent cure. Dr. Chiang was not the only intellectual who diagnosed the ethno-cultural 'body' of the Taiwanese people in his writings. Several other similar opinions about the status of Taiwan and Taiwanese culture were seen in the following articles.

Taiwanese elites encouraged people to utilize POJ as a tool of cultural enlightenment which marked a significant shift in that group's perception of POJ as a writing system. The number of POJ users in Taiwan increased because of the activities of the TCA.³¹⁰ Some Taiwanese elites were impatient to utilize a representative writing system for the Taiwanese language, the southern Fujianese language. Unlike the European missionaries who educated Taiwanese Christians with a POJ translation of the Bible, a cluster of Japanese-educated Taiwanese intellectuals wanted to spread the use of POJ to the general public to offer them access to knowledge and cultural activities. As the documents from the Police Department of Taiwan Sōtokufu show, the literacy rate of the Taiwanese people in the 1920s, compared to the

³⁰⁹ Bai Chengzhi ed. *Posthumous Works of Chiang Weishui* (Taipei: Wenhua chu ban she, 1950), 94-5.

³¹⁰ POJ was not the only Roman-based writing system suggested during the colonial period. Before the TCA was launched in 1921, a Taiwanese intellectual, Lian Wenqing 連溫卿 (1894-1957), took over Kodama Shirō's 兒玉四郎 (n. d.) ambitious career to develop an international auxiliary language, Esperanto, which was created by Ludwig Lazarus Zamenhof (1859-1917), a Polish doctor, in 1887. Lian was not only a student of Shirō's but also assisted him in founding the Taiwan Esperanto Association 臺灣世界語協會 in Taipei County in 1913. Esperanto, composed of 28 letters and 15 grammatical rules, was designed as a neutral transnational communication tool to diminish language barriers. Given his suffering from switching between Russian, Yiddish, Polish, Latin, Hebrew, French, Greek, English, and Italian, Zamenhof found it helpful to have an intermediary linguistic form like Esperanto for people who were in need of understanding multiple types of languages. In addition, he also supposed that the less misunderstanding from language communication of diverse ethnic groups, the more world peace could be generated. Seeing a Romanized language as a comparatively simpler and universal arrangement offered an alternative to prompt culture in text other than an original or national writing form. Such a language is convenient for multilingual users or in an ethnic group that uses a logographic system.

Japanese living in Taiwan, was low.³¹¹ The TCA worked to decrease illiteracy and educate people via lectures by core members on such subjects as hygiene, the history of Taiwan, and civil law.³¹² The TCA decided that teaching Chinese and Japanese was not an efficient choice for educating a low-literacy populace. Instead they argued that a romanized language was a much more feasible medium for the introduction of Taiwanese culture as long as it could express the Taiwanese language and culture.

The ways that the TCA defined Taiwanese culture represent their attempt to construct a narrative of the ethnogenesis of the Taiwanese people. Ethnogenesis may “apply to how people appear in history, to how or what people speak as their native language, or to the overall culture that seems to have emerged” in a society.³¹³ “The symbolic criterion of contrast — *one language* (italics added), appearance, or culture as distinct from another — is a key feature” in creating an ethnogenesis.³¹⁴ “Taiwanese” identity emerged during the cultural reforms “when people consciously forged (or tried to forge) their features by making specific reference to their common heritage” which was the southern Fujianese language from China.³¹⁵ For the TCA, the “one language” of Taiwan was the southern Fujianese language and not Japanese. It was the language TCA members used in cultural activities and POJ was its written form. Since Taiwanese people were politically distinguished from the “Japanese” people of the mainland, they developed a cultural linguistic mechanism of ethnogenesis to “become Taiwanese.”

³¹¹ Bureau of Police Office in Taiwan Sōtokufu ed. *History of Police Office in Taiwan* vol. 3 (Taipei: Nantian Bookstore, 1995), 148-51.

³¹² Monitored by the Police Department, every lecturing meeting boasted an attendance of anywhere from 200 to 1000 people. Bureau of Police Office in Taiwan Sōtokufu ed. *History of Police Office in Taiwan* vol. 3, 152.

³¹³ D. Levinson and Melvin Ember, eds., *Encyclopedia of Cultural Anthropology* (New York: Henry Holt, 1996), 407.

³¹⁴ Ibid.

³¹⁵ Ibid.

The TCA's effort to advance Taiwanese culture through POJ literacy represented a negotiation with the policy of using the Japanese national language for education. It also symbolized their developing sense of belonging to a "Taiwanese" ethnolinguistic group. The linguistic and cultural activities of the TCA created a story of who the "Taiwanese" people were. This social institution played a pivotal role in organizing individuals into cultural groups who performed symbolic collective acts for or against the political status quo.³¹⁶

The Worldwide Awakening of Ethnic Culture and Cultural Ties with China

The TCA's endeavors to promote cultural activities were carefully planned. Their endeavors signified the prevailing mood of cultural discourse across China, Japan, and Taiwan, and the interchanges about cultural movements in newspapers and between intellectuals.³¹⁷ Seeking a Taiwanese culture and identity made sense in a global context. In the 1910s-1920s, countries all over the world began to consider their unique national identity and their relations to one another. One of the most important causes of this awakening appeared in Wilson's Fourteen Points in the 1919 Paris Peace Conference. One of the points called for the self-determination of nations and it awakened a huge swath of European ethnic groups and colonized peoples to their desire for an end to colonialism. A Taiwanese youth living in Japan at the time remarked that

³¹⁶ In 1927, TCA was separated into two groups, the old group of people such as Cai Peihuo and Lin Xiantang and the new group dominated by socialists like Lian Wenqing. The former group decided to withdraw from the TCA because their aims of promoting the TCA were different from the latter. Therefore, since 1927, the TCA was directed to advocate for the labor movement and proletarian culture by Lian and other proletarians. In 1928, the Taiwanese communists took over the TCA and the association disbanded in 1931 due to internal conflicts among members. See Bower Lin, *The Hardship of Taiwan Cultural Association*, 231-46.

³¹⁷ Lin Qiyang 林淇養 (1955-), also known as Xiang Yang 向陽, a scholar of Taiwanese literature, argues that the Taiwanese intelligentsia of the 1920s fell into a mire in which the dichotomous forces of assimilation and anti-assimilation misdirected their unique cultural consciousness. They were caught in the purlieu between Japanese cultural hegemony (*riben wenhua baquan* 日本文化霸權) and the Chinese homeland imagination (*zuguo tuxiang* 祖國圖像). He suggested that this digression caused the Taiwanese to lose opportunities for establishing a distinctive cultural identity. His allegation ignores the influence of non-Asian ideas on the Taiwanese quest for a distinct cultural identity. See Qiyang Lin, *Writing and Mapping: a Study of Phenomenon of the Literary Communication in Taiwan* (Taipei: Maitian, 2001), 97-122.

“thinking back to Taiwan, facing such a turning point in thinking, I was taking a dose of “awakening” to picture the future belief and hope....”³¹⁸ This course of introspection and construction of culture was not only shaped by the Taiwanese observation of how other Asians responded to the liberal ideas circulating in cultural discourse.³¹⁹ Rather, it was part of an immediate chain reaction of global movements for cultural identity formation.

Since the complex bloodlines between China and Taiwan influenced Taiwan’s cultural establishment in the 1920s, we should contemplate what role China and the symbolism of the shared past played in the process of constructing a Taiwanese culture. The Chinese “nation” seemed to take root in the minds of some Taiwanese elite, though Taiwan was not part of the “nation” of the Republic of China, at the time. As Huang Chaoqin 黃朝琴 (1897-1972), a Taiwanese studying in Japan who later founded the *Taiwan People’s Newspaper*, appealed, “China is the mother nation of Taiwan...”³²⁰ Chinese culture and its historical legacy in Taiwan was the weightiest component of being “nationalized” that the imagined ancestors and ethnicity bridged intellectuals in China and Taiwan.

Japanese official documents on the TCA support my interpretation on the development of the Taiwanese cultural heritage. Acquiring the official perspective of the Japanese empire cannot be more important, especially as it impacts how we understand “Taiwanese” and “Taiwanese identity” from the state’s point of view. In addition to giving a definition of

³¹⁸ Bingyao Cai, “Social Reform and My Mission,” *Taiwan People’s Newspaper*, July 1923, 2

³¹⁹ Standing in the frontline of the cultural movement, TCA members in Japan voiced their sympathy in newspapers, though they could not act in support of the Korean March 1st Movement, 1919. Gathering with Korean students in Japan pressed the Taiwanese elite to feel the fever and anxiety of whether the global tendency of political thinking was practical in reality. Korea’s success in gaining partial autonomy certainly was a stimulant and thus a model for Taiwan’s future. TW elite such as Cai Peihuo and Lin Chenglu often wrote in the editorial section of “Forum of Asia” (亞細亞公論) and the Korean political magazine *Korean Youth*. See Bureau of Police Office in Taiwan Sōtokufu ed. Wang Shilang trans. *History of Police Office in Taiwan* 2: 2 (Taipei: Daoxiang, 1995), 43-44.

³²⁰ Chaoqin Huang, *Wo de hui yi* (My Memory) (Taipei: Longwen chubanshe, 1989), 13.

“Taiwanese” via the demographics³²¹ in the *Police Officers' Records*,³²² Japanese officers observed that the “ethnic identity” of the Taiwanese elite originated from their understanding of themselves as Han. The Han was a cultural community generally known since the Han dynasty (BC 202-220) in China whose members differentiated between themselves and outsiders by describing themselves as the elite and civilized.³²³

Moreover, Japanese officials recorded that Taiwanese ancestral grave worship suggested that the Taiwanese saw themselves as descendants of the people from China.³²⁴ One of the Japanese reports stated that the “Taiwanese” were still proud of their five-thousand-year old Chinese history and proved it by maintaining their old customs. Japanese officials elaborated that Taiwan was separated from the Kuangdong and Fujian provinces of China only by the Taiwan Strait. In view of the bloodlines that existed between the “Taiwanese” and the mainland Chinese, any cultural or political discussion between these two peoples against the current “mother nation” (Japan) seemed politically sensitive.

For the government, the Taiwanese affinity with the Chinese people and culture endangered the national language policy. An officer’s letter to the Taiwan Governor-general,

³²¹ To implement the policy of nationality (*kokuseki*), a series of censuses, starting from 1905 up to 1940, established a reliable registration system in order to effectively manage people. In 1936, official statistics stated the total population of Taiwan was 5,541,863, and 5,042,941 out of the population were “Taiwanese.” Taiwanese indigenous tribes, overseas Chinese, Japanese, and expatriates such as Koreans were excluded from the category “Taiwanese.” This population census also commented that the “Taiwanese” instigated most social movements in Taiwan. To be integrated in the official category as “Taiwanese,” one had to provide evidences of one’s birthplace. Someone born in Mainland China who later moved to Taiwan was regarded as alien, though in the very beginning stage of occupation the number of aliens was very small. Not welcoming of a flood of Chinese nostalgia into Taiwan, the Japanese government deliberately decreased migration from China, while at the same time encouraging immigrants from the Japanese mainland. See G.W. Barclay, *Colonial Development and Population in Taiwan* (New York: Kennikat Press, 1972), 3-17.

³²² It was written for Japanese officers in Taiwan as a reference for guiding future principles of policy-making and categorized as secret by 1945. It was not completely released to the public until the 1980s. See Bureau of Police Office in Taiwan Sōtokufu eds. Wang Naixin trans. *History of Police Office in Taiwan 2: 2* (Taipei: Chuangzao, 1989), 1-12.

³²³ Cho-yun Hsu, *The Difference between the Self and Others* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2009), 47-56.

³²⁴ Wakabayashi Masahiro, “Taiwan Sōtokufu’s Secret Documents about ‘Strategy for Taiwan Cultural Association’,” *Studies of Modern History of Taiwan* (1978), 159-74.

Kamiyama Mannoshin 上山 滿之進 (1869-1938), the 8th Governor-general of Taiwan,³²⁵ demonstrates their strategy for dealing with the TCA's activities in 1927. The letter complained about the manners of TCA members who arrogantly claimed "we China or we R.O.C will impede the popularization of national language (meaning Japanese)...They (Taiwanese) even propagandize a romanized language and instigate the use of Chinese characters! It is even worse that those Taiwanese elite were getting along intimately with Mainland Chinese (*Sina jin* 支那人)!"³²⁶ Maintaining customs such as ancestral worship was more tolerable than ideological discourse that favored Chinese culture and the use of its written language. From that point on, the letter proposed disbanding the TCA by urging the cadre Lin Xiantang to temporarily leave Taiwan for his planned travel in Europe. Then Japanese officials could suppress the leftist-oriented communist members and radicals who dominated the TCA from 1927 onward.³²⁷ The proposal was adopted. The "Taiwanese" nostalgia for their Chinese homeland had become a threat to Japanese colonial governance.

Cultural Associations and POJ Literary Translation

Cultural associations advanced cultural enlightenment through the improvement of literacy. It is very possible that the majority of the TCA audiences, though they spoke the southern Fujianese language, could barely read POJ, Japanese or Chinese in the 1920s. Cai Peihuo believed there was still a group of underrepresented illiterates, like peasants, who hardly

³²⁵ Ibid.

³²⁶ Ibid.

³²⁷ See footnote 316. In fact, before Lin was requested to leave for travel, the TCA had been controlled by Taiwanese communists and proletarian socialists such as Lian Wenqing and Wang Minchuan 王敏川 (1889-1942). The Japanese government found it was a good time to suppress the association as their promotion of the labor movement and agitation against the government was not welcome by the colonial rulers. See Bowei Lin, *The Hardship of Taiwan Cultural Association*, 235-60.

had time for colonial education.³²⁸ Even though there was no officially-sponsored reading circle for POJ users, we should not neglect the role that the TCA played in galvanizing widespread reading. In addition to the promotion of newspaper reading houses, the TCA worked to develop Taiwanese culture through the use of the southern Fujianese language and its writing format, POJ. It was a thorny challenge. On the one hand, writing and reading activities were a relatively small part of the TCA-sponsored cultural events including summer schools, general lectures, and cultural operas. On the other hand, POJ printed materials had to apply for imprimatur.³²⁹ Under the double censorship of publication, the TCA newsletter only ran for four issues, which was understandable as its contents used Taiwanese ethnicity and political metaphors as weapons against imperialism.³³⁰ The TCA therefore preferred to conduct cultural promotion through speeches, performances, and singing in operas and films.³³¹ Oral and visual enlightenment accordingly were considered more effective than written forms.

Even so, Cai and his fellows Han Shiquan 韓石泉 (1897-1963) and Wang Shoulu 王受祿 (1893-1977), both medical doctors, enthusiastically engaged in teaching POJ to interested attendees. They provided POJ classes to the general public and lectured on the advantages of studying POJ. It turned out that reading and writing in POJ was to a large degree performed in private societies and in Christian-associated publications, which will be analyzed in later

³²⁸ Peihuo Cai, *A Collection of Cai Peihuo's Works* vol.1 (Taipei: Wushi tushu, 2000), 194.

³²⁹ Taiwan Sōtokufu's Rules of Publication in Taiwan (1900) ruled out any potential printed products that might impinge on imperial dignity or endanger the regime and social order. Sōtokufu maintained rights of double censorship on imported books from Japan and other countries to Taiwan. Permission to import books was not necessarily equal to being allowed to sell them in Taiwan. The 1900 Rules granted the Police Department the authority to review the contents of publications for the sake of public security before they flowed into market. Chinese and POJ books, flyers, and newspapers that criticized the government were naturally forbidden. See Seichiro Suzuki, "Rules of Publication in Taiwan," *Interpretations of Laws of Publication in Taiwan* (Taipei: Sugita Bookstore, 1937), 221-26.

³³⁰ Bureau of Police Office in Taiwan Sōtokufu ed. Wang Shilang trans. *History of Police Office in Taiwan 2:2* (Taipei: Daoxiang, 1995), 265-66.

³³¹ Bowei Lin, *The Hardship of Taiwan Cultural Association*, 95-148.

sections. Cai's individual efforts to stimulate the use of POJ might not have been in vain, but unfortunately there are not sufficient extant materials to provide proof of the results of his efforts. Even so, a great volume of historical and literary writings during the colonial periods were created in POJ which demonstrates its role in the cultural enlightenment movement.

Study groups affiliated with county-level cultural associations deserve credit for promoting POJ literacy and cultural enlightenment during leisure time. Private regional cultural associations, such as The I-xin Association 一新會, encouraged reading activities outside of school.³³² Sponsored by Lin Xiantang and his elder son Lin Panlong 林攀龍 (1901-1983), I-xin was an omnibus organization that hosted art exhibitions, lectures, debates, children's gatherings, youth seminars, women's tea parties, religious forums, study groups and the I-xin private school, where the POJ textbook *Lák-pah jī phian Lô-má-jī chù-kái* 六百字編羅馬字註解 (Annotations of Six Hundred Romanized Chinese) was taught in the beginning-level educational program of Chinese writing.³³³ POJ was once again used as an auxiliary tool for Chinese cultural studies. Learning about Chinese culture was considered the first step in learning the history of Taiwan.

In addition to increasing literacy rate, I-xin increased women's cultural involvement through offering women's speechmaking classes.³³⁴ Although I-xin was a male-dominated society managed by the Lin family, local native authorities, and outside elite classes,³³⁵ one-third

³³² The I-xin Association was founded by Lin Xiantang's son Lin Panlong. After he traveled back from Europe, the Association was initiated in March 19, 1932. It aimed to promote the culture of Wufeng area and make it contribute to the establishment of Taiwanese culture. Please see Yulan Lee, "Hsien-Tang Lin and Women's Education — A Case Study of Wufeng I-sin Association," *Research in Taiwan Studies* 13 (2012): 102.

³³³ Chinese letter-writing was scheduled in the second level. Hsueh-chi Hsu, "The Foundation and Significance of I-sin Association," Conference Papers of Native Culture in Middle Taiwan (Taichung: Cultural Bureau of Taichung, 2000), 9-16.

³³⁴ The first women association was Changhua Women's Cooperative (*zhanghua funu gonglihui*) in 1925. Women were encouraged to learn Chinese characters, Japanese, and POJ, and attend enlightening talks. (See "Changhua founded Women Cooperation," *Taiwan People's Newspaper*, March 1, 1925, 6)

³³⁵ Yulan Li, "Lin Xiantang and Women Education," *Research in Taiwan Studies* 13 (2012): 93-126.

of their program attendees were female.³³⁶ Lin Xiantang's open-mindedness on women's education inspired confidence in his female family members, including his relative's concubines. Lin repeatedly offered lectures and public speaking demonstrations and urged women to talk in public. Women were able to explain their opinions in public spaces.³³⁷ By hosting cultural colloquiums, the association enriched social interactions and individual education.

Speaking and reading are different skills in the process of cultural participation. Women like Yang Shuixin 楊水心 (1882-1952), who spoke at I-xin's Women's Gatherings (*Kenqin hui* 懇親會), dynamically performed in speaking. Their speech making did not necessarily improve their participation in reading activities. In I-xin's reading groups, most of the participants were male. They did not exclude female members from reading activities, but their absence may indicate that many women were unable to understand advanced readings of translated works and classical Chinese or to lead scholarly discussions. As a result, Lin devised a role for them as special members of the reading groups while they were taking language classes. They had no obligation to give a presentation of studies but they were permitted to raise questions and join the dialogues about the readings. This worked because the reading group discussion questions were not essentially related to the reading topics. From 1934 to 1935, the group's readings studied translation and transliteration of works from different languages including *An Introduction of Ethics* (by Frank Thilly), the POJ Bible, *The Records of the Grand Historian*, and *Purposes of Life* (by Hoashi Riichirō). Most of the meetings were organized thematically instead of by book title. Fellow members, who all had college degrees except Lin Xiantang (who was well-read in

³³⁶ Ibid.

³³⁷ For instance, Lin's wife Yang Shuixin gave a prepared talk with the title "How to Eradicate Superstition." Through the process of preparing and giving her speech, she enlightened herself and her audience about how her understanding of superstition had changed. Hsueh-chi Hsu eds., *The Diary of Lin Hsien-t'ang* vol. 6 (Taipei: Institute of Taiwan History, 2000), 416.

Chinese history), usually studied a selected topic, for instance, “The Individual and Society” (December 27, 1934), “Origins of Civilization and Culture” (August 1, 1935) and “An Introduction to Jin Shengtan 金聖嘆” (November 7, 1935).³³⁸ Even though some of them gained reading and writing skills from public schools, special members, who were not obligated to attend every meeting, might put in strenuous effort to read the materials. However, their reading capability would not hinder their participation in non-research based discussions, such as “Prohibition against Alcoholic Drinks” (November 12, 1934).

Orally transmitting Chinese or Japanese texts through discussion was not the only route for imparting translated foreign works to Taiwanese southern Fujianese language speakers. POJ could serve the same function in written arrangements. Tân Chhing-tiong 陳清忠 (1885-1960) served as one of the most influential campaigners for POJ translation from the 1920s-1940s while his periodical *Koà-Chhài chí* 芥菜子 (Seeds of Brassica Juncea) was first issued in northern Taiwan in 1925 as a religious journal.³³⁹ After graduation from the Department of English at Doshisha University in Kyoto, Tân taught English at Danshui Middle and Girls’ Schools in Taipei where he was active in the preparation of English stage plays and talks. In an attempt to interest more students in English studies and literature, he translated a variety of literary works including poems, songs, essays, and novels into POJ.

Translation, in his hands, was typically a *reproduction* as he had to “speak out” works in different genres regardless of the length and wording used in the original pieces. This does not mean that POJ, or the southern Fujianese language, was unsuitable for literary composition. But

³³⁸ Li-jung Cheng, “Cultural Movement in the local Society: a Case Study on the Reading Society of the Wu-fong I-xin Society (1934-1936),” *National Central University Journal of Humanities* 36 (2008): 139-84.

³³⁹ *Koà-Chhài chí* was a literary periodical that published creative writings, translations, and evangelical pieces from the Bible. Starting from issue 23, it was merged into *TCN* in 1927.

the issues of meaning that occurred with translating the Bible re-occurred for him. A translator has to interpret original ideas in another language. For instance, in his “Gín-ná kap thiⁿ-sài 孩子” (Children and Angels), translated from Robert Browning’s (1812-1889, an English poet and playwright) “The Boy and the Angel,” he had tried his best to literally convert Browning’s every word to POJ. However it sounded awkward when read in the southern Fujianese language. As he said, the usage of the language was not natural in translation and mimicked foreigner’s usage patterns of the language. The grammar and structure used might be intelligible, but the rhythms and cadences of the original piece were lost in the translation. Tân therefore annotated the contents and meanings of the poem at the end to aid his students’ understanding.³⁴⁰ Translation from a written to a spoken language highlighted the difficulties of being restrained to a limited number of words in the culture and strict formats common to poetry. That, however, did not hamper the production of meaning but the aesthetic flow of the literary creation.

Tân used POJ transliterations of foreign literature to teach his students the morality that was embedded in Taiwanese culture. He wanted his readers to learn the lessons in the texts rather than reading his translations merely for personal entertainment.³⁴¹ Morality, in his understanding, was universal. Therefore Tan used western works for the social education and entertainment of Taiwanese children. For instance, Tân translated *Sèng-tàn Koa* 聖誕歌 (A *Christmas Carol* by Charles Dickens, 1812-1870) which was a sardonic novella of the Victoria era, concerning a miser, Kian-lī (Ebenezer Scrooge) who hated everything related to Christmas.³⁴² That changed when he saw the ghost of a dead friend at Christmas Eve, who urged

³⁴⁰ Tân Chhing-tiong trans., “Gín-ná kap thiⁿ-sài,” *Koà-Chhài chí*, TCN, April 1925, 22-25.

³⁴¹ Tân was not the only translator in the 1920s, but he was the most productive at translating English works. His Christian colleague in southern Taiwan, Gôo Khó-chiok translated *Sun-tāi ê Lâi-lek kap i ē su-siūⁿ* (Stories of Sun Da and his thoughts) (Pingtung: Xingshi she, 1927) from the Japanese publication by Andrew Murray (1887-1963).

³⁴² Tân Chhing-tiong trans. “Sèng-tàn Koa,” *Koà-Chhài chí*, July 1925, 25-29; October 1925, 34-38; January 1926, 41-44.

him to examine his past selfishness and change his attitude toward the people around him. The next day, he decided to embrace the blessing of helping people. Tân prefaced *Chit tiâu sòaⁿ* — 一條線 (The Piece of String by Guy de Maupassant) in a similar way.³⁴³ In his annotation, he suggested that this was not merely an entertaining story, but offered practical life lessons.³⁴⁴ Tân hoped his translations would stimulate an interest in exploring the significance of morality.

POJ enabled Taiwanese people to gain cultural enlightenment, get to know Taiwanese language and Chinese culture, and read foreign culture. During the colonial era, private organizations, individuals, and Japanese officers all ramped up their efforts to write the southern Fujianese language. For the Taiwanese, POJ was one of the most accepted writing systems used to develop “Taiwanese” identity and culture. It also enabled them to study foreign literature without becoming literate in a foreign writing system. POJ played multiple roles in the facilitation of Japan’s colonial administration as well as trans-lingual practice. We should not overlook the vicissitudes of POJ across the fifty-year-long colonization, particularly as it was situated in Taiwanese written language debates.

Taiwanese Written Language Debates in the 1920s-1930s

The promotion of Taiwanese culture in colonial Taiwan was followed by a series of discussions on the Taiwanese written languages and literacy reform. In the context of cultural movements in Asia, how POJ users described its relationship to nativist literature and the ethnic language is worthy of special attention. In the 1920s-1930s, the Taiwanese elite underwent a period of introspection about what made Taiwan unique and how well its people understood their

³⁴³ Tân Chhing-tiong trans. “Chit tiâu sòaⁿ,” *TCN*, May 1928, 5-17.

³⁴⁴ Yet, not all translation was taken so seriously. During the 1950s, his translation of Shakespeare’s (1564-1616) works, including *Venice ê Seng-î-lâng* (The Merchant of Venice), brought the church fun and dynamic Christmas holidays via stage plays.

surroundings and society. Conversations regarding the Taiwanese language in literary compositions crossed national boundaries and geographical borders through press circulation. After defining their culture, Taiwanese intellectuals in Taiwan and Japan worked to define literary genres and language expressions as features of Taiwanese identity.

While the TCA embarked on cultural campaigns, debates on nativist (*xiangtu* 鄉土) literature (a Taiwanese-style vernacular genre) sprang up in Chinese and Japanese publications between the 1920s-1934 in Taiwan. Defining Taiwanese literature became a hot issue in publications such as the *Wuren Newspaper* 伍人報, *Shōwa Newspaper* 昭和新聞, *Taiwan People's Daily Newspaper*, *Southern Dialects* 南音', and the *Xingao Newspaper* 新高新報.³⁴⁵ Nativist literature was expected to serve as a bridge linking vernacular Chinese in China and proletarian writing in Taiwan, but it turned into a source of contention in textual battles among the China-nostalgic intellectuals. In the field of nativist literature, “Taiwanese” could use their own language to compose literary works and convey opinions. Ideally those works would be understood by the general public in Taiwan and China. Nevertheless, selecting a suitable writing genre that was intelligible to people who spoke different languages when the genre was couched in a vernacular format near to spoken communication was difficult.

In 1930, the urge for the “Taiwanese” to write their own literature was publicly discussed. Huang Shihui 黃石輝 (1900-1945), a Taiwanese left-wing writer, was the first advocate for nativist literature. His article on “Why don't we advocate native literature?” ostensibly appealed to “Taiwanese” for writing Taiwan's literature as follows,

"You are Taiwanese! (boldface added) Your heads are just underneath the heaven of Taiwan while your toes touch upon the earth of Taiwan. What your eyes reach is

³⁴⁵ Shurong Chen, *Taiwan hua wen lun zheng de yu po* (The Debates and Fallout of Taiwanese Written Languages) (Taipei: Wunan, 2004), 5-17.

everything of Taiwan. What your ears hear is news of the island. The time you spend on the land is also the experience of Taiwan. What you speak is Taiwanese language. Therefore, your brilliant pens should also write Taiwanese literature... What is Taiwanese literature? It is composed of proses, poems, novels, songs and depiction of Taiwan in Taiwanese language..."³⁴⁶

In Huang's statement, the "Taiwanese" were the people deeply rooted in Taiwan; their cultural life had no doubt emotionally involved them in what went on the island. Literary compositions created by the people as well as the nativist literature of Taiwan were therefore called "Taiwanese literature." Nativist literature in his explanation was undefined and seemed to be interchangeable with Taiwanese literature.

Nativist literature was expected to embrace the regionalism of Taiwan. Standing in opposition, sneering at Huang Shihui's ambiguous definition of nativist literature, Huang Deshi 黃得時 (1909-1999), a newspaper reporter, proposed that discussion should focus on Taiwanese writings rather than the process of defining them. His nativist literature embraced dance and songs, and *Gezi xi* 歌仔戲 (a type of traditional Taiwanese opera) that were performed by Taiwanese (here he meant Fujianese and Cantonese) and mountain aborigines (*sheng fan* 生蕃).³⁴⁷

In fact, the content of writing was adjustable, but how to represent literature in the Taiwanese language in an intelligible way was a complex problem, particularly in Chinese characters. The journal, *Tabloid on 3rd, 6th, and 9th* (*San Liu Jiu xiao bao* 三六九小報), had supported Taiwanese language literary works and teaching since the spring of 1931.³⁴⁸ The chief

³⁴⁶ Shihui Huang, "Zen yang bu tic hang xiangtu wen xue (Why don't we advocate nativist literature?)," *Wuren Newspaper*, August 16 to Septembers 1, 1930, from Toshio Nakajima's *A Material Collection of Taiwan's Nativist Literature Debates in the 1930s* (Kaohsiung: Chunhui, 2003), 1-6.

³⁴⁷ Deshi Huang, "A Discussion of Taiwan's Nativist Literature," *Collection of Huang Deshi's Reviews* (Taipei: Beixian wenhua, 1993), 64-69.

³⁴⁸ *Southern Dialects* opened a column "Taiwanese Language Writings" as the main public space for intellectual discussion on this issue.

editor Lian Yatang 連雅堂 (1878-1936) initiated a series of Taiwanese-language lessons through his *Taiwan yu jiang zuo* 臺灣語講座” (Forum on Taiwanese language) for the general public who had to overcome the crucial hurdle of writing the language. The difficulty of writing the southern Fujianese language in Chinese characters hinged on the fact that some of the corresponding Chinese phrases for expressions in Taiwanese would not make sense to people who did not understand the southern Fujianese language. For instance, “阮厝” itself has no meaning in Mandarin Chinese but refers to “my house” in the Taiwanese language. At this point, the vocabularies used in public instruction reveal that the Taiwanese language by default referred to the southern Fujianese language.

Chinese script could not completely replace POJ as long as writings were created that detailed Taiwan’s plebeian life. As a major literature and art journal for native culture during colonial rule, *Tabloid on 3rd, 6th, and 9th* called for articles of any genre or language as long as they were about Taiwanese love songs, children's ballads, or folk stories to present pure literature. The journal particularly welcomed those written in POJ with classical or vernacular Chinese as auxiliary commentaries.³⁴⁹

The role that writing the Taiwanese language was supposed to play in expressing “Taiwanese identity” was discussed but was not well explained in language debates. Participants took it for granted that the southern Fujianese language was the Taiwanese spoken language. We lack sufficient evidence to distinguish the context that informed that choice. Hakka and the other indigenous languages were obviously excluded from the list of candidates for the “Taiwanese” spoken language. Indigenous tribes were racially and linguistically different from the Han. The

³⁴⁹ See *SLJXB*, December 9, 1930, “Call for Taiwanese love songs, children’s ballads and folk legends—Genres: Classical and vernacular Chinese for languages and romanization all are acceptable. Those Romanized languages should add classical or vernacular Chinese as commentaries.”

construction of a “Taiwanese identity” through a language system therefore did not include the linguistic identity of the indigenous people. The Hakka chose not to remain linguistically isolated and learned the southern Fujianese language and Japanese. A trilingual Hakka could assume a “Taiwanese identity” by speaking the southern Fujianese language. Sources suggest that southern Fujianese language users were targeted in cultural and linguistic promotions since the language functioned as the common language in colonial Taiwan. It made communication possible between the Japanese officers, the Hakka, southern Fujianese language speakers, and a few of the indigenous tribes. A “Taiwanese language” was invented and its written format for articulating “Taiwanese identity” was fiercely disputed by its speakers.

POJ as a Taiwanese Written Language

Writers advocated for the use of POJ again in the 1920s-1930 debates when Taiwanese language reformers looked for a practical written language to represent the southern Fujianese language. The written language needed to be understood by both Chinese and Taiwanese speakers but also accepted by the Japanese government. As early as 1925, Cai Peihuo had published *Cháp-hāng kóan-kiàn* 十項管見 (Ten Essays about Taiwan) in POJ, a work that expressed the concerns of contemporary Taiwanese intellectuals. Of the ten essays in the volume, chapters 2 and 4 commented on “The relationship between the new Taiwan and POJ” and “Han ethnicity (*Hanren* 漢人),” respectively. In his mind, POJ was the best solution for the illiterate and a tool for teaching Chinese characters, other languages, and Taiwanese culture.

Since he was “Taiwanese,” a descendant of the Han people ruled by the Japanese, Cai’s plan to make Taiwan better did not include replacing Chinese script with POJ. Rather he wanted for people to learn POJ so that they could transcribe the southern Fujianese language and enable POJ users to learn in Mandarin Chinese and Japanese. In his chapters, he argued that he was

worried about the people's deficiencies in knowledge and education. He believed that teaching the Taiwanese people POJ would help them to learn and to create Taiwanese literature. For Cai, a written language was necessary to differentiate civilization from barbarism. In his words, to save Taiwan from the old ways, the Taiwanese had no choice but to study POJ which would enable to help them advance into the modern era. Out of the 3.6 million people living on the island only about 200,000 went to school, he claimed. Spreading the Taiwanese language was also greatly complicated by the reality that it had no direct linguistic relationship to either Chinese script or Mandarin Chinese. His messages revealed how significant it was to create a written language to combat the disadvantages of recording information via oral transmission.³⁵⁰ It was almost impossible to create learning with a spoken language which lacked a written format. Furthermore, in his "Plans and Gist for the Promotion of POJ," he advised islanders that raising literacy rates was the only way to be treated equally by the Japanese. If POJ prevailed on the island, a variety of high-quality publications would become accessible to the masses. Even better, the Japanese could learn the Taiwanese language in the same way.³⁵¹

Cai's rationale and plan for promoting POJ resembled the rationale that Presbyterian missionary's used to convince people to learn it. They both emphasized that learning POJ could provide a person with broad access to knowledge and Chinese studies.³⁵² The difference between Cai's and the Church's rationale hinged on Cai's insistence that Taiwanese POJ users would learn about their culture and understand what it meant to be "Taiwanese." He believed that the Taiwanese should read and write in their own language. Reading cultural materials that

³⁵⁰ Peihuo Cai, "Sin Tâi-oân kap Lô-má-jī ê Koan-hē" (New Taiwan and its Relation with Romanization), *A Collection of Cai Peihuo's Works* vol. 5 (Taipei: Wushi tushu, 2000), 28-30.

³⁵¹ Peihuo Cai, "Tui guang baihua zi xhi zhuzhi ji qi jihua (Plans and Gist for the Promotion of POJ)," *A Collection of Cai Peihuo's Works* vol. 6 (Taipei: Wushi tushu, 2000), 223-25.

³⁵² Please refer to the discussion in Chapter Two.

were written in POJ would help the Taiwanese develop a sense of what it mean to be “Taiwanese”. The southern Fujianese language could be written in Chinese or Japanese but he believed that POJ was the most appropriate script for articulating the Taiwanese language.

In 1927, the TCA was split into two factions, and the stronger one drove the association to the political left in support of proletarian culture and anti-government.³⁵³ Cai’s departure from the administration of the TCA in 1927 suggests that the TCA’s leaders were unwilling to support Cai’s objective to promote POJ. Since Cai’s life goal was universal literacy, he was especially interested in educating village peasants who were deprived of formal education through cultural enlightenment. Yet the cluster of left-wing TCA members who took control of the TCA decided to move the focus of the TCA to political involvement.³⁵⁴ Moreover, Cai received some sarcastic criticism of his efforts from the left-wingers in the TCA. Anti-POJ TCA members, like Lu Bingding 盧丙丁 (1901-1945), twisted Cai’s advocacy of POJ by suggesting that learning POJ was anti-Marxist and pro-Christian.³⁵⁵ Cai chose to withdraw from the TCA and thereafter lost his cultural stage and his institutional sponsor for POJ.

While he was promoting POJ, Cai claimed he received encouragement from his conversations with Izawa Shūji, the Japanese educator who shared Cai’s goal of educating the Taiwanese people in the Taiwanese language. However, Izawa did not support the use of POJ because he was concerned that its use would hinder the Taiwanese people’s ability to learn Japanese. He requested that Cai select a different writing system that could also be used to promote Japanese language learning or develop a new writing system.³⁵⁶ One and a half months

³⁵³ Cai lost power in the TCA when its driving force shifted in 1927. See Huang Songying’s *Ideas and Activities of Taiwan Cultural Association, 1921-1931* (Taipei: Haixia xueshu chubanshe, 2008), 174.

³⁵⁴ Peihuo Cai, *A Collection of Cai Peihuo’s Works*, vol. 1 (Taipei: Wushi tushu, 2000), 22.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 178.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 167.

after their conversation, Cai returned to Taiwan from Japan and revised the POJ spelling system by adding kana to the basic letters of the alphabet in 1931.³⁵⁷ He imagined that this revision would assist public school graduates in using POJ; thereafter, he held a number of revised POJ study meetings. Unfortunately, this kana version grabbed little attention from POJ and kana users as they were not interested in learning another writing scheme.³⁵⁸

Chinese character users also opposed Cai's efforts to increase the use of POJ. Reviewing the history of Taiwanese literature movements and POJ promotion in the 1920s-1930s, Huang Shiqiao 黃師樵 (n.d.) shared Cai's desire to end illiteracy, but thought his efforts lacked consideration of the anxiety that losing Chinese characters in daily life would cause people while they were learning POJ. Huang's criticism hinged on the idea that nostalgia for Chinese writing would block people's ability to think and learn in POJ. Huang was concerned that teaching people POJ might contribute to the declining use of Chinese characters even if Cai was not interested in replacing Chinese character use with POJ use in Taiwan.³⁵⁹

Cai's advocacy of POJ was considered unsuccessful beyond the church's intellectual circle. Guo Qiusheng 郭秋生 (1904-1980), an amateur writer who firmly believed in a direct relationship between a spoken and written language system (*yan wen yizhi* 言文一致) in Taiwan,

³⁵⁷ Ibid., 172.

³⁵⁸ From the perspective of the colonial government, writing the southern Fujianese language in a non-kana text system was only acceptable if it was an auxiliary tool for Japanese officers' language learning. Non-Japanese writing, let alone non-character-based systems like POJ, was not welcome in public school education, particularly after 1937 when Japan launched the second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945). The banning of non-Japanese written language in the public sphere in Taiwan did not target POJ; it was designed to wipe out all writing systems other than Japanese. Chiou Ya-ping's 邱雅萍 thesis argues that the withdrawal of the Chinese column from the *Taiwan People's Newspaper* in 1937 was meant to remove the threat from the vernacular Taiwanese-style Chinese writing in public space. Chiou states that the Japanese had lost control of this type of hybrid writing in which Chinese, Taiwanese and Japanese grammars all mingled. To justify the abrogation, the government criticized this genre for extremely departing from authentic Chinese writing. The withdrawal of the column shows that Chinese articles in newspapers were under inspection and they had become unintelligible to Japanese inspectors. See Ya-ping Chiou, "A Language Inquiry of Taiwanese Vernacular from the Abrogation of Han-wen Colum on the Dailies," Master thesis, National Cheng Kung University, the Department of Taiwanese Literature, 2007.

³⁵⁹ Shiqiao Huang, "New Literature Movement and POJ Movement," *Taipei Wenwu* 3:2 (1954):140-41.

did not agree with Cai's promotion of POJ. Guo was dissatisfied with POJ, not because POJ lacked the direct relationship, but because in his judgment, POJ was simply "a church language unauthorized by the government."³⁶⁰ He preferred to base his writing in an existing Chinese character system and add neologisms, if no appropriate words were found in the original.³⁶¹

Nevertheless, Cai was not alone in proposing that POJ become the official Taiwanese written language. Zhang Hongnan (n.d.), one of his supporters, ascribed Cai's failure in POJ promotion in the 1920s-1930s to the following cause: "POJ was misunderstood as a foreign language used only by Christians and Taiwanese illiterates."³⁶² Other contemporaries even accused POJ advocates of mixed usage between two terms "*Baihua zi* movement" and "*baihua zi* (白話字)"; the former was attached to the May Fourth Movement while the latter referred to the Chinese words pronounced as "Pêh-oē-jī" (POJ) in the southern Fujianese language. More confusing was that *baihua zi* in Chinese was rarely used to mean POJ. Rather, "romanization" (*ruoma zi* 羅馬字) or "church romanization" (*jiaohui ruoma zi* 教會羅馬字) was often used in Chinese to refer to POJ in linguistic and social writings.³⁶³ Regardless of active resistance to the adoption of POJ as the written Taiwanese language, Cai persisted in writing the southern Fujianese language in POJ. He later developed different formats of POJ to promote its increased use.

³⁶⁰ Qiusheng Guo, "A Proposal of Taiwanese Language Writing," *Taiwan News*, July 7, 1931, from Toshio Nakajima's *A Material Collection of Taiwan's Nativist Literature Debates in the 1930s* (Kaohsiung: Chunhui, 2003), 48. He suggested that to establish coherence between written and spoken language, the Taiwanese language first should have its own written format.

³⁶¹ Qiusheng Guo, "Problems on New Words," *Southern Dialects* 1:7, May 25, 1932, from Toshio Nakajima's *A Material Collection of Taiwan's Nativist Literature Debates in the 1930s* (Kaohsiung: Chunhui, 2003), 295.

³⁶² Hongnan Zhang, "The Misunderstood Romanization (誤解 されだローマ)," *Taiwan* (1923): 49-54.

³⁶³ Shiqiao Huang, "New Literature and Baihuazi Movements," *Taipei Wenwu* 3:2 (1954): 140-42.

The Taiwanese written language debates did not passively preserve the tradition of Chinese writing.³⁶⁴ As textual materials reveal, debaters put themselves in a tight spot by seeking an ideal solution in which Han descendants, in both China and Taiwan, plebian or elite, could communicate in an uncomplicated writing form. The central problem they were trying to solve was how people who spoke two different vernacular languages could converse with one another in writing. If they could not understand each other's spoken language, it was nearly impossible to develop a coherent relationship between the two spoken languages and one written system. The Taiwanese linguistic challenges were also complicated by the reality that some of the Japanese-educated Taiwanese could only participate in debates in the Japanese version of the *Taiwan People's Daily Newspaper*. They were unable to write in the Chinese character system.³⁶⁵

Debating the nature of the Taiwanese language was not just about the task of developing a unified language. For Taiwanese-identified writers, writing their own language and literature was a reflection of their developing Taiwanese consciousness. The proposals for a written Taiwanese language and literature might not be novel, as many of the debaters were bilingual or trilingual and could speak, if not write, Mandarin Chinese and Taiwanese or Japanese. The sense of belonging to the "Taiwanese", however, was developed originally from an understanding of "Taiwanese identity" under the Japanese colonial regime in which the use of Chinese script was deemed part of the Taiwanese "cultural heritage." Within that linguistic context, Taiwanese

³⁶⁴ Zhenghui Lu, *Scars in Colony—Issues in Taiwanese Literature* (Taipei: Renjian, 2002), 1-17.

³⁶⁵ See Toshio Nakajima's *Taiwan's Nativist Literature Debates in the 1930s* (Kaohsiung: Chunhui, 2003). This book collects Japanese discussion about in newspapers. For more Japanese materials, please see Song Yijing's Master thesis, "A Study of Taiwan's Nativist Literature Debates during Colonial Period" (Gifu: Gifu Shotoku Gakuen University, 2002).

people spoke Japanese and the southern Fujianese language and the latter was written in multi-writing systems.

While the above debates included battles over culture, literature, and language, the conception of "Taiwanese identity" evolved into an ethnolinguistic concern that was disseminated among the Taiwanese intelligentsia journeying between China, Japan, and Taiwan. What we scholars should consider is not the understanding of "ethnic" and "political" Taiwanese identity that developed after the 1980s, but how the conception of "Taiwanese identity" was constructed and conceptualized under the Japanese colonial government and in light of cultural nostalgia for a Chinese identity. The construction of a "Taiwanese identity" in the debates unquestionably surpassed what contemporary scholar You Shengguan 游勝冠 (1961-) indicates. He argued that it was a splitting from the China-Taiwan double-ideology that was pushed into the spotlight implicitly by the May Fourth Movement and the successive cultural and literary movements.³⁶⁶ Even though Taiwanese consciousness was developing at this time, it was not motivated entirely by the islanders' dissatisfaction with being colonized.³⁶⁷

Constructing "Taiwanese Identity" in POJ Literary Works

"Taiwanese" people were portrayed and their identities were constructed in POJ publications. The role of POJ writings in constructing "Taiwanese" identity has been overlooked because of their comparatively small number and lower visibility in the literary market. They were not as visible because POJ had not been officially recognized as a public written language for the southern Fujianese language. It also existed in the shadow of the Japanese linguistic assimilation policy and Chinese character usage. Most POJ works were written and read by

³⁶⁶ Shengguan You, *The Rise and Development of Taiwan Nativist Literary Discourse* (Taipei: Qunxue, 2009), 47.

³⁶⁷ Ruiming Lin, *Taiwanese Literature and its Spirits over Time—A Research of Lai He* (Taipei: Yunchen wenhua, 1993), 8.

church communities, private organizations and Japanese officers. Even so, it is our responsibility to dig out how “Taiwanese identity” was defined in this written medium, e.g. POJ, to rethink the effects in constructing a Taiwanese identity through the most popular native language at the time.

Author Tēn Khe-phòan’s 鄭溪畔 (1896-1951, a Presbyterian Church minister) POJ novel, *Chhut-sí sóaⁿ* 出死線 (Life on A Line, 1926), and several prose pieces and essays help us understand how Taiwanese identities were constructed in POJ literary compositions. In the novel *Life on A Line*, Taiwanese people faced a struggle for survival during the interim between different political regimes. Tāi-chhoan 大川, the male protagonist, in August, 1895, was asked to serve as a guide for Japanese soldiers traveling to the mountain area of Chēng-shúi Stream. He was chosen because he could speak Japanese and write in Chinese. After walking for a while, he informed the army commander that he had to look after his elderly parents and begged permission to go home. After receiving his promise to provide immediate help when the Army needed, the commander consented. After Tāi-chhoan returned home, he could not help but cry silently, though his wife did not understand what was troubling him.³⁶⁸ Colonial readers might have understood his embarrassing plight in light of this man’s family obligations. He had to silently bear his shame for betraying his comrades and helping the Japanese. Furthermore his instinct for survival overrode his desire to behave honorably which seemed morally incorrect. Tāi-chhoan’s experience might have been read in the context of his identity as a Taiwanese native interacting with armed foreign officers.

The Taiwanese people were in conflict over what made them distinctly Taiwanese, Tāi-chhoan’s son, Chin-seng 真聲 stated. His middle-school classmate was insulted when a girls’

³⁶⁸ Tēn Khe-phòan, *Chhut-sí sóaⁿ* (Life on A Line) (Pingdong: Awakening Society, 1926), 12.

school principal declared that “all middle school students were liars” over the trifling matter of a female student forgetting to submit her family letter to the school before sending it out, in accordance with the school rules. Instead, she asked her younger brother to send the letter to their parents. The foreign principal interrogated the girl, and she admitted she had given it to her brother, but her brother denied it. The principal thus called the younger brother and all his schoolmates, liars. Some Seminary students expressed their displeasure at this incident by refusing to attend classes. Chin-seng was offended at being tarred with the same brush as the dishonest younger brother. Worse, he was very disappointed that the seminarians’ strike did not last, because the school ministers spoke to each of the strike agitators individually and urged them to take school harmony into account. Chin-seng sighed, “Our unity, as islanders, was increasingly destroyed” by the implication that members of the Taiwanese ethnic group only cared about their individual feelings. Once they regretted their previous statements, Taiwanese students would give up their planned resistance. As long as the leader of the group was found, the rest would immediately fade away. In his opinions, the ministers’ stratagem was, as the Bible says, to “strike the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock will be scattered” (Matthew, 26:31).³⁶⁹

“We islanders are Han people (*hanren* 漢人).” In his essays, Cai Peihuo argued that to define the people’s ethnicity, it was necessary to observe their “life of the present and the past.” Since the Taiwanese people were ethnically linked with the Han Chinese in the past, he believed that the Han’s cultural values should influence the shape of Taiwanese culture. The Han embraced social values such as “loving peace,” which was a legacy of Confucianism, “respecting ancestors” because of the practice of filial piety, tolerating differences, and being practical—

³⁶⁹ Ibid., 102 and 109.

making efforts to become wealthy, ensuring the prosperity of one's descendants, and striving for longevity.³⁷⁰ Cai was not alone in nurturing the concept that “Taiwanese” ethnic identity was indelibly linked to the Han ethnic group.

Both Cai's and Koa Siat-Kai's 柯設偕 (1900-1990, an educator) accounts of Taiwanese identity diverged from the “Chinese” as an ethnicity but were joined to its historical glory. In other words, what the Taiwanese inherited from their Han, not Chinese, ancestors persisted in Taiwan's grand culture and civilization. It was clearly stated that “we” Taiwanese were different from “they” Chinese (Tiong-kok lâng 中國人).³⁷¹ Koa, George Leslie Mackay's grandson,³⁷² gave Taiwanese and indigenous tribes on the plains a clear definition. He thought that Taiwanese people were Han people who arrived in Taiwan later than the indigenous tribes. The indigenous tribes on the plains were the “native” residents (and the “real” Taiwanese) while the people who were generally called “Taiwanese” emigrated from China (Chi-ná 支那). Since their arrival, Han people encroached on the residential indigenous tribes' lands and forced the original people to scatter. The ethnic identity of the “Taiwanese” whose proponents claimed it was constructed through the literary movement and written language debates ideologically echoes the above definition.

POJ writers did not consider the Taiwanese indigenous tribes ethno-linguistically “Taiwanese.” Instead they classified them as early inhabitants of Taiwan. Tân Chheng-gī's 陳清義 (1877-1942, a minister) ethnographic observations show that the Han people in Taiwan sensed their divergence in culture, race, lifestyles, beliefs, marriage values, and education from

³⁷⁰ Chhòa Pêe-hóe, *Chap-Hāng Koán-Kiàn* (Ten essays about Taiwan) (Tainan: Tai-Lâm Sin-lâu Chheh-pāng, 1925), 29-44.

³⁷¹ Koa Siat-Kai, “Pīn-po-chók” (Plains aborigine), *TCN*, December 1934, 27-29.

³⁷² About George Leslie Mackay, please refer to Chapter Two “Theological Colleges.”

the indigenous peoples. Tân paid a visit to the Hualian 花蓮 harbor in eastern Taiwan. While traveling, he took the opportunity to learn more about Lâm-sì-hoan 南勢蕃 (Lâm-sì indigenous tribe). The most striking comment he made about them was that he was surprised to discover that “their life was similar to human beings.”³⁷³ Tân’s travel notes demonstrate that Taiwanese people of this period assumed that the early indigenous residents’ of Taiwan were not fully human. They contrasted themselves, the civilized “Taiwanese” people, with the barbaric native tribes who were definitively not ethno-linguistically “Taiwanese.”

Conclusion

Taiwanese people outside of the island’s Christian community began to use POJ from 1895 to the 1940s. One of the main drivers for the more widespread adoption of POJ was the Japanese colonial policy. The policy supported assimilation and lower-level Japanese officers’ use of POJ to communicate with the Taiwanese people. Initially the government implemented a partial assimilation project through its national language education policy. The ultimate goal of the Japanese language assimilation policy and the activities of the Association of Assimilation in Taiwan was to erase the cultural and racial differences between the “Taiwanese” and the “Japanese.” However, Taiwanese elites developed a serious conflict with the overall assimilation policy. They began to use POJ as a form of resistance to Japan’s imperial rule after the Japanese refused to allow them to participate in the political process.

The development of Title No. 63 was important to the evolution of relations between the Japanese empire and Taiwan. It reflected a longstanding conflict within Japan’s colonial policy about whether or not to fully assimilate Taiwanese subjects and legally treat them as equal to

³⁷³ Tân Chheng-gī, “Lâm-sì-hoan” (Lâm-sì indigenous tribe), *TCN*, July 1925, 9-11.

their Japanese subjects. Title No. 63 barred the Taiwanese people from legislating their island. It also forced the Taiwanese elites to rethink whether or not assimilation was the best way for them to gain political inclusion. A group of Taiwanese elites' withdrawal of their petition to repeal Title No. 63 and repeated petitions to the Japanese Congress for the establishment of a Taiwanese Parliament demonstrated their enthusiastic willingness to become imperial subjects. When the support for assimilation did not earn them political inclusion, some elites began to highlight the differences between "Taiwanese" and "Japanese" culture.

The rise of Taiwanese consciousness was a byproduct of the conflict over assimilation policy in Taiwan. The TCA played a key role in the creation and development of Taiwanese culture and therefore in the development of a unique "Taiwanese identity." A constellation of Taiwanese intellectuals made the most of the political moment and attempted to make the use of POJ an ethno-linguistic marker of "Taiwanese identity." Their efforts were not simply prompted by their dissatisfaction with Japan's assimilation policy. They were also inspired by the worldwide awakening of ethnic culture and their historical cultural ties with China. They believed that one language with its own written language/genre should be used to express the life of their unique ethnic group and to understand its culture. During discussions about creating a Taiwanese culture, written language, and literature, POJ was recommended as one of the "official written languages" which could accurately express the southern Fujianese language. POJ was promoted as an ethnic expression of "Taiwanese identity" and a proper medium for developing Taiwanese culture, literature, and language. It was a significant turning point in the Taiwanese understanding of POJ as a writing system. While previously it was largely viewed as a "foreign" system used primarily by Christians, during the 1920s-1940s, POJ's use became a symbolic

marker of “Taiwanese” identity. “Taiwanese identity” was fashioned through the use of a native language and writing system to create Taiwanese culture and literature.

Chapter 4: R.O.C. Language Policy, the Declaration on Human Rights, and the Inclusion of Pèh-oē-jī in Public Education, 1945-1990s

Under the R.O.C. government, POJ progressed from a forbidden writing system to an authorized part of the curriculum in the compulsory education system. The symbolism of writing in POJ accordingly expanded as well. From 1945 through the 1990s, the use of POJ evolved into a symbol of “Taiwanese” national identity for some Taiwanese natives. After the inclusion of POJ in public education, using POJ has emblematically become second to using Chinese script because Mandarin is taught as the main school language. The language hierarchy has impacted students’ sense of being “Taiwanese.”

The R.O.C. took over Taiwan from the Japanese at the end of World War II. The Chinese regime mandated the use of Mandarin as a national language in Taiwan and suppressed the use of POJ and non-Mandarin languages. The national language policy was originally created because people across China spoke different dialects/languages that were mutually unintelligible. Therefore, the R.O.C. believed that they needed a national language to govern their territory. After the take-over, R.O.C. leaders decided to enforce the use of Mandarin in Taiwan. Initially Taiwanese people tried hard to learn Mandarin. Their complicity turned into resistance to the new government and its language policy due to a massacre of Taiwanese in the February 28 Incident of 1947. In the wake of the massacre, islanders spoke the Taiwanese language and Japanese to remind the newly-arrived regime of the difference between the “Taiwanese” and people who came from mainland China after 1945. In response to these acts of resistance, R.O.C. officials outlawed the use of Japanese and they strongly discouraged the use of POJ and other non-Mandarin languages in public settings.

Taiwanese natives and organizations like the Taiwanese Presbyterian Church began to resist the rule of the R.O.C. after the government lost their seats in the United Nations in 1971. In the 1970s, the Church published a series of Declarations that culminated in the 1977 Declaration on Human Rights which called for Taiwanese Independence. These Church leaders were angry about the suppression of the southern Fujianese language and POJ publications. In the wake of the Declaration, Taiwanese social activists requested literary, linguistic and political reforms that were meant to help distinguish Taiwan from China and support the creation of a “Taiwanese” national identity. There was a revival of Taiwanese nativist literature debates, debates over Taiwanese consciousness and written languages, and most significantly, the mother-tongue movement. Participants repeatedly emphasized the particularity of “being Taiwanese” in order to distinguish it from “being Chinese.” The most prominent political marker they used was spoken languages and writing systems. Through their negotiations with the Mandarin-promotion movement, advocates for Taiwanese mother-tongue language successfully pushed to include the southern Fujianese language, Hakka, aboriginal languages and a revised POJ in the curricula of compulsory education in the 1990s. The R.O.C. has demonstrated their support for the emergence of a unique ethnic “Taiwanese” identity by authorizing the widespread use of POJ ever since.

Language advocates pressed the government to legalize the teaching of Taiwanese mother tongues and POJ in an effort to promote the construction of a “Taiwanese” identity. Instead, a well-received language hierarchy developed. The hierarchy reinforced the superiority of Mandarin over other languages in Taiwan. The Nationalist government accepted the cultivation of a multilingual society in Taiwan. Yet it was only acceptable because they imposed a structured hierarchy of language where Mandarin Chinese was the primary language of Taiwan

and the southern Fujianese language and the continuous use of POJ were promoted secondarily. In doing so, the R.O.C. hoped to appease the emergent Taiwanese separatists while also making sure that the R.O.C.'s political right to rule Taiwan went unchallenged.

Language Policy, Censorship, Suppression

Conceptions of National Language, Official Language, and Dialect

Official language (*guan hua* 官話), national language (*guo yu* 國語), and dialect, or topolect, (*fangyan* 方言) are all relative concepts in the context of Chinese history. Official languages co-existed with dialects in Chinese history until the emergence of a national language. The co-existence of spoken dialects and the united Chinese writing system was considered evidence of the mismatch between the writing system and spoken dialects. In the early 20th century, Chinese intellectuals supported the use of vernacular Chinese as a replacement for the united writing system, a classical format of writing. They supported the use of vernacular Chinese as a national writing system.

Before the emergence of a national language, an official language served as a common language among areas where several dialects were used. During the time of Confucius (BC 551-480), the Ya language (*yayan* 雅言) appeared to satisfy the need for a lingua franca for people who spoke different dialects in China.³⁷⁴ In ancient China, languages used around the central plains were, to some extent, mutually intelligible while the languages popularized in southern China sounded foreign since their pronunciations were neither close to each other nor to the ones

³⁷⁴ In *Shuer Book of the Analects*, it writes: "The Master's frequent themes of discourse were — the Odes, the History, and the maintenance of the Rules of Propriety. On all these he frequently discoursed." (子所雅言，《詩》、《書》、執禮，皆雅言也。)

in the central plains. Thus the section entitled “Royal Regulations” of *The Classic of Rites* (禮記. 王制) states,

In those five regions, the languages of the people were not mutually intelligible, and their likings and desires were different. To make what was in their minds apprehended, and to communicate their likings and desires, in the east, called ji (寄); in the south, xiang (象); in the west, didi (狄鞮); and in the north, yi (譯).³⁷⁵

Interpreters were in high demand and therefore a common language was necessary so that people from different regions of the Middle Kingdom of China could communicate with each another.

It is very likely that a Ya language evolved into an official language because it was used formally for ceremonial and official occasions while a variety of other languages were utilized for casual and private conversations.³⁷⁶ In the Ming Dynasty, or earlier, the official language, which was the common language spoken by the ruling elites, enabled spoken communication between officials and emperors. The difference between the official language and all other dialects was their ease and scope of use. For instance, variants of the official language were used in Chengdu 成都 and Nanjing 南京. They were called Xinan 西南 *guan hua* and Jianghuai 江淮 *guan hua* respectively. In fact, every metropolitan area could develop their own version of *guan hua* for formal and ceremonial uses with distinctive regional linguistic features.³⁷⁷

The notion of having a regional variant of the official language did not gain the southern Fujianese language a foothold in Taiwan after the R.O.C. government came to power. The language was the most widely used language among Han Taiwanese, foreign missionaries, and plains indigenous tribes. An official language was needed for Taiwan, but the southern Fujianese language was not considered for the task. During the Qing dynasty, Emperor

³⁷⁵ Chapter 5 of *The Classic of Rites*: 「五方之民，言語不通，嗜欲不同。達其志，通其欲，東方曰「寄」，南方曰「象」，西方曰「狄鞮」，北方曰「譯」。」

³⁷⁶ Chapter 17 of *Shuer Book, The Analects*.

³⁷⁷ Daan He, “Official Language, Jin Language, and an Investigation of Pinghua,” 385.

Yongzheng (1678-1735) promoted the Beijing dialect as the official language of Taiwan and Japanese was the official language while Taiwan was a colony of the Japanese Empire. For the R.O.C. regime, Mandarin Chinese was the language that was officially allowed for use in the civil service, media, and schools.

Before the Japanese occupation, many Qing officials who came from China had no knowledge of the southern Fujianese language and spoke different dialects and official languages. They therefore requested native interpreters for assistance in court.³⁷⁸ Furthermore, official language promotion in Taiwan during the Qing periods focused on the Beijing dialect. Emperor Yongzheng complained that the oral presentations by officials from Guangdong and Fujian were almost unintelligible due to their strong native accents. He worried whether they were competent to rotate to other provinces and if they could make the proceedings of trials intelligible to the common people. Officials who relied on local interpreters or clerks and runners (*xu li* 胥吏), might be given misleading and derivative meanings by their interpreters and malpractice could occur.³⁷⁹ In 1728, the Emperor Yongzheng founded an official language academy (*zheng yin shuyuan* 正音書院) in Taiwan in order to promote the Beijing official language. As he discovered, officials from Fujian and Guangdong read in their native languages when studying and preparing for the civil service examinations. They were not speaking the official language. They were using their own regional dialects. In response, he issued another edict that scholars who passed the county-level examinations would be banned from taking provincial-level examinations if they proved incapable of speaking the official language within eight years of passing their county-level examinations. The same regulation applied to these who

³⁷⁸ Liangbi Liu, *Revised Gazetteer of Taiwan fu in Fujian Province*, vol. 1 (Taipei: Chengwen, years unknown), 127-210.

³⁷⁹ Liangqi Jiang, Xianqian Wang eds. *Shier Chao Donghua Lu* (Taipei: Wenhai chuban she, 1963), 622.

passed provincial exams.³⁸⁰ The edict was clear. Provincial administrators had to learn and use the official language to further their careers.

Even so, the official language did not spread easily simply because its usage was required. In the first year of the Qianlong period, the eastern Guangdong area's scholars were granted three more years to learn the official language before they had to pass examinations in it. In addition, the state government also sent extra language faculty from Zhejiang and Jiangxi provinces to work with the Fujianese.³⁸¹ However, as Emperor Qianlong commented wearily, since the official language still was not well spoken in Fujian province, the county magistrates would have to serve as teachers once the provincial teachers had returned to the mainland of Fujian.³⁸² Taiwan, under Fujian province's jurisdiction, at the time had established four language academies at Tainan, Jiayi 嘉義, Kaohsiung 高雄 and Zhanghua 彰化 of Taiwan.³⁸³ The emperors' efforts were fruitless since oral proficiency tests revealed that the officials were not learning the language well.³⁸⁴ In 1775, the emperor revised written responses to provincial requests for official language education. The edict stated that civil examinations should test writing proficiency instead of accuracy of pronunciation. If proficiency in speaking the official language was deemed necessary, then teachers who could use the character system but could not speak the official language could no longer participate in their professional field.³⁸⁵ This evidence demonstrates, on the one hand, that there was an issue of potential mutual

³⁸⁰ *Qingding xuezheng quan shu* (Books of The Provincial Director of Education), vol. 59.

³⁸¹ Tiancheng Liang eds. "School," *Gazetteer of Yongchun County* (Beijing: Yuwen chuban she), 713.

³⁸² *Book of The Provincial Director of Education*, vol. 59.

³⁸³ Liangbi Liu, "School and Academy," *Revised Gazetteer of Taiwan fu in Fujian Province*, vol. 11, 1712.

³⁸⁴ Hongpo Deng, "Mandarin Academy and Official Language Movement in the Qing Dynasty," *Materials for History of Chinese Academy* (Hangzhou: Zhejiang Jiaoyu chuban she, 1998). Deng states that when Xu Zonggan served as General Supervisory and Military Command of Taiwan and Penghu (1847-1854), Xu's examination of exam candidates led him to the conclusion that examinees were unintelligible to the examiner, who therefore wrote notes to communicate.

³⁸⁵ *Books of the Provincial Director of Education*, vol. 59.

unintelligibility between the Fujian-Guangdong natives and other language speakers and between authorities and ordinary people throughout the golden age of the Qing. On the other hand, the classical Chinese text was continuously studied in the southern Fujianese language in Taiwan and other areas of Fujian province.

A national language was *invented* in order to create a sense of shared national identity among the peoples of the late Qing. In 1909, as Chiang Qian 江謙 (1876-1942), a Chinese linguist, in his report of “*Guan hua* phonetic symbols,” states, speaking *guan hua* was a privilege of officials and it seemed inappropriate for peasants, workers, and merchants to learn it. In 1910 he called for the creation of a textbook of *guan hua* in order to popularize and transform it into a unified language. He urged the state to compile a national language textbook (*guo yu ke ben* 國語課本).³⁸⁶ Chiang promoted the idea of having a national language to secure the political loyalty and identity of the people during the political transition between the Qing and the R.O.C.

The R.O.C.’s arbitrary enforcement of a national language encountered issues created by the transition from having official languages to having a national language. The form of Mandarin that the R.O.C. promoted was not the same as the form as the Beijing official language in the Qing period. Before taking Taiwan, the R.O.C. on the mainland held a discussion on the formulation and pronunciation of the national language. The Commission on the Unification of Pronunciation called for a meeting in 1912 to furnish the standard of pronunciation. Seven years later they published the *Guo yin zidian* 國音字典 (Dictionary of National Pronunciation) in 1919. It was not based on the previous northern official language, i.e., Beijing dialect, but on a convergence of southern and northern sounds that had not been used before. The Commission

³⁸⁶ Chiang Qian, “Zhiwen xuebu fennian chouban guoyu jianyu shuo tie (Integration of the Preparation for Madarin Education)” *Written Language Reforms in the Late Qing* (Beijing: Wenzhi gaige chuban she, 1958), 116-18.

created a *new* spoken system of Mandarin Chinese to be the national language. In doing so they launched a war over the national pronunciation with a cluster of scholars who thought the Beijing dialect, an earlier official language, should be the standard for pronunciation in Mandarin. Beijing dialect scholars protested against the new system. In the process, they pitted the R.O.C. and the National Language Committee against the practice of teaching Mandarin in the elementary schools of Jiangsu province.³⁸⁷

The selection of a national language *per se* involves an inevitable compromise between formality, fairness, uniformity, and stability. A national language was not necessarily the same as an official language. In China there were several variants of *guan hua* systems, but only *the* national language was supported by the political regime. The group of Jiangsu educators firmly insisted that the most efficient way to resolve the conflict was to anoint the Beijing dialect as the national language, since it had been used for hundreds of years. They neglected the possibility that many areas of southern China might not benefit from the official promotion of Beijing accents. Almost eighty percent of the new national language system came from the Beijing dialect. The Ministry of Education, dodging the heart of the debate, issued a decree which claimed that the Beijing dialect that was composed of twenty percent of the other dialect's native sounds (*tu yin* 土音) was an inappropriate choice to popularize throughout China.³⁸⁸

After 1945, the R.O.C. promoted Mandarin to replace the Japanese language as the national language in Taiwan. They also encouraged the adoption of Chinese cultural values. The R.O.C. believed it was in Taiwan to re-sinicize Han descendants who had been living under Japanese rule. In the process they aimed to transform them from citizens of the Japanese empire

³⁸⁷ Tianchang Wang ed., *Guo yu yungong bai nian shi lue* (History of One-hundred-year National Language Movement) (Taipei: Mandarin Daily News, 2012), 122.

³⁸⁸ Tianchang Wang ed., *Guo yu yungong bai nian shi lue*, 124.

into the people of the Chinese nation (*Zhonghua minzu* 中華民族).³⁸⁹ Chinese leaders decided that speaking Mandarin should be a defining feature of the *Zhonghua* 中華. In this system, all other languages were reduced to the status of dialects. Dialects were not appropriate to use in school and media broadcasting such as radio, television, and movies. The use of dialects in private conversation was not a cause for concern, but failing to use Mandarin publicly was akin to defying the Chinese nation. Since then, Mandarin has largely replaced many of the dialects previously used in Taiwan. It has also become the default language of the Taiwanese upper class.

The promotion of Mandarin as the national language of Taiwan was harmed by the lack of a standard pronunciation in schools. In 1946, Chen Yi 陳儀 (1883-1950), the first R.O.C. governor-general, promoted the use of the work, *Guoyin biao zhun hui bian* 國音標準彙編 (A Collection of Standard National Language), as an official pronunciation guide as a result of revisions from the National Languages Committee.³⁹⁰ Although the policy of Mandarin promotion had been established in 1909, not all mainlanders who emigrated from China to Taiwan spoke standard Mandarin. Mainland school teachers sometimes confused their students as well as the general public, who had no idea what the standard pronunciation of Mandarin sounded like. Students grumbled that there were six types of the national language, because instructors originated from different provinces of China where regional official languages influenced their pronunciation.³⁹¹ The instructors were speaking a corrupt form of Mandarin. Government officers all spoke Mandarin in their own accents in Parliament as well which speaks

³⁸⁹ Liang Qichao (1873-1929) introduced this concept in 1902, but did not give a clear definition. After the R.O.C. regime took over Taiwan, the new government legitimized itself by propagandizing this concept. (See Liang Qichao, "Essays of Chinese History (*Zhongguo shi xulun*)," in *Collection of Yinbing Shi* vol. 2 (Taipei: Zhonghua Bookstore, 1970), 1-12.

³⁹⁰ "Phonetic Reading Materials should Follow *Guoyin biao zhun huibian* as Standard," May 30, 1946, <http://subtpg.tpg.gov.tw/og/image2.asp?f=0350240AKM224> (accessed July 10, 2014).

³⁹¹ Hsueh-chi Hsu, "Language Problems in Early Period of Taiwan Restoration," *Thought and Words* 29 (1991): 166.

volumes about the challenges that standard language promoters were facing. If language policy implementers were unable to be role models, ordinary people as social observers would be less cooperative with their policies.³⁹² The Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office strongly urged Taiwanese inhabitants, including mainlanders, to study standard ways of speaking Mandarin through the use of well-structured auxiliary Mandarin Phonetic Symbols. Thereafter all reading materials, if they included phonetic symbols, were to model themselves on this officially-promulgated *Collection*.

The Rise of Language Standardization and Standard Language

The campaign to develop a standard form of Mandarin generated struggles of social hierarchy and class in Taiwan. Beginning in 1909, a group of Chinese linguists had launched a movement to develop and teach a standardized form of Mandarin across all of China. Standardization of a language has no norms or definition *per se*, but it has symbolic power to potentially contribute to the well-being of a large number of users by promoting “efficiency” and “uniformity.”³⁹³ The mainlanders, who came to Taiwan after 1945, already spoke Mandarin, though in their own accents, and they used Mandarin to replace Japanese in their recovered territory. They needed an efficient uniform language to help them govern Taiwan. The R.O.C. deliberately overlooked the fact that the post-colonial linguistic market in Taiwan was more complicated than it appeared at first blush. The Taiwanese did not just fail to speak Mandarin because they lived in a Japanese territory. The bulk of the population was monolingual in Japanese or bilingual in Japanese and the southern Fujianese language. They generally did not

³⁹² R.L. Johannesen, “Virtue Ethics, Character, and Political Communication” in *Ethical Dimensions of Political Communication*, R.E Denton, Jr. ed. (New York: Praeger, 1991), 69-91.

³⁹³ Punya Sloka Ray, “Language Standardization,” *Readings in the Sociology of Language* (Paris: The Hague, 1972), 754.

speak Mandarin, let alone its standardized variant. The Taiwanese might consider Mandarin a language from the motherland, but that does not mean they found it efficient or uniform for daily use just because its use was dictated by the state. Standardization privileged a group of Mandarin users and evolved the language situation in Taiwan into a “communication between the central government and its representatives.”³⁹⁴ In the early decades of Taiwan’s restoration, that communication defined the group of Chinese elites.

Post-war stage plays (*Wutai ju* 舞臺劇) revealed the immediate conflict between usage of the national language and the regional dialects. Not only stage shows, but also *Gezi xi* 歌仔戲 and shadow plays (*Piyiing xi* 皮影戲) in the southern Fujianese language quickly developed in Taiwan as it was being restored to China.³⁹⁵ Nevertheless, folk culture performed in the dialect was not welcome. Mandarin-dominated performance groups arrived in Taiwan ambitiously carrying forward the mission of “de-enslavement” (*qu nūhua* 去奴化), e.g., decolonization.³⁹⁶ The National cultural education from the motherland prioritized any ideological propaganda, especially through staged performance art that included facial and body language, avoiding the barriers of spoken and written communication.³⁹⁷

In Taiwan under the R.O.C. government, art has served as a tool for national language promotion via educational entertainment since 1945. The provincial office invited a wave of stage-play troupes, such as the Shanghai Audience Performance Company and the New China Stage Play Troupe, to Taiwan for the purposes of Mandarin popularization.³⁹⁸ Presentation of art

³⁹⁴ Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, 47.

³⁹⁵ Zhaoying Chen, *Taiwanese Literature and Nativist Movement* (Taipei: Zhengzhong Bookstore, 1998), 227-28.

³⁹⁶ Governor Chen Yi brought up the criticism in a meeting with middle school principals that Taiwanese comrades took colonized education (*nūhua jiao yu*) in the past. They therefore perceived incorrect understanding of political *status quo* (See *Renmin Dao Bao*, February 10, 1945).

³⁹⁷ Jiuge, “How to Promote Taiwanese Drama Movement,” *TSSDN*, September 7, 1946.

³⁹⁸ Pufeng, “Expansion of Drama Education Movement,” *TSSDN*, December 18, 1946.

or entertainment became a public exhibition of the new language hierarchy because the Chinese play advocates discriminated against the use of the southern Fujianese language for writing plays. The hostility toward the southern Fujianese language was driven by a Sino-centric desire to deprive the southern Fujianese language of artistic representation, though bilingual plays in the southern Fujianese language and Japanese prevailed by 1945. The hierarchical classification of language use aggravated divergences in a multilingual society via language policy.³⁹⁹

The process of defining the national language was influenced by ideas about language use and the symbolic power of language to create a shared sense of identity. For instance, the debates between standard Mandarin and Beijing dialect were not simply arguments over what the vernacular would be. The debaters believed their language competency increased their social standing and gave them a charismatic eloquence in social interactions. Occupying the top tier of the official hierarchy of language allowed Mandarin speakers to claim that they were socially superior to dialect speakers. With the mantle of political power, Mandarin users, under the guise of loyalty to cultural glory, were granted prestige and “ascended to positions of authority” for the future development of the language.⁴⁰⁰ As Bourdieu suggests, “promotion of the official language to the status of national language gave them a de facto monopoly of politics”⁴⁰¹ Clusters of national language users did develop a political monopoly in China even though they might enunciate Mandarin with heavy regional accents, as in the case of Taiwan. When “an abstract group based on law creates new usages and functions, it is indispensable for the making

³⁹⁹ Chen Dayu (1916-1985), the director of “Fragrance of Banana” (Xiangjiao xiang, November 1947) states that his play made attempts to depict the different life experiences and language barriers between mainlanders and Taiwanese. He reconciled misunderstandings caused by the differences and suggested a solution: that love could transcend cultural diversity. But it seemed that audience and the government unanimously rejected his agitation for the tension between mainlanders and Taiwanese. (See “ ‘Flat Tire’ of Taiwanese Drama Movement,” *TSSDN*, January, 1948)

⁴⁰⁰ J.E. Joseph, *Eloquence and Power: The Rise of Language Standards and Standard Languages* (New York: B. Blackwell, 1987), 43.

⁴⁰¹ Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, 47.

of the nation to forge a standard language.⁴⁰² By law, the national language had to undertake the “work of normalizing the products of the linguistic habitus”⁴⁰³—for example, in lexicography, the *Collection* stood for the national standard of the language. Promotion of a standard form of Mandarin was about more than demonstrating model pronunciation. In addition to education and codification, language policies were driven by power relations that influenced social life. As such they are worthy of further attention.

The Evolution of the R.O.C.’s National Language Policy in Taiwan

R.O.C. officials believed that forcing the Taiwanese to speak the Mandarin language and adopt Chinese cultural values would break down the islanders’ sense of being culturally and ethnically distinct from the mainland Chinese because of their time as part of the Japanese empire. Linguistic and cultural re-education was crucial to the process of absorbing Taiwanese ethnic identity into Chinese culture. This process also became essential to the continued existence of the R.O.C. after the R.O.C. lost control of mainland China to the P.R.C. in 1949. The R.O.C. could not maintain legitimate political control of Taiwan if the Taiwanese people did not wholeheartedly believe that they were a part of China. Complicating this process was the fact that for Taiwanese who were born during the colonial period, Mandarin Chinese, like Japanese, was a *foreign* language that lacked roots in Taiwan prior to 1945.⁴⁰⁴

Soon after his posting to Taiwan, Chen Yi, mandated that all primary school teachers and students, government officials, and employees in government-regulated social organizations had to speak Mandarin Chinese and write in the classical or vernacular Chinese character system.⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰² Ibid., 48.

⁴⁰³ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁴ The editorial Committee of National Language was established in this year.

Two months later the governor created the Mandarin Promotion Council, a division of the Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office (*Taiwan sheng xingzheng chang guan gong shu* 臺灣省行政長官公署). In April 1946, the Council created rules to help Taiwanese islanders learn Mandarin so that it could replace native dialects.

Out of sympathy for the Taiwanese people's unfamiliarity with Mandarin, Wei Jianguo 魏建功 (1901-1980), director of the Mandarin Promotion Council, introduced four guiding principles for the national language policy in Taiwan. The policies were designed to help native dialect speakers overcome the difficulties they encountered as they learned to speak Mandarin.⁴⁰⁵ At the same time, Wei also made it clear that the use of native dialects in public was only acceptable to help the Taiwanese people learn Mandarin faster. The four points included:

1. Using vocabulary and pronunciation guides from native dialects side-by-side with Mandarin in order to help people learn Mandarin vocabulary and the character writing system,
2. Teaching people to use the national pronunciations *guo yin* 國音 for Mandarin instead of the older pronunciation based on Confucian texts *Kongzi bai* 孔子白 (meaning literary pronunciation, *wen du*) because they were easier to pronounce,
3. Replacing Japanese grammar, which had previously been used in the southern Fujianese language in the process of language contact, with Chinese grammar, and
4. Utilizing Mandarin Phonetic Symbols to help native Taiwanese learn to read Chinese characters.

None of these points suggested using POJ to phonetically help the southern Fujianese language speakers learn Mandarin. Instead R.O.C. officials attempted to push the Taiwanese to learn about Chinese culture (*Zhonghua wenhua* 中華文化) through reading a logographic writing system. The policies were designed to help the Taiwanese switch to one national language in speaking 語 (*yu*), writing 文 (*wen*), and sounds 音 (*yin*). Policy makers suggested that the most

⁴⁰⁵ "Decreed of Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office" no. 1590, February 23, 1946, from *Communique of Taiwan Provincial Government*.

⁴⁰⁶ "Guo yu," *TSSDN*, Mandarin Supplement, May 21, 1946.

effective method for teaching the Taiwanese to use Mandarin was to give them texts where the Mandarin Phonetic Symbols were written next to Chinese characters. The Mandarin Council believed that teaching the Taiwanese people to read Mandarin was the first step in information exchange. The ultimate goal was for the Taiwanese to adopt Chinese culture.

The *Guoyu ri bao* 國語日報 (Mandarin Daily Newspaper, MDN), which moved from Beijing to Taipei in 1948, played a central role in helping the Taiwanese learn Mandarin more easily. Even though the publication started with shabby facilities, a limited budget, and rushed typesetting, the publishers strove to make the paper readable, affordable and practical.⁴⁰⁷ Its layout included Mandarin Phonetic Symbols attached to every single character to facilitate reading and word recognition (Fig. 13). As long as readers had a person to explain the guide, they could then use the phonetic symbols to read characters. The newspaper was a particularly important resource for Taiwanese people under thirty because Mandarin and Chinese script looked unfamiliar to them.

The *MDN* existed to promote Mandarin to the general public and popularize the vernacular Chinese writing style. The vernacular writing style was a response to the aftermath of the cultural discussions in the May Fourth Movement (1919) in China and to Hu Shih's backing of anti-classical Chinese for a vernacular Chinese, a style of Chinese writing which was close to spoken usage. Writers of these two writing styles had created a writing hierarchy in which vernacular writings were considered informal and out of the mainstream. Through this style, Hu suggested that literature reform could be accomplished as long as works could be composed in a national language. Such a reform of the writing style broke down the writing hierarchy so that even the classical writers used vernacular language like everyone else. The movement's

⁴⁰⁷ "Announcement," *Mandarin Daily Newspaper*, October 25, 1948, 2.

participants helped push the privilege of knowledge and its circulation beyond the elite circles, and urged the *crème de la crème* to abandon classical writing. They believed that training the literate and illiterate in a standard system of Chinese sounds through the newspaper would be more beneficial for both groups.⁴⁰⁸ The juxtaposition of phonetic symbols with characters was an ambitious tool for promoting a unified speaking scheme. It featured an amalgamation of ideograms and phonograms in a developing nation-state where every ethnicity would embrace the fiction of a shared past as “Chinese” through writing and reading.

The public educational system played a significant role in helping R.O.C. officials enforce the use of Mandarin across Taiwan. The Taiwanese Bureau of Education created an awards system and discipline committees to support Mandarin’s exclusive use in school education. Students were not allowed to use Japanese or Taiwanese dialects in school or in their between-class conversations or face verbal abuse and punishment. They were permitted to use dialects as an auxiliary tool for dialogue with campus visitors who could barely speak Mandarin, but speaking Japanese was forbidden. Most strikingly, student’s conduct and department grades were based on their compliance with the mandated use of Mandarin.⁴⁰⁹ The teachers were monitored annually to make sure that they were enforcing the government’s language.⁴¹⁰

The R.O.C. administration diluted the use of the native languages through the promotion of Mandarin Chinese in education. From the start, the Mandarin Promotion Council’s guiding principles secured the use of the southern Fujianese language as a buffer. They soon betrayed

⁴⁰⁸ Shiduo Fang, *Fifty-year-history of Chinese Mandarin Movement* (Taipei: Mandarin Daily News, 1965), 165-67.

⁴⁰⁹ Xian Li, *History of One-hundred-year National Language Movement* (Taipei: Mandarin Daily News, 2014), 163-65.

⁴¹⁰ “Decree of Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office,” October 1, 1946, from *Communique of Taiwan Provincial Government*. During colonial period Most Chinese newspaper was suspended from 1937 when Japan involved in the second Sino-Japanese War. The only newspaper to survive during the interim of political changes was the *Taiwan New Newspaper* (Taiwan xin bao) and it started to print Chinese issues starting in October 1945 but was later taken over by the R.O.C. government under the administration of Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office and changed name to *TSSDN* (Taiwan xin sheng bao).

southern Fujianese language speakers with a new policy that banned speaking the dialect in elementary schools from 1956 through 1987.⁴¹¹ Their principles actually remained consistent. They worked to instill the ideology that the national language was the school language. They expected that it would become the social language step by step for younger generations. Any snippets of dialects, languages, and written formats that might endanger the development of Mandarin should be cleared away. This did not mean that people were not allowed to use the southern Fujianese language and Hakka at home. However, they were downgraded to “dialects,” compatible with but inferior to Mandarin, which represented everything superior such as social status and networking.⁴¹² The R.O.C. government refused to allow people to speak non-Mandarin languages in schools in order to create an institutionalized language hierarchy, not to destroy the southern Fujianese language.

Suppression and Censorship of the Southern Fujianese Language and POJ

Unlike the Japanese, the R.O.C. regime did not facilitate the take-over and administration of Taiwan by pushing Chinese officials to learn Taiwanese languages. Governor General Chen Yi’s intention to linguistically absorb Taiwan into China was evidenced by his declaration that Mandarin would replace native languages in Taiwan within four years of the R.O.C.’s takeover.⁴¹³ This “foreign” regime governed Taiwan by enforcing a “foreign” language. They were not concerned enough about the barriers of language communication between the R.O.C.’s

⁴¹¹ Editorial Room of Secretary Office in Taiwan Provincial Government, *Bulletin of Taiwan Provincial Government* 51 (1956): 628; *Bulletin of Taiwan Provincial Government* 12 (1957): 192-94; *Bulletin of Taiwan Provincial Government* 29 (1951): 468; *Bulletin of Taiwan Provincial Government* 16 (1955): 182; *Bulletin of Taiwan Provincial Government* 75 (1973): 11; *Bulletin of Taiwan Provincial Government* 41 (1975): 10.

⁴¹² Qinan Li, *Mother Language Education—Policy and Planning* (Tainan: Kailang, 2006), 39.

⁴¹³ Anonymous, “Taiwan Provincial Governor Chen Yi Talks about Guiding Principles in Taiwan,” *Ta Kung Pao, Chongqing*, September 2, 1945.

representatives, who spoke Mandarin, and native dialect speakers, to force their officials to learn to speak the native dialects.

The R.O.C. spared none of the Japanese legacy in Taiwan after the February 28 Incident of 1947. The 2.28 Incident began when the R.O.C. Tobacco Monopoly Bureau confiscated contraband cigarettes in Taipei. In the process of confiscating the cigarettes, agents of the Bureau killed a bystander and hurt a woman. The incident upset the native Taiwanese and people began to protest the incident, yet they received no response. The R.O.C.'s military forces tried to disperse the protestors but they refused. The violence led to a popular uprising among the Taiwanese people where they organized and attempted to lessen the control of the R.O.C. in Taiwan. The R.O.C.'s military responded with a violent crackdown on the protestors and they began a period of martial law marked by kidnapping and murder of Taiwanese people that lasted until 1987 when the Martial Law was lifted. Some people were killed randomly, probably because of the language barrier, while some were targeted as communist activists such as Lin Mosei and Chen Xi 陳炘 (1893-1947), who were former members of the Taiwanese Cultural Association. The R.O.C. army was allowed to shoot people for minor infractions including curfew violations. Giving mainland soldiers the right of lethal force, even in cases when they could not effectively communicate with native Taiwanese people during interrogations, was lethally ridiculous.⁴¹⁴ Since they lacked a military, the native Taiwanese resisted the violence of the R.O.C.'s army by reviving the Japanese colonial period via dress, music, public speech, and protest signs. Soon after stamping out the 2. 28 Incident, the R.O.C. regime strictly prohibited Japanese speaking, publications, and any other post-colonial legacies on the island.⁴¹⁵

⁴¹⁴ Bing Gu, "The Entire Story of 228 Incident," *Progress* 7 (1984): 8-10.

⁴¹⁵ Hsueh-chi Hsu, "Language Problems in Early Period of Taiwan Restoration," *Thought and Words* 29 (1991):155-84.

Since the 2.28 Incident in 1947, speaking Mandarin has become a prominent boundary between Chinese mainlanders and Taiwanese. Most of the mainlanders gained social status from the national language reforms on the mainland, but Taiwanese had to catch up, though some had taught themselves Mandarin before the R.O.C. administration came to power. On the one hand, the corrupt mainland officers and their attitude toward the use of the southern Fujianese language disappointed the Taiwanese.⁴¹⁶ In the short run, Taiwanese lost the opportunity to serve in public posts, since Mandarin was required in Chen Yi's hard-line promotion of the language.⁴¹⁷ One of the most important reasons that Mandarin was propagandized throughout Taiwan was to drive the Japanese influence out of Taiwan. The R.O.C. also hoped to slowly but surely crush the continued use of the southern Fujianese language and other dialects. The reinforcement of Mandarin was especially regulated by law,⁴¹⁸ grounded in the rationale of national security, in the "emergency period" (*feichang shiqi* 非常時期 or *Kanluan shiqi* 戡亂時期, 1948-1991).⁴¹⁹

Increased enforcement of the Mandarin only policy gradually circumscribed the spaces for speaking the southern Fujianese language.⁴²⁰ Fishman's profound understanding of the major

⁴¹⁶ Anonymous, "An Editorial: An Encouragement to Everyone," *Minpao*, October 1, 1946.

⁴¹⁷ Anonymous, "Chen Yi's Lecture," *TSSDN*, February 16, 1946.

⁴¹⁸ Zixi Wang, *An Outline of the Constitution of the Republic of China* (Zhonghua minguo xianfa ga yao) (Taipei: Xiuwei, 2013), 24.

⁴¹⁹ Editorial Room of Secretary Office in Taiwan Provincial Government, *Bulletin of Taiwan Provincial Government* 51 (1950): 772-73. On April 28, 1950, the Provincial Office of Taiwan announced "Regulation of Educational Guiding Principles in Emergency Period" to reinforce the missions of Mandarin promotion in schools and set up an inclusive evaluation system for promoters.

⁴²⁰ As early as the Daoguang and Xianfeng periods of the late Qing dynasty Taiwanese people wrote southern Fujianese language in the genre of *Goa-a* (a type of song scripts that are composed of five-character or seven-character rhymed lines in vernacular southern Fujianese language) in Chinese characters. *Goa-a* writings captured less attention from Chinese censors because they were used to create entertaining lyrics not for political expression. The Japanese authorities restricted Chinese-script publications to hinder Chinese cultural influence in Taiwan beginning in 1941. However, works of woodblock printed *Goa-a* booklets evaded imperial moral censorship and remained available until the late years of Japanization thanks to the distinguishing features of vernacularism, the genre's similarity to oral communication, and its easy accessibility through folk circulation and marketing. Dramatic works are considered an essential target of censorship. Before the Japanization Movement in 1941, Japanese colonial film examiners focused on discouraging content that interfered with public security or corrupted social mores. Materials that discussed political opinions or that were not officially approved for publication were also prohibited. According to Misawa Mamie, by 1916, the Japanese Sōtokufu had no particular regulations for films, but as early as 1901, there were regional regulations for theater buildings. Article 18, for example, stipulated

language problems of nationalism is particularly instructive in understanding the R.O.C.'s post-war ideology in Taiwan. The R.O.C.'s deliberate, yet tough attempts to cultivate the “nationalistic unity, priority” and “superiority of the socio-cultural aggregate” on “language maintenance, reinforcement and enrichment” ring true.⁴²¹ Seeing that a number of young R.O.C. citizens in Taiwan could not speak or understand Mandarin, provincial authorities forbade dialects gradually, first banning dialectic song scripts in 1953,⁴²² then clamping down on using POJ in missions in 1955, and finally a full-scale enforcement of the 1956 Mandarin Speaking Movement.⁴²³ In that educational scheme, schools disallowed the southern Fujianese language because it would impede the progress of transitioning students to the common ethnicity of “Chinese,” through the use of Mandarin. Imposing punishments in schools pushed dialects into a tight corner, making non-Mandarin conversations illegal and endangering students’ identification with their mother tongues in the process. The reconfiguration of Taiwan’s nationalistic unity was conducted by making laws that worked more aggressively than expostulation and encouragement to change the language.

that movies that included themes of interference with public security and corruption of social manners were not allowed. Those involved politicized opinions and those without permission were prohibited. See Misawa Mamie’s “Screen” under the Colonization—A Research of Taiwan Sōtokufu’s Film Policies, 1895-1942 (Taipei: Qianwei chuban she, 2002), 52. These censorship rules, as a matter of fact, are common to most political regimes. Starting in 1917, with assistance from the Educational Association in Tokyo, the Police Department laid down extensive censorship rules for movies. Movies that had previously been approved of could be banned during screening if any possible violation of the new rules was found (See Misawa Mamie, “Screen” under the Colonization—A Research of Taiwan Sōtokufu’s Film Policies, 1895-1942, 55).⁴²⁰ Southern Fujianese language interpreters (known as *benshi* 辯士 in Japanese) had to reapply every three years for government certification from the Police Department (See Molin Wang, *Chinese Film and Drama* (Taipei: Lianya chuban, 1981), 165). An interpreter was responsible for explaining the plots of foreign language movies in case the Taiwanese audience was unable to understand scenarios or the language the film was presented in. This job potentially gave interpreters the opportunity to offer their own commentaries or opinions on the films. Interpreters were therefore monitored by movie inspectors and the police.

⁴²¹ J.A. Fishman, C.A. Ferguson, and J. Dasgupta, *Language Problems of Developing Nations* (Hoboken: Wiley, 1968), 43.

⁴²² Editorial Room of Secretary Office in Taiwan Provincial Government, *Bulletin of Taiwan Provincial Government* 16 (1953): 79-82.

⁴²³ Editorial Room of Secretary Office in Taiwan Provincial Government, *Bulletin of Taiwan Provincial Government* 12 (1957): 192. In addition, the ROC government confiscated POJ Bible in 1957.

The 1963 Broadcasting Act officially suppressed the use of the southern Fujianese language in media broadcasting. It forbade more than fifty percent of the population from publicly using the dialect in the entertainment industries.⁴²⁴ Unlike the colonial regime, which was relatively tolerant of the use of the native language, the post-colonial rule edged out the dialects. Prior to the Act, the Ministry of Education had stated in 1959 that movie theaters were forbidden to hire southern Fujianese language interpreters for Mandarin movies.⁴²⁵ Those who violated this would be put out of business. The southern Fujianese language limped along and the dominant language on radio and television was Mandarin. Television programs in dialects were not to be shown more than one hour per day. The yearly statistics from 1962 to 1989 show that the proportion of southern Fujianese language programs never exceeded twenty percent of the total, even lower than the percent of shows in foreign languages such as English.⁴²⁶ In 1967, at the urging of the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement, the Provincial Bureau of Education even authorized all radio stations and movie theaters to propagandize Mandarin via slogans like “Speaking and studying Mandarin is a hallmark of patriotism,” “A model citizen should speak standard Mandarin,” and “Mandarin is the united language to be used throughout the nation.”⁴²⁷ Until 1976, the revised Broadcasting Act continued to discourage dialects and propagandize standard Mandarin teaching radio, which was an effective channel for learning spoken Mandarin. Japanese-educated scholars, among them Lin Mosei, Du Congming 杜聰明 (1893-1986), and Lin Xiantang, attributed their success in Mandarin studies to these broadcasts.

Censorship limited the people’s access to certain types of content that might endanger the

⁴²⁴ “The 1963 Broadcasting Act (Guangbo ji dianshi wuxian diantai jiemu fudao zhunze),” *Broadcasting Magazine* 224 (1964): 17-18.

⁴²⁵ Shuanfan Huang, *Language, Society, and Consciousness of Ethnicity* (Taipei: Crane, 1995), 107.

⁴²⁶ Shuanfan Huang, *Language, Society, and Consciousness of Ethnicity*, 367-69.

⁴²⁷ Editorial Room of Secretary Office in Taiwan Provincial Government, *Bulletin of Taiwan Provincial Government* 17 (1970): 3-4.

authority's language policy or the behavioural norms that the government imposed on the public domain. From the 1950s-1980s, the R.O.C. applied a similar strategy to press and broadcast pieces about "public morality" as the Japanese government had before them.

The R.O.C. regime strictly regulated *Goa-a* booklets and dialect cinema since their contents might include the vulgar culture or messages that jeopardized the construction of national identity.⁴²⁸ A number of printed booklets were confiscated by the Police and Security Departments on the grounds that they were pornographic, superstitious, ridiculous, or absurd. Only positive themes, such as filial piety, loyalty, chastity, intermarriage with foreign tribes, historical eulogy, and moral models, were approved for print.⁴²⁹ During the period of Communist rebellion (1948-1991) when the Chinese civil war between the Communists and R.O.C. was supposed to be ongoing, historical legends and stories were created to promote the idea that the R.O.C. was the only legitimate government of China and that Taiwan had always been a part of China for use in propaganda. As many of the stories from permitted *Goa-a* booklets lacked verifiable sources to support them, their inclusion in the history of Taiwan was arbitrarily decided by policy inspectors. The entertainment industry was enveloped in an atmosphere of moral rectitude defined by the R.O.C.'s ideology. Ordinary people's day-to-day life and emotional expression were greatly inhibited by the R.O.C.'s censorship of leisure activities and materials. This censorship also transformed folklore, featured in the practices and traditions of subcultures or groups, into a regulated public performance of morality.

Language, in effect, was not the major concern in film censorship. Dialect cinema was a novel representation of the southern Fujianese language that evolved from the 1950s to the 1970s

⁴²⁸ Martha Boaz, "Censorship" in M. J. M Bates, Mary Niles, Drake Miriam's *Encyclopaedia of Library and Information Science* (New York: Marcel Dekker, 2003), 469.

⁴²⁹ Editorial Room of Secretary Office in Taiwan Provincial Government, *Bulletin of Taiwan Provincial Government* 16 (1953): 179-82 and *Bulletin of Taiwan Provincial Government* 12 (1954):158.

even though provincial decrees limited the number of hours that dialects could be broadcast. From 1956 to the early 1980s there were more than 1,000 southern Fujianese language film titles released. By 1970, southern Fujianese language films exceeded Mandarin movies in number (Fig. 14). Since the R.O.C. government was censoring productions made in the southern Fujianese language, it is important to explain how the filmmakers justified the production of so many films in the dialect through this period. Inasmuch as cinema for a new regime serves an educational purpose, it also, as Andrew Higson might suggest, proclaimed the “unique identity” of the Taiwanese people.⁴³⁰ This uniqueness, in Leo Ching’s words, would “exist only in specific temporality and spatiality,” which could hardly ever be read through the movies after the mid-1980s, when a rise in nostalgia and melancholy for Taiwan’s colonized past was presented.⁴³¹ In this regard, southern Fujianese language films were granted a certificate of exhibition as long as their content and ideology corresponded to R.O.C. inspired identities.

The southern Fujianese language films were accepted when they promoted themes about the connection of Taiwan with Chinese history and morality.⁴³² In the very beginning, the R.O.C. administration tried to prohibit *Gezi xi* films but it became clear that this attempted reform was fruitless. The government noticed that *Gezi xi* films in the Amoy dialect, produced by Hong Kong film companies, or in the southern Fujianese language for the most part

⁴³⁰Andrew Higson, “The Limiting Imagination of National Cinema,” in Mette Hjort and Scott MacKenzie, eds., *Cinema and Nation* (Routledge, 2000), 63-74; “National cinemas, international markets, cross-cultural identities,” in Ib Bondebjerg, eds., *Moving Images, Culture and the Mind* (Luton: University of Luton Press, 2000), 205-14.

⁴³¹ L.T.S. Ching, *Becoming "Japanese": Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*, 11.

⁴³² The first southern Fujianese language film, *Six Talents' Romance of the West Chamber* 六才子西廂記 (1955) did not succeed at the box office, due to screening the 16-mm film on theaters that used 35-mm film. See Longyan Ye, *Chunhua fanlu— Authentic Taiwanese Language Movies* (Taipei: Boyang, 1999), 67. The following year, He Jiming’s 何基明 (1917-1994) *Gezi xi* film, *Xue Pinggui and Wang Baochuan* 薛平貴與王寶釧, unexpectedly earned him both a reputation and a return in profit. Soon thereafter, a surge of *Gezi xi* films sprang up in the film market. See Huang Ren, “The Past and Present of Taiyu Films (Tradition and Rebirth),” in Huang Ren eds., *New Taiwan Cinema* (Taipei: Commercial Press), 98-103.

propagandized traditional Chinese morals: loyalty, filial piety, constancy, and righteousness.

There is no doubt that the continuation of traditional Chinese culture was used to legitimize the R.O.C's power in Taiwan.

Since the function of dialect films was to promote the understanding that the Taiwanese were not culturally distinct from mainland inhabitants, it is not surprising that the majority of the southern Fujianese language films were directed by mainland Taiwanese directors.⁴³³ These movies presented cultural diversity and the intersection of messages that mainlanders and Taiwanese delivered in different ways. They also demonstrated that they could work together and learn from each other because they all were “Chinese.”⁴³⁴ For instance, “Descendants of the Yellow Emperor (*Huangdi zisun* 黃帝子孫)” in 1956 by Bai Ke 白克 (1914-1964), a local resident of Amoy who led Taiwan Motion Pictures Studios, characteristically recounted Taiwan's intimate connection with classical Chinese history and morals. In the movie, teacher Lin taught the history of Taiwan and asked students, “Whose descendants are you?” A male student Lin answered, “I am a descendant of my grandpa!” The teacher then said, “This is not correct! We are all descendants of the Yellow Emperor!” but the student looked confused. After class, two students fought about their origins. “You are a mainlander!” “You are just a Taiwanese!” Teacher Lin stepped in to stop the fighting and said, “Hey, don't fight! Taiwanese are all from the mainland.” She later conducted a home visit to student Lin's house and found that student Lin's grandfather was her father's distant cousin. Grandfather Lin came to Taiwan in

⁴³³ Yingjin Zhang, “Cinematic Reinvention of the National in Taiwan, 1896-1978,” in *Chinese National Cinema* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 113-47. According to Zhang Yingjin, Taiwanese people were financially and technically unable to independently produce films by 1955.

⁴³⁴ A-chin Hsiau, “Language Ideology in Taiwan: The KMT's Language Policy, the Tai-yü Language Movement, and Ethnic Politics,” *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 18:4 (1997): 302-15. The statistics demonstrated by Hsiau A-Chin show that there was a very small number of Taiwanese working for government right after the KMT's takeover.

the late Qing because the land in his hometown of Fujian province was so barren that many villagers could not make a living. In Taiwan, Grandfather Lin had worshipped Confucius and taught Confucian classics at a private school. He and teacher Lin were delighted to have discovered a family connection.

This film was shown for free around the countryside of southern Taiwan. It was dubbed in two languages, southern Fujianese language and Mandarin, for the purpose of social education. Free southern Fujianese language historical movies were not only deemed wholesome family entertainment, but were also converted into convenient propaganda materials. The ending slogan in films, “*fangong dalu fuxing minzu* 反攻大陸 復興民族 (to counterattack back to the mainland and rejuvenate the Chinese nation)” was seen everywhere: school walls, governmental offices, and large signs on the streets in Taiwan during the 1960s. More interestingly, to confirm how Chinese people easily assimilated other groups of people, actors usually sang together in Mandarin at the end of the film.

To justify the use of southern Fujianese language on screen and to survive the national language movement, the southern Fujianese language films had to promote doctrines put forward by the KMT regime. The language of the film was subject to the scrutiny of its content and ideology. The only legitimate reason for speaking in dialect on film was to create more effective propaganda pieces for use in Taiwan. Chen Xingqi’s 陳幸祺 thesis further bolsters this argument. She notes that most of the R.O.C. censors were from China and many of them could not understand Taiwanese dialects; hence, the criteria for censoring dialect films had nothing to do with language.⁴³⁵ This explains why on screen some of the spoken Taiwanese dialogue did

⁴³⁵ Xingqi Chen, “A Study of Movie Stars in Taiyu Films” (M.A. Thesis, Taipei National University of the Arts, 2004).

not match the Mandarin subtitles. Film companies perceived the loopholes of the censorship system and took two measures to get around censorship: bribery or editing films after receiving their certificates of exhibition from the KMT government.

The Ministry of Education censored the use of roman letters in transcriptions of Mandarin and the southern Fujianese language.⁴³⁶ Ironically, Mandarin had its own romanization system, known as *Guoyu luoma zi* 國語羅馬字 (the National Language Romanization). It was invented in Nanjing 南京 in 1928, but received little attention from Mandarin users in mainland China and Taiwan until 1986. In order to cater to more foreign learners, in comparison with the Wade-Giles, Yale, and Hanyu *pinyin* systems, the Ministry of Education issued an official romanization of Mandarin in 1986 based on a variant of the 1928 version.⁴³⁷ Before this regulation, the Mandarin romanization was not unified, while Wade-Giles, Yale, and Hanyu *pinyin* were used by foreigners and on street signs. The provincial Bureau of Education even prohibited the publication of *Guoyu luomayin zidian* 國語羅馬音字典 (*the Dictionary of Mandarin Romanization*) by Wenjian Publishing in March 1975. According to the Press Regulation during the Period of Communist Rebellion it contained “inappropriate communist wording (*fei wei mingcheng* 匪偽名稱).”⁴³⁸ In other words, unofficial romanized systems for Mandarin were not legally accepted, even though they were sometimes visible under the sovereignty of the R.O.C.

In the 1950s, the Presbyterian Church bit the bullet and grappled with the most

⁴³⁶ In fact, the officially-sponsored *Mandarin Daily Newspaper* published romanized southern Fujianese language because of its ease of use in writing the language, but it was not popularized. See Boyu Chang, Ed., *Materials of Mandarin Movement in Taiwan* (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1974), 88

⁴³⁷ Xian Li, *History of One-hundred-year National Language Movement*, 95-99.

⁴³⁸ Editorial Room of Secretary Office in Taiwan Provincial Government, *Bulletin of Taiwan Provincial Government* 58 (1975): 15 and Editorial Room of Secretary Office in Taiwan Provincial Government, *Bulletin of Taiwan Provincial Government* 2 (1975): 3-4.

formidable hurdle of government suppression of POJ. In 1957, the Provincial Bureau of Education enforced a ban on POJ Bibles since they impeded the promotion of Mandarin. The state decided to give a three-year grace period to reduce the use of POJ and to translate the Bible to Mandarin with phonetic symbols. It was very unfortunate that the Police Department confiscated POJ Bibles transcribed in the Tayal 泰雅 (an indigenous tribe) language and the southern Fujianese language version in 1974 and 1975, respectively. This act shocked the United Bible Societies, who pressed the R.O.C. administration to retract the decision.⁴³⁹ Later, the Bible Society of Taiwan applied for permission to publish a bilingual Mandarin-POJ Bible. It was permitted on the conditions that only elderly people who were illiterate in Mandarin and foreign missionaries were allowed to use it and that every copy should be numbered.⁴⁴⁰ Even though it was hard to monitor every Bible user, the government's disapproval of Taiwanese people using foreign texts was demonstrated through the surveillance of the number of copies in circulation.

The Church's Responses to Language Policy: Negotiation and Adaptability with the State

Not all state language policies in Taiwan received comprehensive support from the Presbyterian Church. Enforcing the use of the national language in educational social settings in Taiwan has been an unpleasant process for the Taiwanese. The church's responses to state policies are indicative of the long-standing unbalanced relationship between native language, or the southern Fujianese language, and official, or national, languages.

⁴³⁹ From Encyclopedia of Taiwan "Forbiddance of Romanized Edition Taiwanese Bible." Also see Huayuan Xue eds. *Freedom of Speech* (Taipei County: Academia Historica, 2004), 610-13.

⁴⁴⁰ Editorial Room of Secretary Office in Taiwan Provincial Government, *Bulletin of Taiwan Provincial Government* 38 (1978): 5.

The promotion of language and writing, by and large, is tightly connected to power and politics. After the Qing Empire's failed promotion of official language education for provincial official candidates in the 18th century, the Japanese introduced their own national language, Japanese, in Taiwan. Policy enactment and implementation were lenient towards native languages and culture. Taiwanese people studied Japanese in school as well as Chinese characters in private academies or study societies like the I-xin Association in the 1930s. For the early colonial period, Chinese character education was even permitted in public and national language schools. Sweeping changes began in 1937, when the Empire of Japan involved itself in the Sino-Japanese War, and later in World War II. The revolutionary reforms in many aspects of language enforcement are evident in things such as changing the name of church Sunday schools to Jit-iāu Hák-hāu ("Sunday School" written in Japanese and pronounced in the southern Fujianese language) and banning the dominant church newspaper, *TCN*, in 1942. The Japanese colonizers worked to undermine the Taiwanese people's ethnic identification with China and Taiwan by prohibiting the use of Chinese characters in the public domain and the southern Fujianese language in school education. The government also abolished Chinese-language columns in several daily newspapers and they gradually reduced the use of the southern Fujianese language. They realized the written and oral languages were gaining intellectual power for the Taiwanese.⁴⁴¹

During the interim between the Japanese and Chiang Kai-shek's governments, POJ scholars and southern Fujianese language users attempted to revive POJ and adapt POJ into Mandarin Phonetic Symbols to gain approval for its continued use from the KMT. Dong Dacheng 董大成 (1937-2008), a graduate from the medical school of the Imperial University in

⁴⁴¹ Yaping Qiu, "A Language Inquiry of Taiwanese Vernacular from the Abrogation of Han-wen Column on the Dailies" (M.A. Thesis, National Cheng-kung University, 2007).

Taipei (now National Taiwan University), published a POJ-Mandarin phonetic symbols manual to help Taiwanese and mainlanders learn from each other in 1949. As he stated, the Mandarin Phonetic Symbols were taught in national elementary schools and the church similarly taught another type of phonetic symbols, POJ, for studying the “Taiwanese language” (he meant the southern Fujianese language). Since he categorized the southern Fujianese language and Mandarin as parts of the same linguistic system, he believed that they must have similar features. He suggested presenting their similarities. Through teaching the similarities in phonetic symbols while ignoring the differences, children would be able to learn the symbols and POJ in school, and vice versa. In other words, by comparing these two auxiliary language tools, Dong taught readers that the sounds of the southern Fujianese language that were not included in the Mandarin phonetic system should be rendered in POJ. His booklet was simply a comparison of the two languages. For example in his lesson 18, his sequential instructions elaborated nothing about how the symbols represented the southern Fujianese language, but how the characters were pronounced in the southern Fujianese language through POJ (Fig. 15). His effort, however, demonstrates that Sunday school was an area where teachers made adjustments to the process of teaching the southern Fujianese language. They used two spelling systems which functionally incorporated POJ into the national education system.⁴⁴²

The R.O.C.’s officials were not strongly motivated to learn the southern Fujianese language or POJ in the multi-lingual environment of Taiwan. Echoing Professor Dong’s flexibility in southern Fujianese language studies, Cai Peihuo, a previous cadre of the Taiwanese Cultural Association in the 1920s who supported the use of POJ as a Taiwanese written

⁴⁴² Dong’s revised POJ was only used in Jinan 濟南 Church and other regional churches of Taipei. After contacting these churches, I could not find church goers who remembered using his version. No matter whether his version was popular in Taipei or how users responded to learning it, the use of POJ was maintained in the church.

language, invented a set of phonetic symbols with seven additional symbols and tonal markers (Fig. 16) to transcribe the southern Fujianese language. His logic, from an R.O.C. member's point of view, deviated from the R.O.C.'s Mandarin policy in press and broadcast media. To wipe out linguistic estrangement, Cai proposed that the party publicize his southern Fujianese language phonetic symbols in printed propaganda materials. Owing to their similar spelling bases, Mandarin users would have no barriers to acquiring the southern Fujianese language variant. Cai's wishful thinking was that this proposal to the headquarters of the KMT would be used to train R.O.C. cadres to offer supplementary public education at the regional level.⁴⁴³ A key thread of this issue that Cai might have neglected was that the R.O.C. regime, unlike the Japanese one, did not attempt to have its officials learn the southern Fujianese language because they regarded native languages as dialects inferior to standard Mandarin.

The popularization of Mandarin in Taiwan was not just a way for the Chinese to claim political power over the island. It also worried southern Fujianese language advocates especially those from the church. A few months after Dong's POJ publication, he was concerned that no further thought would be given to the future of the church's language (meaning POJ). His anxiety was justified as a survey he conducted revealed that more and more churches used Chinese Bibles, particularly in northern Taiwan. From May 15 to July 11 of 1949, out of the 4729 copies of the Bible that sold in Taipei's bookstores, 4707 were in characters and only 23 were in POJ. Southern bookstores followed the same trend, as the ratio of these two versions was 100:20. Dong's findings made him question what the Taiwanese Presbyterian church's writing was. For him, it was time for the Church to make a decision on this significant matter.⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴³ Peihuo Cai, "Diary on March 3, 1951," *A Collection of Cai Peihuo's Works*, vol. 6 (Taipei: Wushi tushu, 2000), 241-47.

In 1949, after calling for a meeting for serious discussion on the church's written language, the Taiwanese Presbyterian Church decided to officially make POJ its writing system. A committee that was designed to have the Taiwan Youth Convention promote POJ was immediately set for the following month. They detailed publication plans for children's and POJ material databases.⁴⁴⁵ Clearly, church officials sensed that maintaining the use of POJ created an internal crisis for the legions of church readers who preferred reading the Chinese Bible in cooperation with the national language policy.

It was not until the late 1950s that the church seriously considered the R.O.C.'s language policy as a threat to their continued use of POJ and began to develop countermeasures to the prohibition of POJ. The church sued Executive Yuan for the unreasonable ban on POJ Bibles. After granting an extension to the Church for the use of the POJ Bible for three more years in 1958, the government gradually restricted the distribution of mission materials written in romanized letters in mountainous areas. Immediately after receiving these decisions, the church counselling committee in Taichung called a meeting to discuss the ruling. The council members resolved to request that the Ministry of Education withdraw the restriction of POJ materials on the grounds of freedom of religion. If necessary, the presbytery would present a petition to authorities. In the next meeting after some confiscated POJ Bibles were returned, the council requested more space to use POJ in catechetical booklets and decided to directly converse with the Minister of Education about their appeals.⁴⁴⁶ POJ was restricted to missions only, and was not allowed in church correspondence. For people who could not read in Chinese, the POJ Bible

⁴⁴⁴ Táng Tāi-sêng, "Thó-lūn Kàu-iók kap Lô-má-jī ūn-tōng ê su-giân" (A discussion of the Preface to 'Education and Romanization Movement'), *TCN*, September 1949, 13.

⁴⁴⁵ Tīn Jī giók, "T.K.C. Lô-má-jī chhui-hêng Pō-hōe Tiū-pī Úi-oân-hōe" (T.K.C. preparatory committee of romanization promotion department), *TCN*, November 1949, 6.

⁴⁴⁶ Presbytery meeting minutes, 1958. Sources from National Museum of Taiwan Literature.

granted freedom of access to the church's message. Beyond the field of religion, the court's sentence stated that Mandarin was the only communication language, with some assistance from dialects.

Facing manipulation from several departments such as the police and education church affairs consultants chose to negotiate and compromise with the authorities in charge of language education and public security as long as they firmly stood by the bottom line—the free use of POJ for religious purposes. This arrangement explains why the international Christian community was shocked by the 1975 confiscation of POJ Bibles. Confiscation was not a novel strategy in Taiwanese politics, but it was the first time it gained international attention. Protest letters and public voices from far and near accused the R.O.C. government of hindering freedom of religion. President Chiang Ching-kuo 蔣經國 (1910-1988) was outraged by the confiscation, as it hurt the R.O.C.'s reputation internationally. Previously working for the Bible Society in Taiwan, Rev. Lai Bingtong 賴炳炯 (n.d.) claimed that Rev. Cai scapegoated the Department of Police. The church was forced to release a statement that Lai and Cai handed in their POJ Bibles spontaneously and without pressure.⁴⁴⁷

The Declaration on Human Rights for Taiwanese Independence in the 1970s

The fallout from the R.O.C. government's withdrawal from the United Nations, announced by Chiang Kai-shek on October 26, 1971, demonstrates the role that international politics played in domestic identity construction.⁴⁴⁸ Both the R.O.C. and the P.R.C. wanted the

⁴⁴⁷ Such understanding was from Lai's statement through interview on September 27, 2013.

⁴⁴⁸ Chiang's withdrawal statement accused the United Nations of violating established charters by considering the Republic of Albania's proposal to allow the People's Republic of China (P. R.C.) to take over the R.O.C.'s seats in both the United Nations and the United Nations Security Council. On October, 25, 1971, the General Assembly Resolutions in the 1976th plenary meeting suggested an alternative. On the subject "Restoration of the lawful rights of the P. R.C. in the United Nations," 76 members supported the recognition:

"that the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China are the only lawful representatives of China to the United Nations and that the People's Republic of China is one of the five permanent Members of the Security Council.

diplomatic recognition that holding seats in the United Nations signified. The conflict began in 1949 when the P.R.C. announced itself as the legitimate government of China and requested that the United Nations cancel the R.O.C.'s illegal possession of their seats. In 1971, the R.O.C. diplomatic delegation gave up their seats prior to a meeting where their seats were going to be taken away so that they could oppose the resolution to invite the P.R.C to take over the R.O.C.'s old seats. The Taiwanese people incorrectly concluded that the R.O.C. voluntarily made the decision to relinquish their U.N. seats and exit the international community.

National identity relies partly on recognition from outsiders and is reinforced or undermined through conflict resolution. Being excluded from international society inspired an awareness of human rights issues on the island. The General Secretary of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, Gao Junming 高俊明 (1929-), issued a worldwide manifesto on Dec. 29, 1971 stating that the Taiwanese people's free will and human rights should not be neglected and that they were afraid of being controlled by the communist regime after the R.O.C.'s withdrawal from the United Nations.⁴⁴⁹ Gao's wording, in effect, encouraged the Taiwanese government, namely the R.O.C., to admit the diplomatic setback. To some extent, perhaps it was preferable to resume relations with the native Taiwanese since the people would only consent to reside in a nonviolent environment that the P.R.C. could not provide. His sentiments were echoed by allied Christian societies such as Bishop Warner from Wesley Methodist Church, the Episcopal Diocese of Taiwan, and the Taiwan Lutheran Church. But as it turned out, only the Presbyterian

Decides to *restore* all its rights to the People's Republic of China and to recognize the representatives of its Government as the only legitimate representatives of China to the United Nations, and to **expel forthwith the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek (boldface added)** from the place which they unlawfully occupy at the United Nations and in all the organizations related to it."

See Source Materials of One-China Discourse Editorial Group, *Source Materials of One-China Discourse* (Taipei County: Academia Historica, 2000), 323-24 and "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations," <http://daccess-ods.un.org/TMP/4737994.html> (accessed July 27, 2014).

⁴⁴⁹ "Statement on our National Fate by the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, December 29, 1971," <http://www.laijohn.com/PCT/Statements/1971-fate-english.htm> (accessed July 27, 2014).

Church signed the manifesto, proving that not every Christian community dared to risk offending the authorities.⁴⁵⁰ After church leaders introduced the 1971 declaration, their relationship with the R.O.C. got worse because of the church's disagreement with the R.O.C regime's decision on international diplomacy.⁴⁵¹

A few months later, under the pressure of public opinion, especially from Christians, Rev. Gao clarified his 1971 manifesto as “a confession of faith,” instead of a call to “political action.”⁴⁵² As a Christian, he advocated against dodging responsibility to society and the state. Based on the confession, he believed that most orthodox Protestant churches would encourage Christians to become responsible citizens who “participate in constructive activities in society and politics.”⁴⁵³ Under the aegis of the church, Christians should not involve themselves in politics except under two circumstances. They are when:

“political power from without violates the nature of the Church and the carrying out of her mission on earth, and when, similarly, political power from without violates human rights, that is, the dignity of human existence.”⁴⁵⁴

The nature of the Church and her mission became significant as definitions for each term were not given in Gao's text. Rather, Gao suggested that support for human rights was a justification

⁴⁵⁰ Junming Gao, *The Road toward The Cross* (Taipei: Wangchun feng, 2001), 229-30; Lianhua Zhou, *Memoir of Zhou Lianhua* (Taipei: Lianhe wenxue, 1994), 281-82.

⁴⁵¹ The relationship between the church and the R.O.C. government was important since the two parties disagreed about the church using POJ and maintaining their membership in the World Council of Churches (WCC). This global organization summoned the P.R.C.'s participation in and publicly bolstered the P.R.C. regime's affiliation with the United Nations in 1966-1967 (See “The Seventeen Annual Meeting Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan,” vol. 2, 1970, 59). The Ministry of the Interior in Taiwan thus pressed the church to break its ties with the WCC. Members of several presbyteries proposed withdrawal from the WCC in March 1970 (See Anonymous, “Tùi Phó-Sè Kàu-Hiáp ê Seng-Bêng” (A statement to the World Council of Churches), *TCN*, February 1, 1968, 5-7). Soon after submitting a copy of the meeting minutes to the Ministry of the Interior, the church broke away from the WCC in order to side with the anti-communist government (See “The Seventeen Annual Meeting Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan,” vol.1, 1970, 11-12; Gao Junming, *The Road toward the Cross*, 225.)

⁴⁵² “Statement on our National Fate—Motivation Base on Faith and Theology,” March 1972, <http://www.laijohn.com/PCT/Statements/1972-fate-English.htm> (accessed July 27, 2014).

⁴⁵³ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid.

of his proposal to re-elect legislators. The dignity of human existence, in his understanding, related to the advocacy of re-election, though the logic is not sufficiently clear to associate the former with the latter. Additionally, we have no further knowledge of how a responsible Christian civilian could partake in statements, or activities, during the rise and fall of nations, without them becoming affiliated with the church. Gao attempted to rectify a social misunderstanding that the church involved politics (*ganshe zhengzhi* 干涉政治). As Gao explained, his declaration was not a political act but an action that sprung from his belief in God. The nation would be blessed only through reforming its political structure, regaining domestic and international respect and eventually saving itself from decline. These two statements, in 1971 and 1972 respectively, not only won attention from international society but also earned the church a reputation for social activism.

In 1977, the Church issued another statement that was a landmark in the history of church and politics in Taiwan. Before U.S. President Jimmy Carter (1924-) deployed his Secretary of State, Cyrus Roberts Vance (1917-2002), to China for diplomatic negotiation, the church issued an earth-shattering Declaration on Human Rights. It was shocking because the Church petitioned President Carter to uphold “the principles of human rights while pursuing the ‘normalization of Taiwan’s relationship with Communist China’ and they insisted on “guaranteeing the security, *independence* (italicized added) and freedom of the people in Taiwan.”⁴⁵⁵ The statement demanded that President Carter, Taiwan’s government, and global churches endorse their goals and make Taiwan “a new and *independent* (italicized added) country,” based on the will of the people in Taiwan.⁴⁵⁶ Regardless of whether the statement

⁴⁵⁵ “A Declaration on Human Rights by the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan,” August 16, 1977, <http://www.laijohn.com/PCT/Statements/1977-humanrights-English.htm> (accessed July 27, 2014).

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid.

could represent the people of Taiwan, some Taiwanese hoped that the new China-US relations would not lead to any loss of human rights or Taiwanese security. The most effective plan, the church believed, would be to make the island independent from both the P.R.C. and the R.O.C. Taiwan could leave the complex past of the regimes behind. For the groups promoting the manifesto, the concern was not simply dissatisfaction with the governments of China, but crisis.

An imagined “nation,” composed of 17 million Taiwanese, was generated through the declaration when the R.O.C. encountered the international crisis and conflict that the PRC intended to annex Taiwan. The R.O.C. was a nation in crisis after their withdrawal from the United Nations since they had lost international recognition of their right to govern China. The Taiwanese Presbyterian Church transferred their loyalty from the R.O.C. to the newly imagined nation of Taiwan because they were concerned by the R.O.C.’s disregard for the fact that the Taiwanese people had rights of their own. If the government was incapable of respecting the peoples’ decisions, as a parameter of human rights, developing a new nation, if necessary, was a blessing in disguise. The construction of nationhood indeed, as Hastings suggests, could not leave behind the influence of ethnicity and religion. Human rights and the land are “gifts bestowed by God” in Christianity, not by the law.⁴⁵⁷ No matter whether the rights were authorized by law or by God, the declaration stated that the R.O.C. and the people came through crisis, though the former seemingly did less than expected to strike for diplomatic legitimacy. Hence, these appeals in several languages were written to enable the Taiwanese people to communicate with other international like-minded audiences who might sympathize with Taiwan’s *status quo* and not make their case to the R.O.C.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid.

A group of people with a shared cultural identity is an ethnicity. Shared cultural identities such as ethnicity were important to the formation of Taiwanese nationalism. Furthermore national identity in Taiwan preceded the formation of the Taiwanese nation as a political entity. The idea of Taiwanese national identity advocated by the Church was expected to encompass the opinions of the 17 million residents of Taiwan. For the past few centuries they had lived in the island and more or less syncretized to one another in language and life experience. Unable to give a specific definition of “Taiwanese” (*Taiwan renmin* 臺灣人民), the Church asserted that Taiwan was an imagined political society. A political Taiwanese identity was created as it was discussed, called, used, and antagonized without existing as a distinct political entity. Being “Taiwanese,” as they understood it, overlapped with being Han Chinese. They recognized the ethnic Han from China as the common ancestor of two groups of people from the mainland before and after 1945 and the Taiwanese languages that came from southern China to Taiwan. Identification with the past and the commonalities between the two groups, undoubtedly, were changing.

The formation and construction of a “Taiwanese identity” should be examined through the “continual expression and validation,” of that identity instead of the “cultural stuff that it encloses.”⁴⁵⁸ There might be “Taiwanese identities” claimed in cultural moments, literature movements, and political declarations under different political regimes, but each example might not refer to the same contexts, subjects, markers, ascriptions, or boundaries. That is, if, as Sperber proposes, classification is a cognitive process of human nature, then the process of constructing a national identity through classification would include the social, cultural, even

⁴⁵⁸ Frederik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference* (London, Allen & Unwin 1969), 15.

political experiences of individuals or a group.⁴⁵⁹ No matter if an identity is established in terms of internal impetus or external forces, it is necessary to look into specific sociocultural contexts and read through which perspectives define being “Taiwanese” and its identities. It is an oversimplification to explore “Taiwanese identities” through the lens of ethnic perspectives or through dating the initiation of a Taiwanese nationalism inasmuch as people in Taiwan do not identify that they are/were a *unified* group that owns a sense of who they are/were.

“Taiwanese nationality” and “Taiwanese nationalism” are multi-layered concepts. The Taiwanese had to process how to differentiate themselves from others in various contexts. They were also intertwined in a constant process of “expression and validation” of their ethno-cultural and political identities. Ethnicity refers to “a set of sociocultural diacritics that define a shared identity for members and non-members.”⁴⁶⁰ The identity of the Taiwanese people as an ethnic group and political entity in the 1970s was not well integrated into Taiwanese society. In Anderson’s words, the people of Taiwan had not conceived of themselves as sharing “a deep horizontal comradeship.”⁴⁶¹ The cultural community of the Taiwanese was not a shared character in a territorial community. In the 1970s, a group of people, backed up by a religious organization, claimed to have a nation based on the human rights granted by God and that owed their *loyalty* to God instead of to the created nation of the R.O.C.⁴⁶² Church officials created a Taiwanese national identity as the basis of their political actions which included striking for welfare, political security, and a hopeful future for the Taiwanese people. However, they neglected to deal with how to transition the population from disparate ethnic groups into a

⁴⁵⁹ Dan Sperber, *Explaining Culture: A Naturalistic Approach* (Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 144.

⁴⁶⁰ R. Cohen. “Ethnicity: Problem and Focus in Anthropology,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 7 (1978): 379-403.

⁴⁶¹ B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Verso, 2006), 7.

⁴⁶² Walker Connor, “A Nation is a Nation, is a State, is An Ethnic Group is a...” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 1 (1978): 377-400.

unified nation. The sentiment of political solidarity does not by itself make a nation if a large proportion of the population have not embraced their shared ethnic elements. This ambiguity probably confused people in Taiwan who by and large considered themselves “Chinese” from southern China or the political centres of China by 1945. Nationalism represented in the political identity of “Taiwanese” people could be a substitute for regionalism, communalism, sub-nationalism, or even parochialism.⁴⁶³

It is my assertion that the church’s writings, POJ, and the Taiwanese language (mostly referring to southern Fujianese language) were important elements in the creation of the “Taiwanese” national identity promoted by the Church. Language and writing played essential roles in the imagination and construction of the nation. In Cohen’s elaboration of sociocultural diacritics of ethnicity, language is an essential marker of ethnicity. Moreover, Hastings suggests that the construction of the nation cannot leave “the literary development of a vernacular and the pressures of the state” alone. My argument relies on Hastings’ brilliant analysis of the evolution of language from oral to written systems which creates integral elements in the nation’s identity.⁴⁶⁴ Though he emphasizes the translation of the Bible, he shows that only when the oral tradition possesses a literature of its own does a society “feel confident to challenge the dominance of outsiders.” Hastings firmly argues that the ties between the written language, probably used by the elite, and the oral language that is used by everyone, can create “a linguistically based nationalism.”⁴⁶⁵ The self-determination of Taiwan and its people was not

⁴⁶³ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁴ Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood—Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 11-12.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid., 31.

wiped out by the R.O.C.'s national language policy. The aftermath of the 1970s Declaration suggests that the Taiwanese were aware of the role of language in defining an ethnicity.

The Mother-Tongue Movement and the Authorization of POJ in National Education

Fallout from the 1970s Declaration on Human Rights

Encouraged by the political atmosphere created by the Declaration for Independence in 1977, the Taiwanese witnessed the fallout of public attempts to separate Taiwan from China linguistically, culturally and politically. Announcing an attempt to separate themselves from China was a milestone in the history of Taiwanese politics, literature, and language. Taiwanese nativist literature debates during 1977-78 and Taiwanese consciousness debates in 1983-84 as a follow-up of the 1970s Declaration came within debaters' jurisdiction. The two clusters of debates focused on how the nativist literature in the 1970s was situated in the relations to Chinese culture and Taiwanization in which the importance of Taiwanese culture, nationality, history, and society was highlighted. Participation in literary discourse and the following awakening of Taiwaneseeness was an attempt to draw a clear cut distinction between Taiwan and China.

Similar to the 1930s nativist literature debates in Taiwan under the colonial Japanese empire, the 1970s debate started with arguments about literary writing style and genres, but ended up being a battle of definitions. One participant, Zhu Xining 朱西甯 (1927-1998), declared that the nativeness of Taiwan risked turning into regionalism. He thus doubted how much Taiwanese writers were loyal to a nativist culture of Taiwan after the fifty-year colonization.⁴⁶⁶ Zhu's attacks attempted to switch the focus of discussion from literature to

⁴⁶⁶ Xining Zhu, "Returning Where? How to Return?" *Cactus* 2 (1977): 151-71.

politics. The R.O.C. government involved its representatives in debates and appealed to the literary circles to persist in their support for anti-communist literature. That genre was believed to be an expansion of nativeness in which writers could express their affection towards Chinese ethnicity and the nation.⁴⁶⁷ Echoing Zhu's opinions, Ye Shitao's 葉石濤 (1925-2008) proposal for the prerequisite of Taiwan's nativist literature in 1977 had stated that Taiwan and its people must be the subjects of their own literary narratives. That was what he called Taiwanese consciousness (*Taiwan yishi* 臺灣意識), reflecting the people's day-to-day life.⁴⁶⁸ This nativeness tended to define the expression of affection towards Taiwan and its culture.

The following debates of Taiwanese consciousness developed out of the Nationalist's control. Disputed in magazines such as *Qianjin Weekly* 前進 and *Xiachao Forum* 夏潮 sponsored by *dangwai* 黨外 (outside the R.O.C. party) activists, the debates added fuel to the flames of conflicting positions between Taiwan and mainland China. Chen Fangming 陳芳明 (1947-), a participant in the debates, argued correctly that the vigorous development of Taiwanese ideology and antagonism towards the P.R.C. (or R.O.C.) were closely associated with social events, e.g. the Church's Declarations.⁴⁶⁹ From the sociocultural perspective, Chen's statement is convincing. On the one hand, in fact, Taiwanese culture and ideology found no battles to fight with Chinese culture in other fields like education. By the 1990s, textbooks neglected everything pertaining to Taiwan.⁴⁷⁰ Rather, Taiwanese students were taught the Chinese cultural narrative that stressed Chinese culture and its glorification and the hatred of

⁴⁶⁷ Bichuan Yang, *Dictionary of Taiwan History* (Taipei: Qianwei, 1997), 335.

⁴⁶⁸ Shitao Ye, "Introduction of Taiwanese Nativist Literature," *Discussion of Nativist Literature* (Taipei: Yuanliu, 1978), 72-73.

⁴⁶⁹ Fangming Chen, "Re-forging Affections toward Taiwan," *Zili Night Newspaper*, November 2, 1999.

⁴⁷⁰ Staring from 1977, the subject "Knowing Taiwan" (Renshi Taiwan) was added to the curriculum for first grade of junior high schools. (See Huang Chun-min's dissertation, "Language Education Policies and Practices in Taiwan—from Nationism to Nationalism," Ph.D. Diss., Washington University, 1997).

communism. Taiwan was almost impossible to locate in a survey of teaching materials from the period. Before the advent of social or political events, ordinary people lacked sources for forging Taiwanese identity in compulsory education. On the other hand, another result of the 1977 church declaration was that the development of “Taiwanese” identity was linked to a political independence movement. Prior to the Declaration, native Taiwanese people sensed that there was a boundary between themselves and mainlanders that went beyond language use, but the boundary was not acknowledged in China. After the Declaration, the development of a distinct “Taiwanese” national identity symbolized that the R.O.C. government in Taiwan was losing its political legitimacy. At this time, the government had to intervene in social events, even in the literature field, to keep the political legitimacy of their government from disintegrating.

To distinguish “being Taiwanese” from “being Chinese,” some individuals in Taiwan defined themselves using ethnic markers. One of the most prominent markers was the spoken language. Most of the first and second generations of post-1945 mainlanders, if not sedulously learning, spoke a corrupt form of the languages used in Taiwan, including the southern Fujianese language, Hakka, and indigenous languages. Conversely the native Taiwanese might use heavily accented Mandarin but still be intelligible to Mandarin speakers. Accented Mandarin and unfamiliarity with native languages have become distinguishing indicators of how the Taiwanese (*bensheng ren* 本省人) and mainland Chinese (*waisheng ren* 外省人) were categorized.

The revival of the Taiwanese written languages debate from the 1980s-1990s should not be a surprise, since a written language can do so much to express a writer’s political leanings as well as to preserve the unique oral culture that was missing from Chinese characters. The distinction in speech could not satisfy these linguistic groups anymore. Their requests for their

own writing system and the evolution of its use in literature have encouraged language activists to engage in two tracks of resuscitating speaking and writing Taiwanese languages. They pushed for the development of Taiwanese-language writings from the mid-1980s forward. The second wave of language activism came in education through the mother-tongue movement in the late 1980s.

The concept of native language in Taiwan primarily referred to the southern Fujianese language before the 1980s. At that time native language users began to use their dialects to emphasize their ethnicity and political identities. Southern Fujianese language, Hakka, and indigenous languages all claimed that their particularities should be promoted for continuous use as mother languages. They initially gained an unfeared name as a group—nativist languages (*xiangtu yuyan* 鄉土語言). It was a blurry version of the non-Mandarin languages in Taiwan.

In 1987 the R.O.C. lifted Martial Law in Taiwan. It was a key turning point in the political life of the nation since political demonstrations and public claims were not suppressed for the first time in decades. Promoters of *Taiyu* 台語 (southern Fujianese language),⁴⁷¹ *Keyu* 客語 or *Kejia hua* 客家話 (Hakka), and *Yuanzhumin yu* 原住民語 (indigenous languages) attempted to partition the resources for language promotion that were previously monopolized by Mandarin Chinese. Starting in 1987, the Taiwanese literature's name gradually switched from nativist to *Taiyu* literature. The switch implied that Taiwanese literary composition was separate from Chinese literature. Every linguistic ethnic group was determined to be visible as *Taiyu*

⁴⁷¹ In order not to distract readers, the complex process of transitioning from calling southern Fujianese language to calling it *Taiyu* is not elaborated in the body of this dissertation. Briefly speaking, since the awakening of Taiwanese national identity in the late 1970s, many southern Fujianese language speakers tended to call their language Taiwan *hua* (Taiwanese language). Disputes, however, arose from the Hakka group who thought their language was Taiwanese language too and thus believed that southern Fujianese language speakers monopolized the limelight of ethnolinguistic marker. To avoid conflicts, *Taiyu* is the term that has been used to exclusively refer to the southern Fujianese language ever since.

literature instead of disguised under the larger categorization of “*Zhonghua minzu*.” The new culture and literature, as defined, was to be independently juxtaposed with Chinese culture.⁴⁷²

The juxtaposition demonstrated not only a textual boundary from their Chinese counterparts but also a rollout of issues in which the “Taiwanese” served as subjects who were legally permitted to publish and discuss their own works in the public sphere. At that point, a large volume of Taiwanese-centered publications blossomed.⁴⁷³

In addition to the separation from China, the tougher mission of defining what it means to be “Taiwanese” (*Taiwan ren*) hinges on the fact that different groups of “Taiwanese” people speak different languages. Unifying the spoken and written systems really put linguists to the test. The term “Taiwanese” is complex, though it is used generally with regard to ethnicity, which is an even more intricate concept than its political dimension. Whether or not *Taiwan ren* is an ethnic category is controversial. It might be easy for a Taiwanese independence activist to claim *Taiwan ren* is not Chinese (*Zhongguo ren*), if the latter refers to the entity of China (P.R.C. or R.O.C.). The claim becomes ambiguous if the term refers to an ethnic group or groups, as we are unlikely to suggest that the “Chinese” have a clear ethnic definition. In Taiwan, particularly after the 1980s, in many cases “being Taiwanese” and “being Chinese” were juxtaposed to represent users’ different understandings of the relationship between Taiwan and mainland

⁴⁷² One of the most influential journals impacted by the 1977-78 Taiwanese nativist literature movement was *The New Culture* (*Taiwan xin wenhua*), initiated in September 1986. A group of writers advocated creating a writing circle where Taiwanese culture, literature, languages, history, politics, art, and education could be discussed. The new culture, as defined, was to independently juxtapose Chinese culture (Fang Yaoqian, *Taiyu wenxue shi ji shumuhui bian* (History of Taiyu Literature and Bibliography) (Kaohsiung: Taiwan Literary Celebrity, 2012), 84-85.

⁴⁷³ Such as *Taiyu Digest* (1989), *Yam Poetry Journal* (1991), *Taiyu Air* (1992), *Kadong Taibun Monthly* (1995), *Taibun BONG-po* (1996), and *TGB Communication* (1999). Most noteworthy was the trend of Taiyu publications overseas starting in the 1970s. The Centre for the Study Promotion of the Taiwanese Languages in Los Angeles launched *Taiyu Communication* in 1975 and founded an overseas branch in Taiwan in 1993 as a headquarters of Taiyu promotion through reading classes, broadcasting, and cassettes. See Ruiming Liao, *Tongue and Pen—Development of Taiwan Mother-Tongue Literature* (Tainan: National Museum of Taiwan Literature, 2013), 79-83.

China. For some Taiwanese, the nation-state meant “Taiwan” but being Chinese meant the people identified with the R.O.C. government.

Moreover, the next important issue that would have to be solved would be to choose which language was capable of representing the language of *Taiwan ren*. The 1980s discussion could not find a satisfactory solution, though scholars like Lin Yangmin 林央敏 (1955-) and Lin Hengtai 林亨泰 (1924-) drafted a comprehensive agreement to choose the southern Fujianese language as the language.⁴⁷⁴ *Taiwan ren* reached no consensus as to a representative language. The indefinable ethnic Taiwanese later in the 1990s changed their focus to defining individual ethnicities. Still, the objectives and aftermath of the 1980s mother-tongue movement defined groups of people by means of language based on the right to use mother languages.

Before we move to the analyses of how the mother-tongue movement lobbied for the official institutionalization of written languages for Taiwanese mother languages, a short, yet comprehensive, investigation of the KMT government’s ideology in systematically defining the groups of “Taiwanese ethnicity” provides a significant base of comparison to the above sociolinguistic perspective. A Taiwanese sociologist, Wang Fu-chang 王甫昌, searched into the censuses that were conducted between 1956 and 2000. He discovered that, due to the lifting of Martial Law and the second election of legislators, the category of Chinese original domiciles (*sheng ji* 省籍) in a household certificate was replaced by the ethnicities in Taiwan.⁴⁷⁵ Taking Chinese original domiciles as a dominant category in classifying Taiwanese people in effect had the political purpose of favouring post-1945 mainlanders. Originating from different provinces,

⁴⁷⁴ Hentai Lin, “Criteria of Composing Taiwanese Literature,” *Taiwan Chunqiu* 2:2 (1988): 336-38; Lin Yangmin, *History of Taiyu Movements* (Taipei: Qianwei, 1996), 152-58.

⁴⁷⁵ Fu-chang Wang, “From Chinese Original Domicile to Taiwanese Ethnicity: An Analysis of Census Category Transformation in Taiwan,” *Taiwan Sociology* 9 (2005): 59-117.

mainland legislators could maintain a privileged minority status in politics inasmuch as most residents in Taiwan were governed by Taiwan, Fujian, or Guangdong provincial offices. In the very first census, in 1956, if the officially interviewed householders could not identify their home provinces, officers were authorized to arbitrarily decide what a householder's home province was based on the languages he spoke. During the 1970s the imposition of a 'home province' listing for native Taiwanese people became a source of conflict between mainlanders and the Taiwanese. The Taiwanese wanted the practice to end because their actual birth place was not a home province. By imposing a 'home province' listing on the Taiwanese natives in Census Data, the Chinese were attempting to claim that they were just like other mainlanders. In 1992, the practice was discontinued and R.O.C. officials began to list the birthplaces of Taiwanese natives in Census records.

During his presidency from 1988 to 2000, Lee Teng-hui, a senior R.O.C. core cadre and previous president, led his people to become "new Taiwanese" as a novel ethnicity in order to dodge previous ethnic conflicts at the zenith of his power.⁴⁷⁶ Lee's strategy to create the "*Xin Taiwan ren* 新台灣人 (New Taiwanese)" ethnicity was a clever technique for ending the constructed divergence of Chinese-Taiwanese ethnic estrangement. "New Taiwanese" was a reconciled and unified ethnic group that embraced every individual in Taiwan. It was a product of historical accumulation. No matter how long ago the residents arrived, they all confirmed their identity of loving the land, pursuing common development, and establishing the government of their own free will.⁴⁷⁷ Moreover the imagined nation-state of Taiwan was not recognized as a political entity by the majority of international society, but it had everything well-prepared to become a nation. Lifting Martial Law and later abolishing the Temporary

⁴⁷⁶ Teng-hui Lee, *Taiwan de zhuzhang* (Taipei: Yuanliu, 1999), 249-65.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 263.

Provisions from the period of the Communist Rebellion symbolized that the R.O.C. regime had given up the long-term practices for guarding against Communist intrusion. They also relinquished the ambition of recovering territory lost to the P.R.C. The government began to regard the people in Taiwan as the main subjects of the nation, rather than behaving as though the Taiwanese were residents of a province in an empire. It was accepted that the construction of a new Taiwanese identity was composed of multiple ethnicities. A dilemma thus occurred—how could they become a unified ethno-political entity in a society where the public was still aware of individual ethnic divergences, especially linguistic variations?⁴⁷⁸

The Mother-Tongue Movement

The mother-tongue movement of the late 80s was an inevitable outcome of the awakening of multilingual ethnicities and the aftermath of the 1970s Declaration and literary debates. For legions of people who were born before the mid-1950s, having Mandarin Chinese be the national language was especially impractical. Their first languages, by and large, were the ones used to communicate with their families at home, which means, in addition to mainland families, *Taiyu*, Hakka, and indigenous languages were their mother tongues, not Mandarin. These people wanted their own languages to stand on an equal footing with Mandarin in Taiwan. As early as June 1988, a Hakka writer, Zhong Zhaozheng 鍾肇政 (1925-) brought up his concerns about literature composition in mother tongues. He thought the most important element in literature was not the written language but the content of writings. His understanding of “having Hakka writers but no Hakka literature” suggests at the time that there were no written

⁴⁷⁸ A-chin Hsiao, “Language Ideology in Taiwan: The KMT's Language Policy, the Tai-yü Language Movement, and Ethnic Politics.” I agree with Hsiao's conclusion on the imbalanced weight between national identity, acting as power of cohesion, and ethnic quality. The linguistic case in Taiwan complicates the imbalance by means of the competition between national language and mother tongues to represent “Taiwanese.”

forms of these spoken languages like Hakka, the southern Fujianese language (the term he used is *Minnan hua* 閩南話) and *tuyu* 土語 (he meant indigenous languages). Writers sometimes wrote about their culture in Chinese characters by using particular Hakka terms.⁴⁷⁹ Soon thereafter, a demonstration with the theme of “Recovering My Mother Tongue,” organized by the Hakka People’s Association, took place in Taipei. They appealed for a revision of the rules on dialect in television and radio, establishing multilingual polices, and treating Mandarin and mother-tongue education equally. It is intriguing that they claimed that the rally was symbolically led by Dr. Sun Yet-sen (1866-1925) since he was a Hakka.⁴⁸⁰ Dr. Sun, the founding father of the R.O.C., was the winner of China’s democratic revolution in 1911. The Hakka protesters believed that with his spiritual leading the demonstration would come to a successful conclusion. They expected the Hakka language would be included in national education since Dr. Sun, who spoke Mandarin with a heavy Hakka accent, was elected the first president of China. Soon after this public convention, other dialect advocates asked the government to help popularize their languages.

Starting in the late 1980s, what the mother-tongue movement displayed was not just the people’s concern about being able to use their language in social communication but also their fears that their languages would disappear if they were not taught. The Hakka community received a barrage of criticism from their linguistic comrades that Hakka families were not good examples of family language education, as Hakka was not taught at home. More ironically, their children could speak the southern Fujianese language but were usually not proficient in Hakka

⁴⁷⁹ Zhongming Chiang, “We Have Hakka Writers but Have no Hakka Literature,” *United Daily News*, June 20, 1988.

⁴⁸⁰ Editor’s Room, “Hakka People Want their Mother Language Back—A Large Demonstration Leading by Dr. Sun Yet-sen,” *United Daily News*, December 27, 1988.

due to the large proportion of southern Fujianese language speakers in Taiwan.⁴⁸¹ The Hakka group was losing its speakers, which was not unique to them. A few weeks prior to the 1988 demonstration, nine indigenous tribes hosted a speech competition in their mother tongues. One competitor, a college student, broke down in tears, embarrassed at being unable to make a complete speech in the Paiwan 排灣 tribal language. Many of the participants were unable to speak their mother tongue fluently. Instead they preferred to speak in a lingua franca, mixing their mother tongue and Mandarin; some even used Mandarin exclusively. Deemed outstanding students in national education, these students had left their mountain tribes at early ages to study on the plains. With the ban on using dialects in schools, they could barely communicate with their parents and vice versa. In some cases, family interpreters were needed. Lacking a learning environment, bilingual persons were in the minority. In order to take care of the younger generation, elder tribal people called for Mandarin lessons for the elderly.⁴⁸² The language gap between Mandarin and tribal tongues was certainly attributable to the failure of Mandarin promotion in mountain areas. A forty-year-long teaching legacy and prohibition on using the POJ Bible did not bring the tribes proficiency in Mandarin. When it came to advertising healthy diet habits for lowering the rate of Hepatitis A, for example, the government was obliged to use tribal languages to ensure that the public could comprehend their instructions.⁴⁸³

The grassroots popularization of language came first, and school education would follow. Mother tongues were featured as an ethnic identity marker; abandoning one's language meant losing a part of one's ethnicity. Some county governors were interested in offering mother-

⁴⁸¹ Yuchang Xu, "The Hakka's Grievances," *United Daily News*, January 1, 1989.

⁴⁸² Zhongming Chiang, "The Losing Languages—Aboriginal Speech Competition," *United Daily News*, December 5, 1988.

⁴⁸³ Jinxiu Lin, "Hygiene Teaching Materials in Mountainous Areas Distributed in Mother Languages" *United Daily Night News*, November 27, 1989.

tongue classes on a trial basis. The Wulai 烏來 Junior High and Elementary Schools of Taipei County first provided elective Tayal 泰雅 language courses. It was very unfortunate that Governor You Ching's 尤清 (1942-) subsequent preparations for adding Taiyu and Hakka into bilingual studies were shelved due to a shortage of funds.⁴⁸⁴ In the same year, Yilan 宜蘭 County also introduced *Taiyu* language programs into basic education.⁴⁸⁵ The central government's language policy in the early 1990s had not reached a consensus to include non-Mandarin languages in education. The one-language Mandarin policy kept functioning until the KMT consented to multilingual education in 1993, though the county-level administration reacted earlier.

The central government's attitude toward mother-tongue education underwent a revolutionary change in 1993, a breakthrough implemented by the Minister of the Interior, Wu Po-hsiung 吳伯雄 (1939-). He argued that the previous policy of discriminating against non-Mandarin languages was a mistake. He suggested that the ruling party should respect mother tongues.⁴⁸⁶ Soon a new national version of the curriculum guided by the Ministry of Education increased the proportion of Taiwan's history, though textbooks had stressed Chinese culture and Mandarin.⁴⁸⁷ This reform was not sudden but was instead the result of continuous and accumulated public pressure. Thanks to the freedom granted by the lifting of Martial Law, ethnic groups organized poetry societies and linguistic associations. They were the first wave of

⁴⁸⁴ Mengqian Lee, "Senators Expressed Polar Responses to Mother-Language Education," *United Daily Night News*, November 9, 1990.

⁴⁸⁵ Henning Klöter, "Language Policy in the KMT and DPP Eras," *China Perspectives* 56 (2004): 2-11.

⁴⁸⁶ Shuanfan Huang, *Language, Society, and Ethnic Ideology*, 71.

⁴⁸⁷ The Ministry of Education states that "social studies curricula should help students to develop understanding of the values of politics, economics, and society in Taiwan. Textbooks should present diverse culture of sociocultural groups, particularly those of indigenous people in appropriate ways" See Ministry of Education, *National Elementary Curriculum Guide* (Taipei: Ministry of Education, 1993), 160.

people who advocated the significance of written languages as a necessary marker of an individual group. Their efforts on the proposals and thus the preparation for the systemization of written Taiwanese preceded the age of legitimating mother tongues in the national textbook system. Permission for public use and equal treatment under the law could not satisfy the public's demand to be socio-linguistically different from the forged "Chineseness." Officially educating children could fundamentally solve the crisis of losing mother tongues as well as fostering their sense of belonging of being to a particular ethnicity.

Having written languages and literary content that was uniquely Taiwanese empowered the people to talk back, to communicate across time, and to eliminate their sense of inferiority. "Taiwanese" citizens were unable to gain access to international organizations, and recognition for their nation, because R.O.C. officials already occupied the spaces that they could lay claim to.⁴⁸⁸ In the domestic field, the Yam Poetry Society (*Fanshu shi she* 蕃薯詩社) is one of the most significant communities because it aims to create features of Taiwanese ethnicity (Taiwan *minzu*) in literature, advance the quality of *Taiyu* literature and songs, and pursue written and literary *Taiyu*.⁴⁸⁹ Native Taiwanese were anxious about writing in *Taiyu* and other native languages because the national language policy had made them into linguistic minorities. As Monica Heller argues, a language minority "makes sense only within an ideological framework of nationalism" since language is central to nation-building. It works to construct unity among different groups, which was the anticipated outcome of the Mandarin promotion policy, and to legitimize the nation. Linguistic nationalism is logical to minorities as a "way to resist the power

⁴⁸⁸ For instance, the application from Taiwanese Writing Association to affiliate with the International Writing Association was rejected on the grounds that a R.O.C. Writing Association was already registered, though the former claimed the Taiwanese counterpart targeted the promotion of Taiwanization while the latter centered on Sinicization. See Chen Yaji's "Taiwanese Writing Association—from the Local to Connect the International Society," *Book Boom Magazine* 30 (2005): 60-61.

⁴⁸⁹ Shuanfan Huang, *Language, Society, and Ethnic Ideology*, 66.

of the majority.”⁴⁹⁰ Language itself has no power, but the authority to use a language encompasses the power to enforce it and to create minorities or majorities in numbers and politics. The political symbolism of “Taiwan” is eroding the orthodox base of the Republic of China and the People’s Republic of “China.” Yet its mother tongues signify only the linguistic markers of different ethnicities, which leave uncertainty as to whether or not there is a true “Taiwanese ethnicity.”

A Revised POJ in Compulsory Education

The history of the official recognition of POJ would be incomplete without an account of its scholarly promotion by the Taiwan Languages and Literature Society 台灣語文學會 (TLLS) starting in 1991. The Taiwanese languages include southern Fujianese language and Hakka but exclude indigenous languages, as TLLS’s mission and all its activities are related only to those two languages. Right after launching the society, core members called for a meeting to regulate the romanization of Taiwanese languages by grounding it in four principles: systemization, realism, universalism, and convenience. POJ was selected as the perfect match.⁴⁹¹ Adopting POJ encountered difficulties when members attempted to type tone markers into computers. Thus, the fourth and fifth meetings passed resolutions to replace tone markers with numbers, to change “ch,” “chh” to “ts,” “tsh” and nasal sounds from “n” to “nn,” and other nuanced revisions. Three months later, a revised romanization system, the Taiwan Languages Phonetic Alphabet (TLPA, revised POJ), was finalized. By 1994, POJ was popular enough to be taught in counties because at the time the Ministry of Education had not regulated a transcription system for *Taiyu* and Hakka. After three years of discussion, the Ministry of Education decided to adopt

⁴⁹⁰ Monica Heller, *Linguistic Minorities and Modernity—A Sociolinguistic Ethnography* (New York and London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2006), 6-7.

⁴⁹¹ In all discussion, POJ was called *Jiaohui luoma zi* 教會羅馬字 (church romanization).

TLPA as the official phonetic alphabet for Taiwanese languages, although quite a number of scholars insisted on considering the original form of POJ given its history in Taiwan. In 1998, the Ministry of Education promulgated TLPA as the dialectal phonetic alphabet of the southern Fujianese language and Hakka to be taught in elementary schools. Dissatisfied with the revision, Iûⁿ Ún-giân 楊允言 criticized the political manipulation that had been necessary to alter the Ministry of Education's decision, because it was so ironic that the Ministry of Education promoted POJ teaching materials in trial classes of Taiwanese languages by 1997 but then all of a sudden changed to TLPA.⁴⁹² It was even more dramatic that the Ministry of Education announced in 2001 that the use of TLPA was not required anymore, but suggested, in school education. Many controversial comments were brought up to argue about the disunity of phonetic systems while Hakka teaching started to use a revised Hanyu pinyin system, a romanization from China that was established in the 1950s. The government thus stated no more phonetic systems would be approved for mother tongue education programs.⁴⁹³

While some linguistic scholars fought the irrational revision of POJ and were reluctant to accept the manipulated result, they neglected the fact that, no matter whether it was POJ, TLPA, or another type of romanization, what the Ministry of Education legitimized or later opened for individual decision was a phonetic alphabetical system (*pin yin* 拼音). Disputes over which written format was appropriate for writing Taiwanese languages are not novel. But the short history above reveals an unsatisfactory process of legalizing and legitimating revised POJ in the aftermath of the independence declaration and the awakening of the ethnic and national identity of Taiwanese people. Under the national language policy, the most tolerable revision hinged on

⁴⁹² Iûⁿ-giân Iûⁿ, "Competition of Taiwanese Languages Symbols—a Case Study of POJ and TLPA" (paper presented in 2002 Taiwan Romanization Teaching and Research Conference, Taitong, Taiwan, July 14, 2002).

⁴⁹³ Ibid.

devising a phonetic auxiliary tool, rather than an independent system for writing the mother tongues. After such a long period of being unaccepted by colonial and post-colonial regimes, it was a triumph for POJ advocates. POJ advocates missed opportunities for reinforcing ethnic identity, which they had been eager to invent through the promotion of an independent writing system. Having an independent writing system was superior to having a spelling tool that helped them translate Taiwanese languages into Mandarin.

Walter Ong's notion of literacy is noteworthy for understanding that text presented in a visible space restructures consciousness and, I argue, print reshapes consciousness.⁴⁹⁴ In other words, writing in print changes both people's thoughts and the ways in which they identify with the corresponding oral form. Robert L. Cheng, an advocate of POJ, articulates Ong's idea in the case of *Taiyu* and proposes that the cultural particularity of Taiwanese languages will be lost when written in characters. He suggests a *Taiyu* logocentrism; only when people think through *Taiyu* in terms of its writing can they perceive native authenticity and the reality of the culture.⁴⁹⁵ Reconfiguration of a national education scheme legitimized the ethnicities and their languages and thus protected them from disappearance. It was a great pity that situating the *Taiyu* romanization next to Chinese characters might cause side effects such as digraphia and diglossia, and feeling inferior to the majority of the users in a writing system.

Language Hierarchy: Digraphia and Diglossia

Since the 1980s, digraphia and diglossia have both been important linguistic phenomena in Taiwan. In the context of Taiwan, digraphia refers to the reality that there is more than one writing system associated with *Taiyu*, the Taiwanese language. Diglossia means that there is

⁴⁹⁴ W.J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*, 77-115.

⁴⁹⁵ Robert L. Cheng, "Let our Children Have Opportunity to Read and Write *Taiyu*," *Taiwan Literature* 136 (1993): 173-80.

more than one spoken language used in Taiwan.⁴⁹⁶ Literary circles of *Taiyu* writers wrote in their own scripts in individual and mutually-recognized communities. These communities included Chinese character writers, writers who used a mix of romanization and characters, and writers who used POJ or its variants. Digraphia in Taiwan is a significant factor in publication and nationwide internet networking. In addition to classes in some departments of Taiwanese literature and theological colleges, POJ writings appeared in internet-based literature and graduate school theses. *Taiyu* literary composition writers did not completely adopt the use of POJ. Their works were publicly accepted in characters and a mixture of characters and POJ. Romanized Taiwanese was only officially recognized in 1991. *Taiyu* speakers in their twenties or older are by and large unfamiliar with POJ, but they might find a mixture of POJ and characters to be more readable (Fig. 17). The mixture of POJ and Chinese characters, to some extent, serves as a type of written lingua franca and will as long as every single word of the Taiwanese languages cannot be expressed in characters. This mixed form is makeshift in phonetic and semantic *Taiyu* and will not be a completely new writing system unless *Taiyu* become accepted as the national languages or official languages of Taiwan.⁴⁹⁷

Diglossia is typical in a multilingual society. It became increasingly common after the establishment of a national language in Taiwan. Spoken and written diglossia has complicated language use from the colonial era in which the Japanese dominated school education, publication, white-collar employment and public administration to the present. In the colonial period, Japanese language use and writing were regarded as prestigious while using other

⁴⁹⁶ John DeFrancis, "Digraphics," *Word* 35 (1984): 59-66; Charles A. Ferguson "Diglossia" in D. Hymes eds. *Language in Culture and Society* (New York: Harper and Row), 429-39.

⁴⁹⁷ Hak-khiam Tiuⁿ, "Writing in Two Scripts: A Case Study of Digraphia in Taiwanese," *Written Language and Literacy* 1 (1998): 225-47.

languages lacked prestige.⁴⁹⁸ In the 1920s and 1930s, Taiwanese language advocates challenged the language hierarchy of Japanese over Taiwanese language by promoting ethnic ideology and vernacular literary movements. Language advocates in Taiwan believed that the Taiwanese language was “capable of becoming an autonomous vehicle of thought” for the Taiwanese people.⁴⁹⁹ Taiwanese native language users accepted the imposition of other languages in Taiwan until the 1990s when the mother tongue movement demanded the inclusion of native languages in public education. Prior to this achievement, speaking in a mother tongue, *tuhua* or *fangyan*, was socially inferior to speaking Japanese and Mandarin. Under the R.O.C., southern Fujianese language speakers had an even lower linguistic status than they did within the Japanese empire. The ideology of decolonization not only saddled islanders with Mandarin education, but also tended to remove the adherence to Japanese language use.⁵⁰⁰ Under the lens of the newly-founded regime, people who were bilingual in the southern Fujianese language and Japanese were considered slaves who lacked the cultural competence to use highly codified Mandarin.

Digraphia and diglossia inevitably result in a language hierarchy. Attitudes toward language varieties are important if they can explain how language use shapes self-identification and social relationships. Three recent research projects have examined how the use of *Taiyu* and Mandarin reflected Taiwanese ethnolinguistic identity in practice. These studies do not simply display the unequal treatment that people in Taiwan experienced based on their language usage. They also suggest that people have claimed Taiwanese identity based on whether or not they were required to learn to speak *Taiyu*.

⁴⁹⁸ Joshua Fishman, “Bilingualism with and without diglossia; diglossia with and without bilingualism,” *Journal of Social Issues* 23 (1967): 29-38.

⁴⁹⁹ Ann Heylen, “The Legacy of Literary Practices in Colonial Taiwan. Japanese-Taiwanese-Chinese: Language Interaction and Identity Formation,” *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 26 (2005): 496-508.

⁵⁰⁰ Jiuge, “How to Promote Taiwanese Drama Movement,” *TSSDN*, September 7, 1946.

Taiyu writing systems and education were challenged by several different groups. In the aftermath of the national language policy, language advocates have struggled with the challenge of convincing people to esteem the use of mother tongues as highly as they esteem the use of Mandarin. Karl-Eugen Feifei's often-cited research is the first comprehensive analytical study to investigate how sociopolitical changes impacted language attitudes in Taiwan. In Feifei's definition, the attitudes, which are learned, create automatic associations that affect people's beliefs about "judging not the language, but the person who is speaking."⁵⁰¹ They are thus useful for the measurement of "social convention and the prestige of certain language varieties in speech communities."⁵⁰² This evaluation provides us with a different perspective about language use and attitudes in Taiwan. According to Feifei's discussion of experimental designs and interviews with over 600 respondents, before lifting Martial Law, people in Taiwan's attitudes about language use were hierarchical. Being able to speak Mandarin was rated best, speaking the southern Fujianese language was second (he called it *Minnan hua*), and speaking Taiwanese-Mandarin (Mandarin with heavy southern Fujianese language accents like *Taiwan guoyu*) was the worst.⁵⁰³

Ten years later, inspired by Feifei, Brian Lee Brubaker's thesis argued that the post-Marital Law era made no significant change in attitudes toward Mandarin and the southern Fujianese language and that the hierarchy remained the same. His study included breakthrough evidence that, echoing previous research by J. Hsu,⁵⁰⁴ "Taiwanese-Mandarin may already be an identity marker of the Taiwanese natives" since it is a language variant that is unique to Taiwan.

⁵⁰¹ Karl-Eugen Feifei, *Language Attitudes and Identity in Taiwan—A Social Evaluation of Language in Social Change* (Taipei: The Crane Publishing Co., 1994), 55.

⁵⁰² *Ibid.*, 56.

⁵⁰³ *Ibid.*, 214.

⁵⁰⁴ J. Hsu. "A Sociolinguistic Survey of Language Attitudes in the Taipei Area." In A. Bramkamp, Y.-C. Fu, A. Sprenger & Venne, eds., *Chinese-Western Encounter: Studies in Linguistics and Literature* (Taiwan: Chinese Materials Center Publications, 1987).

⁵⁰⁵ Many Taiwanese were aware that their Mandarin was different from those on the mainland in word selection and pronunciation. Even though it sounded like corrupt Mandarin, they knew that the Taiwanese would mix the southern Fujianese language and Mandarin in a sentence or within a conversation, but Fujianese mainlanders would not. In other words, at the turn of the century, being Taiwanese was not identified with speaking the southern Fujianese language alone but rather with the diglossia which used elements of the language and Mandarin. His participants believed that parents who supported Taiwan's independence would expect their children to speak the southern Fujianese language.⁵⁰⁶

If many Taiwanese parents were not teaching mother tongues at home, the maintenance and use of mother tongues, orally or literarily, would be restricted to scholars. Another ten years later, in the 2010s, Chung-Yin Tsai 蔡仲茵 examined the language attitudes of college students in southern and northern Taiwan.⁵⁰⁷ Taiwanese-Mandarin as *koine*, common language, still existed, but the southern students showed more interest in and believed more in the positive values of *Taiyu* than their northern counterparts. Overall, the northern students tended to speak Mandarin instead of *Taiyu*. The students were bilingual, but they chose Mandarin as their major spoken form of communication. Shifting the language hierarchy and increasing the use of native languages was not only tricky, but unusual. In Paulston's theory, "the norm for groups in prolonged contact within one nation is for the subordinate group to shift to the language of the dominant group," e.g. Mandarin.⁵⁰⁸ She, however, admitted that shifts vary and are based on

⁵⁰⁵ Brian Lee Brubaker, "Language Attitudes and Identity in Taiwan," M.A. Thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 2003, 67.

⁵⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 73-75.

⁵⁰⁷ Chung-Yin Tsai, "Language Attitudes toward Mandarin and Taiwanese in Taipei and Kaohsiung Metropolitan Areas," M.A. Thesis, National Taiwan Normal University, 2014.

⁵⁰⁸ Christina Bratt Paulston, "Linguistic Consequences of Ethnicity and Nationalism," in B. Spolsky eds., *Language and Education in Multi-Lingual Settings* (San Diego, CA: College-Hill Press, 1986), 121.

incentives including economic advantage and social prestige. Her theory is demonstrated by Taiwanese parents' concern about their children's language education. Ruo-ping Mo's study results mesh with Paulston's theoretical framework. Implementing mother-tongue education met with resistance from parents. Parents were reluctant to allow their children to spend time on non-Mandarin studies because it might distract students from test-based subjects. If leisure time was allowed, parents preferred to have their children learn other languages like English and Japanese for social and economic advancement instead of native languages.⁵⁰⁹

Language education comes with the teaching of writing. The attitudes toward written *Taiyu* were heavily impacted by the economic advantage and public school education as Chinese characters were the dominant writing system in the job market and the education system. *Taiyu* writings developed in the shadow of the promotion of Mandarin. Surveys show that from 1999 to 2003, interviewees felt that Chinese characters was the most acceptable and friendly format for writing *Taiyu*.⁵¹⁰ Although a romanized *Taiyu* writing format received the lowest rating of preference to read in 1999, it was the most prestigious written form in the 2003 survey. Tiuⁿ Hak-khiam's interpretation suggests that POJ users were regarded as cultivated, modern, smart, reliable, and having high social standing. He believes that this is because POJ and English both are romanization and the latter is a high prestige language in Taiwan. Most of the Taiwanese have established a stereotype that a romanization like English is not easy to handle. Unlike Chinese writing, they think they have to learn POJ additionally, and it takes time. The language and writing hierarchy in this multilingual society originated from the standardization of language and is a result

⁵⁰⁹ Ruo-ping Jean Mo, "Taiwan on the Brink of Reversing Language Shift: Its Current Development and Contributory Factors," Ph. D Dissertation, Purdue University, 2000, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/304616309?accountid=14553> (accessed August 12, 2014), 107-08.

⁵¹⁰ Chiung, Wi-vun Taiffalo, "Languages and Attitudes toward Taibun the Written Taiwanese," Master Thesis, University of Texas at Arlington, 1999; Tiuⁿ Hak-khiam and Chang Yamin, "Sociolinguistic Analysis of Taiwanese Written Language," presented in 2003 International Conference of Taiwanese Written Languages.

of compulsory education in Mandarin.

Conclusion

Under the R.O.C. the use of POJ in Taiwan dramatically changed. The R.O.C. leaders initially suppressed the use of POJ but later added it to the national education curriculum. In the early years of their regime, the R.O.C. government not only enforced Mandarin as a national language but also restricted the use of all non-Mandarin languages on the island. The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, serving as the main sponsor of POJ, attempted to adapt the use of POJ to the national language policy. After 1971, the government's failure to maintain seats in the United Nations motivated Church leaders to declare Taiwan's independence based on the human rights that were given to all people by God.

In response to the Church's Declaration, the people revived Taiwanese nativist literature, Taiwanese ideological and written languages debates, the mother-tongue movement, pushed for the inclusion of POJ in national education, and other sociolinguistic phenomena. Native language advocates debated the role of language in creating an ethnicity. They argued that the Taiwanese people should not assume that Taiwan should be subordinate to China. In order to support Taiwan's independence they demanded the creation of a Taiwanese literature and written language that was ideologically separated from Chinese characters and Taiwan's historical relations to China. Advocates of "Taiwanese identity" emphasized the role of language use in forming individual identities. Consequently they believed they had a right to include mother tongues in public education. As mother-tongue education has been implemented in the national education system, the prestige of using revised POJ has increased because of the growing number of students in public school who have been taught to use it. The increasing number of POJ users has changed the social perception of POJ literacy. Previously people characterized

POJ as a writing system that was not used outside of the Church. It was later understood as a set of state-regulated phonetic alphabets whose users were not automatically associated with religious communities.

Since the late 1980s, the use of POJ has started to be closely associated with mother-tongue education. Language use during the process of constructing ethnicity and nationalism cannot be disregarded. Using mother tongues has helped the Taiwanese construct a unique sense of ethnic identity. Yet speaking their own languages is not enough; they must have their own writing systems as well. Regrettably, the national language policy created a cultural and linguistic hierarchy in Taiwan and reshaped the identity of people who spoke native languages. The government views POJ as a phonetic alphabet, subordinate to Chinese character writing, instead of seeing it as the exclusive written language for the southern Fujianese language. POJ was officially taught in compulsory education, but it was not recognized by the R.O.C. State as a political marker of “Taiwanese identity.” Students from different age groups exhibited different attitudes toward studying mother tongues and POJ. They were aware of the symbolic significance of mother tongues, but they were also not inspired to study them because their academic schedules were already overloaded and priority was given to learning Chinese characters. Young students are only bilingual *orally*. Language hierarchy was unavoidably reinforced in the negotiation between ethnic maintenance and national unity.

Conclusion

Foreign Text, Taiwanization, Identity Construction

My dissertation is a history of the use of POJ that bears witness to a process of identity-making in evangelism, Chinese studies, Christian and secular education, understanding and developing “Taiwanese culture,” anti-Chinese nationalism, and finally “Taiwanese nationalism.” The story of how POJ has been utilized in Taiwan demonstrates the Taiwanese people’s need for a distinctive writing system to articulate their life experiences and their own understandings of who they are. Having that writing system would enable them to develop a variety of self-designated identities.

POJ became relevant to identity-making in Taiwan between the 1860s and the 1990s. This is because the language that POJ is primarily used to transliterate, the southern Fujianese language, was used continuously through that time period. The majority of the Taiwanese population speaks the language as their main language but it was not officially taught through Taiwan’s public education system until the late 1980s. Many speakers take it for granted that the southern Fujianese language is the most widely used language in Taiwan. They are less concerned about how its writing system, and specifically its lack of a unique writing system, influences the people and the wider world’s understanding of what it means to be “Taiwanese.”

The public’s lack of concern about the fact that their primary language does not have its own writing system is an outgrowth of the reality that for multiple generations they have been subjugated culturally, politically, and linguistically by foreign regimes. The Sinkan script, the earliest extant writing system in Taiwan, was used by small numbers of the southern plains aboriginal tribes until the early 19th century. It was not used by southern Fujianese language speakers. Before the Japanese colonial rule, most Taiwanese residents could not read or write

Chinese characters. That is the main reason why Presbyterian missionaries utilized an easier written language, POJ, to help Taiwanese converts read Christian writings, Chinese classics, and western texts. After 1895, the Japanese and Nationalist governments both tried to invent a sense of national identity for the residents of Taiwan through top-down, enforced national language programs. These programs were largely designed to assimilate the native populations into “foreign” cultures via the forced adoption of “foreign” languages and cultural values. Taiwanese natives responded to the imposition of “foreign” cultural identities through the ongoing use of a missionary-imported writing system in this period. POJ played a central role in the emergence of identity construction in the immigrant society of the island. Yet it has not attracted substantial attention in the studies of Taiwanese history.

Scholars who have studied Taiwan’s history have heavily relied on Chinese character source materials or on Japanese sources. Sources written in POJ are considered supplementary or only of interest to foreign scholars who cannot read Asian languages. The most frequent explanation for why scholars have neglected these sources is that since POJ is a “foreign” writing system associated with the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, documents in POJ cannot accurately reflect the experiences of the people they describe. Additionally, scholars have assumed that ‘real’ Taiwanese people were not using a “foreign,” or religious writing system to write about their experiences. Since Taiwan is and has been a multilingual society, it seems wise to question the assumption that POJ should be treated as a ‘foreign’ text. Is it logical to assume that POJ is foreign simply because it is not written in characters, and therefore that sources which were written in POJ are also irrelevant to the history of Taiwan and its people?

Messages and Knowledge through a Foreign Text

Documents written in POJ to communicate the southern Fujianese language were more eye-catching than sources written in Chinese characters. Using a different writing system changed the process of knowledge making. A knowledge system includes a person's worldview which influences his/her thinking in different languages and cultures. In order to develop a Chinese worldview, a person must develop the ability to read and write in Chinese characters, a comprehensive familiarity with the classics, and receive training in formal and genre writing. Knowledge systems can only be created when a society has people who can learn to read, write and speak a language. A "foreign" text, which serves as a transliteration of a native language, can change more than the oral language used to convey information. Reading a document translated into a "foreign" writing system in a native language can shift a user's worldview.

Reading literacy has not always been a *sine qua non*, but it has been required to enable cross-cultural exchanges. For Christians, the legacy of the Tower of Babel was a worldwide mission to translate the Bible into different languages.⁵¹¹ Taiwanese Christians, in the 19th century were primarily interested in becoming literate so that they could read the Bible and know the truth of God's words. By comparison, many of their peers pursued Chinese literacy so that they could prepare for civil service examinations.

Transliterating the Bible in Taiwan was slightly different from translating the Bible in China from the outset. In the 1810s, the first Chinese translation of the *New Testament* was published by the Scottish missionary Robert Morrison (1782-1834). He started his translation career with a Chinese translation because he perceived a need for a Chinese Bible for Chinese readers. This was a dangerous undertaking at a time when spreading Christianity in China was

⁵¹¹ The Tower of Babel is a reference to Genesis 11:6-7 in New International Version: "If as one people speaking the same language they have begun to do this [i.e., having the arrogance to build a tower that reaches to the heavens], then nothing they plan to do will be impossible for them. Come, let us go down and confuse their language so they will not understand each other."

illegal. Using the Chinese Bible was not practical in the Taiwanese mission. In their first two decades of service, Presbyterian missionaries in Taiwan targeted people who were illiterate in Chinese script, particularly plains indigenous tribes who could communicate in the southern Fujianese language. The missionaries believed that the Han Taiwanese who had been immersed in Confucian education had deep-rooted beliefs in ritual practices and Chinese-style moral codes of conduct and therefore that they would not be easy to convert. Since they mostly were targeting members of the plains indigenous tribes, who could speak the language but lacked formal writing systems of their own, the missionaries found POJ was the most appropriate writing system to use to facilitate conversion. They proceeded to translate the Bible, for use in Taiwan, into POJ and they used POJ as the writing system for the Church as a whole. Soon many Chinese immigrants were attracted by the protection and assistance they could receive from the Christian community. In order to facilitate religious participation converts had to learn to read the POJ Bible as a prerequisite for baptism.

POJ was designed to give Taiwanese natives access to knowledge and the capacity to read the Bible. Mirroring the successful mission in Amoy, POJ in Taiwan, (or Formosa, as the missionaries knew it) helped facilitate a golden age of conversion in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. As an independent writing system, POJ also helped its users learn Chinese characters. The first POJ newspaper, *Taiwan Church News*, publicly encouraged the use of POJ to learn information, knowledge, and later Chinese writing. Indeed, a significant number of Taiwanese Christians were completely unfamiliar with Chinese characters. Texts that included POJ beside characters helped readers translate Chinese characters. First, readers learned what characters sounded like in the southern Fujianese language which would help them learn to pronounce the characters themselves. Then they could annotate the meanings of certain words and summaries

of the classics in POJ. A community of people who read POJ printed materials developed in this period and may have included some readers who were engaged in the traditional sphere of Chinese studies. POJ educators and promoters did not think of POJ as a replacement for the Chinese writing system. Rather, their ambition was to make the Bible readable at home and to broadly publicize knowledge in order to advance the Christian cause.

Using POJ was not considered a marker of a distinct ethnic identity in its early years. Initially, the linguistic diversity in Taiwan created problems in missionary work. Even though POJ can be used to transcribe the southern Fujianese language, Hakka, and other indigenous languages, those spoken languages were not mutually intelligible. To overcome this problem, variants of the POJ Bible were transliterated for different linguistic groups. Even though Taiwan was a multilingual culture, the southern Fujianese language seemed to be the lingua franca that even acculturated indigenous tribespeople could speak. There was no societal demand for a unified language system in late 19th century Taiwan. Most people were fine as long as they could read in POJ and possibly in characters. Even though people used POJ in Taiwan, being literate in POJ was not a marker of belonging to a particular ethnic group. Ethnicity attached to a written language in these periods was understood ambiguously, though language groups certainly existed.⁵¹² Though it was not a distinct marker of ethnic identity yet, POJ provided an alternative point of access to Chinese knowledge which was a system that had not previously been open to non-character users. POJ users felt that reading and writing in POJ made them members of a reading and writing community affiliated with the Christian church in Taiwan.

⁵¹² Being literate in Chinese script was not a feature that clearly differentiated Han people from non-Han. Some plains indigenous people could write well enough in characters to use them on contracts or other official documents, in commerce, etc.

, In the 1920s POJ shifted from being a tool for religious proselytism to an agent for breaking down the configuration of the established class structure, receiving a general education or becoming a Western medical specialist without the prerequisite of Chinese literacy. Such groundbreaking changes challenged the traditional Taiwanese understanding that school education and professional training could only be conducted in Chinese script.

The Presbyterian Church mission in Taiwan broke with that tradition. Any interested individual, rich or poor, male or female, had a chance to become part of the literate community through Church sponsored school education or medical training. Educational programs sponsored by the Presbyterian Church guaranteed that the educational philosophy of the Reformed Church was enacted worldwide.

Although POJ can be used to translate other languages, it seems to have only been used to transliterate the southern Fujianese language to create school teaching materials. It is likely that the schools were also teaching students to speak the southern Fujianese language at school even though some students might have spoken other languages at home. Even though some Christians may not have spoken the southern Fujianese language, the school teaching council could not afford the time, energy, and money to produce different language editions of textbooks. The same constraints guided the choice to compose medical references and dictionaries solely in the southern Fujianese language. Students who were growing up in Taiwan's multi-lingual environment had to consent to using the southern Fujianese language and POJ to attend the Presbyterian schools because the schools had to pick one language to facilitate teaching.

Professionals have the power to transform knowledge through formal education systems. Taiwanese Christian schools created an arena where westerners could influence the worldview of

Taiwanese students through transcribed texts. The school curricula in Western general education, including subjects such as physiology, physics, arithmetic, and gymnastics that were taught in POJ, had a different symbolic value than the information conveyed in POJ newspapers. Making POJ the language of the Presbyterian education system provided students with formal knowledge that was designed by missionary teachers. Moreover, schools were regulated venues for learning when teachers established westernized administrative principles in their classrooms. For school-aged students, studying textbooks in POJ and class subject activities guided them to develop a Westernized worldview with a more or less stereotyped conception of modernization.

POJ was also a language for Western medical knowledge acquisition. The medical mission in Taiwan was short of laborers. Lacking medical specialists was a particular predicament because Taiwan at the time had not initiated medical education programs. Chinese traditional doctors learned by themselves or from senior doctors. They qualified themselves by establishing a record of successful service to their patients. Missionary doctors found it difficult to hire local professionals to help with surgery and prescribing medications. Since bringing over medical personnel from Europe was expensive, the missionaries decided to open a medical training program that was operated by a mission hospital. In keeping with the rest of their educational system, the medical training program's administrators required all of their students to be literate in POJ. Since the southern Fujianese language was the language that doctors used to communicate with their patients and student interns, the students were required to study medical textbooks and references written in POJ. POJ medical publications were the only way for them to obtain the professional certificates that were issued by missionary doctors. School education and medical training and practices that were conducted in POJ gave school and intern

graduates social mobility. They worked as professionals mostly within the Christian community without having to learn to master Chinese script.

Colonialism and Taiwanese Consciousness

Prior to the colonial period, POJ was a linguistic tool used for education by the Presbyterian Church. The meaning of POJ literacy changed after Taiwanese elites adopted it to create a Taiwanese body of literature and language. This literature was symbolically designed to function as a way for spreading a distinct Taiwanese culture. Japanese colonial authorities in Taiwan went through various strategies to incorporate Taiwan into the Japanese empire. Initially they did not intend to fully assimilate the Taiwanese into Japanese citizens. Full assimilation, if it were ever to happen, was something they conceived of as a gradual process. So they encouraged officers and policemen serving in Taiwan to learn POJ and the Southern Fujianese language to help them communicate with native Taiwanese.

The early assimilation strategy was also practiced in the Japanese national language education program. Their goal was to ethno-linguistically and culturally integrate the Taiwanese people into the Japanese empire. Yet their use of the southern Fujianese language and POJ and enforcement of national language education did not overcome all of the native Taiwanese resistance to assimilation. Furthermore, they also chose to stratify the political status of citizens within their empire based on their capacity to speak Japanese. Thereafter, only Taiwanese elite who became fluent in Japanese were eligible to participate in public service.

Japan's switch to a full "assimilation" under the policy of extending mainland statutes in 1919 and their unwillingness to offer the Taiwanese elite a significant role in governing Taiwan led to resistance from the Taiwanese. Some of the Taiwanese elite, who were typified by members of the Association of Assimilation in Taiwan, promoted the adoption of Japanese in

Taiwan in the 1910s. They wanted to be entirely assimilated into the Japanese empire and given the right to govern the island. Their understanding of Taiwanese ethnic identity lay in the Taiwanese people's unique ability to unify Japan and China's cultures against Westernization. They developed a Taiwanese consciousness after they were denied the right to help govern Taiwan. These elites began to highlight the differences between the "Taiwanese" and the "Japanese" cultures. This marked a shift in their strategy to gain political inclusion. They went from claiming political rights on the basis of their support for assimilation to claiming political rights on the basis of their 'unique' Taiwanese identity. It is also likely that their acts of resistance were designed to force the Japanese empire to pay attention to their demands for political inclusion.

POJ transitioned from a writing system primarily associated with Presbyterian missionaries, to a tool for Westernized education and medical training, to a significant factor in the ethnolinguistic identity of the "Taiwanese" people. Another group of Taiwanese elite, who were typified by The Taiwanese Cultural Association and its supporters like Cai Peihuo and Lin Xiantang advocated for the development of a unique "Taiwanese culture" that was politically subordinate to the Japanese. They hoped that using the southern Fujianese language and POJ would become a marker of "Taiwanese" ethnolinguistic identity. In the 1920s, elites from this group encouraged the use of POJ to create Taiwanese literature and awaken the "Taiwanese culture." Their advocacy for the use of POJ in Taiwan led to a dramatic expansion of the community of POJ users under Japan's colonial regime. The use of POJ was stimulated by colonial circumstances, the stream of worldwide awakening of ethnic culture, and Taiwan's historical ties with China.

POJ was chosen to express the Taiwanese literati's responses to colonial assimilation policy and the Asian intellectual discourses of the 1920s.⁵¹³ Sources indicate that they felt a sense of longing for a written language of their own as an ethnic group, a sentiment that arose from the conflicts caused by sociopolitical changes. POJ campaigners believed that using POJ could distinguish them as "Taiwanese" from within the Japanese empire.

From Indigenization to Taiwanization

Under the domination of the Japanese empire, POJ literacy shifted from a foreign device used in evangelism, school education, and western medical learning to a marker of indigenous culture. In the 1970s, its symbolic meanings shifted again from being associated with the development of a unique "Taiwanese culture" as a resistance to Japanese assimilation to a marker of political Taiwanese identity. At this point, POJ, a "foreign" writing system, was localized and using it became a contributor to the process of defining Taiwan as a "nation."

Throughout a century-long simmering social practice, POJ was used to indigenize foreign texts and re-conceptualize the native culture. While Taiwan was a Japanese colony, a narrative of an ethnogenesis of the people in Taiwan was developed to explain the difference between the "Taiwanese" and the "Japanese." Taiwanese cultural advocates like Cai Peihuo strongly urged his compatriots to develop Taiwan's reading culture by raising POJ literacy rates on the island. Cai hoped that by increasing the POJ literacy rates he would enable island-born people to learn more about the island and become more complete participants in society. Writing

⁵¹³ The Taiwanese elites believed that having an independent writing system, like POJ, was a powerful "weapon" in their efforts to develop Taiwanese culture and effective device for connecting with others. For instance, the goal of Cai Peihuo's POJ campaign was to immediately link Taiwan to the world without passing their ideas through Japanese translation. See Cuilian Chen, *Taiwan ren de dikang yu rentong, 1920-1950* (The Taiwanese's Resistance and Self-Identity in 1920-1950) (Taipei: Yuanliu, 2008), 73 and Peihuo Cai, "My Experience before the Retrocession of Taiwan," *A Collection of Cai Peihuo's Works*, vol. 1 (Taipei: Wushi tushu, 2000), 69-81.

guides in POJ that taught people how to write in the formal southern Fujianese language flooded the publishing market. POJ therefore evolved into a symbolic repository for the southern Fujianese language and its culture inside and outside of Taiwan.

The 1970s Declaration on Human Rights to claim Taiwanese independence signifies that the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan had become an indigenous institution.⁵¹⁴ The series of declarations stating the church's stand in Taiwan's relations with the P.R.C. and the world was a hallmark of its status as an indigenous institution.⁵¹⁵ Yet the Declaration was not just a sign that the Church had become indigenous, it was also a sign that the Church had become a political actor in the struggle for an independent Taiwan. The development of a Taiwanese political identity got off to a good start with the convergence of ethnic and national Taiwanese identities. The Taiwanese chose this auspicious moment to switch their strategy for gaining political autonomy. They went from focusing on the dichotomy between foreigners and indigenous residents of Taiwan to focusing on the differences between the Taiwanese national identity and the Chinese national identity. The Church's choice to remove their political support for the R.O.C. was a wake-up call to the R.O.C. about domestic and worldwide political conflicts. In addition, the Church's role in promoting Taiwanese independence is associated with the development of Taiwan as a democracy and an independent nation. Developing a Taiwanese national identity has become synonymous with rejecting the rule and political legitimacy of the R.O.C. to govern Taiwan. POJ has symbolically become indigenous and thus Taiwanized

⁵¹⁴ According to Wu Wenxiong, the 1970s was the turning point of the Church's indigenization in Taiwan. His statement, however, is heavily associated the completion of indigenization with political independence as a manner of local involvement (see his "A Study of Indigenization in the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan," *Journal of Theology in Taiwan* 9 (1987): 62-66).

⁵¹⁵ Zheng Yangen has a clear argument in relating the historical experience of the Church's indigenization to the 1970s. Similar to Lee Teng-hui's understanding of New Taiwanese, Zheng expands to defining the experience as a Taiwanese consciousness that regarded Taiwan as the homeland and its people as a community. See his *The Indigenized Christianity in Taiwan* (Tainan: Ju zhen Tang, 2005), 227-44.

because it has been endorsed by the Church, and the Church has been a proponent of Taiwanese independence.

Compulsory Education and Identity Construction

The inclusion of the southern Fujianese language and POJ in Taiwan's education system has ritualized the use of the native language and its formality after an unpleasant history of marginalization. The history of the southern Fujianese language demonstrates how its supporters have helped it to survive linguistically through changing political regimes. Using the southern Fujianese language has occurred in relationship to other 'official' languages from the Qing Empire forward. The pre-Qing use of the southern Fujianese language and some types of romanization, on which I elaborate in Chapter two, suggests that the conception of an official language had not been popularized with Han travelers, indigenous tribes, and foreign occupiers. In other words, without an official language policy, the people did not follow any linguistic regulations, except in formal documents and in communication between two different linguistic groups of people. Intra-group communication created an important need for translators and interpreters. Beyond these formal interactions, individual language communities retained their own languages until outsiders imposed language regulations on them. Qing emperors complained about the unintelligibility of the Fujian and Guangdong governors in edicts which brought the issue of language regulation to the attention of imperial officials. Compelling governors and examiners to learn to speak the official language was an attempt to solve the problems of spoken communication in a multilingual society. Making officials speak the same language was important even though they might have no difficulty understanding each other through the unified use of Chinese writing. During the late Qing period, the use of the native

language was not acceptable in official domains, although the southern Fujianese language was still heavily used for the private conversations of daily life in Taiwan.

When the political *status quo* shifted, one-language education, in Japanese or Mandarin Chinese, became required. The Japanization policy led the Presbyterian schools to drop the requirement that middle school students be literate in POJ in order to attend their schools. Some classes may have been taught using POJ, but most school curricula were subject to the state's inspection and learning in Japanese was required. In contrast to Japan's leniency, the R.O.C.'s national language policy suppressed POJ and the southern Fujianese language because the nationalist regime's officials did not see a reason to learn the language. Mandarin Chinese and Chinese script was the only authorized set of national language and writing until the promotion of mother tongue education.

Social practices and national school education nurture certain forms of identity construction. A government's choice to promote the use of mother tongues in compulsory education can also encourage students' sense of identity through language use. Echoing Michael Apple's findings, Taiwanese social movements that promoted democratization and social equality worked together to institutionalize the knowledge of the southern Fujianese language.

⁵¹⁶ Movement participants convinced the R.O.C. regime that native languages and POJ should be included in Taiwan's body of official knowledge so that the education system could represent and preserve the identities of various ethnic groups. The 1970s-1980s social and political movement representatives believed that each ethnic group in Taiwan should have their languages preserved equally through education. In actual practice, powerful groups struggled to "make their knowledge legitimate, to defend or increase their pattern of social mobility, and to increase

⁵¹⁶ Michael Apple, *Official Knowledge: Democratic Education in a Conservative Age* (New York: Routledge, 2000), xi.

their power in the larger social arena.”⁵¹⁷ Movement supporters hoped to help native students construct new identities as “Taiwanese” people by teaching them native languages in school. In spite of the fact that the mother tongues were included in the public education system, their uses have not become more widespread in Taiwan as a result. They have not grown in popularity among the Taiwanese people because there is a language hierarchy that shapes Taiwan’s education system. Speaking Mandarin and writing in characters is still the primary language system for education in Taiwan. Including mother tongues in public education was meant to help people adopt new identities. Their identities are currently constructed under the state-regulated hierarchy that stipulates that mother tongues and their writings are not applicable for formal documents, official examinations, and the job market.

This dissertation deals with POJ literacy associated with the changing identities in Taiwan. I also investigate the continued use of POJ as a supporting tool for the transmission of the southern Fujianese language. Although POJ can be used to transliterate other languages, in the modern context it is indelibly attached to the southern Fujianese language. Similarly, the southern Fujianese language can be transliterated in other types of auxiliary written forms and has been since the late Ming. The transliteration of the southern Fujianese language in other written forms has occurred as Taiwan has been governed by nations with other writing systems. For instance, even though POJ has been identified with the church, Church members have not always reinforced the Church’s original goal for the language of creating a shared written channel for Christians. The Church started to use the Chinese Bible in the 1950s in order to accommodate the church’s administration to the R.O.C.’s regime.

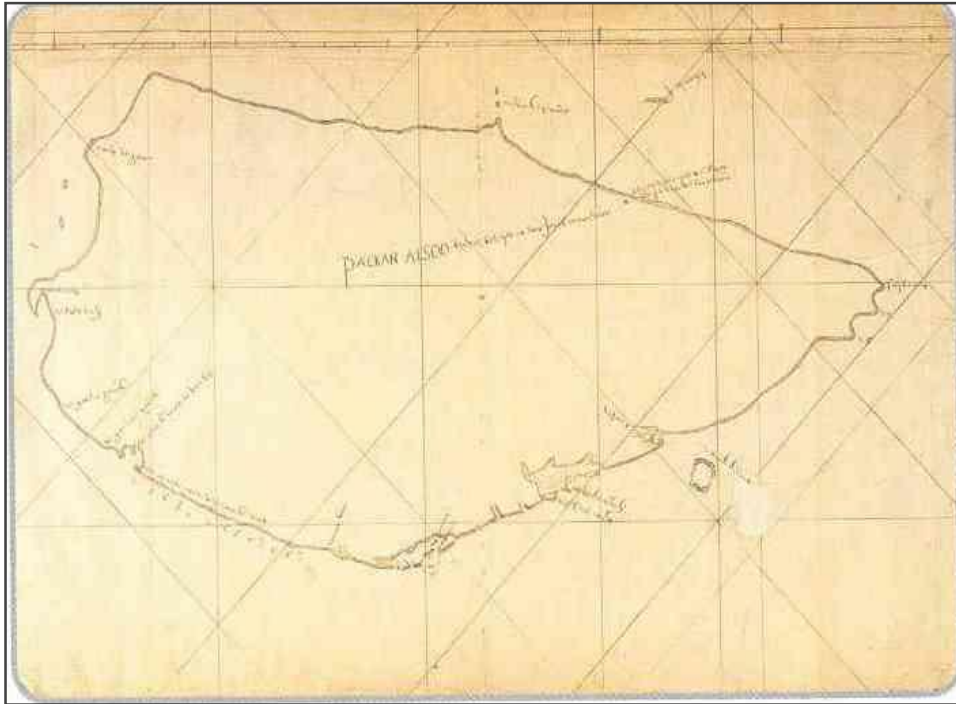
⁵¹⁷Michael Apple, *Official Knowledge: Democratic Education in a Conservative Age*, 9.

Working to retain the use of POJ is important because it preserves the southern Fujianese language and vice versa. Yet preserving POJ and the southern Fujianese language is not logical if they are not used in social communication and they do not help preserve a sense of group identity for their users. Since the 1970s, Taiwan's residents have had a high literacy rate in Chinese script so involvement with the Chinese literary world through POJ is not practical anymore. Languages that are not used and taught will die. Currently, there are two main groups in Taiwan who used POJ to help them learn native languages: students who are studying mother tongues and foreigners whose native languages use the Roman alphabet. The R.O.C. took over the role of teaching the native languages to the next generation after POJ's supporters convinced the R.O.C. that it was their rights to have children educated in mother tongues. The top-down institutionalization of POJ guaranteed the southern Fujianese language's survival but it survives under a language hierarchy where Mandarin is preferentially used instead of the mother tongues. Official recognition of the native languages did not give power or privileges to native language speakers. It also did not create sweeping changes to the mindset that was created by the Mandarin- and character-centered society of Taiwan.

Maps and Figures

Map. 1

Outline of Formosa in 1625 by Jacob IJsbrandtsz Noordeloos. Officer Noordeloos was requested to draw the coastline of Formosa after traveling around the beautiful island. The small island in right side was Insula Maurisy (Green Island)



Source from map database:

<http://ithda.ith.sinica.edu.tw/formosalook/kohana/index.php/images/page/3/class/%E8%87%BA%E7%81%A3%E5%B3%B6%E5%9C%96>.

Downloaded on October 29, 2013

Map. 2
Carte de L'Isle Formose aux Costes de la Chine in
[1730] 1763 by Jacques Nicolas Bellin



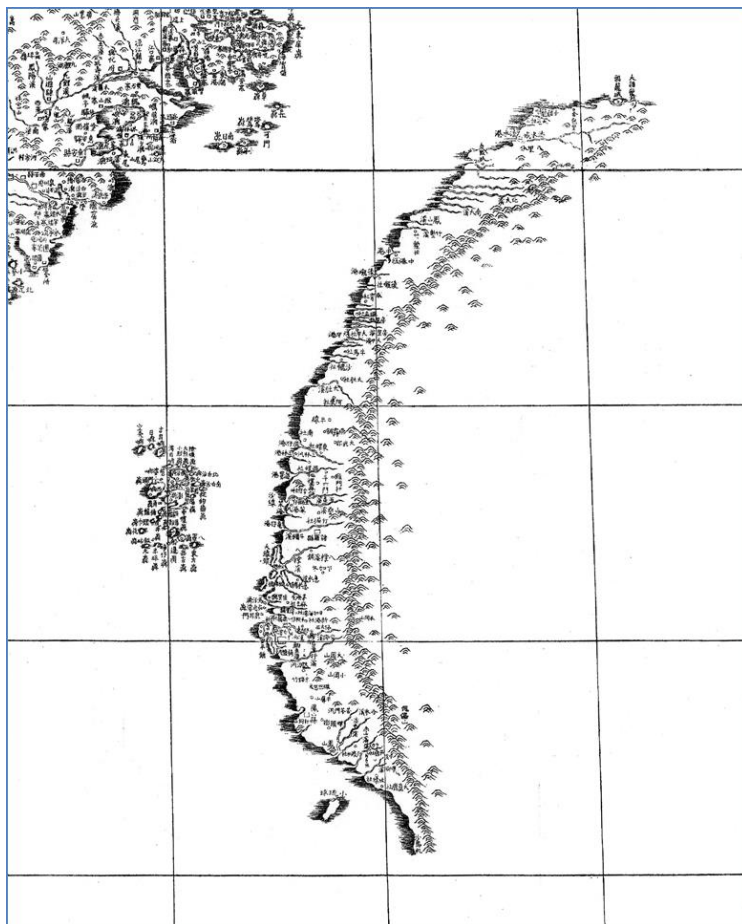
Source from map database:

<http://ithda.ith.sinica.edu.tw/formosalook/kohana/index.php/images/page/3/class/%E8%87%BA%E7%81%A3%E5%B3%B6%E5%9C%96>

Downloaded on October 29, 2013

Map. 3

Huangyu quanlan tu (The Imperial Territory, 1714) completed by missionaries J.B. Regis, Jos.de Mailla, and R.Hinderer.



Source from map database: The Map and Remote Sensing Imagery Digital Archive Project.
<http://gis.rchss.sinica.edu.tw/mapdap/?p=2874&lang=zh-tw>
Downloaded on October 29, 2013

Fig. 1
Miscellaneous Living Expenses. Source from Paul Jen-kuei Li's *Studies of Sinkang Manuscripts* (Taipei: Institute of Linguistics, 2010), 710.

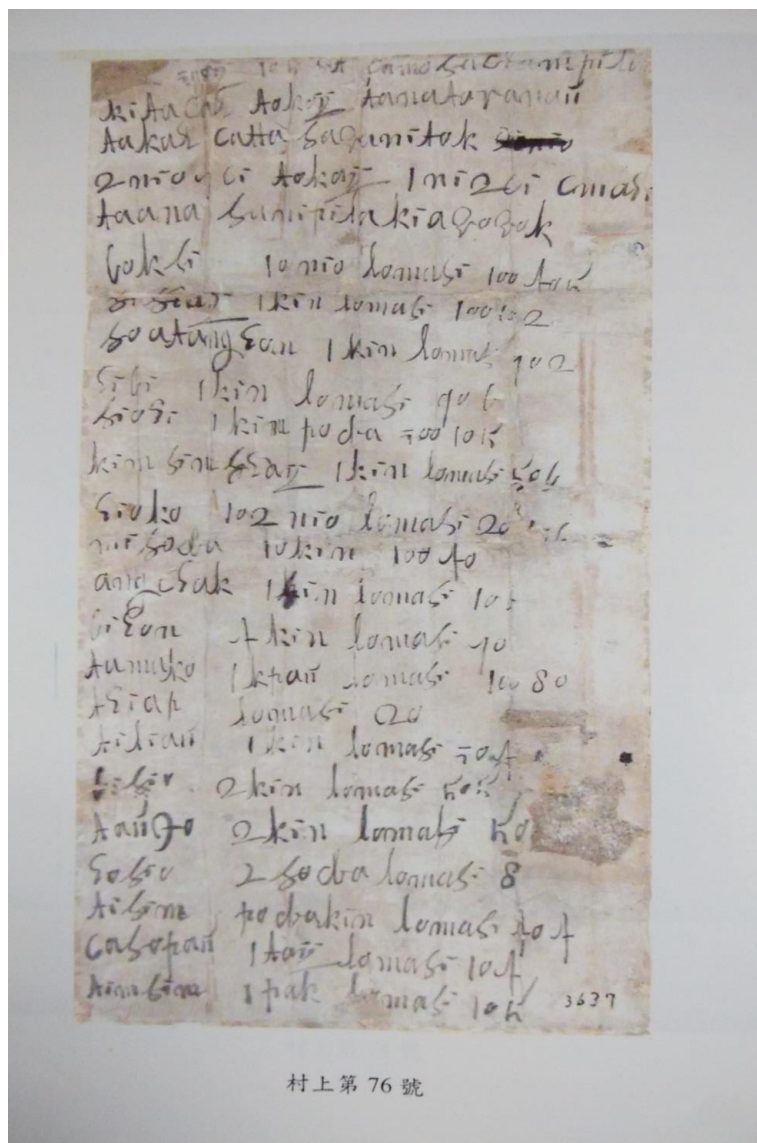


Fig. 2

Orthographic alternations in POJ

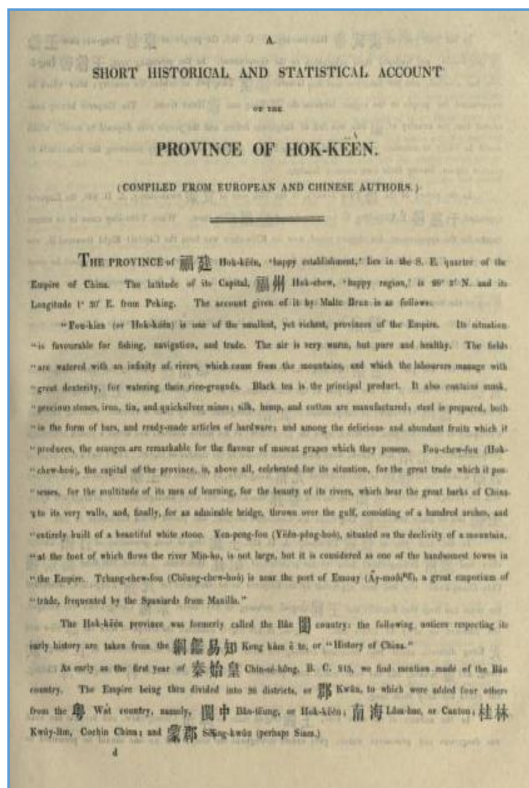
Source from Henning Klöter, "The History of Peh-Oe-Ji," in *2002 International Conference of Taiwan's Peh-Oe-Ji Teaching and Studies* (Taidong: National Taitung University, 2002), 9

Orthographic alterations in POJ

	Doty 1853	MacGowan 1869	Douglas 1873	Warnshuis De Pree 1911	Campbell 1913	Barclay 1923
/ɔ/	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ
/t͡s/ before /i, e/	ch	ch	ts	ch	ts	ts
/ian/	ian	ien	ien	ian	ian	ien
/iat̚/	iat	iet	iet	iat	iat	iet
/iŋ/	ieng	eng	eng	eng	eng	eng
/ik̚/	iek	ek	ek	ek	ek	ek
nazalized vowels after /m, n/	n	n	n			n
aspiration of initials /p ^h , t ^h , k ^h , t͡s ^h /	ɛ	h	h	h	h	h

Figs. 3 and 4

Rev. Walter Henry Medhurst 's *Dictionary of the Hokkeen Dialect of the Chinese Language*, published in Macao by the East India Company Press in 1832. The arrangement of the layout demonstrated that this dictionary was codified for English, Mandarin Chinese, and Fujianese language users. Source from <https://archive.org>



Figs 5 and 6

Elihu Doty's *Anglo-Chinese Manual with Romanized Colloquial in the Amoy Dialect* (1853) and Carstairs Douglas's *Chinese English Dictionary of Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy* (1873). Source from Hong, Wei-Jen. *Annotated Bibliography of Taiwan Historical-Linguage*. Taipei: National Taiwan Library, 1996, 34 and <https://archive.org>

34 臺灣文獻書目解題

ANGLO-CHINESE MANUAL

OF THE DIALECT
SPOKEN AT AMOY.

SECTION I.
THE UNIVERSE.

Universe	-	宇宙	ü tsü.
Heaven	-	天地	ti'ü.
Earth	-	海	tshé.
Sea	-	洋	hai.
Ocean	-	日月	iü'.
Sun	-	星	jit.
Moon	-	光	geh.
Stars	-	暗	ch'i'.
Light	-	晝	kng.
Darkness	-	夜	ám.
Day	-	食	jit sih.
Night	-	影	mi' sih.
Eclipse of sun	-	食	sit jit.
Eclipse of moon	-	影	sit geh.
Shadow	-	影	iá'.
Shade	-	影	ám n'g.
Heat	-	著	juáh.

MAX. 1

羅官翻譯英華廈語彙

B

疤	Read pui a wat, a mark of a wound	惡	Read ok hoi, corrupt, wicked
膜	Read tsü tsü tsü, tsü tsü, a swelling of the foot, an inflammation.	惡	Oh kwai 惡見, tsü tsü, a bad deed; ok jui tsü tsü, tsü tsü, a bad word; ok hoi tsü tsü, tsü tsü, a wicked man.
娼	Read hieü: a prostitute, ok'kong tsü 娼婦 a bad woman. Hieü jiu hieü tsü wü tsü tsü 娼人乎妓為娼	昧	Dull, not bright. Chik tsü tsü tsü 灼火不昧, tsü tsü tsü tsü tsü tsü, a little fire will not burn, tsü tsü, a little fire will not burn, tsü tsü, a little fire will not burn.
瘰	Read hieü: the leprosy. Hieü hieü tsü tsü 瘰癧不可醫, tsü tsü tsü tsü, the leprosy is incurable.	埋	Yüé, tsü. To bury, to inter, to lay under ground; also, the name of a sacrifice. Gueü tsü tsü tsü tsü 五胡埋金於金陵, gyeü tsü tsü tsü tsü tsü tsü, the five Huns (see foreign states) buried gold at Kim Ling. Chóng tsü tsü tsü 蔡埋父母, tsü tsü tsü tsü, to bury one's parents.
螿	Read máu: pan máu 螿, pan tsü, cockroaches; also, pitted with the small pox.	霾	Read following wind. Chong tsü tsü tsü tsü, tsü tsü tsü tsü tsü, a fog. Chóng tsü tsü tsü tsü, a fog, to scatter to the infernal gods is called, a tsü.
貓	Read tsü: a cat, tsü tsü 貓, tsü tsü, a fox. Hieü tsü tsü tsü 編鯉有穴, tsü tsü tsü tsü, the foxes have holes. Gueü tsü tsü 玉面貓, gyeü tsü tsü, a pretty faced fox, a white fox.	峇	Read tsü: a country-born Chinese. Hieü tsü tsü tsü 峇不識書山規矩, tsü tsü tsü tsü, after a whole day's work and rain, he was so kind as to be willing to come.
峇	Read tsü: a country-born Chinese. Hieü tsü tsü tsü 峇不識書山規矩, tsü tsü tsü tsü, after a whole day's work and rain, he was so kind as to be willing to come.	眉	Read tsü: the eye-brows; tsü tsü tsü tsü, tsü tsü, the eye-brows. Gueü tsü tsü, gyeü tsü tsü, to have eye-brows.
盼	Read kwai tsü tsü 盼, sometimes confused and sometimes clear.		

Fig. 7
The Messenger and Missionary Record April 1, 1881.

CHINESE CHARACTERS
versus
 ROMAN-LETTER WORDS IN THE
 FORMOSA MISSION.

HERE is a specimen of both. It is John iii. 16 as we find it in the Delegates' Version of the New Testament, and the same verse as it appears in the Romanised Colloquial Version used so largely in Formosa :—

<p>1. CHINESE. <i>(Delegates' Version).</i></p> <p>如此。之者免沈淪而得永生，其愛世蓋上帝以獨生之子賜世，俾信</p>	<p>2. CHINESE. <i>(Romanised Colloquial).</i></p> <p>Sióng-tè chiong tók-si* ê Kia* siú*-sú sè-kan, hō* sin i ê lāng-m-sái tīm-lún, ôe tit-tiōh éng-oah; I thiā* sè-kan ê lāng kàu àn-ni.</p> <p style="text-align: center; font-size: small;">[The above is read from left to right as in reading English.]</p>
--	--

Fig. 8

Sam-jū-keng sin-chōan pèk-ōā chū-kái (三字經新纂白話註解, 1894, by George Ede 余饒理) in which Chinese characters, POJ, and transcribed annotations were printed side-by-side in columns. Source from the Central Library in Taiwan.

SAM-JŪ-KENG		
SIN-CHOAN PÈK-ŌĀ CHŪ-KÁI.		
1	人	jīn lāng
2	之	chī ê, tī
3	初	chho' khī-thâu, chhut-si ê si
4	性	sèng sèng, sim-sèng
5	本	pún pún-jiān
6	善	siān hó
7	性	sèng sèng, sim-sèng
8	相	siong sa"
9	近	kīn kīn, kīn-ōā
10	習	sip khī-sip, óh
11	相	siong sa"
12	遠	oán lí-hng, hng

Tī lāng ê khī-thâu in-ê sèng pún-jiān hó; chiū in-ê sèng tái-khài sa"-kīn, aū-lāi in-ūi in-ê khī-sip chiaih sa" lí-hng.

sèng pún siān. *Sam-jū-keng* kī-chhi chit-chat ê ká-si si bó háp

2 SAM-JŪ-KENG		
Siōng-tè ê chin-lí. Sèng-chheh ê ká-si chiū-si kóng. Lán ê si-chó' A-tong kap Hā-ōa goān-pún si chiū-chūg hó ê lāng, aū-lāi ū hó' Mō' kú' bé-hék in ê sim, chiū sit-lòh in hó' ê sèng. In-ê chhoe ū lán-lūi-tiōh bán sè-tai ê hó'-ò, só'-i chhut-si ták-ê tòa chhoe lái, bó chit-lāng bó chhoe (Khòa' <i>Lō-má</i> 3: 10-12). Kai-chhi! Kūn-chū' Iá-so' ū lín-kàu tī chit sè-kai beh tóng-tháu-se' lāng ê sim, hó' iū tūi sūn lái tūi-tiōh sūn ê sim-sèng, chiaih thang hín-bō' hó, oán-hūn pháit; iáh thang thiá' Siōng-tè kap thiá' pát-lāng chhin-chhiū' pún-sin chit-iū' (Khòa' <i>Iok-hān</i> 3: 1-18, kap <i>Iok-hān it-su</i> 3 chiū').		
Chiōng-tiong Tiong-kok miá-sia' ê siān-se' ū-ê háp Sèng-chheh só' kóng.—Lāng ê sèng pún-jiān pháit. Thang khòa' Sūn-chū' <i>Sèng-ok-phian</i> . I ū gi-lūn kóng, Nā-si lāng ê sèng si hó, chiū m-sái lé-gi kap hoat-tō' chò chún-chín lái iok-sok i. Iáh kóng, Siat-sú tū-khī hiah-ê lé-gi kap hoat-tō', chiū lāng ê pháit' liām-pi' hián-chhut. Khó-kián, lāng ê sèng pún-jiān si pháit', m-si hó.		
siōng-kīn, siōng-oán. Sui-jiān lāng ū hūn-piat Kūn-chū' kap Siáu-jīn, iáu-kú in pē'-pē' si ū-chhoe ê lāng. In tī tú-á chhut-si ê si bó sim-mūh hián-chhut koh-iū'. Chit-ê si <i>siōng-kīn</i> khah háp-lí ê i-sū. Aū-lāi in-ūi in ê só' hák-sip bó sa"-tāng, só'-i ū hūn in-ê khoán-sit chò Kūn-chū' Siáu-jīn. Chit-ê si <i>siōng-oán</i> ê i-sū.		
13	苟	kó' siat-sú, kó'-chhiá'
14	不	put bó
15	教	kàu ká-si
16	性	sèng sèng-chèng
17	乃	nái chiaih
18	遷	chhian chhian-sóa, 1-ék
19	教	kàu ká-si
20	之	chī ê
21	道	tō' hoat-tō', tō-lí

Fig. 9

Permission of registration for “私立臺南長老教會高等學校” by Sakuma Samata (1844-1915), the 5th Governor-General of Taiwan. Source from *Chang Rong zhongxue bai nian shi, 1885-1985* (One-Hundred-Year History of Private Chang Jung Middle School, 1885-1985). Tainan: Chang Jung Middle School, 1991, 61.

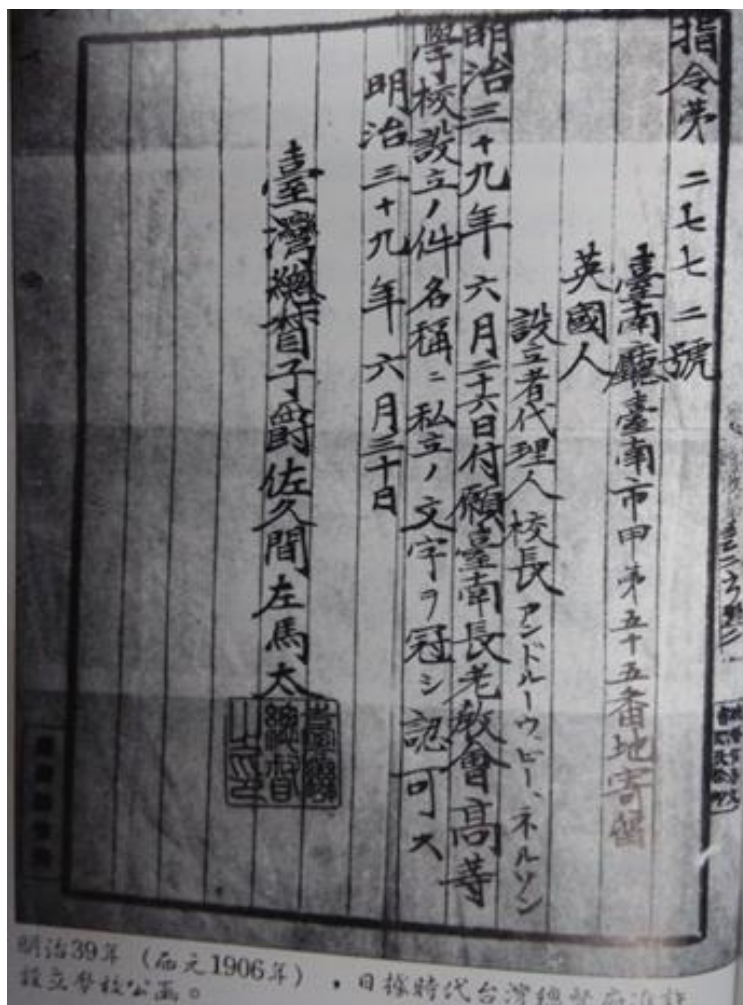


Fig. 10
Anonymity, "Uí-lô Pó-siû-chiap" (Weilao nutriment), TCN, February, 1937, 31.

KÀU-HŌEKONG-PÒ 31

偉 勞 補 壽 汁



(第二圖)



(第一圖)

食偉勞汁五週間後之小孩

未食偉勞汁前小孩之真像

(Tè 2 tò): Chiáh Uí-lô-chiap 5 lé-pài
aú è sióng.

發 轉 日 勞 飲 瘦 此 十 月 童 第 二 磅 者 月 一 二 零 以
發 弱 立 汁 食 能 小 者 九 第 一 圖 乃 零 身 三 圖 乃 號 之 號 入 在
請 爲 見 和 後 站 孩 本 號 攝 之 小 孩 也 第 號 醫 一 千
試 小 奇 牛 用 不 本 至 照 二 十 第 二 百 九 乃
之 兒 效 乳 偉 受 先 三 三 小 第 十 第 百 九 乃

(Tè 1 tò): Bôe chiáh Uí-lô-chiap
i-chêng è sióng.

增 二
重 十
九 五
磅 日
半 內

Uí-lô Pó-siû-chiap

Uí-lô Pó-siû-chiap si gin-ná chhe hó è pó-lòh. Chit è ioh è lái-bin ú pó-lóng sin-thé kok-chióng iáu-kin è sêng-hun, put-chí ú tóa ló-seng.

Téng-bin nng è Ang-4-tò, chiú-si teh piáu-béng Uí-lô Pó-siû-chiap è kong-hau :-

藥 支 本
商 店 本
來 店 本
榮 台 南
安 市 市
堂 大 大
大 藥 藥
房 房 房

支 本 本 本 本 本
店 店 店 店 店
南 南 南 南 南
市 市 市 市 市
大 大 大 大 大
宮 宮 宮 宮 宮
一 一 一 一 一
一 一 一 一 一
二 二 二 二 二
二 二 二 二 二
六 六 六 六 六
二 二 二 二 二

振 支 支 支 支
替 店 店 店 店
四 四 四 四
九 九 九 九
二 二 二 二
番 番 番 番

Tè-it kap té-ji tò: si sio-siàng chit è gin-ná. Tí 1903 ní 2 goáh chhe 3, jip-i" è si, chit è gin-ná si chhin-chhiú" tò-it tò" è sióng, put-chí sán, bó lát bé khiá, iá bé chiáh; seng khu è táng-sia", chí-ú 20 póng lián 9 niú ná-tiá".

Aú-lái chiáh Uí-lô Pó-siû-chiap keng-kòe 35 jít, sin-thé ióng-kiá", chbin-chhiú" Tè-ji tò" è khoán. Ke-thi" táng kàu 30 póng lián 2 niú. Aú-ni lóng-chóng tí 35 jít kú è tióng-kan, ú ke-thi" 9 póng pò" (7 kin táng). Thang chai chit háng ioh è khú-lát, kàu tah-lóh!

Ng-bang liát-ú, ná ai hō gin-ná ióng-kiá", gáu tóa-bàn. chhiá" lái chhi-éng; thang tit-tióh tóa-tóa è hâu-giám.

藥 價：大 瓶 4.00 kho", 中 瓶 2.00 kho", 小 瓶 1.00 kho".

Fig. 11

Iwasaki Keitarō's 岩崎敬太郎 (1880?-1934) *Dictionary of Taiwanese Language* 臺灣語典 (Taihoku: Taiwan Goten Hokkojo, 1925), 47. Source from the Central Library in Taiwan.

7	6	5	4	3	2	1		
皮 _ク	我 _レ	也 _レ	我 _レ	你 _レ	老 _レ	你 _レ		
鞋 _ク	有 _レ	你 _レ	有 _レ	有 _レ	父 _レ	有 _レ		
你 _レ	衫 _ト	呢 _レ	一 _ト	衫 _ト	有 _レ	父 _レ		
有 _レ	無 _ク		領 _レ	與 _レ	母 _レ		第二節 有	
無 _ク	褲 _ト		衫 _ト	褲 _ト	老 _レ	無 _ク		
			與 _レ	無 _ク	母 _レ	・		
			二 _ト		無 _ク			
			領 _レ				無 (其一)	
			褲 _ト					
靴 _子	汝 _ハ	持 _テ	ツ	テ	イ	マ	ス	カ
私 _ハ	着 _物	ハ	ア	リ	マ	ス	ガ	・
ハ	ア	リ	マ	セ	ン			
ソ	レ	カ	ラ	汝 _ハ				
私 _ハ	着 _物	一	枚	ト	ズ	ボ	ン	二
マ	ス							枚
汝 _ハ	着 _物	ト	ズ	ボ	ン	ガ	ア	リ
マ	ス	カ						
父 _ハ	ア	リ	マ	ス	母 _ハ	ア	リ	マ
セ	ン							
汝 _ハ	兩	親	ガ	ア	リ	マ	ス	カ

四七	1	Lí ū pē-bú bó ?
	2	Laū-pē ū, laū-bú bó.
	3	Lí ū sa ⁿ kap khò ⁿ bó ?
	4	Góa ū chit niá sa ⁿ kap nng niá khò ⁿ .
	5	Iá lí nih ?
	6	Góa ū sa ⁿ bó khò ⁿ .
	7	Phé-oé lí ū bó ?

Fig. 12

Zhang Hongnan, *A Self-Study of POJ* (Taipei: Mori Bun Sha, 1922), 2. Source from the Central Library in Taiwan.

	小文字 (小本字) (Sé-pún-jī)	a. b. ch. ts. chh. e. g. h. i. j. k. kh. l. m. n. ng. o. o: p. ph. s. t. th. u.
筆記體 (Pit-ki-thé)	大文字	^{x(2)} a. ^{x(2)} B. ^{x(2)} Ch. ^{x(2)} J. a. ^{x(2)} Chh. ^{x(2)} É. ^{x(2)} G. ^{x(2)} H. ^{x(2)} J. ^{x(2)} J. ^{x(2)} K. ^{x(2)} Kh. ^{x(2)} L. ^{x(2)} M. ^{x(2)} N. ^{x(2)} Ng. ^{x(2)} O. ^{x(2)} O: ^{x(2)} P. ^{x(2)} Ph. ^{x(2)} S. ^{x(2)} T. ^{x(2)} Th. ^{x(2)} U.
	發音 小字	a. b. ch. ts. chh e. g. h. ア. ビ. チ. ツ. チヒ. エ. キ. ヒ. i. j. k. kh. l. m. n. ng. イ. シ. キ. ケ. ヲ. ミ. ニ. ン. o. o: p. ph. s. t. th. u. オ. オウ. ピ. ピヒ. シ. シヒ. ツ.

^{x(1)} 單字の章を見なさい。
^{x(2)} a. Ch. Chh. は A. Ch. Chh.
 とも書く。
^{x(3)} 硬はギの鼻音に發音すること。

2. 大文字は文章の冒頭の一字及び人名、地名の首文字にそれを用ひ、其他は皆小文字を用ふ。

例 Chhut-mia é Khoá-g-chú si Tiong-kok é seh-jin. (出名之孔子是中國之聖人)

-(2)-

Fig. 13

First issue of *Mandarin Daily Newspaper*, October 25, 1948, 2. The announcement states that the newspaper aims to make itself readable, affordable and practical.

Source from Academia Sinica in Taiwan.

本報啟事

本報因為趕着出版，在遠道約請的編輯人員，還沒有到齊；工廠的設備，也沒有布置妥當；現在勉強試排，困難很多。本省國語推行委員會曾給最大的幫忙，各同業也多方面贊助，創刊號，又蒙各機關首長題詞和題字，各同業贈送禮物，我們感到非常榮幸，在這兒一齊道謝。我們願意努力本着林紫貴處長的話，把本報做到：「看得懂，買得起，用得到」的地步，好報答各方面對我們的好意。並希望各方面的朋友和讀者，常常給我們指示批評，使本報能夠一天天地進步長成！

Fig. 14

Amount of Mandarin and SFD Films, 1949-1995

Quoted from Cai Yuanlong's "The Changes of Ideologies of the 1940s-1950s Taiwan Cinema," *Journal of Internet Sociology* 55 (2006). <http://mail.nhu.edu.tw/~society/e-j/55/55-07.htm>. Accessed on July 27, 2014.

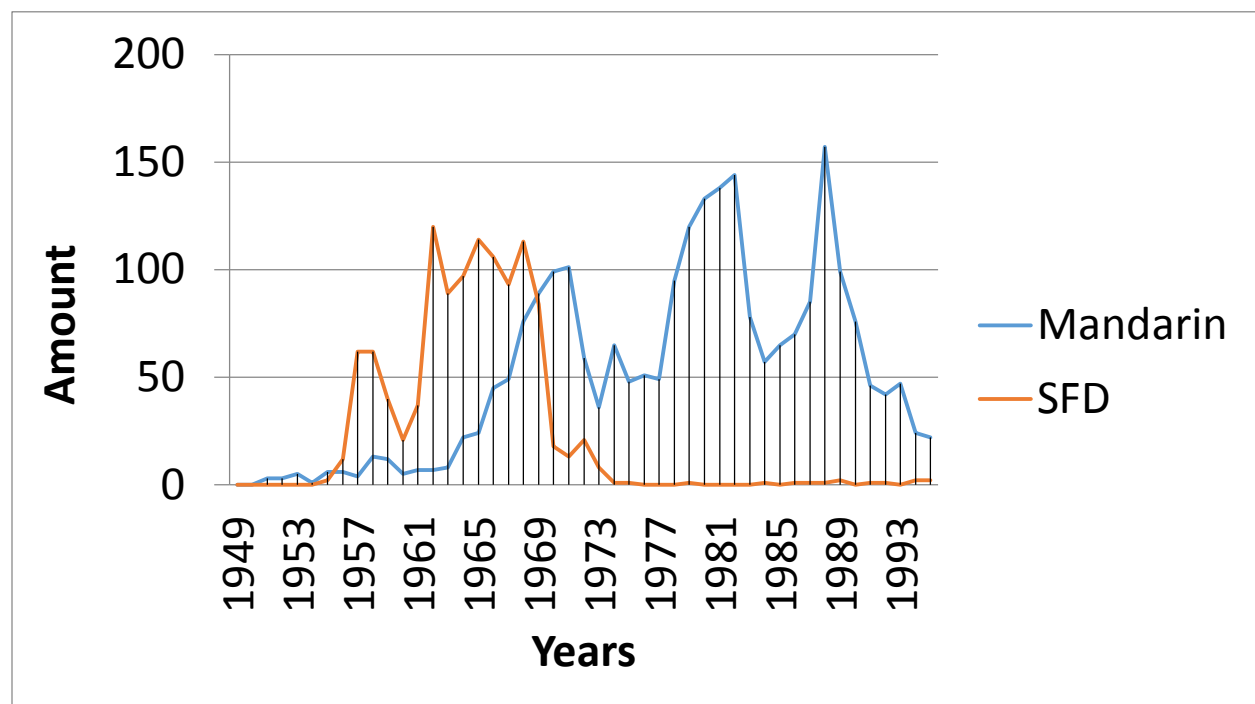
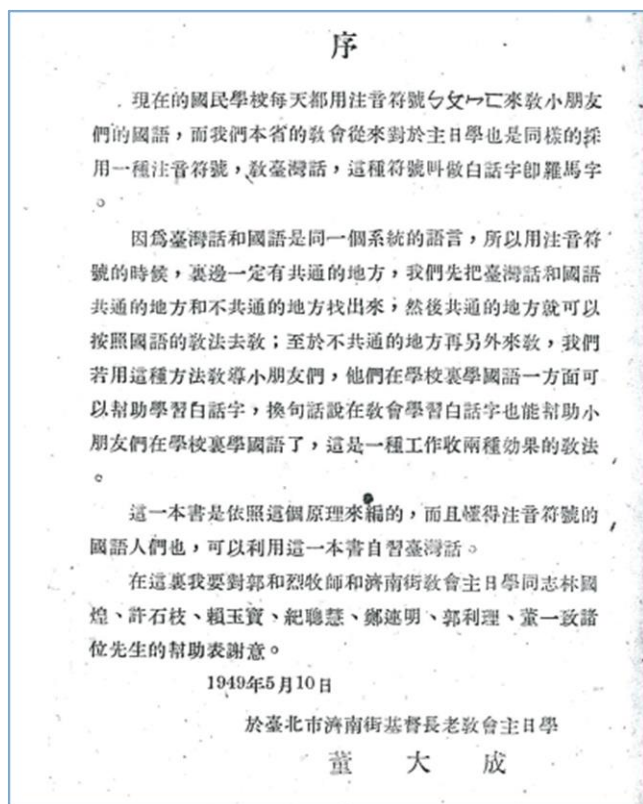


Fig. 15

Dong Dacheng's POJ Textbook (Taipei: Jinan Church, 1949). Source from private collection. In his preface, Dong states that the Sunday school could teach the different sounds between Mandarin Chinese and the southern Fujianese language through POJ and their similarities in Mandarin phonetic symbols.

Tē 11 Khò Phīⁿ-im

--

ⁿ
taⁿhiaⁿthiⁿchhiⁿthiaⁿsaⁿkoaⁿsoaⁿkiaⁿpiⁿ

教法：凡在字的右肩上有小ⁿ的字是叫做鼻音，教完拼音之後，不必另外教鼻音的母音，可以立刻教鼻音的字，鼻音就像我們用手指塞着一個鼻孔而說的聲音，例：用手指塞一個鼻孔而發音ta的時候變為taⁿ，用這樣的方法練習，後來就不必塞鼻孔也會發音鼻音，上面的練習字是：

ta ⁿ (擔)	thi ⁿ (天)	thia ⁿ (聽)	koa ⁿ (官)
kia ⁿ (驚)	hia ⁿ (兄)	chhi ⁿ (星)	sa ⁿ (三)
soa ⁿ (山)	pi ⁿ (鞭)		

Fig. 16

Cai Peihuo's Comparison between Mandarin phonetic symbols and SFD phonetic symbols
 Source from *Collection of Cai Peihuo's works*, volume six.

《ㄅ》 - ㄆㄨㄥˊ hㄩㄥˊ - ㄎㄨㄥˊ ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄎㄨㄥˊ 國語閩南語對照 初步會話目錄		《XZ' - ㄌ' ㄆㄨㄥˊ - ㄆㄨㄥˊ ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄎㄨㄥˊ 國語閩南語對照 初步會話目錄	
國語閩南語註音符號及聲調符號		國語閩南語註音符號及聲調符號	
TX' - hX3' 序 文 (閩南語)		Tl' - X'g' 序 文 (國語)	
加世 第 一 課	ㄌㄚˊ - ㄟ 人	ㄌㄚˊ - ㄟ 人	ㄌㄚˊ - ㄟ 人
加世 第 二 課	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 指	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 指	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 指
加世 第 三 課	ㄊㄩㄥˊ - ㄟ 方	ㄊㄩㄥˊ - ㄟ 方	ㄊㄩㄥˊ - ㄟ 方
加世 第 四 課	ㄊㄩㄥˊ - ㄟ 數	ㄊㄩㄥˊ - ㄟ 數	ㄊㄩㄥˊ - ㄟ 數
加世 第 五 課	ㄊㄩㄥˊ - ㄟ 日	ㄊㄩㄥˊ - ㄟ 日	ㄊㄩㄥˊ - ㄟ 日
ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 練 習 (一)		ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 練 習 (一)	
加世 第 六 課	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 形	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 形	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 形
加世 第 七 課	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 姓 名 地 址	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 姓 名 地 址	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 姓 名 地 址
加世 第 八 課	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 家 族	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 家 族	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 家 族
加世 第 九 課	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 親 戚	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 親 戚	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 親 戚
加世 第 十 課	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 生 活	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 生 活	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 生 活
加世 第 一 課	ㄌㄚˊ - ㄟ 人	ㄌㄚˊ - ㄟ 人	ㄌㄚˊ - ㄟ 人
加世 第 二 課	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 指	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 指	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 指
加世 第 三 課	ㄊㄩㄥˊ - ㄟ 方	ㄊㄩㄥˊ - ㄟ 方	ㄊㄩㄥˊ - ㄟ 方
加世 第 四 課	ㄊㄩㄥˊ - ㄟ 數	ㄊㄩㄥˊ - ㄟ 數	ㄊㄩㄥˊ - ㄟ 數
加世 第 五 課	ㄊㄩㄥˊ - ㄟ 日	ㄊㄩㄥˊ - ㄟ 日	ㄊㄩㄥˊ - ㄟ 日
ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 練 習 (一)		ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 練 習 (一)	
加世 第 六 課	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 形	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 形	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 形
加世 第 七 課	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 姓 名 地 址	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 姓 名 地 址	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 姓 名 地 址
加世 第 八 課	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 家 族	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 家 族	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 家 族
加世 第 九 課	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 親 戚	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 親 戚	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 親 戚
加世 第 十 課	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 生 活	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 生 活	ㄎㄨㄥˊ - ㄟ 生 活

Fig. 17

Mixed POJ and Chinese characters. Source from *Tâi-bûn Thong-sîn Bong-pò* 244 (2014):3.

認賊做爸

李文正

國民黨叫 guán 認賊做爸
 台灣 è 歷史被竄改
 台灣 è 母語被消滅
 台灣環境被破壞
 台灣被財團控制
 公務人員一大堆
 單位千外萬个
 做代誌無半个
 外行管內行
 錢為白 khai m̄ 做代誌
 18%、13%領 kah 臭 uai-uai
 負債愈來愈濟
 大官大槌投共
 放 lán 拖屎連
 台灣流浪狗一大堆
 台灣弱勢無明仔
 台灣漁民 bê-tàng 掠魚
 台灣農民靠天吃飯
 勞工食 hô-sîn 家己 hop
 Tsit 款 thài-ko 政府
 Lán 哪 è 無 ká ping 掉
 Lán kám 有心情過情人節!

阿爸

朱明忠

細漢 è 時，阿爸是 guán è 搖籃
 只有 ò 伊 è 胸坎內穩穩仔
 我 tsiah è 一眼大一吋

讀冊了後，阿爸是 guán 性命 è 靠山
 伊用雙手為 guán 趁錢流汗拚
 註冊錢是三頓 è ng 望

如今啊，阿爸親像秋天飄然 è 落葉
 自 guán 服刑 hit 工開始
 伊 è 背影就 ò 秋風-裡
 漸漸，消瘦落肉



Acronyms

POJ	Pêh-oē-jī (romanized southern Fujianese language; Church romanized letters)
TCN	Tâi-oân-hú-siâ ⁿ kàu-hōe-pò (Taiwan Church News)
EPM	The English Presbyterian Messenger
MSPCT	Minutes of the Synod of Presbyterian Church in Taiwan
TCA	Taiwanese Cultural Association
TPN	Taiwanese People's Newspaper
TPDW	Taiwan People's Daily Newspaper
TSSDN	Taiwan Shin Sheng Daily News
SLJXB	Tabloid on 3rd, 6th, and 9th

Glossary

POJ or Japanese (J)	Hanyu pinyin	Chinese Character	English
Âng lók	An, Yu	安育	
<i>Asahi Shimbun (J)</i>	Daban zhao ri	大阪朝日	<i>Asahi News</i>
<i>Bîn chêng tiú-koa sùn Tiong-ôh</i>	Minzheng changguan xun zhongxue	民政長官巡中 學	<i>The Head of Civilian Affairs at Taiwan Sōtokufu Inspected the Middle School</i>
Bûn Iok-hân kî-ê	Wen Yuehan ji de	文約翰記的	reported by Wen Yuehan
<i>Bûn-bêng kap iá-bán ê hun-piat</i>	Wen ming han ye man de fen bie	文明和野蠻的 分別	<i>The Differences between the Civilized and Barbarian</i>
<i>Cháp-Hāng Koán-Kiàn</i>	Shi xiang guan jian	十項管見	<i>Ten Essays about Taiwan</i>
<i>Chheⁿ-hoan lōe-tē koan- kong</i>	Shengfan nei di guanguang	生番內地觀光	<i>Raw Aborigine's Sightseeing in Japan</i>
<i>Chhî sian-siⁿ Chhun-ki ê sió-tōan</i>	Xu xiansheng chunzhi de xiao zhuán	徐先生春枝的 小傳	<i>Biography of Mr. Xu Chunzhi</i>
Chhòa Pêe-hóe	Cai, Peihuo	蔡培火	
<i>Chhut-sí sóaⁿ</i>	Chu si xian	出死線	<i>Life on a line</i>
<i>Chiang-choân Sèng-hōe pò</i>	Zhang quang sheng hui bao	漳泉聖會報	<i>Zhuan-quan Church News</i>
<i>Chiang-hòa Lé-pài-tńg Lòk-sêng</i>	Zhanghua libai tang luo cheng	彰化禮拜堂落 成	<i>Inauguration of Zhanghua Church</i>
<i>Chiu kap Kiān-khong</i>	Jiu ka jiankang	酒恰健康	Alcohol and health
Chūi-keng-tōng	Cui jing tang	萃經堂	
Chú-jit-òh	zhuri xue	主日學	Sabbath school, Sunday school
Chū-tin-tōng	Ju zhen tang	聚珍堂	
<i>Dictionario de la lengua Chincheo</i>	Fujian fangyan zidian	福建方言字典	<i>Dictionary of the Hok- kèen Dialect of the Chinese Language, according to the Reading and Colloquial Idioms</i>
<i>E-mng im e Jitian</i>	Xiamen yin de zidian	廈門音的字典	<i>Dictionary of Amoy Dialect</i>

			<i>A Dictionary of the Amoy Vernacular Spoken throughout the Prefectures of Chin-chiu, Chiang-chiu and Formos</i>
<i>E-mng-im Sin Ji-tian</i>	Xiamen yin xin zidian	廈門音新字典	
<i>Fukuin Shinpo (J)</i>	Fu yin xin bao	福音新報	<i>Evangelical News</i>
Gân Chín-seng	Yan, Zhensheng	顏振聲	
<i>Go-en (J)</i>	Yu yuan	語苑	<i>The Language Collection</i>
<i>Gōng Thng</i>	Han tang	憨湯	<i>Stupid alcohol</i>
Gôo kuah	Wu, Ge	吳葛	
Hí iú-sêng	Xu, Youcheng	許有成	
Hô Hi-jîn	He, Xiren	何希仁	
Hontō jin (J)	ben dao ren	本島人	people of the island
<i>Huē-tô jī-bú</i>	Hui tu zi mu	繪圖字母	<i>Illustrated letters</i>
Hū-jîn-lâng	Fu renren	婦人人	women
<i>Hū-jîn-lâng ê Hok-im</i>	Fu ren de fu yin	婦人的福音	<i>Evangelism for women</i>
Iáp Hàn-chiong	Ye, Hanzhang	葉漢章	
<i>I-Koán ê Kò-péh</i>	Yiguan de gao bai	醫館的告白	<i>News from hospital</i>
Iû ⁿ Hûn-liông	Yang, Yunlong	楊雲龍	
Iû ⁿ Liân-hok	Yang, Lianfu	楊連福	
Jit-iâu Hák-hâu	Riyao xuexiao	日曜學校	Sunday school
<i>kàu-hōe ê siat-sit</i>	Jiaohui de xiaoxi	教會的消息	<i>News from churches</i>
<i>Káu-iòk ê Hó-hoat</i>	Jiaoyu de hao fa	教育的好法	<i>Good methods of education</i>
kàu-tshâi	jiao cai	教材	textbook, teaching materials
<i>Khai-siat Lú-òh</i>	Kai she nü xue	開設女學	<i>Launching a Girls' School</i>
Khai-ūi Kāin-pī-oân	Kai wei jian pi wan	開胃健脾丸	Pills to increase appetite
Khó Têng-hong	Xu, Tingfang	許廷芳	
Khóng-chú-jī	Kongzi zi	孔子字	Chinese characters
<i>Ki-tok-kàu Bûn-bêng Sú-koan</i>	Jidu jiao wen ming shi guan	基督教文明史 觀	<i>A Historical Review of Christian Civilization</i>

Ko Kim-seng	Gao, Jinsheng	高金聲	
Ko Thian-sù	Gao, Tiansi	高天賜	
Koa Siat-Kai	Ke, Shejie	柯設偕	
Koku go (J)	guo yu	國語	national language
Kong chiòng	gong zhong	公眾	the public
<i>Lāi gōa kho khàn hō hāk</i>	Nei wai ke kan hu xue	內外科看護學	<i>The Principles and Practice of Nursing</i>
Lák-Pah-Jī Phian Lô-má- jī chù-kái	Liu bai zi bian luoma zi zhujie	六百字編羅馬 字註解	<i>Annotations of Six Hundred Romanized Chinese</i>
Lâm Tâi Tâi-Lâm Sîn- lâu I-ṙ ⁿ	Nantai tainan Xinlou yiyuan	南台台南新樓 醫院	Tainan Xinlou Hospital
<i>Lâm-pō Kàu-hōe I-liâu Thoân-tō-sú</i>	Nanbu jiaohui yiliao chuandao shi	南部教會醫療 傳道史	<i>History of Medical Mission in southern Church</i>
Lâm-sì-hoan	nan shi fan	南勢番	Aborigines in Nanshi
Lâu Bō-chheng	Liu, Maoqing	劉茂清	
Lâu Suīsan	Liu, Ruishan	劉瑞山	
<i>Lē-lú-hāk</i>	Li nü xue	勵女學	<i>Encouraging Girls' Education</i>
Liâu Tit	Liao, De	廖得	
<i>Lī-ik gín-ná ê lūn</i>	Lun liyi ertong	論利益兒童	<i>Essays on Benefits for Children</i>
<i>Lí-ke Iàu-Liòk</i>	Li jia yao lue	理家要略	<i>Principles of Family Management</i>
Lîm Bō-seng	Lin, Maosheng	林茂生	
Lîm Hāk-kiong	Lin, Xuegong	林學恭	
Lîm Iàn-sîn	Lin, Yanchen	林燕臣	
<i>Liông-Bòk Pō</i>	Liang mu bao	良牧報	<i>Pastoral News</i>
<i>Lô Hoa Kái-Tsō Thóng- it Su-han-bûn</i>	Luo hua gai zao tong yi shu han wen	羅華改造統一 書翰文	<i>Standard Letter Writing of Romanized Chinese</i>
Lô Khiân-ek	Luo, Qianyi	羅乾益	
lōe-chō	nei zhu	內助	a better half of married couples

Lô ⁿ I-sing	Lu yisheng	盧醫生	
<i>Lūn koo-niū</i>	Lun gu niang	論姑娘	<i>Essays on Female Missionaries</i>
<i>Lūn Lú-chú ê tāi-chì</i>	Lun nüzi de shi qing	論女子的事情	<i>Views of Women's Positions</i>
<i>Lūn siat-lip tióng-òh</i>	Lun she li zhongxue	論設立中學	<i>Essays on Foundering a Middle School</i>
<i>Lūn-kàu Thoân-Tō ê bē-iòh híng-i</i>	Lun dao chuandao mai yao xing yi	論到傳道賣藥行醫	<i>Essays on Selling Drugs for Mission</i>
Nâ hōo	Lin, Hou	林後?	
Naichi jin (J)	nei di ren	內地人	people of the mainland
Naitai yuwa (J)	neitai ronghe	內台融和	merging of the Taiwanese and the Japanese
Ńg Goát-tek	Huang, Yuede	黃月德	
Ńg Sìn-kí	Huang, Xinqi	黃信期	
Nihon go (J)	Riben yu	日本語	Japanese language
nūshu	nū shu	女書	female language
Ô Tiāu-ki	Hu, Yaoji	胡肇基	
<i>Ōe-seng kap chhù</i>	Weisheng ka cuo	衛生俗盾	<i>Hygiene and home</i>
Ōng Chiap-thôn	Wang, Jiechuan	王接傳	
Ōng Siú-ióng	Wang, Shouyong	王守勇	
Pa To-má	Ba, Keli	巴克禮	Thomas Barclay
<i>Pák-kha ê iàu-lūn</i>	Bang jiao de yan lun	綁腳的要論	<i>Views on Foot-binding</i>
Pák-kha Lūn	Bang jiao lun	綁腳論	<i>Views on foot-binding</i>
Péh-oē-jī	baihua zi	白話字	romanized southern Fujianese dialect
Phian-chíp-sek	Bian ji shi	編輯室	room of editor
Phoa ⁿ bêng-chu	Pan, Mingzhu	潘明珠	
Phoa ⁿ Būn-bêng chò-ê	Pan Wenming zuo de	潘文明做的	done by Pan Wenming
Phoa ⁿ Hoān-chiong	Pan, Huanzhang	潘煥章	
Phoā ⁿ Tō-êng	Pan, Daocheng	潘道成	
Pî ⁿ -po-chòk	pingpu zu	平埔族	plains aborigine

<i>Pò-tō tiòh chái-iūⁿ?</i>	Bu dao ying zenyang	怖道應怎樣?	<i>How should We Conduct Mission?</i>
<i>Sām jū keng</i>	San zi jing	三字經	<i>Three Character Classic</i>
<i>Seng-jū kóng-hùn</i>	Sheng yu kuang xun	聖諭廣訓	<i>The Sacred Edict</i>
<i>Shinkoku jin (J)</i>	qingguo ren	清國人	
<i>Shōwa Shinpo (J)</i>	Zhao he xin bao	昭和新聞	<i>Shōwa Newspaper</i>
<i>Shūshin (J)</i>	xiu sheng	修身	morals
siá ⁿ -sū chō-hóan lái chhú-chōe	Sha shi zaofan lai quzui	啥事造反來取罪	Why did he/her rise in rebellion as a crime
<i>Siat-sit</i>	Xiaoxi	消息	<i>News</i>
<i>Sina jin (J)</i>	zhina ren	支那人	People from China
<i>Sin-thé-lí hák</i>	Shen ti li xue	身體理學	Physiology
T.K.C. Lô-má-jī chhui-hêng Pō-hōe Tiú-pī Úi-oân-hōe	T.K.C. luomazu tuixing buhui choubei weiyuan hui	T.K.C.羅馬字推行部會籌備委員會	T.K.C. preparatory committee of romanization promotion department
<i>Tāi-bêng Jîn Hào Hông-hō Lōe-hùn</i>	Da ming ren xiao huang hou nei xun	大明仁孝皇后內訓	<i>Internal Principles by Queen Renxiao of the Ming Dynasty</i>
<i>Tāi-hōe ê kí-liòk</i>	Da hui de ji lu	大會的記錄	<i>News from Synod</i>
<i>Tâi-Lâm I-Koán</i>	Tainan yiguan	台南醫館	<i>Tainan Hospital</i>
<i>Tâi-lâm Pīⁿ-īnⁿ</i>	Tainan bingyuan	台南病院	<i>Tainan Hospital</i>
<i>Tâi-oân ê bîng-chhing</i>	Taiwan de ming cheng	台灣的名稱	<i>Names of Taiwan</i>
Tâi-oân ôe/Bân-lâm-gú/Bân-lâm ôe	Taiwan hua/minnan yu/minnan hua	臺灣話/閩南語/閩南話	southern Fujianese language
<i>Tâi-oân-hú-siáⁿ Kàu-hōe-pò</i>	Taiwan fucheng jiaohui bao	台灣府城教會報	<i>Taiwan Church News</i>
<i>Tâi-pak ê kí-liòk</i>	Taipei de ji lu	台北的記錄	<i>Records of Taipei</i>
<i>Tâi-tó siat-sit--Phiàn-sút</i>	Tai dao xiao xi pian shu	台島消息 騙術	<i>News of Taiwan, trick</i>
<i>Taiwan Doukakai (J)</i>	Taiwan tong hua hui	臺灣同化會	Association of Assimilation in Taiwan

Taiwan Minpao	Taiwan min bao	臺灣民報	<i>Taiwan People's Newspaper</i>
<i>Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpo</i> (J)	Taiwan riri xin bao	臺灣日日新報	<i>Taiwan Daily Newspaper</i>
<i>Taiwangogaku Zasshi</i> (J)	Taiwan yu xue zazhi	臺灣語學雜誌	<i>Taiwanese Language Magazine</i>
<i>Tâm-Lâm Chiang-Hòa Tiú-Ló-Kàu Kong-iōng ê Iòh-Hng</i>	Taiwan Zhanghua changlao jiaohui yong de yaofang	臺灣彰化長老教會用的藥方	<i>The Pharmacopeia of the Tainan and Shoka Hospital of the English Presbyterian Mission Formosa</i>
Tē ⁿ Khe-phòan	Zheng, Xipan	鄭溪泮	
<i>The Tāioān Chheng Liān</i>	Taiwan qingnian	臺灣青年	<i>Taiwan Youth</i>
<i>Thoân-Tō bē-iòh ê chógāi</i>	Chuan dao mai yao de zu ai	傳道賣藥的阻礙	<i>Barrier to Selling Drugs for Mission</i>
<i>Thó-lūn Kàu-iòk kap Lô-má-jī ūn-tōng ê su-giân</i>	Taolun jiaoyu ji luomazi yundong de xuyan	討論「教育及羅馬字運動」的序言	<i>A Discussion of the Preface to 'Education and Romanization Movement'</i>
Tiō Sî-hôe	Zhao, Shihui	趙時回	
Tiong-kok lâng	zhongguo ren	中國人	Chinese
<i>Tiong-óh ê Khó</i>	Zhongxue de ke	中學的課	<i>Courses in Middle School</i>
<i>Tiong-ôh ê Kò-péh</i>	Zhongxue de gao bai	中學的告白	<i>News from Middle School</i>
<i>Tiong-óh khah hó á-si Jit-pún óh khah hó</i>	Zhongxue jiao hao hai shi riben xuexiao jiao hao	中學較好還是日本學校較好	<i>Taiwanese Middle School is Better or Japanese Public School is Better?</i>
Tiu ⁿ Ki-chôan	Zhang, Jiquan	張基全	
<i>Tng-oē Hoan-jī Chho-hák</i>	Tanghua fanzi chu xue	唐話番字初學	<i>Romanized Amoy Dialect for Beginners</i>
<i>Tōa-siā ê I-Koán</i>	Dashe de yiguan	大社的醫館	<i>Dashe Hospital</i>
<i>Tsú-jit sîn-liông</i>	Zhuri shenliang	主日神糧	<i>The Lord of the Havest</i>
<i>Tùi Phó-Sè Kàu-Hiáp ê Seng-Bêng</i>	Dui pu shi jiaohui de shengming	對普世教會的聲明	<i>A Statement to the World Council of Churches</i>
Uí-lô Pó-siū-chiap	Weilao pu shou zhi	偉勞補壽汁	Weilao nutriment

jiaohui ruoma zi	教會羅馬字	Church romanized letters
Taiwan ren	臺灣人	Taiwanese
xiangtu wenxue	鄉土文學	nativist literature
dangwai	黨外	outside the party
Zhongguo shibao	中國時報	<i>Chinatimes</i>
shu tong wen	書同文	writing the same writing system
Wen xin diao long	文心雕龍	<i>The Mind of Literature and Carving Dragons</i>
Penglai Dao	蓬萊島	Penglai Island
Liuqiu	琉球	
Beigang	北港	
Dongning	東寧	
Keelung	雞籠	
Tyowan	台灣 /大員	
Hai dong zhu guo ju	海東諸國紀	<i>Chronicle of the Countries of Eastern Asia</i>
Gu, Zuyu	顧祖禹	
Du shi fang yu ji yao	讀史方輿紀要	<i>Notes on Reading the Geography Treatises in the Histories</i>
Taiwan fu zhi	台灣府志	<i>Taiwan Prefecture Gazetteer</i>
Shen yu wan guo quan tu	坤輿萬國全圖	<i>A Map of the Myriad Countries of the World</i>
Dong fan ji	東番記	<i>An Account of the Eastern Barbarians</i>
Chen, Di	陳第	
Taiwan-fu	臺灣府	
Ji, Qiguang	季麒光	
Yan, Siqi	顏思齊	Pedeo China
Xingang wen shu	新港文書	<i>Sinkan Manuscripts</i>
Taiwan wen xian cong kan	台灣文獻叢刊	<i>Historiography of Taiwan</i>

Sinkan she	新港社	
Soulang she	蕭壟社	
Mattau she	麻豆社	
Teopan she	大歐龐社	
Tifulukan she	帝福鹿社	
Taffakan she	大化港社	
Bakloan she	目加溜社	
Tefurang she	大武壟社	
Kulang yu	鼓浪嶼	
Huwei	虎尾	
Tuku	土庫	
Baozhong	褒忠	
Shi wu yin	十五音	<i>Fifteen Sounds</i>
Zhongguo cong bao	中國叢報	<i>The Chinese Repository</i>
Fanyi ying hua xia qiang yuhui	翻譯英華廈腔 語彙	<i>Anglo-Chinese Manual with Romanized colloquial in the Amoy Dialect</i>
Xia ying da cidian	廈英大辭典	<i>Chinese English Dictionary of Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy, with the Principal Variations of the Chang chew and Chin chew Dialects</i>
Qian zi wen	千字文	<i>The Thousand Character Classic</i>
Zheng, Jing	鄭經	
Yongli datong li	永曆大統曆	<i>United Calendar of Yongli Period</i>
huguan	戶官	the office of Revenue during Koxinga period
Wu, Fengtai	吳鳳胎	
Songyun Xuan	松雲軒	

Lu, Congyu	盧崇玉	
Taichan bi du	胎產必讀	<i>A Must-read for Childbirth</i>
Cui sheng fu jue	催生符訣	<i>Symbol Formula of Augmentation</i>
sishu	私塾	private academy
Shi xin yue kan	使信月刊	<i>The English Presbyterian Messenger</i>
Zhuluo xian zhi	諸羅縣志	<i>Zhuluo County Gazetteer</i>
Shexue	社學	public academy
Yixue	義學	private academy
Jiao wu zai zhi	教務雜誌	<i>The Chinese Recorder</i>
Taiwan wen hua xiehui	臺灣文化協會	Taiwanese Cultural Association
Taiwan xin min bao	臺灣新民報	<i>Taiwanese New People's Newspaper</i>
Gaosha qingnian hui	高砂青年會	Takasago Youth Association
Xin min hui	新民會	New People Association
Weren bao	伍人報	<i>Wuren Newspaper</i>
nan yin	南音	<i>Southern Dialects</i>
Xin gao xin bao	新高新報	<i>Xingao Newspaper</i>
Taiwan jingcha xiehui zazhi	臺灣警察協會 雜誌	<i>Magazine for Taiwan Police Association</i>
Taiwan romazi zi zi xiu shu	臺灣羅馬白話 字自修書	<i>A Self-Study of POJ</i>
xin xin	新新	<i>Xin xin</i>
Taiwan wen hua xie jin hui	臺灣文化協進 會	Association of Promoting Taiwanese Culture
Cheng huai yuan chang he ji	澄懷園唱和集	<i>Poems Singing in Huaicheng Garden</i>
Da gong bao	大公報	<i>Ta Kung Pao</i>
Taiwan xin bao	臺灣新報	<i>Taiwan New Newspaper</i>

Taiwan xin sheng bao	台灣新生報	<i>Taiwan Shin Sheng Daily News</i>
Guoyu ri bao	國語日報	<i>Mandarin Daily Newspaper</i>
guan hua	官話	official language
min bao	民報	<i>Minpao</i>
San liu jiu xiao bao	三六九小報	<i>Tabloid on 3rd, 6th, and 9th</i>
Shi jing	詩經	<i>Book of Songs</i>
Taiwan guo feng	台灣國風	Songs of the State in Taiwan

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Taiwan Youth (1920-1922)
Journal of Language (1909-1931)
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