Colonial Taiwan

East Asian Comparative Literature and Culture

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Colonial Taiwan

Negotiating Identities and Modernity through Literature

By

Pei-yin Lin

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Series Editors' Foreword

East Asian Comparative Literature and Culture

East Asia is reaching into the world. The number of Chinese students and scholars studying at foreign universities has never been larger, the "Korean wave" washes K-dramas and K-pop ashore all continents, and Japanese manga and anime garner millions of young fans in New Delhi and Cape Town, Oslo and Vladivostok, New York and Rome. Popular culture proves a powerful medium to connect East Asian countries to the world, but also to each other, softening the divisions that the twentieth century has brought to this region.

Much of what a good century ago connected the East Asian "Sinographic Sphere" of China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam—cultures that traditionally relied on the Chinese script and literary language—has disappeared. East Asians around the year 1900 still communicated through the authoritative *lingua franca* of Literary Chinese. For almost two millennia "Chinese-style writing" had been the language of government, scholarship, Buddhism, and belles-lettres: Under China's hegemony many states adopted Chinese culture and its script during the first millennium CE. During the second millennium Japan, Vietnam, and Korea developed phonographic scripts that led to the gradual abandonment of Chinese characters in Korea and Vietnam and the blossoming of local vernacular literatures. In the early twentieth century reformers inspired by Western ideas of "nation states" and "national languages" spearheaded vernacular movements that swept Chinese-style writing and the intellectual and literary culture that went with it aside.

The death of Literary Chinese as East Asia's venerable literary language over the past century and its replacement with the English language and Western culture marks an irreversible and little noticed inflection point in the history of humanity: the disappearance of the world's last cultural sphere where a strongly "logographic" script (recording meaning of "words" rather than "sounds" as "phonographic" alphabets do) had enabled distinctive literary cultures to thrive for almost two millennia. The world history of writing starts with strongly logographic writing systems: Egyptian hieroglyphs, Mesopotamian cuneiform, Chinese characters and Mesoamerican glyphs. Phonographic scripts have long since replaced all but Chinese characters. Thanks to the logographic writing system East Asia's "bi-literacy"—textual production in Literary Chinese and local vernaculars—functioned quite differently from alphabetic *lingua francas*. Europe's bilingualism during the Medieval Period was rooted in Latin, both spoken and read. In contrast, Chinese characters allowed East

Asians (including speakers of Chinese dialects) to pronounce any given text in Literary Chinese in their local vernacular language.

Thus East Asia shared a "grapholect," or *scripta franca*, as we should call it more appropriately. In the absence of a common spoken language, people could communicate in "brush talk," conversing by passing paper back and forth. Around the year 1900 East Asian elites were still part of a shared world of transnational education and *Bildung* through intensive training in the Chinese Classics or a Chinese-style civil service examination system that brought elites in Hanoi and Seoul closer to each other than they were to their fellow peasant countrymen living in a village just outside the capital. The last Chinese-style civil service examinations were held in Vietnam in 1919 under the French colonial government, fourteen years after the abolishment of the examination system in China herself.

The painful history of wars and colonial exploitation in the twentieth century has added yet more visceral divisions and, more recently, economic and military competition have done little to mend rifts. Rather they add to the global stream of daily news that define East Asia, negatively, as a region that fights over history text books and the naming of war events as "massacres" or "incidents," struggles over appropriate ways to honor the war dead, and quibbles over uninhabited islands. Because national ideologies have come to define East Asia over the past century, the death of East Asia's biliteracy and the shared culture it afforded have gone largely unlamented.

But the awareness of this common heritage is not just of academic relevance or nostalgic interest. Rather, bringing the rich histories of shared and contested legacies back into collective memory within East Asia and into public consciousness throughout the world, while not erasing all the complicated political and ideological issues generated by recent history, will contribute to the creation of a positive transnational identity where Japanese or Koreans will hopefully one day proudly call themselves "East Asians," just as most French and Germans have overcome their war wounds and both would call themselves "Europeans" today.

This is the most ambitious goal of Brill's new book series *East Asian Comparative Literature and Culture*. The book series responds to a swiftly growing need as educational curricula, research agendas, and journalistic writing aim for an ever more inclusive global scope. With the increasing international importance of East Asia in economic, political, and cultural terms, more and more scholars and general readers are seeking a better grasp of this part of the world which can boast long-standing histories and traditions as well as vibrating modern cultures.

East Asian Comparative Literature and Culture responds to the need for a deeper understanding and appreciation of this region by publishing substantial comparative research on the literary and cultural traditions of East Asia and their relation to the world. We showcase original research on the methodology and practice of comparison, including intra-East Asian comparisons of China, Korea, Japan, and Vietnam; East-West comparisons that examine Western alongside East Asian traditions; and comparative studies that examine East Asian literatures and cultures in the light of their relations with India, the Middle East, Africa, or Latin America. The series focuses on interpretive sciences, that is, the core Humanities of literature, history, religion, philosophy and thought, art history, but also welcomes contributions adopting culturally-informed approaches in archeology, historical geography, anthropology, political science, sociology, or linguistics. It befits our historical moment well to make sure that we as scholars combine comparative analysis with the depth of area-study-expertise and philology, theoretical acumen, and a courageous orientation towards the exploration of fundamental questions. This is the tall order that this book series and its authors are taking on. We are confident, however, that the book series we put forward in response to the rapidly growing interest in the entire East Asian region will make significant contributions to scholarship and mutual understanding and successfully integrate knowledge about and approaches to different literary and cultural traditions through critical examination in comparison.

Wiebke Denecke
Zhang Longxi

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[1] "Taiwan literature" here and throughout this book, rather than the more grammatically correct "Taiwanese literature," is used to highlight the multilingual and multi-styled nature of literature emerging from Taiwan. It is a more flexible term that is not limited exclusively to literature by Taiwan's Han and aboriginal writers, or works written in colloquial Taiwanese. It also matches reality better, as the definition and scope of "Taiwanese literature," as a quasi-nationalist literature, during the period on which this book is focused were yet to be more comprehensively formulated.

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this book-writing journey in Cambridge, Massachusetts. From Cambridge to Cambridge, I am forever appreciative of the many captivating creative works produced by the writers from colonial Taiwan, which have moved me emotionally, stimulated me intellectually, and kept me going with fresh enthusiasm throughout my academic career.

Chapter 2 is a revised and more condensed version of "Humanitarian Socialist: Yang Kui and his Works," in *Transformation! Innovation? Perspectives on Taiwan Culture* edited by Christina Neder and Ines Susanne Schilling (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2003), pp. 125–45; Chapter 3 is partially drawn from my two Chinese articles—"Negotiating 'Civilization': Popular Fiction from Taiwan in the 1930s—Taking Xu Kunquan's and Lin Huikun's Works as Examples," National Taiwan University's *Bulletin of the Research on Taiwan Literature* 8 (August 2010): 1–32 and "Gendered Modernity: Female Characterization in the Works of Xu Kunquan and Wu Mansha," *Bulletin of Taiwanese Literature* 25 (December 2014): 1–32; the discussion on the portrayal of women in the works of Lü Heruo, Long Yingzong and Weng Nao in Chapter 4 is based roughly on my Chinese article "The Silent Other: Female Characters in the Works of Lü Heruo, Long Yingzong and Weng Nao," *Journal of Modern Literature in Chinese* 10.2 (2011): 60–73. I hereby thank the publishers for permission to reuse parts of the contents from the aforementioned book chapters and journal articles.

Notes on Romanization and Translation

Many of the Taiwanese writers discussed in this book have utilized different transcriptions of their names. For example, Lai He has been written as Lai Ho or Loa Ho, and Yang Kui can be spelled Yō Ki. Therefore, for the sake of consistency, Pinyin is used to transcribe Chinese names throughout this book. This general rule, however, does not apply to customary spellings such as Chiang Ching-kuo, Kuomintang, Taipei, and Kaohsiung, or to the names of those who have indicated their preferred spelling. The Taiwanese transliteration follows the Taiwanese Romanization System (TL; often referred to as Tâi-lô), which has been officially promoted by Taiwan's Ministry of Education since 2006.

Japanese names and words are transcribed in the revised Hepburn system. Macrons have been dropped from names familiar to English-language readers, such as Tokyo. Korean names, which appear only on few occasions, are transliterated in the McCune-Reischauer system. All East Asian names are given in the customary East Asian order, with family name before given name. And for some key terms referred to in any of the above-mentioned languages, more than one transcription is provided. The Chinese and Japanese characters used are listed in the glossary.

All translations of Chinese and Japanese texts are my own unless otherwise indicated.

Introduction: Relocating the Multilingual New Taiwanese Literature

In December 1974, residents of Indonesia's Morotai Island reported that there was a naked man who had been living alone in the jungle. After searching for nearly three days, the Indonesian government finally found him. His original name, Suniuo, revealed him to be a Taiwanese aborigine of the Amis tribe recruited by the Japanese colonizers as a soldier and sent to Morotai in 1942. He had been lost in the jungle in November 1943, and was considered dead. From then until his rescue in December 1974, Suniuo led a self-reliant hunter-gatherer life with no knowledge of the Japanese surrender in 1945. He returned to Taiwan in January 1975 and died four years later. Suniuo's story not only surprised the world but also rekindled the Taiwanese people's memory of its colonial past. Even today, many Taiwanese who lived through the colonial period still struggle to make sense of the Japanese surrender in 1945 and the period afterward, and to understand the difference between Taiwan's two interrelated *kōfuku* experiences either as a "surrender" (降服), because of Taiwan's colony status, or as a "recovery or retrocession" (光復) of Taiwan, because of Taiwan's pre-1895 ties with China.[1] Concurrent with public attention to Suniuo's extraordinary story was a surge in public interest in literature from Taiwan's colonial period. In 1976, just one year after Suniuo's "home-returning" journey, two stories and one poem by Lai He (1894–1943), who is hailed as "the father of Taiwan's New Literature," appeared in *Xiachao* (China Tide), a *dangwai* (outside the Kuomintang) socialist-leaning magazine. Liang Jingfeng's article "Lai He shishei?" (Who is Lai He?), which addresses Lai He's significance for the making of modern Taiwanese literature, was published there as well.[2] In addition, that same year, Zhang Wenhuan's (1909–1978) Japanese autobiographic novel *Chi ni hau mono* (Those Crawling on the Ground) became available in Chinese,[3] and Yang Kui's (1906–85) work "The Spring Light That Can't

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[1] The two terms, "xiangfu" (surrender) and "guangfu" (recovery/retrocession), paradoxically have the same pronunciation in Japanese.

[2] See Liang Demin (penname of Liang Jingfeng). "Lai He shishei?" (Who is Lai He?). *Xiachao* (China Tide) 1.6 (September 1, 1976): 56–59.

[3] The novel, originally written in Japanese, was published in Tokyo in 1975. The Chinese version entitled *Gundi lang* (Those Crawling on the Ground) was translated by Liao Qingxiu and published in 1976.

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Be Shut Out," re-named "The Uncrushable Rose," was included in Taiwan's junior high-school textbooks.

This initial wave of rediscovery of Taiwan's long-forgotten literary heritage became possible due to the continued rise of the power outside the Kuomintang that drove the quest for a Taiwanese identity. It was further facilitated by the publication of Chen Shaoting's *Taiwan xin wenxue yundong jianshi* (A Short History of the Modern Taiwanese Literary Movement) in 1977 and the release of two anthologies in 1979—the *Riju xia Taiwan xin wenxue* (Taiwanese New Literature during the Japanese Occupation Period) in March and the *Guangfu qian Taiwan wenxue quanji* (The Complete Collection of Taiwanese Literature before the Retrocession) in July. Despite this budding interest in 1976 and some compilation efforts made in 1979, works by Taiwanese authors of colonial Taiwan were not widely read by Taiwan's general population.[4] High school textbooks consisted largely of classical Chinese literary pieces or non-political modern vernacular pieces from the Chinese Republican period. This suggests that Taiwan's colonial period had long been considered a shameful interlude in modern "Chinese" history and thus was not worthy of inclusion in the Nationalist Party's general postwar "re-Sinifying" policies.

With the lifting of martial law in 1987, cultural indigenization became increasingly important. Colonial Taiwan was retrospectively deemed a significant repository of the island's unique historical trajectory, and scholars began to delve into colonial-era literature. Proponents of Taiwan's nativism hailed colonial literature as an essential component of a Taiwan-centric literary historiography. In other words, Taiwan's burgeoning cultural nationalism in the 1980s provided an environment conducive to the research of Taiwanese literature.[5] By the end of the late 1980s, the term "Taiwanese literature" had become broadly recognized, replacing its earlier definition as a regional or provincial literature emerging from Chinese literature.[6] In the 1990s, research on Taiwanese literature received greater attention with its institutionalization as an academic discipline, and the publication of more complete anthologies.[7] Studies of single authors and on specific issues were two distinct trends. Lin Ruiming's research on Lai He exemplifies the former, whereas Chen Fangming's work on colonial Taiwan's leftist movements illustrates the latter.[8] Although scholars such as Yvonne Sung-sheng Chang called for a reappraisal of the *kōmin* (imperial-subject) literature in the late 1990s; texts expressing a distinct anti-colonial consciousness were privileged.[9] For example, Wu Zhuoliu (1900–1976), Lai He, and Yang Kui, the three authors who attracted early scholarly attention, are all celebrated for the anti-colonial spirit in their works.[10] Despite the validity of a nationalist reading in reevaluating Taiwan's colonial literature, scholars risk embarking on ideological debates in which China and Taiwan are often polarized and deemed incompatible. A clear case is the polemical interpretations of nationalist consciousness in Lai He's works.[11] This emphasis on de-colonialism was also reflected in the fact that the anthology of Zhou Jinbo (1920–1997), who used to be censured for his outright pro-Japan identity, was published much later than his contemporaries. In addition to the research done by academics based in the West, Taiwan, or China, Japanese scholars' efforts were also noteworthy, especially in the last decade of the twentieth century.[12] Tarumi Chie, similar to Yvonne Chang, eschewed the simplified traitor/collaborator moral judgment by inviting a contextualized reading of colonial Taiwan's imperial-subject texts. In contrast to Chang, who commented on contemporary Taiwan's political appropriation of literary works from the colonial era, Tarumi is more concerned about the historical lessons Japanese people could learn from those works.[13] Fujii Shōzō is another Japanese scholar who has done substantial research on Taiwan literature. His research on Taiwan's literary field from the mid 1930s to the early 1940s provides a useful general context for the second and third parts of the book.[14]

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[4] The term "Taiwanese authors" refers to those born in Taiwan and those migrant writers who remained in Taiwan for a long period of time (such as Wu Mansha). The term is used not to downplay their colonized status, but to differentiate them from the Japanese authors who were born or resided in Taiwan during the colonial period. It also includes aboriginal authors. Although the Siraya tribe was able to write their own language through the Romanization system introduced by Dutch missionaries in Taiwan, and scholar Pu Zhongcheng [Pasuya Poiconü] claims that Taiwan's aborigines began to express themselves in written form during the Japanese colonial period, most aboriginal "literature" under Japanese rule is oral literature. It consists of myths, ancestral legends, folk tales, and ritual performances. See Pu's *Taiwan yuanzhu minzu wenxue shigang* (*shang*) (Literary History of Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples—Volume 1) (Taipei: Liren, 2009) for details.

[5] For a thorough discussion on Taiwanese cultural nationalism, see A-chin Hsiau's *Contemporary Taiwanese Cultural Nationalism* (London: Routledge, 2000).

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[6] Scholars from the Mainland have done some remarkable research on Taiwanese literature since the late 1980s. Examples include Huang Chongtian et al., *Taiwan xin wenxue gaiguan* (*shang*) (Overview of Modern Taiwanese Literature) (Part One) in 1986; Bai Shaofan's *Xiandai Taiwan wenxueshi* (History of Modern Taiwan Literature) in 1987; Bao Hengxin's *Taiwan xiandai wenxue jianshu* (A Brief Account of Modern Taiwan Literature) in 1988; Gu Jitang's *Taiwan xiaoshuo fazhan shi* (History of the Development of Taiwan Literature) in 1989. As most of these research activities were sponsored by the government with the goal of encouraging "unification," these earlier publications by PRC scholars tended to be less critical.

[7] The National Taiwan Library was established in 1996. In 1997, the first department of Taiwanese literature in Taiwan (formed after eight rejections) was formed at Tamsui Management College (now Aletheia University). A graduate department of Taiwanese literature was also established at the National Cheng Kung University. The 1991, ten-volume, *Taiwan zuojia quanji—duanpian xiaoshuo juan, riju shidai* (A Complete Collection of the Works of Taiwanese Writers—Short Stories Volume, Japanese Occupation Period) edited by Zhang Henghao is much more comprehensive than the two collections published in 1979.

[8] See Lin Ruiming's *Taiwan wenxue yu shidai jingshen—Lai He janjiu lunji* (Taiwan Literature and Zeitgeist—Essays on Lai He) (Taipei: Yunchen, 1993); Chen Fangming's *Zuoyi Taiwan: Zhimindi wenxue yundongshi lun* (Leftist Taiwan: Historical Essays on the Literary Movement under Colonial Rule, 1920–1945) (Taipei: Maitian, 1998).

[9] *Kōmin* literature was related to Japan's "kōminka" (imperialization) policy. It was a series of emperor-centered moral education and assimilation policies promulgated by the Japanese authorities between 1937–45 with an attempt to further control Taiwan and call for Taiwanese to participate in Japan's military expansion. The policies included popularizing Japanese as the "national language," encouraging the Taiwanese to adopt Japanese names and Japanese worship rites, the volunteer conscripts system in 1942 and so on. During this period, writers were encouraged to eulogize the Japanese national spirit and produce a masculine and optimistic literature to assist the war effort. Some works were even written on commission by the Japanese administration's Information Office. These works tackling imperialization, especially those written between 1941–45, are called *kōmin bungaku* (imperial-subject literature), or *huangmin wenxue* in Chinese. For details, see Chang's "Beyond Cultural and National Identities: Current Re-evaluation of the *Kōminka* literature from Taiwan's Japanese Period," *Journal of Modern Literature in Chinese* 1.1 (July 1997): 75–107.

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[10] For book-length studies on those authors, see Lü Xingchang's *Tiexie shiren Wu Zhuoliu* (Wu Zhuoliu—A Poet of Iron and Blood) (Taipei: Qianwei, 1984); Lin Ruiming's study on Lai He mentioned in note 8; Huang Huizhen's *Yang Kui jiqi zuopin yanjiu* (A Study of Yang Kui and His Works) (Taipei: Maitian, 1994).

[11] Chinese critic Liu Honglin regards Lai as an exemplary Chinese nationalist, but Taiwanese critics, such as Shi Yilin and Chen Jianzhong, underscore Lai's Taiwanese nativism. See Liu Honglin, *Taiwan xin wenxue zhi fu—Lai He* (Father of Taiwanese New Literature—Lai He) (Beijing: Zuojia chubanshe, 2006), pp. 241–45; Shi Yilin, *Cong Shen Guangwen dao Lai He: Taiwan gudian wenxue de fazhan yu tese* (From Shen Guangwen to Lai He: The Development and Characteristics of Taiwan's Classical Literature) (Kaohsiung: Chunhui, 2000), pp. 423–24. Chen Jianzhong, *Shuxie Taiwan, Taiwan shuxie—Lai He de wenxue yu sixiang yanjiu* (Writing Taiwan, Taiwan Writing—A Study on Lai He's Literature and Thoughts) (Kaohsiung: Chunhui, 2004), pp. 402–12.

[12] *Taiwan wenxue yanjiu zai riben* (Research on Taiwanese Literature in Japan) edited by Huang Yingzhe (Taipei: Qianwei, 1994) and *Yomigaeru Taiwan bungaku: Nihon tōjiki no sakka to sakuhin* (Revising Taiwanese Literature: Writers and Works during Japanese Occupation) (Tokyo: Tōhō Shoten, 1995) showcase some of the representative scholarship done by Japanese researchers.

[13] Tarumi Chie, *Taiwan de ribenyu wenxue* (Japanese-language Literature from Taiwan), trans. Tu Cuihua (Taipei: Qianwei, 1998).

The new millennium witnessed a sustained interest in the study of Taiwan's colonial literature. Despite the continued emphasis on Taiwanese authors' anti-colonial subjectivity, scholars are now relatively less ideologically charged. Some strive to explore the understudied authors, journals, or literary societies of colonial Taiwan, whereas others pay heed to the multifaceted modernity envisioned by Taiwanese writers at that time.[15] Both Chen Fangming and Huang Mei-e revisited Taiwan's complex encounter with modernity. Chen points out that colonial Taiwan suffered from a "belated modernity" in which becoming Japanese was considered by certain intellectuals to be a shortcut to modernity. However, he argues, Taiwan needed to embark on the path to modernity as a strategy for de-colonialism. In a way, modernity was worth pursuing, but one should be vigilant about colonial oppression disguised as modernization.[16] Huang places less emphasis on de-colonialism. Instead, she goes beyond the colonized/colonizer binary, applying Homi Bhabha's "hybridity" to examine the complex identity formation process faced by many intellectuals, especially those literati who received traditional Chinese training.[17] Writers' linguistic capital and educational/generational background, in fact, have become fruitful research topics since 2000. Zhou Wanyao, for instance, divides Taiwanese people into three generations—the loyalists' generation, the post-1895 new generation, and the war generation—so as to highlight their different stances toward Japanese colonialism.[18]

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[14] Fujii Shōzō, *Taiwan bungaku kono hyakunen* (Taiwan Literature over the Past Century) (Tokyo: Tōhō Shoten, 1998).

[15] See, for example, You Shengguan, *Zhimin zhuyi yu wenhua kangzheng: riju shiqi Taiwan jiezhi wenxue* (Colonialism and Cultural Resistance: Taiwan Decolonizing Literature under Japanese Occupation) (Taipei: Qunxue, 2012).

[16] Chen Fangming, *Zhimindi modeng: Xiandaixing yu Taiwan shiguan* (Colonial Modernity: Historical and Literary Perspectives on Taiwan) (Taipei: Maitian, 2004).

[17] Huang Mei-e, *Chongceng xiandaixing jingxiang: Rizhi shidai Taiwan chuantong wenren de wenhua shiyu yu wenxue xiangxiang* (Mirrors of Multiple Modernities: Cultural Vision and Literary Imagination of Traditional Taiwanese Literati under Japanese Rule) (Taipei: Maitian, 2004), and "Chayi/jiaohun, duihua/duiyi: rizhi shiqi Taiwan chuantong wenren de shenti jingyan yu xin guomin xiangxiang (Difference/Hybridity, Dialogue/Intertranslation: Body Experience and New Citizen Imagination of Taiwan's Traditional Literati from the Japanese Period)," in *Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiu jikan* (Bulletin of the Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy) 28 (March 2006): 81–119.

Liu Shuqin extends this by identifying those who can be truly considered "traditional scholars" (*chuantong wenren*). According to her, the category of traditional scholars, who constitute a group of writers belonging to a specific cultural generation (*wenhua shidai*), refers only to those who suffered from the "double-aging" (*shuangchong jiuhua*)—Taiwan's cession to Japan and the loss of voice in the literary arena since the 1920s as a consequence of the emergence of vernacular literature. Concerning the Chinese-language writers of colonial Taiwan, Liu further suggests that those who did not experience "double-aging" are successors of traditional scholars and can be divided into three "generations"—those born around 1860, those born around 1885, and those born around 1910.[19]

In contrast to Liu's interest in "traditional scholars," Chen Peifeng and Chen Wensong focus on Japanese colonial policies as well as the identity complexity faced by those trained by the modern schooling system. Inspired by the findings from Komagome Takeshi's 1996 book *Shokuminchi teikoku Nihon no bunka tōgō* (Cultural Integration between the Colony and Japanese Empire), Chen Peifeng reassesses the impact of Japan's assimilation practices in Taiwan, with special emphasis on the role of Japanese-language education. Unlike Komagome, Chen highlights some Taiwanese people's ambivalence toward modern civilization represented by Japan instead of viewing assimilation in a totally negative light. For Chen, what distinguishes Japan's assimilation policies in Taiwan from other such policies, such as those implemented by France in Algeria, lies in Japan's great emphasis on the Japanese-language education based on Ueda Kazutoshi's (1867–1937) politicized ideas about language that viewed the Japanese language and Japanese national identity as inseparable.[20] In his recent research, Chen reiterates his concerns over the relationship between Japan's assimilation and language policies in Taiwan by detailing the transition from the *kun-yomi* Chinese used in Japan (*diguo hanwen*) to the Chinese used in Taiwan (*zhimindi hanwen*) via the "creolization" of the Chinese language.[21]

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[18] Zhou Wanyao, "'Shidai' gainian he riben zhimin tongzhi shiqi Taiwanshi de yanjiu (daixu)" (The Notion of "Generations" and Research on Taiwanese History under Japanese Colonial Rule (In Lieu of a Preface)). In Zhou's *Haixingxi de niandai—riben zhimin tongzhi moqi Taiwanshi lunji* (The Ocean-Going Era: Collection of Works on the History of the Final Stage of the Japanese Colonial Rule in Taiwan) (Taipei: Yunchen, 2003), p. (2).

[19] For Liu, the Chinese-language writing of the 1930s was produced chiefly by the "grandfather's generation" and "father's generation." See Liu Shuqin, "Chuantong wenren jiqi yansheng shidai: Taiwan hanwen tongsu wenyi de fazhan yu yanyi (1930–1941)" (Traditional Scholar and Their Derivative Generations: The Development and Difference of Han Language Light Literature in Taiwan (1930–1941)), *Taiwan Historical Research* 14.2 (June 2007): 41–88.

Chen Wensong, too, pays attention to the colonial education in Taiwan. He traces the emergence of Taiwan's "youths" from the modern education system and their varied responses to the colonial system.[22] These studies have served as a useful background for understanding the intricate literary field and linguistic context of colonial Taiwan. In addition to the classification of generational cohorts and research on Japan's policies surrounding language and education, research in Chinese on certain literary societies, popular tabloids and their readership,[23] and female authors' works have also yielded fruitful results.[24]

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[20] In fact, at the earliest stage of Japanese rule in Taiwan, Izawa Shūji, who harbored an idealistic notion of linguistic nationalism, devised Taiwan's Japanese-language education curriculum pretty much in line with Ueda's view. For Chen's discussion of this matter, see "Chongxin jiexi zhimindi Taiwan de guoyu "tonghua" jiaoyu zhengce—yi Riben de jindai sixiangshi wei zuobiao" (Re-analyzing Taiwan's National Language "Assimilation" Education Policy—Using the History of Modern Japanese Thought as a Focal Point), http://www.cc.ncu.edu.tw/~csa/oldjournal/25/journal_park166.htm#b2 and *"Tonghua" no tongchuang yimen: rizhi shiqi taiwan de yuyan zhengce, jindaihua yu rentong* (The Different Intentions behind the Semblance of "Dōka": The Language Policy, Modernization and Identity in Taiwan during the Japan-ruling Period) (Taipei: Maitian, 2006).

[21] Chen points out that the Chinese used in Taiwan at that time contained four different variants of Chinese—classic Chinese, Taiwan-ized Chinese, Japan-ized Chinese, and the Chinese invented by the Japanese. See Chen Peifeng, *Xiangxiang he jiexian: Taiwan yuyan wenti de hunsheng* (Imagination and Boundary: The Creolization of the Taiwanese Language) (Taipei: Qunxue, 2013). Chuang Yiwen points out that the resistance potential of the Chinese used in Taiwan should not be overlooked, even though Chen Peifeng concludes that the Japanese language won in the ongoing linguistic competition in the end. See Chuang's "An Inquiry into Taiwan Classical Literature during Japanese Colonial Period based on the Concepts of Colonial Hanwen and Sinophone Literature (1895–1945)," *Chung-wai Literary Monthly* 44.1 (March 2015): 105–30.

[22] Chen Wensong's "youths" are equivalent to Zhou Wanyao's "post-1895 generation," and close to the "father's generation" in Liu's classification. See Chen Wensong, *Zhimin tongzhi yu "qingnian": Taiwan zongdufu de "qingnian" jiaohua zhengce* (Colonial Rule and the "Youths": Taiwan Government-General's Policies of "Youths" Cultivation) (Taipei: National Taiwan University Press, 2015).

Despite its multi-layered colonial history,[25] colonial Taiwan became a subject of study in English scholarship approximately around the mid-1990s. There are two reasons for this belated attention. One is that mainstream Western research tends to concentrate mostly on British or French colonial practices.[26] The other is that Taiwan, particularly its literary studies, is often overshadowed by the study of the Japanese empire or by "Chinese studies" and thus deemed a peripheral subfield.[27] Early scholarship on the island's Japanese colonial period is principally sociological and historical.[28] At least five book-length studies relating to Taiwanese literature under Japanese rule have been published so far: They are, in chronological order, Faye Yuan Kleeman's *Under an Imperial Sun*, Karen Laura Thornber's *Empire of Texts in Motion*, Kimberly Kono's *Romance, Family, and Nation in Japanese Colonial Literature*, Ying Xiong's *Representing Empire: Japanese Colonial Literature in Taiwan and Manchuria*, and Bert Scruggs' *Translingual Narration: Colonial and Postcolonial Taiwanese Fiction and Film*.[29]

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[23] Scholarly works by Huang Mei-e and Liu Shuqin are concerned with literary societies. Huang discusses the interaction between Japanese officials in Taiwan and Taiwanese writers through various Chinese poetry societies. See her *Gudian Taiwan: wenxueshi, shishe, zuuojia lun* (Classic Taiwan: Literary History, Poetry Societies, and Writers) (Taipei: National Institute for Compilation and Translation, 2007). Liu's research focuses on the leading members (mainly Wang Baiyuan, Wu Kunhuang, and Zhang Wenhuan) of *Formosa*, Taiwan's first Japanese-language belletristic journal. See Liu Shuqin, *Jingji zhi dao: Taiwan lüri qingnian de wenxue huodong yu wenhua kangzheng* (Passages of Thorns—Literary Activities and Cultural Resistance of Taiwanese Youths Sojourning in Japan) (Taipei: Lianjing, 2009). For studies on popular journals, see Liu Shuqin, "Tongsu zuowei yizhong weizhi: sanliujiu xiaobao yu 1930 niandai Taiwan de dushu shichang (Deploying Popular Literature in 1930s Taiwan: The Relationship between *San Liou Chiou Tabloid* and Taiwan's Reading Market in the 1930s), *Chung-wai Literary Monthly* 33.7 (December 2004): 19–55; Mao Wenfang, "Qingyu, suosui yu huixie—sanliujiu xiaobao de shuxie shijie (Eroticism, Trifles, and Humor: Visions of the *San Liou Jiou Tabloid*), *Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History* 46 (December 2004): 159–222; Pei-yin Lin, "Envisioning the Reading Public: Profit Motives of a Chinese-Language Tabloid in Wartime Taiwan," in *Print, Profit, and Perception: Ideas, Information and Knowledge in Chinese Societies, 1895–1949* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), pp. 188–215.

[24] For a general overview on women authors' works, see Lü Mingchun, *Paihuai yu siyu yu zhixu zhijian: riju shiqi Taiwan xin wenxue nüxing chuangzuo yanjiu* (Wandering between Private Talks and Order: A Study on the Women Writers' Works of Taiwanese New Literature from the Japanese Occupation Period) (Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 2007). Lü divides the women writers' works into three major modes—a realist one on small matters, a lyrical one stressing female subjectivity, and a critical-realist one containing gender awareness. For studies on single authors, see Anne Sokolsky's "Yang Qianhe and Huang Fengzi: Two Voices of Colonial Taiwan," *Japan Studies Association Journal* 8 (December 2010): 239–26. Wu Peizhen's *Zhenshan Jingzhi yu zhimindi Taiwan* (Masugi Shizue and Colonial Taiwan) (Taipei: Lianjing, 2013) offers a detailed analysis on works by the "Taiwan-born" (*wansheng*) author Masugi Shizue.

[25] Many scholars now agree that Taiwan has undergone six "colonial" periods—the Dutch colonization (1624–1662) in Southern Taiwan, the Spanish occupation (1626–1641) in Northern Taiwan, the Ming-Zheng period (1661–1683), the Qing rule (1683–1895), the Japanese colonization (1895–1945), and the KMT rule (1949–2000). Despite the democracy enjoyed by the Taiwanese people today, the "colonial" period (the Han people's rule) continues to be seen from the aborigines' perspective.

Kleeman traces the genealogy of the Japanese colonizers' imagination of the "South" (*nanpō*), contrasting the writing between expatriate Japanese writers in Taiwan and Taiwan's nativist authors. In addition, she points out the diversity of Taiwanese writers, ranging from "'nationalists' who stressed cultural ties to China, 'nativist[s]' who advocated a distinct Taiwanese identity," and "'imperial subject' writers who sought to assimilate to Japanese civilization,"[30] inviting readers to consider the cultural and political conditions in which some controversial works were written. Thornber expands Kleeman's focus on Japanese-language works, proposing the concept of "literary contact nebulae" to examine the complex and ambiguous intra-East Asian literary encounters between China, Japan, Korea, and Taiwan. By highlighting the uneven relations embedded in Chinese, Korean, and Taiwanese authors' emulation of Japanese texts, Thornber endows those "emulated" works with the potential of resistance against the metropole (Japanese) literature. Her case studies also show that the artistic contact nebulae already existed long before the top-down wartime strategic deployment of "Greater East Asian Literature."

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[26] One of the few exceptions is Tonio Andrade's *How Taiwan Became Chinese* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).

[27] Shu-mei Shih and Sheng-mei Ma have tried to redress this by calling for Taiwan's importance. See Shih's "Globalisation and the (In)Significance of Taiwan," *Postcolonial Studies* 6(2) (2003): 143–53 and Ma's "Introduction," *The Last Isle: Contemporary Film, Culture and Trauma in Global Taiwan* (London and New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), pp. 1–8.

[28] Ka Chih-ming's *Japanese Colonialism in Taiwan, Land Tenure, Development and Dependency in Colonial Taiwan, 1895–1945* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995), and Lo Ming-cheng's *Doctors within Borders: Profession, Ethnicity, and Modernity in Colonial Taiwan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002) employ a sociological approach, in contrast to the historical approach of Takekoshi Yosaburō's *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, translated by George Braithwaite (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1907), Leo Ching's *Becoming "Japanese": Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), Paul Katz's *When Valleys Turned Blood Red: The Ta-pa-ni Incident in Colonial Taiwan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), Michael Shiyung Liu's *Prescribing Colonization: The Role of Medical Practices and Policies in Japan-ruled Taiwan 1895–1945* (Ann Arbor: Association for Asian Studies, 2009), and *Taiwan in Japan's Empire-Building: An Institutional Approach to Colonial Engineering* (London: Routledge, 2009). The interdisciplinary volume *Taiwan under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1895–1945: History, Culture, Memory*, edited by Liao Ping-hui and David Der-wei Wang, can also be seen as an addition to the historical study of Taiwan's Japanese period.

[29] Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun* (Honolulu: Hawai'i University Press, 2003); Karen Laura Thornber, *Empire of Texts in Motion: Chinese, Korean, and Taiwanese Transculturations of Japanese Literature* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009); Kimberly Kono, *Romance, Family, and Nation in Japanese Colonial Literature* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010); Xiong Ying, *Representing Empire: Japanese Colonial Literature in Taiwan and Manchuria* (Leiden: Brill, 2014); Bert Scruggs, *Translingual Narration: Colonial and Postcolonial Taiwanese Fiction and Film* (Honolulu: Hawai'i Press, 2015).

Kono's and Xiong's books continue the comparative perspective offered by Kleeman and Thornber. Kono examines the tropes of romance and family, and their relationship with Japan's colonial project, in the works of selected Japanese writers in Manchuria, Korea, and Taiwan. Likewise, Xiong focuses on Japanese authors' literary activities outside of the central colonial metropole. She dedicates her study to Nishikawa Mitsuru in Taiwan and Ōuchi Takao in Manchuria, analyzing how the two writers adjusted their standpoints and renegotiated their relationship with Japan and its greater empire while residing in the colonies. The latest addition to the field is Scruggs' book. It scrutinizes selected literary texts through the critical prisms of identity politics, class, and gender, employing ideas from translation and memory studies to look at Taiwan's colonial and postcolonial culture and literature. Scruggs places a relatively greater emphasis on Taiwan's literary subjectivity. This perspective will be further extended in this volume by presenting a multilayered literary historiography of colonial Taiwan, and by stressing Taiwan's uniqueness in triangulating the China-Japan-Taiwan dynamics. The six chapters below can be seen as three interlinking parts; each part discusses Taiwanese literature vis-à-vis the Chinese and Japanese cultural sources. The Lai He and Yang Kui pair illustrates how nationalist and socialist ideas are represented in Lai's Chinese (and occasionally Taiwanese) and Yang's Japanese creative works. The third and fourth chapters explore the various visions of modernity and literary innovations in the works of some of Taiwan's representative Chinese-language and Japanese-language writers. The last two chapters investigate the manifestations of the two extremes on the spectrum of Taiwanese identity—becoming

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[30] See Kleeman's book in fn. 29, p. 175.

Japanese and considering China the (imagined) fatherland. To redress the gap of previous scholarship, which tackles Japanese writers exclusively, this book is primarily concerned with Taiwanese writers and their works. This is not to propose an essentialized "colonized perspective," despite its validity, so as to challenge the Japan-centric or empire-oriented cultural and interpretative hegemony.[31] What I seek to do can be understood as "provincializing Taiwan,"[32] which means highlighting Taiwan's local literary knowledge to supplement existing scholarship concerning the Japanese empire specifically and (post)colonial literary studies generally.

Trained largely in Japanese or comparative studies, several aforementioned scholars' reappraisal of Taiwan's colonial literature falls into a comparative and transnational approach. This approach is indispensible in helping us compare and contrast literary and cultural activities across the empire, but it is inadequate to explain their intricate development within the colonies. Focusing on Japanese knowledge as the common ground for intra-East Asian literary encounters also risks privileging the empire as the "center" of all cultural inspiration.[33] Taiwanese writers' agency, in this case, is liable to be discounted, and they risk being portrayed as the indebted receivers of Japanese artistic skills, or insecure novices eager to win the recognition of the "center."[34] As such, non-Japanese works become undervalued and Taiwanese authors' pursuit of literary subjectivity is not given full consideration. The longtime absence of Chinese-language works from colonial Taiwan in English scholarship is not simply a coincidence. It indicates those texts' being overshadowed by modern Chinese literature from China, and their ill-fitted status under the framework of the Japanophone sphere across the Japanese empire as well. This book redresses these pitfalls by shifting its focus from the empire to the colony, including Chinese texts, and rejecting the assumption that works from colonial Taiwan are a monolithic anti-colonial literature. It views Taiwan literature as a dynamic field shaped primarily but not exclusively by the Japanese empire, Taiwan's local context, and Chinese intellectual and cultural sources.

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[31] The first book that sets the trend of Japanese empire studies in English scholarship is the essay collection *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895–1945*, eds. Ramon H. Myers and Mark. R. Peattie (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984).

[32] Here I borrow from the term "provincializing Europe," proposed by Dipesh Chakrabarty in his acclaimed book *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).

[33] Raewyn Connell's argument that knowledge production in social sciences is reductively "Northern" is quite relevant, as the Northern/Southern inequality raised in her book *Southern Theory: The Global Dynamics of Knowledge in Social Sciences* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007) can be replaced with the colonizer/colonized inequality in knowledge production, and recognizing the dynamism and difference of the "Southern" (or the "periphery") is indeed necessary.

[34] I am aware that Taiwan's aborigines are by default more adequate to be called as "native Taiwanese" than those "native" Han Taiwanese authors I refer to here. But it is beyond my ability to include their rich oral literature in this book. As my main concern is the literature by Han Taiwanese authors, works by Japanese authors (no matter whether they had experience in Taiwan and regardless of the language and form in which they wrote) are not included either, even though these works can be considered "Taiwan literature" in a broad sense.

Rather than categorizing it under a monolingual Chinese or Japanese literary tradition, I regard Taiwan's colonial literature as a fruitful branch of world literature that has its own subjectivity, even though the efforts to create a national literature remained incomplete under Japanese rule.[35] Indeed, the common themes tackled by Taiwanese writers (such as anti-colonial resistance, dilemmas about colonial modernity, left-leaning humanitarian tendencies, identity crisis and so on) offer a valuable case study that complements literature in other traditions. For example, the modernist literature in 1930s Taiwan makes a great comparative study with similar modes employed by writers elsewhere.[36] Both Lai He and Yang Chichang (1908–1994) were inspired by French literature, whereas Yang Kui's socialist ideas contained inspirations from his beloved Russian realist literature, Karl Marx's magnum opus *Das Kapital* (Capital), and Japan's proletariat movements. Wang Baiyuan (1902–1965) extended his literary tentacle to Tagore's poetry, Liao Yuwen (1912–1980) quoted Germany's notions of pastoral literature to question Huang Shihui's (1900–1945) class-centric proposal of Taiwan's nativist literature,[37] and intellectuals such as Lian Wenqing (1894–1957), Cai Peihuo (1889–1983), and Lin Xiantang (1881–1956) continued to ponder Taiwan's status with their globally-minded writings.[38] These cases give prominence to the vibrant relationship between

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[35] There are other sources of inspirations. For instance, Taiwan's communists Xie Xuehong and Lin Mushun studied in Russia, and both Chen Xin and Huang Chaoqin studied in America after studying in Japan.

[36] Peng Hsiao-yen's *Dandyism and Transcultural Modernity: The Dandy, the Flâneur, and the Translator in 1930s Shanghai, Tokyo, and Paris*, which discusses Liu Na'ou in a global traveling genre of Neo-Sensation mode, offers a good example.

[37] Yuwen, "Gei Huang Shihui xiansheng—xiangtu wenxue de yinwei" (To Mr. Huang Shihui—An Investigation of Nativist Literature), in *1930 niandai Taiwan xiangtu wenxue lunzhan ziliao huibian* (A Collection of Materials on the Taiwanese Nativist Literary Debate in the 1930s), ed. Nakajima Toshio (Kaohsiung: Chunhui, 2003), pp. 65–66.

[38] It is worth noting that Lian not only attached great importance to the Taiwanese language, but also played a leading role in promoting the international auxiliary language, Esperanto, in Taiwan. He was a key figure in the editorial team of the Taiwan Esperanto Association's official publication *La Verda Ombro*, considering Esperanto as a means to

colonial Taiwan's cultural and literary production and its contemporaneous global trends, attesting to Taiwan literature as part of world literature rather than a segment of Japanophone or Sinophone literature per se. Taiwan's both Western and non-Western colonial experience further makes the island's history naturally intertwine with world history and more specifically with East Asian history.

Taiwan's non-Western colonial experience opens up great possibilities for comparative studies with other locales that have undergone Japanese rule, whereas its tangled trilateral relationship with Japan and China continues to remind us of the limit of the simplified traitor-collaborator classification and the dualistic perspective of the "colonial Manichean," to use Fanon's terms.[39] In view of the chaotic socio-historical background and the complexity of literary production during Taiwan's colonial period, in this book I try to draw out some important trends and patterns in the kaleidoscopic and multifaceted developmental trajectory of Taiwan's modern literature. Rather than treating literary works as a mirror reflecting social reality at that time, I aim to focus on literary analysis but shall contextualize my reading of individual authors and texts. Although the field of Taiwan's colonial literature consists of writers from various groups, and although there were intimate exchanges between Taiwanese authors with other groups such as Japanese authors in Taiwan and Korean authors, I am primarily concerned with works by Taiwanese authors in order to better comprehend their overall literary activities and involvements as a unique social group. The texts to be discussed in this book chiefly consist of short stories and novels. This is partly because of the high quality fiction writing that had been obtained during the colonial period, partly because fiction is an appropriate genre that can capture the Taiwanese zeitgeist and its writers' literary and ideological pursuits from the 1920s to the 1940s. I include texts written in both Chinese and Japanese, so as to present the multilingual writing available during that period and to illustrate the shift from vernacular Chinese to Japanese (as a dominant writing language) in colonial Taiwan.

Concentrating on new Taiwanese literature does not mean Taiwan's literary modernity began in the 1920s when certain authors started to experiment with

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transcend racial and class differences and promote world peace. Likewise, Cai Peihuo promoted Romanization with a hope to facilitate intra-East Asian cultural contacts. Lin Xiantang's *Huanqiu youji* (Global Travels) (Taipei: Tianxia, 2015) places Taiwan vis-à-vis Europe and America, illustrating the reflective worldview of Taiwanese elites under Japanese rule.

[39] In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon regards the colonial society as a Manichean one constructed on the basis of binary opposition such as the one between the "niggers" and the white people.

writing in vernacular (hybrid) Chinese, nor does it mean colonialism and modernity were reflected in vernacular works only. Quite the opposite, pre-1920 quasi-vernacular works as well as classical Chinese poems produced throughout the fifty-year period of colonial rule have demonstrated traits of literary modernity. A separate book-length study would be needed to fully explore the rich lyrical and semi-vernacular works from colonial Taiwan. It is also worth noting the emergence of women writers in the mid 1930s and their "gendered" contribution to the male-dominated Taiwanese new literature.[40] The absence of women writers in this book is mainly a result of their limited number, not the quality of their publications. To underscore how authors of colonial Taiwan responded to the changing social conditions throughout different phases of Japanese colonialism, this book adopts a natural chronological structure. For each stage in the development of Taiwan's modern literature from the 1920s to the wartime period, I demonstrate some important trends and major changes in Taiwan's literary field, and then analyze the works by those authors whose works, in my view, can best illustrate the tendencies and challenges of colonial Taiwan's literary production. The selection of authors and texts is by no means intended to be fully objective or impartial. Instead, it is merely one of the many possible versions of mapping Taiwan's literary history under Japanese rule, and I certainly do not claim my version to be more accurate or valid than other accounts of colonial Taiwan's literary historiography. I am aware that my "sampling" is bound by various considerations,[41] and it is inevitable that some important authors are only briefly mentioned or left out. But still, it aims to showcase the richness and intricacy of Taiwanese literature during the second half of Japanese colonial rule, particularly the chosen authors' stylistic re-orientation and their varied responses to the sociopolitical environment.

Relocating New Taiwanese Literature

The Sprouting Period: 1920–1930/1931

During the first two decades of Japanese rule in Taiwan, armed anti-Japanese movements were continuous. After numerous failures, Taiwanese intellectuals recognized their anticolonial goal could not succeed through armed struggle alone but needed to be in tune with enlightening and remodeling people's thought. With enthusiasm for social reform, together with inspiration from China's May Fourth Movement and the concurrent spread of nationalist and democratic ideas across the world, the bilingual magazine *Taiwan qingnian* (Taiwan Youth)[42] was launched in Tokyo in 1920 by members of the *Xinminhui* (Association for Renovating the People).[43] Although its establishment was relatively late compared to the literary activities of Japanese people in Taiwan, *Taiwan Youth* played a fairly important role in the intellectual-led cultural enlightenment movements in the 1920s.[44] In its launch issue, there was a distinct call for those youth, mainly Taiwanese students in Japan, to catch up with international trends and strive for the development of Taiwan's culture.[45] Wang Minchuan (1889–1942) pointed out the significance of culture, whereas Chen Xin (1893–1947) stressed the relationship between great nations and "healthy" literature and literature's responsibility to enlighten culture and promote the prosperity of the nation.[46] Chen further wished that Taiwanese literature could reach consistency between spoken and written language, preempting the call for a later literary reform. Clearly, "literature" was not seen just as a pursuit of literary finesse or the reservoir of cultural achievement. It became more a means to foster those elite intellectuals' acceptance of a series of new concepts and demand for social reform.

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[40] In fact, Taiwanese females were involved in both classical Chinese and vernacular writing (the works were often in Japanese). For the former, Shi Zhongying and Cai Biyin were representative female poets. For the latter, renowned authors include Zhang Biyuan, Huang Baotao, Ye Tao, Yang Qianhe, Gu Yan Bixia, and Huang Fengzi.

[41] One of the considerations, for instance, is the availability of primary sources. Lü Heruo was chosen to a large extent is because of the accessibility of Lü's diary.

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[42] In April 1922, it became the magazine of the Taiwanese Cultural Association and was renamed *Taiwan*. It was later renamed *Taiwan minbao* (Taiwan People's News) in April 1923. However, before the launching of the journal *Taiwan Youth*, the Zhanghua-based literary society *Chongwenshe* (Society for Advocating Literature) had already used term "Taiwan Youth" when soliciting articles under the theme "Taiwan qingmian zijue lun" (On the Self-awareness of Taiwan Youth) on April 26, 1919. The eight best-ranked articles were later published in *Taiwan nichi nichi shimpō* from late April to early June of that year. Those articles show the writers' self-assigned roles including facilitating Japan's assimilation policy and cultivating their knowledge.

[43] An organization set up in Tokyo by Cai Huiru and other Taiwanese students. In addition to the notion of enlightening and renovating people, *xinmin* also implies *qinmin*, meaning "to be with people" or "to promote democracy."

[44] In colonial Taiwan, the earliest magazine can be traced back to *Taiwan mezamashi* (Taiwan Awakening) founded in April 1899. It aimed to provide social commentaries and was suspended in November of the same year.

[45] For example, see Lin Chenglu's "Shin jidai ni shosuru Taiwan seinen no satoru" (The Awareness of Taiwanese Youth in Dealing with the New Era), *Taiwan Youth* 1.1: 35–36.

[46] See the Chinese part of *Taiwan Youth* 1.1: 40–41 (for Wang's essay) and 41–42 (for Chen's essay).

Expectedly, some of the notions put forward by those elites could jeopardize the stability of Japanese rule in Taiwan. Soon after the publication of the first edition of *Taiwan Youth*, an article introducing the journal published in *Taiwan nichi nichi shimpō*, an official newspaper of the Japanese colonizer, raised concerns. It expressed appreciation for *Taiwan Youth*'s founding goal—to elevate Taiwan's cultural level—but hoped that the journal would "differ from those journals which merely instigated people, and would not follow the reckless Chinese overseas students."[47] This article, with reference drawn from the Chinese case, already revealed worries that the enlightenment strategy could eventually lead to radical social movements. In October 1921, Jiang Weishui (1891–1931) founded the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* (Taiwanese Cultural Association), aiming to promote Taiwanese culture.[48] However, about two months later, the Taiwanese Government-General began to frown on this emerging wave of cultural enlightenment. Den Kenjirō (1855–1930), the governor-general at that time, expressed that *Taiwan Youth*, as an overseas Taiwanese journal, brought nothing but harm to Taiwan.[49] He further banned its publication in Taiwan. Den Kenjirō's act signifies the vital role overseas Taiwanese students played in initiating a culture-centered strategy aiming to propagate new ideas to the colony.[50] It also corroborates the intertwined relationship between this continued trend of cultural enlightenment and national movements.

As a practicing physician, the ambition of Taiwanese Cultural Association's founder Jiang Weishui, of treating Taiwanese people's "intellectual malnourishment," was clearly revealed in his essay "Linchuang jiangyi: Wei mingjiao Taiwan de bingren erxie" (Clinical Diagnosis for a Patient Named Taiwan).[51] While Jiang's prescription was "maximum dose of education," others, such as Lin Zijin (1878–1956), in the Association's newsletter, suggested melding Western culture, Chinese culture, and Japanese culture into a new Taiwanese culture. Lin also addressed issues concerning the relationship between culture and literature, calling for a popularization of literature by replacing classical language with the vernacular.[52] The call for linguistic reform continued to be a major concern for local Taiwanese intellectuals. In 1922, Gan Wenfang (1901–1986) concurred with Chen Xin and Lin Zijin by underscoring the urgent need for a literature that could reflect social problems. Gan went on to criticize the "backwardness" of classical Chinese, offering to use vernacular to popularize a new culture.[53] A few months later, Chen Duanming reiterated Gan's reformist idea.[54]

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[47] "Xinkan shaojie" (Introducing a New Journal), *Taiwan nichi nichi shimpō*, no. 7236 (August 1, 1920).

[48] The Association was dominated by Taiwanese elite. According to Lin Bowei, 75% of the members were landlords, doctors, and cultural workers. This seemed to foreshadow its ideological split in 1927. See Lin Bowei's *Taiwan wenhua xiehui cangsang* (The Stormy History of the Taiwanese Cultural Association) (Taipei: Taiyuan, 1993) for details.

[49] *Taiwan nichi nichi shimpō*, no. 7730 (December 8, 1921).

[50] Indeed, many of the earlier promoters of cultural enlightenment studied in Japan. For instance, Wang Minchuan studied at Waseda University, whereas Chen Xin obtained his bachelor degree from Keio University and Ph.D. from Columbia University.

[51] See its Chinese translation in *Jiang Weishui liuzhenji* (The True Picture of Jiang Weishui) edited by Jiang Chaogen (Taipei: Taipei wenxianhui, 2006), p. 47.

Other literary theorists soon adopted Chen Duanming's proposal. In 1923, Huang Chengcong (1886–1963) declared the significance of vernacular language in cultural popularization in his "Lun puji baihuawen de xinshiming" (On the New Mission of Popularizing the Vernacular Chinese).[55] Using examples drawn from Japan's Meiji Restoration and China's literary revolution, Huang Chengcong pointed out the relationship between a nation's strength and its degree of cultural modernization. For him, the Japanese education of Taiwanese people stopped after elementary school. This limited proficiency in Japanese stymied the Taiwanese people's cultural cultivation, thereby facilitating Japanese rule. Seen in this light, Huang Chengcong's espousal of vernacular Chinese contained a criticism of Japan's colonial language policy. Similar to Huang Chengcong, Huang Chaoqin (1897–1972) stated the necessity of adopting vernacular Chinese to popularize education in his "Hanwen gaige lun" (On the Reform of the Han Language).[56]

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[52] Quoted in Lin Ruiming's *Taiwan wenxue de lishi kaocha* (A Historical Investigation of Taiwanese Literature) (Taipei: Yunchen, 1996), pp. 10–11. The vernacularism in Taiwan's New Literature Movement was meant to promote the commonly spoken language or dialect of local Taiwanese people, while that in the May Fourth Movement in the mainland referred to the promotion of *baihua*, the vernacular Chinese.

[53] Gan Wenfang, "Jisshakai to bungaku" (Real World and Literature), *Taiwan Youth* 3.3 (September 15, 1921), the Japanese part: 33–35.

[54] Chen Duanming, "Riyongwen guchui lun" (On Promoting Daily Spoken Language), *Taiwan Youth* 3.6 (December 15, 1921), the Chinese part: 31–34. As the issue was banned, Chen's article was republished in *Taiwan Youth* 4.1 (January 20, 1922), the Chinese part: 25–27. The article promoting vernacular literature was composed in classical Chinese, demonstrating the linguistic transition at that time.

[55] *Taiwan*, the 4th year, no. 1 (January 1923), compiled in *Rijuxia Taiwan xin wenxue mingji wu: Wenxian ziliao xuanji* (Taiwanese New Literature during the Japanese Occupation, Volume 5: Collection of Archival Materials), ed. Li Nanheng (Taizhong: Mingtan, 1979), pp. 6–19.

[56] *Taiwan*, the 4th year, nos. 1 (January 1923) & 2 (February 1923, part II of the article). See Li Nanheng's edited volume in fn. 55, pp. 20–35.

In addition to hoping to popularize literature, Huang Chaoqin linked his understanding of language with Taiwan's cultural subjectivity, even though his promotion of Chinese was also pragmatic.[57] For him, were the Chinese language to be abolished, Taiwan's national character would be lost as well. He noted that the British did not force their colonial subjects to learn English. Likewise, the Japanese should respect the language of the Taiwanese people because, after all, Taiwan belonged to the Taiwanese. Evidently, the promotion of the Chinese vernacular was, at that time, seen as an integral part of constructing a Taiwanese identity. Through the medium of vernacular Chinese, those supporters anticipated that Taiwanese people would "lead the same life as people around the world," and Taiwan could become an integral part of "world culture."[58] In other words, what lurked behind the language proposals was a commonly shared evolutionary view in which Taiwan had yet to "catch up" with the world and to "progress" to a "modern" society. Based on this view, the non-vernacular literature was seen as an antithesis of not only this "literary evolution," but also of Taiwanese elites' vision of Taiwan as a "modern" community.

It did not take long for vernacular Chinese writing to gain momentum in Taiwan's literary field, although classical poetry writing continued to be practiced.[59] In 1923, the launch edition of *Taiwan minbao* (Taiwan People's News) was written in the vernacular, instead of being bilingual (classical Chinese and Japanese) like *Taiwan Youth* and *Taiwan*, the precursors of this journal. Continuing this trend, Zhang Wojun (1902–1955) introduced Hu Shi's (1891–1962) and Chen Duxiu's (1879–1942) literary reform ideas to Taiwan in 1924, promoting the May Fourth model to guide the future direction of Taiwanese new literature. Zhang announced that Taiwanese literature was a tributary of Chinese literature, suggesting the reform of Taiwanese by replacing it with vernacular Chinese.[60] In his "Zaogao de Taiwan wenxuejie" (The Awful Literary Scene of Taiwan), Zhang referred to the literary scene of Europe since the Renaissance, Japan's literary reform after the Meiji Restoration, and China's modern literature, concluding that the establishment of world literature would take place soon.[61]

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[57] Ibid. Huang Chaoqin recognized the importance of Chinese as an official language for business. Hence, he considered learning China's Chinese to be indispensable.

[58] Same as fn. 55 , p. 33.

[59] This was partially because of the governor-general's promotion of classical Chinese poetry writing as a strategy to win support from the local gentry. Although some poetry societies were established with an aim of preserving Han Chinese culture, some members in the end became increasingly Japan-leaning, and some societies turned out to be overly entertainment-oriented. Hence those members and societies became the subject of attack initiated by supporters of vernacular literature. See Huang's *Gudian Taiwan: Wenxueshi, shishe, zuojia lun* (Classic Taiwan: Literary History, Poetry Societies, and Writers) (Taipei: National Institute for Compilation and Translation, 2007), pp. 191, 197–98, and 209.

Clearly, for Zhang, Taiwanese literature should not be isolated from international literary trends, and, in order to be in sync with the world, such a "free and spontaneous" (*ziyou benfang*) literature that showed the author's philosophy of life and sincerity was necessary.[62] Yet Zhang's promotion of vernacular literature did not stay on a theoretical level per se; he practiced it in his creative writing. His "Luandu zhilian" (Love in a Turbulent City, 1925) marked the first collection of vernacular Chinese poetry in Taiwan's literary history.[63] The first half of the work was published in the extremely short-lived journal *Renren* (Everyone), launched by Yang Yunping (1906–2000).[64] The debate over old and new literature, which became polemical after Zhang Wojun published his criticism of the old-form Chinese lyrical writing, was originally more concerned with poetry. Yet it soon extended to the genre of fiction. With the publication of works by Lu Xun, Guo Moruo, and Hu Shi in *Taiwan People's News*, Taiwanese writers had examples to follow and learn from.[65] Experimental short stories in vernacular Chinese such as Yang Yunping's "Yuexia" (Under the

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[60] Zhang Wojun, "Zhi Taiwan qingnian de yifeng xin" (A Letter to the Youth of Taiwan). *Taiwan minbao* (Taiwan People's News) 2.7 (April 21, 1924): 10. The English translation is compiled in *The Columbia Sourcebook of Literary Taiwan*, eds. Sung-sheng Yvonne Chang, Michelle Yeh, and Ming-ju Fan (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), pp. 50–51.

[61] Yi Lang [Zhang Wojun], "Zaogao de Taiwan wenxuejie" (The Awful Literary Scene of Taiwan). *Taiwan minbao* 2.24 (November 21, 1924): 6–7. See *The Columbia Sourcebook of Literary Taiwan*, pp. 51–54, for the English translation.

[62] Zhang Wojun, "Juewujinyou de jiboyin de yiyi" (The Meaning of the Rare Bowl-knocking Recitation), *Taiwan minbao* 3.2 (January 11, 1925): 6–7.

[63] There were Japanese vernacular poems written by Taiwanese authors prior to Zhang's self-publication of *Love in a Turbulent City*. Zhui Feng's (Xie Chunmu) "Shi no mane suru" (The Imitation of Poetry), composed in May 1923 and published in *Taiwan* 5.1 (April 1924), is one example.

[64] The journal only published two issues (in March and April 1925). It is the first literary journal from Taiwan in vernacular Chinese. Yang's translation of Tagore's poem "O Woman" was published in the journal.

[65] *Taiwan People's News* remained an important channel for introducing Chinese writers' works into Taiwan in the late 1920s. The reprint of literary works from China was common from the mid-1920s to around 1930. In the 1930s, Taiwanese authors who wrote in Chinese gradually established their own styles. There was also the emergence of younger Taiwanese writers who wrote in Japanese.

Moon, 1924),[66] Lai He's "Dou naore" (Joining in the Fun, 1926),[67] and Zhang Wojun's "Mai caipiao" (Buying Lottery Tickets, 1926)[68] were published at this time.

Concurrent with this, Lian Heng (1878–1936) and Zheng Kunwu (1885–1959) tried to defend the significance of classical Chinese as the foundation of Taiwanese literature. The debate cooled down around early 1926; however, it resumed only a few months later. The main issue was the "old" literature practitioners' sycophantic attitude toward the Japanese authorities. Chen Xugu (1891–1965) was one of the major figures who started the debate. In many ways, the debate of new and old literature, or more precisely, the competition for the dominance in Taiwan's literary arena, did not disappear completely. Rather, it became entangled with other issues. For example, around 1930, with a focus on *Taiwan People's News*, the question of nativist literature was raised and led to a series of discussions surrounding the idea of *dazhong wenxue* (literature for the masses), which I will analyze later.[69]

Despite the overall positive reception of vernacular literature, the promoters' idea of unifying the spoken and written languages (*yanwen heyi*) was not easily applied to Taiwan, where the spoken language was mainly Taiwanese.[70] Thus, even though Zhang Wojun's suggestion to write Taiwanese expressions in Chinese characters could be considered "vernacular" and a temporary fix to the incompatibility between the Chinese and Taiwanese languages, it was not feasible to do this under the Japanese occupation. Complicating matters further, only a small number of intellectuals, such as those who studied in China, were capable of mastering vernacular Chinese. The limited usage of vernacular Chinese among the populace also frustrated the implementation of Zhang Wojun's suggestion. In view of this, Cai Peihuo began to propagate Romanized *peh-oe-ji* in the 1920s. Based on his learning experience, Cai was convinced that Romanized Taiwanese, apart from being easy to pick up, would facilitate Taiwanese people to learn Chinese and Japanese.[71]

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[66] *Yang Yunping, Zhang Wojun, Cai Qiutong heji* (A Collection of Works by Yang Yunping, Zhang Wojun and Cai Qiutong) (Taipei: Qianwei, 1991), ed. Zhang Henghao (Taipei: Qianwei, 1990), pp. 17–19.

[67] The title is a Taiwanese expression, equivalent to *dou renao* in Chinese. See *Lai He ji* (Collected Works of Lai He), ed. Zhang Henghao (Taipei: Qianwei, 1990), pp. 47–54.

[68] Ibid., pp. 85–96.

[69] The debate continued during the war. Liao Hanchen and Lin Jingnan, for instance, launched attacks on certain old-fashioned literati between 1941 and 1943.

[70] Before the May Fourth intellectuals' call for writing in vernacular language, the idea of unifying the spoken and written language was already being advocated in Japan. The term "*gembun 'itchi*" was coined by Kanda Kōhei in his 1885 lecture "Bunshōron o yomu" (On reading Bunshōron), a discussion of Nishimura Shigeki's "Bunshōron" (On Writing). The term was widely used in the Meiji era (1868–1912) to refer to the idea of developing a written language based on speech and the colloquial style of writing at that time. See Nanette Twine's *Language and the Modern State: The Reform of Written Japanese* (London: Routledge, 1991) and Tomi Suzuki's *Narrating the Self: Fictions of Japanese Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1997) for further details. In China, a similar idea was mentioned in one of Huang Zhunxian's poems composed in 1868, in which he put forward the idea "my hand writes what I say" (*woshou xie wokou*).

In the same year as Zhang's vernacular Chinese proposal, Lian Wenqing argued that Taiwan was an autonomous nation, so its language should be taken from the natives of the country in order to connect it more intimately to Taiwanese daily life.[72] Wang Shoulu condemned Taiwan's multi-lingual environment for complicating Taiwanese people's sense of identity and obstructing their cultural enlightenment and social development. He declared: "We islanders have three burdens—those of the Chinese language, the Taiwanese language, and the Japanese language. Therefore our cultural development has been delayed. If there were no national language (Japanese), and no Chinese, but only a Taiwanese language, then our development would be very rapid."[73]

This period, starting from the launch of *Taiwan Youth* in 1920 until 1925, can be considered the formative years in the theoretical development of new Taiwanese literature. During these few years, Taiwanese intellectuals were eager to lay a theoretical foundation for the future direction of Taiwanese new literature. Although the number of critical essays was greater than those of creative works, Xie Chunmu's (penname Zhui Feng, 1902–1969) Japanese-language novella "Kanojo wa doko e?" (Where Is She Going?), and Ou's Chinese-language work "Kepa de chenmo" (Terrifying Silence) were both published in 1922, ushering in the new Taiwanese literature.[74] It is important to note that socialist literary notions were already budding in the first half of the 1920s. Huang Chaoqin's identification of the proletariat as the main target of his goal of enlightenment, Gan Wenfang's Marxist elaboration on the relationship between literature and society, and the establishment of the Taiwanese Arts Association (*Taiwan yishu yanjiuhui*) are indicative of this.[75]

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[71] For more details on Cai's ideas on language, see Jing Tsu, *Sound and Script in Chinese Diaspora* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), ch. 6, and Ann Heylen, *Japanese Models, Chinese Culture and the Dilemma of Taiwanese Language Reform* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012).

[72] "Yuyan zhi shehui de xingzhi" (The Social Characteristic of Language), *Taiwan People's News* 2.19 (October 1, 1924) and "Jianglai zhi Taiwanhua" (Taiwanese Language in the Future), *Taiwan People's News* 2.20 & 2.21 (October 11 and 21, 1924).

[73] From the lecture "Wanguo Qingshi" (Foreign Affairs) in the summer seminar of August 1924. See *Taiwan shehui yundong shi* (History of Taiwan Social Movements), p. 276.

[74] It is worth noting, however, that Xie Xueyu's "Zhenzhong qiyuan" (An Unusual Romance in the Midst of War), a 1905 serialized work set in post-Revolutionary France, is considered the earliest Chinese-language "novel" written by a Taiwanese author. Xie Chunmu's work was published in *Taiwan*, nos.4–7 (July to October, 1922). Quoted in Ye Shitao's *Outline of Taiwanese Literary History*, p. 32. Ou's work was published in *Taiwan wenhua*

The sources of socialist thought for Taiwanese intellectuals in the 1920s were primarily from Japan and China. The former's flowering of liberalism, known as "Taishō Democracy," when overseas Taiwanese could get socialist books easily, and the latter's Kuomintang-Chinese Communist Party alliance of the 1925–27 period, which facilitated overseas students' political study groups, were both conducive to the spread of socialism among Taiwanese in both countries. This also foreshadowed a more substantial debate about audience (who is it for?) and literary form (in which language should it be written?) around the early 1930s. As several intellectuals during the early 1920s called for an anti-elitist and more accessible literature in which the laboring masses were the targeted audience, works published in the 1920s tended to describe the general living conditions of underprivileged people.

Writers at this stage usually adopted realism, hoping that the socially oppressed would become aware of their plight and fight for their future. Among the writers of this stage, Lai He, an author who was innovative in both literary forms and themes, was particularly noteworthy. He was one of the earliest authors who experimented with writing short stories in the vernacular Chinese and the Taiwanese languages. The subject matters he tackled, such as concern for the oppressed and the question of colonial modernity, were important and recurrent topics in Taiwanese literature under Japanese rule. Lai's "Joining in the Fun," for instance, starts with a depiction of the human world from an omniscient angle, then gradually zooms in to scenes of the street and finally to the people on the street. This logically layered opening is followed by his relatively objective and non-judgmental depiction of the people in the village, which made his work appear fairly "modern." His "Yigan 'chengzai'" (The "Steelyard," 1926), a tragic story about a poor farmer who kills a policeman who had bullied him and then commits suicide, is paradigmatic in its profound sympathy for the underdog in Taiwanese society.[76] Lai's humanitarian concerns and dissection of the unjust nature of colonial practice will be analyzed later.

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congshu (Compendium of Taiwanese Culture) 1 (April 6, 1922), issued by Taiwanese Cultural Association.

[75] This Association, founded by Zhang Weixian and his proletariat friends, is Taiwan's earliest literary society stressing proletariat literature.

[76] *Lai He ji*, pp. 55–65.

After the publication of "The 'Steelyard'," there appeared several works criticizing the nasty behavior of Japanese policemen, such as Chen Xugu's "Ta facai le" (He Has Become Rich, 1928) and "Wuchu shenyuan" (No Justice, 1928), which deal with avaricious dishonesty of the police and with lascivious behavior respectively. Yang Yunping's "Guanglin" (Welcome, 1926) has a slight twist by focusing on how a Taiwanese village leader (*baozheng*) tries to please the Japanese. Apart from ridiculing the Japanese (and Taiwanese) police officers, concern for women and laborers were common. Yang Yunping's "Qiuju de bansheng" (The Half-Life of Qiuju, 1928), a female servant's account of being sexually assaulted, exemplifies the former, while Yang Shouyu's (1905–1959) "Xiongnian bumianyu siwang" (The Inevitable Death in a Bad Year, 1929), capturing the misery of farmers caught between natural and man-made disasters, represents the latter. Several of those writers chose to compose in vernacular Chinese, although they had a high level of Japanese proficiency.[77]

Concurrent with several farmers' and labors' movements around the mid-1920s as well as the establishment of the Taiwanese Communist Party in 1927, the Taiwanese Cultural Association turned left. In 1929, *Senki* (Battle Flag), the official journal of the pro-Communist All-Japan Proletarian Artistic League, was introduced to Taiwan. With the increasing social movements in the late 1920s, there appeared a need for journals that could serve a role in disseminating socialist ideas. Hence, several left-leaning journals became available, providing a possibility for the convergence between literary notions and socialist ideology.

Unfortunately, the outbreak of the Mukden Incident, a staged event engineered by Japanese militarists for the pretext of invading Manchuria, led to the Japanese colonizers' suppression of leftwing movements. Many focused their energy on the popularization of literature. Concerning this, Huang Shihui, in his 1930 article "Zenyang bu tichang Taiwan xiangtu wenxue?" (Why Not Advocate Taiwanese Nativist Literature?),[78] proposed two methods. Thematically, Huang urged the authors to write about the lives of ordinary Taiwanese people and the social/historical reality in which they lived. Formally, Huang posited that writers should compose their works in the Taiwanese language. Huang's article later attracted various responses. Guo Qiusheng was one of Huang's advocates who elaborated upon Huang's idea of writing in the Taiwanese language substantially and triggered further debate amongst the critics on the issue surrounding Taiwanese vernacular writing.

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[77] Yang Shouyu was one of Taiwan's most productive Chinese-language authors under Japanese rule, and Yang Yunping published a poetry collection in Japanese entitled *Sanga* (Mountains and Rivers) in 1943 and was involved in Chinese-Japanese translation in the late years of Japanese colonialism in Taiwan even though he was known for his vernacular Chinese stories.

[78] Originally published in *Wuren bao* (Five People's News), 9–11, reprinted in Nakajima Toshio's edited book in fn. 37, pp. 1–6.

The Mature Period: 1930/1931–1937

The discussion on the form and language of Taiwanese (nativist) literature around the early 1930s ushered in the extremely dynamic and diverse second phase of new Taiwanese literature—the mature period (1930/31–1937). Apart from Guo Qiusheng's promotion of writing literature in Taiwanese, several opinions were put forward regarding in what medium the nativist literature advocated by Huang Shihui should be written. Liao Hanchen (1912–1980),[79] Lin Kefu (1907-?),[80] and Zhu Dianren (1903–1951)[81] all expressed concern about the lack of a common system if everyone wrote in his or her own local language, since the dialects of the Taiwanese language vary and there are other dialects such as Hakka. Hence, they suggested *quhua jiuwen* (giving up the spoken language and following the written language), advising writers to adopt vernacular Chinese. However, those such as Guo Qiusheng (1904–1980) proposed *quwen jiuhua* (giving up the written language and following the spoken language). Guo in fact offered a concrete proposal on how to establish a Taiwanese language in his "Jianshe 'Taiwan huawen' yi ti'an" (A Proposal on the Construction of "Taiwanese Vernacular Writing"), which tackled the conundrum of writing in the Taiwanese language caused by the lack of characters for Taiwanese expressions.[82] Overall, those in favor of writing in the Taiwanese language shared the following thoughts: literature should aim for the broad masses of the people, tackle Taiwan's social reality, unify the spoken and written languages, and strive to establish a proto-national literature.

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[79] "Gei Huang Shihui xiansheng—xiangtu wenxue de yinwei" (To Mr. Huang Shihui—The Recitation of Nativist Literature). Originally published in *Zhaohe xinbao* (New Shōwa News) 140 & 141 (August 1 & 8, 1931). See Nakajima Toshio's edited book in fn. 37, pp. 65–68.

[80] "'Xiangtu wenxue' de jiantao—du Huang Shihui jun de gaolun" (An Examination of "Nativist Literature"—In Response to Huang Shihui). Originally published in *Taiwan xinminbao* (Taiwan New People's News) 377 (August 15, 1931). See Nakajima Toshio's edited book in fn. 37, pp. 75–79.

[81] "Jian yi jian 'xiangtu wenxue'" (Examining "Nativist Literature"). Originally published in *New Shōwa News* on August 29, 1931 in three installments. See Nakajima Toshio's edited book in fn. 37, pp. 85–89.

[82] Guo's essay was originally published on July 5, 1931, in *Taiwan xinwen* (Taiwan News). It was reprinted in Nakajima Toshio's edited book in fn. 37, pp. 7–52.

Despite the validity of the ideas put forward by those in support of writing in Taiwanese, the goal of popularizing literature remained unrealized. Writing in the vernacular Chinese did not adequately resolve this problem either, since the majority of the Taiwanese population at that time were illiterate or barely literate. In 1932, Ye Rongzhong (1900–1978) proposed *disan wenxue* (the third literature) as an alternative for Taiwanese new literature.[83] Although Ye shared Huang Shihui's emphasis on Taiwan's social reality, he advocated a writing that was less class-focused but instead based on the common life of all Taiwanese people. In addition, he proposed to return to traditional literature to find Taiwan's native color. His ideas won the support of Zhang Shenqie (1904–1965) and Wang Shilang (1908–1984).[84] A tendency toward nativization was gradually established in Taiwan's literary circle, contributing to the upsurge of rearranging Taiwan's folk literature and traditional cultural heritage in the 1930s.[85] Li Xianzhang's *Taiwan minjian wenxue ji* (Collections of Folklore from Taiwan), published in 1936, is a prominent example of a work that examines this trend.[86]

Under the stimulation of numerous social movements and previous literary debates, a greater number of writers emerged in the 1930s. The themes of Taiwanese new literature broadened and diverse literary styles appeared. For instance, Yang Yunping wrote about the life of overseas students and expressed a romantic nostalgia in his writing, while Lai He and Chen Xugu revealed their disdain for the Japanese colonialists (especially the police) and strong national and social concerns. Zhang Wojun's works depicted the distressed student life in Beijing and China's societal degradation around the 1920s. Yang Shouyu often wrote about the life of the proletariat. Both Yang Yunping and Chen Xugu focused on narration, whereas Zhang Wojun paid close attention to characterization and plot. Lai He's writing, featuring Taiwanese expressions written in vernacular Chinese with local color and occasional Japanese, not only embodied Taiwan's linguistic complexity at that time, but also formed a unique style. In comparison to Lai He's linguistic hybridity, Yang Shouyu's Chinese writing was more "pure."

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[83] Qi [Ye Rongzhong], "Qianbei de shiming" (Mission of the Seniors), preface to *Nanyin* (Southern Tone) 1.3 (February 1932): unpaginated.

[84] See Zhang Shenqie's "Dui Taiwan xin wenxue luxian de yi ti'an—weidinggao" (A Proposal for the Direction of New Taiwanese Literature—Unfinalized Draft), *Taiwan bungei* (Taiwanese Literature and Arts) 2.2 (February 1935): 86, and "Dui Taiwan xin wenxue luxian de yi ti'an xupian" (The Continuation of A Proposal for the Direction of New Taiwanese Literature), *Taiwan bungei* 2.4 (March 1935): 94–99; Wang Shilang's "Yige shiping—yi 'Taiwan xinwenxue' wei zhongxin" (An Initial Critique Centered on "New Taiwanese Literature"), *Taiwan xin wenxue* (New Taiwanese Literature) 1.4 (May 1936), reprinted in *Louxiang qingshi—Wang Shilang xuanji* (A Recluse in a Narrow Alley), Zhang Yanxian et al eds., p. 50.

[85] For instance, Mo Li argued folklore originated from the rhythm when people are working. Li Xianzhang and Huang Deshi believed it came from the ancestral worship of nature, and Lin Kefu defined it as historical remains. Lai He, Li Xianzhan, and Huang Deshi all emphasized the collective national characteristics reflected by folklore. Those who promoted Taiwanese writing (such as Huang Shihui and Guo Qiusheng) stressed the function of folklore in eliminating illiteracy. And Lin Kefu argued that the study of folklore must probe into the ideology of the time in which folklore was produced. See Cai Huiru. "Minzuxing yu jiejixing—1930 niandai zhengli Taiwan minjian wenxue de liangzhong fangfalun" (Nationality and Class: The Two Approaches to Study Taiwan Folklore during the 1930s), *Taiwan wenxue yanjiu xuebao* (Journal of Taiwan Literary Studies) 3 (October 2006): 7–32.

[86] It was reprinted by Mutong Publishers in 1979 and by Longwen Publishers in 1989.

There were two distinct phenomena during this stage of new Taiwanese literature—the rise of Taiwan's Japanese-language writers as well as the mushrooming of literary societies.[87] In 1934, Yang Kui's work "Songbaofu" (The Newspaper Boy) won the second prize (there was no first prize winner that year!) of the Tokyo-based leftist magazine *Bungaku hyōron* (Literary Review) marking the beginning of Taiwanese authors' winning recognition from the colonial "center." Later, works by Lü Heruo (1914–1950/1951), Long Yingzong (1911–1999), and Zhang Wenhuan also received praise from Japan.[88] Despite their ideological differences, Taiwanese writers were quite flexible and open-minded when establishing literary societies. The *Nanyin she* (Southern Tone Society) was set up in 1932 and joined by writers and elites from various backgrounds. For instance, although Guo Qiusheng and Ye Rongzhong held different opinions about popularizing Taiwan's literature, both were members of the Southern Tone Society. Its eponymous journal, *Southern Tone*, not only offered space for critics to continue the debates surrounding the use of the Taiwanese language but also encouraged the compilation of folklore.

In addition, 1932 was the year the Taiwanese Arts Association was established in Tokyo, creating a platform of exchange among Japanese-language Taiwanese authors. Similar to the Southern Tone Society, the Taiwanese

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[87] In colonial Taiwan, writing in Japanese did not imply acceptance of Japan's colonialism. Likewise, writing in Chinese did not necessarily imply that the author harbored anti-Japanese sentiment. Some classic Chinese poetry writers' fawning over the Japanese offers an example. I also wish to stress there were Chinese works by Japanese people, such as the Japanese Sinologist Kubo Tenzui's poems written in classical Chinese.

[88] Compared to the attention in Japan received by Korean writers such as Chang Hyŏkchu, Kim Saryang, and Yom Sangseop, those Taiwanese writers' "entering" Japan's literary circle were less influential.

Arts Association included both left-leaning writers such as Wang Baiyuan (1902–65)[89] and non-socialist members such as Wu Yongfu (1913–2008). The first issue of its official journal *Fuorumosa* (Formosa), published in July 1933, stipulated that they were a group of people wishing to re-create "Taiwanese people's literature and arts" (*Taiwanren de wenyi*) and to promote Taiwanese people's cultural life and "assist the advancement of Asian culture" through writing.[90] These relatively small-scale societies reinforced Taiwanese writers' awareness of uniting together, in order to try to address Taiwan's political, economic, and social problems, and improve its literary development. Several writers used the term *pengbi* (hitting the wall) to describe Taiwan's stagnancy.[91] Within the context of this environment, the Taiwan Literary Arts Alliance (*Taiwan wenyi lianmeng*) was established in May 1934, consisting of members from all over Taiwan. Its goal, declared at its launching assembly, was to further implement the popularization of literature and art, especially in view of Taiwan's rising unemployment due to the world economic crisis of the 1930s.

Despite the commonly shared concerns for Taiwan's culture and social conditions, writers of the Alliance held diverse literary opinions. Yang Kui advocated literature written from the stance and worldview of the working people, but not necessarily of the working people alone.[92] However, Zhang Shenqie was skeptical of this type of class-oriented writing. He claimed that as long as writers could depict Taiwan's specific customs and history without privileging any aims, there would be a correct way forward for Taiwanese literature.[93] Toward the end of 1935, Yang set up his own journal, *Taiwan xin wenxue* (Taiwanese New Literature), in order to facilitate the introduction of international leftist works, such as Maxim Gorky's (1868–1936) writings, to Taiwan. It is worth mentioning that despite Yang's own class-consciousness, members of the journal were not all proponents of socialist literary ideas. There were also writers who joined Yang Kui's journal but continued to take part in the activities of the Literary and Art Alliance of Taiwan. This revealed not only Taiwanese writers' high mobility in forming and joining literary alliances but also the complexity and diversity of their views concerning the pressing task of popularizing literature as a tactic of cultural de-colonization. Although this consensus of standing together for the sake of Taiwan's cultural and literary advancement came to an involuntary end due to the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, numerous important works were produced throughout the 1930s.

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[89] Wang published his poetry collection *Toge no michi* (Passages of Thorns) in 1931, which was well received by the leftwing circles of Japan's literary world. Wang was an avid reader of Tagore and Gandhi. Inspired by their works, Wang urged Asian youth to pursue cosmopolitanism. He was actively involved in the leftwing organization "Tokyo Taiwanese People's Cultural Circle" (*Tokyo Taiwanjin bunka sakuru*), a subsidiary organization of KOPF (Japan Proletarian Culture Federation), and thus was considered an important figure of Taiwan's leftwing cultural movements of that era. For Wang's anti-colonial thinking, see Liu Shuqin, *Passages of Thorns: Literary Activities and Cultural Resistance of Taiwanese Youths Sojourning in Japan*, ch. 3.

[90] Quoted in Chen Fangming, *Taiwan xin wenxue shi shang* (A History of Modern Taiwanese Literature), vol. 1 (Taipei: Lianjing, 2011), p.114. For further detail about the writers surrounding *Formosa*, see Zhang Wenxun, "1930 niandai Taiwan wenyijie fayanquan de zhengduo: 'Fuermosha' zai dingwei" (Contention of a Voice of 1930's Taiwan Literature Circles- Relocating *Formosa*), *NTU Studies in Taiwan Literature* 1 (February 2006): 105–23.

[91] In the foreword of the launch issue of *Nanyin* published on January 1, 1932, Ye Rongzhong described Taiwan's situation as "hitting the wall on all sides" (*bamian pengbi*). In 1934, Guo Qiusheng used "hitting the wall" and "going backward" to describe Taiwan's literary development at that time. See Guo's "Taiwan xin wenxue de chulu" (The Way Out for Taiwanese New Literature) in *Xianfa budui* (The Frontline Troops) 1 (July 15, 1934).

[92] Yang Kui, "Geijutsu wa taishū no mono de aru" (Art is for the Masses), *Taiwan bungei* 2.2 (February 1935): 8–12.

Younger writers born mostly around the first decade of the twentieth century and who had received a Japanese education were the major figures of Taiwan's literary field during this stage. Their thematic concerns and stylistic preferences, however, varied greatly. Left-leaning works about the conflict between the capitalists (such as the landlords) and the proletariat (such as the farmers), or between the colonizers and the colonized, were common. At the same time, there were also works that addressed intellectuals' growing sense of frustration caused by colonialism or depicted life in metropolitan areas such as Taipei and Tokyo. Yang Kui, who identified himself as "a humanitarian socialist," was a representative writer of Taiwan's left-leaning literary camp in the 1930s. This was partly because of his active exchange with Japan's socialist group and partly because of his constant perseverance in fighting against different forms of oppression. Other writers who shared Yang's humanitarian concerns for working-class people were Yang Shouyu and Cai Qiutong (1900–1094). Yang once took part in the leftwing anarchist organization Taiwan Black Youth League (*Taiwan heise qingnian lianmeng*), set up in 1926 with inspiration from Tokyo's Black Youth League. Although his social involvement was brief, Yang Shouyu's works were known for his portrayal of

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[93] Zhang Shenqie, "Dui Taiwan xin wenxue luxian de yi ti'an—weidinggao" (A Proposal for Taiwanese New Literature—Unfinalized Draft), *Taiwan bungei* 2.2 (February 1935): 78–86.

Taiwan's underprivileged groups such as farmers, workers, and various types of poor women (women workers, maids, and prostitutes for instance).[94]

Unlike Yang Kui's protagonists, who usually took action to improve their living conditions, Yang Shouyu's proletariat characters often met an untimely fate. Compared to the two Yangs, Cai Qiutong's works were more concerned with the local Taiwanese village leaders' obsequious attitude toward the Japanese. Yang Yunping tackled this theme earlier, but Cai's personal experience as a village leader for more than two decades enabled him to accurately observe how certain local gentry people curried favor with the Japanese. His "Baozhengbo" (The Village Leader) offered a vivid portrait of how Taiwan's dominant class became an accomplice of Japanese colonialism.[95] When commenting on his own writing, Cai stated that his works hardly contained any spirit of radical resistance. Instead, they "record some matters faithfully" and the theme is by and large "my own psychological conflict."[96] Apart from his unique *baozheng* angle, Cai's Chinese usage mixed with Taiwanese and Japanese expressions, similar to Lai He's hybrid linguistic style, was worth noticing. Another writer Yang Hua (1900–1936), who was perhaps better known for his poems, also wrote two stories about the exploitation faced by Taiwan's laboring people.[97] In both stories, the protagonists fail to find an alternative for their poverty-stricken lives except death. Yang Hua ultimately committed suicide due to poverty and illness, bringing his creative works to a tragic end.

Despite the prevalence of this type of left-leaning works that highlighted the misery of Taiwan's underprivileged population, works depicting urban lives and intellectuals' distressed psyche also rose in popularity in the 1930s. Wang

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[94] From August to November 1931, Yang Shouyu published four pieces in *Taiwan xinminbao*, highlighting the gap between the protagonist's dream and reality. For example, in "Meng" (My Dream), the protagonist, a teacher/writer, yearned to go to China for literary inspiration but the dream never materialized. "Gaofei" (Author's Remuneration) recounts the financial hardship experienced by the protagonist who is a writer. However, Yang remained better known for his depiction of the proletariat.

[95] *Taiwan xinminbao* 353 (February 28, 1931).

[96] See Huang Wuzhong, "Beigang didai de daibiao renwu–Cai Qiutong" (A Representative Figure from Beigang-Cai Qiutong), in *Yang Yunping Zhang Wojun, Cai Qiutong* (A Joint Collection of Yang Yunping, Zhang Wojun, and Cai Qiutong), ed. Zhang Henghao, p. 278.

[97] Like Lai He, Yang Hua wrote in Chinese. The two stories are "Yige laodongzhe de si" (The Death of a Laborer), Yang's debut work composed in 1924, and "Boming" (The Ill-fated). Both were published in *Taiwan bungei* in 1935. They are collected in *Riben tongzhiqi Taiwan wenxue Taiwanren zuojia zuopinji biejuan* (Taiwan Literature under Japanese Rule: Colleted Works by Taiwanese Writers, Additional Volume) edited by Shimomura Sakujirō and Huang Yingzhe (Tokyo: Ryokuin Shobō, 1999), pp. 233–39 and pp. 241–46.

Shilang (1908–1984) was adroit in capturing intellectuals' re-orientation and hesitation regarding their anti-colonial social movements. Set in Taipei, both "Moluo" (Decline) and "Shizilu" (Crossroad) touch upon the lure and danger of urban material culture and are critical about how left-leaning youths eventually betray their political dreams and turn decadent. Zhu Dianren's "Qiuxin" (An Autumn Letter) describes how the traditionally trained writer protagonist comes to realize the futility of his effort to preserve Han culture in the face of colonialism-induced modernization. However, there were also works that depict modernity from a rather different angle. Weng Nao's (1908–1940) "Zansetsu" (The Remaining Snow),[98] for example, features a celebration of the urban spectacle and cosmopolitan culture represented by Tokyo.[99] His other works, such as "Uta tokei" (The Singing Clock)[100] and "Yoake mae no ren monogatari" (The Love Story Before Dawn),[101] which capture the male protagonist's yearning for love and carnal desire, were considerably innovative, offering an alternative modernist perspective to Taiwan's realist-dominated literary field.[102]

In light of the Japanese colonizers' control over literary production, Yang Chichang opted for surrealism as a response to the limits of realism under Japanese rule. Inspired by the notion of a purely poetic spirit promoted by the Japan-based journal *Shi to shiron* (Poetry and Poetics), which began its publication in 1928 and featured several important modernists, such as Miyoshi Tatsuji and Kitagawa Fuyuhiko, Yang Chichang aimed to introduce a similar new voice to Taiwan's literary field. In 1933, he founded the Moulin Poetry Society (*Fengche shishe*) and ran the official journal *Le Moulin* to promote surrealist poetics.[103] Yang argued that the beauty drawn from reality was likely to become the authors' "confessional plain romanticism" due to the mixture of the text and reality.[104] Clearly, Yang not only wished to challenge the constraints of realism, but also called for a poet's critical aesthetic distance from reality. Not surprisingly, Yang turned to celebrate an eccentric and perverted poetics in order to find a way out from the formalized and systematized operation of the Taiwanese literary arena.[105] Even though *Le Moulin* only survived four issues and its circulation was limited, Yang's poetics formed an interesting contrast to the generally realist-leaning Yanfen Area Poets Group (*Yanfen didai shirenqun*), of which both Wu Xinrong (1907–1067) and Guo Shuitan (1908–1995) were important members.[106]

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[98] Weng Nao, "Zansetsu" (The Remaining Snow), *Taiwan bungei* 2.8/9 (August 1935): 36–55. See also *Weng Nao, Wu Yongfu, Wang Changxiong heji* (A Joint Collection of the Works by Weng Nao, Wu Yongfu, and Wang Changxiong) (Taipei: Qianwei, 1991), pp. 51–75.

[99] Writing about the metropolis can also be found in Chinese-language works published in the 1930s such as Lin Yuefeng's "Dao Chengshi qu" (Go to the City) and Lin Jingnan's [Yu Ruolin] "Daduhui de zhen fengjing" (Beautiful Scenery in a Metropolis). Both touch upon the temptation as well as difficulty or bewilderment of urban living. In comparison, Weng Nao's "The Remaining Snow" embraces urban identity more thoroughly.

[100] Published in *Taiwan bungei* 2.6 (June 1935): 46–48.

[101] Published in *Taiwan xin wenxue* (Taiwanese New Literature) 2.2 (January 1937): 2–20.

[102] Another ardent Taiwanese modernist practitioner was Liu Na'ou (1905–1940). But as he chose to stay in Shanghai for pragmatic reasons, Liu was more often seen as a writer of Shanghai's new-perceptionists.

[103] For further details about the Moulin Poetry Society, see *Riyaori shi sanbuzhe: Fengche shishe jiqi shidai* (The Sunday-styled Flâneurs: The Moulin Poetry Society and its Era) (Taipei: Xingren, 2016) edited by Chen Yunyuan and Huang Yali.

In addition to the realism-modernism schism, there was also a divide between elite and popular literature in the 1930s. While elite literature was written in either Japanese or Chinese according to the authors' linguistic capital/preference, popular literature serialized in smaller journals was written almost exclusively in Chinese. *Sanliujiu xiaobao* (Three Six Nine Tabloid, 1930–1935) and *Fengyue* (Wind and Moon, 1935–1936) were two of those journals. The former was founded by members of two poetry societies, the Southern Society (*Nanshe*) and the Chunying Recitation Society (*Chunying yinshe*), whereas the latter was the official publication of the Fengyue Club. In addition to those journals, the supplements of *Taiwan xinminbao* (Taiwan New People's News) also provided a valuable site for the mass-oriented vernacular literature. Xu Kunquan's (1907–1954) *Ke'ai de chouren* (Star-crossed Lovers), published in *Taiwan xinminbao* in 160 installments, was arguably the most salient example. Both the two gazettes mentioned above covered a wide range of "trivial" matters and most of the articles were humorous and apolitical. As the key members of both journals were traditionally Chinese-trained literati who enjoyed the *yidan* (courtesan) culture, a fair space was devoted to those women's biodata, or poems written by the literati patrons. In comparison, Xu Kunquan's *Star-crossed Lovers* was more concerned with topical issues such as freedom of love and women's role in a changing society. Those publications altogether displayed an alternative lightweight style, exhibiting a continued Chinese-writing practice in colonial Taiwan in the 1930s.

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[104] Yang Chichang, "Ranshao de toufa" (The Burning Hair). *Shui Yinping zuopin ji* (Selected Works of Shui Yinping) (Tainan: Tainan County Cultural Center, 1995), p. 130.

[105] See Liu Chi-hui, "Bianyi zhi e de biyao—Yang Chichang de 'yichangwei' shuxie" (The Importance of Being Perverse—Yang Chichang's "Eccentric Writing"), in *Gu'er, nüshen, fumian shuxie* (Orphans, Goddesses, and Negative Writing) (Taipei: Lixu, 2000), pp. 190–223.

[106] Wu Xinrong participated in a peripheral organization of the Taiwanese Communist Party in Tokyo in 1928, and was once apprehended by the Japanese police. Guo Shuitan was known for his plain but powerful language and his portrayal of quotidian life in Southern Taiwan.

The Wartime Period (1937–1945) and After

On July 7, 1937, the Marco Polo Bridge Incident broke out between Japan and China, marking the start of the Second Sino-Japanese War. Japanese troops later advanced further into China, and after World War II began, Japan took advantage of the chaos in Europe to move quickly southward and seize military bases in Indochina. To assist in the war effort, Japan implemented a series of new policies to mobilize the Taiwanese population, which was known as the *kōminka* (imperialization) movement.[107] In fact, just before the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, the Japanese banned the use of Chinese in newspapers in April 1937, shortly thereafter banning nearly all literary journals. The following few years after the outbreak of the war witnessed a rapid increase in Japanese-language readership in Taiwan.[108] Following Kikuchi Kan's (1888–1948) and Kume Masao's (1891–1952) call for writers to go to the front line in August 1938, more and more writers became involved in wartime propaganda efforts. Despite Chinese-language writers' loss of their publication platforms and the overall stagnancy of Taiwan's literary scene, the Chinese-language journal *Fengyuebao* (Wind and Moon Bulletin) survived the colonizers' ban and remained in press until 1944.[109] This was partly because its content was apolitical and partly because its use of Chinese sat well with the Japanese colonizers' "*dōbun/tongwen*" (identical script) discourse, in which the Chinese script commonly used by the Taiwanese and the Japanese nation is stressed, and was therefore regarded by the Japanese as useful for promoting cultural assimilation and wartime mobilization.[110] After a few years' silence, the vitality of Taiwan's literary field began to improve when Japan's para-fascist political organization *Taisei yokusankai* (The Imperial Rule Assistance Association) encouraged the revival of local culture in Japan's colonies and occupied areas.[111] However, there were discrepancies between the local culture seen from the perspective of official policy and that of writers in Taiwan. In Taiwan, there were at that time two distinct discourses about "local culture." One referred to Taiwan's cultural particularities pursued by some liberal Japanese intellectuals and Taiwanese elites. The other referred to the "colonial literature" (*gaichi bungaku*) put forward mainly by Taiwan-residing writers,[112] or Taiwan-born (*wansei*) authors.[113]

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[107] Similar policies were introduced in Japan's other colonies, such as Korea and Manchuria. For Zhou Wanyao, these eight years were "the most equal period between the Taiwanese and the Japanese in 'discourse' and even in real context." See Zhou's book in fn. 18, p. 11.

[108] Taiwan's Japanese-language readers reached 57% of the total population between 1937–41. See Fujii Shōzō, "'Dadongya zhanzheng' shiqi de Taiwan huangmin wenxue—dushu shichang de chengshou yu Taiwan minzuzhuyi de xingcheng" (Taiwan's Imperial-subject Literature during the "Greater East Asia War": The Modernity of the Reading Market and the Formation of Taiwanese Nationalism" in *Taiwan wenxue zhe yibainian* (Taiwan Literature over the Past Century), trans. Zhang Jilin (Taipei: Maitian, 2004), pp. 39–83. The Japanese government's language policy was also effective in the areas inhabited by Taiwan's aborigines. Some elderly people in Taiwan's indigenous mountain villages still remember some Japanese that they learned decades ago. See Christian Anderson, "The New Austronesian Voyaging: Cultivating Amis Folk Songs for the International Stage," in *Austronesian Taiwan Linguistics, History, Ethnology, Prehistory*, ed. David Blundell (Taipei: SMC Publishing, 2009), pp. 282–318.

[109] From July 1941, *Fengyuebao* was absorbed into the colonizer's wartime mobilization and renamed *Nanfang* (The South) and later *Nanfang shiji* (The Southern Poetry) to be in line with Japan's advancement southward. Another Chinese-language journal that survived the ban was *Shibao* (Poetry News), launched in April 1931 by Zhou Shihui. The main editor was Ye Wenshu, and its contents were mostly classical poems. In addition, *Taiwan geijutsu*

A good case in point was the stylistic difference between *Bungei Taiwan* (Literary Taiwan) launched in 1940 under the leadership of Nishikawa Mitsuru (1908–1999),[114] and *Taiwan bungaku* (Taiwan Literature and Art) launched in

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(Taiwan Art) founded in March 1940 by Huang Zongkui kept its Chinese-language columns until August 1941.

[110] See Liu Shuqin's "Cong guanzhi dao minzhi—ziwo tongwen zhuyi yu xingya wenxue (From Officially-made to Self-made: Same-culturalism and Asia-Promoting Literature), in *Xiangxiang de benbang—xiandai wenxue shiwu lun* (National Imaginaries: 15 Perspectives on Modern Chinese Literature), eds. Wang Dewei and Huang Jinshu (Taipei: Maitian, 2005), pp. 63–90 for details.

[111] Zhang Wenhuan, for instance, regarded this as a transitional period conducive to promoting Taiwan's local color. See his "Taiwan bungaku no shōrai ni tsuite" (On the Future of Taiwan Literature), *Taiwan geijutsu* 1.1 (March 1940): 10–12.

[112] For an overview of Japanese writers' literary activities in Taiwan under Japanese rule, see Nakajima Toshio's *Nihon tōchiki Taiwan bungaku kenkyū: Nihonjin sakka no keifu* (A Study of Taiwanese Literature under Japanese Rule: A *Genealogy* of Japanese Writers) (Tokyo: Kenbun Shuppan, 2013).

[113] "Wansei" referred to the Japanese people born in Taiwan during the colonial period. Most of them were deployed back to Japan between 1946 and 1957. Nakayama Susumu (1905–1959) and Niigaki Kouichi (1913–2002) are two well-known *wansei* writers. See Tanaka Mika's *Wansheng huijia* (Wansei Back Home) (Taipei: Yuanliu, 2014) for details. Conversely, there were Taiwanese who immigrated to Japan's territory such as the Yaeyama Islands under Japanese rule. See Matsuda Yoshitaka's *Yaeyama no Taiwanjin* (Taiwanese in the Yaeyama Islands) (Ishigaki: Nanzansha, 2004).

[114] *Bungei Taiwan* was the official magazine of the *Taiwan bungeika kyōkai* (Association of Writers in Taiwan) with the exoticism and romanticism of *gaichi bungaku* (colonial

1941 by Zhang Wenhuan. Nishikawa was known for his pursuit of "pure" literature and romantic depiction of Taiwan, whereas *Taiwan bungaku* exhibited a preference for realism.[115] Although the coexistence of the two journals was often simplified as a rivalry between Japanese writers in Taiwan and native Taiwanese writers, both journals included writing by Japanese and Taiwanese members.[116] *Bungei Taiwan* in fact published realist works and works with a tendency toward exoticism, displaying a relatively broader literary scope than *Taiwan bungaku*.[117] Even though both journals were keen to maintain relations with Japan's *naichi* (mainland Japan) literary arena, their rivalry helped produce a moderately autonomous Taiwanese literary scene.

Another example highlighting the difference in perspectives between the Japanese and the Taiwanese can be seen between Shimada Kinji's (1901–1993) view on colonial literature and Huang Deshi's view on Taiwan literature. Shimada defined "*gaichi bungaku*" (colonial literature) as those works written by Japanese writers who resided in the colonies. In 1940, Nakamura Akira (1912–2003), a professor at Taipei Imperial University, put forward two suggestions to guide writing "colonial literature": write about the colony's particularities, and learn from mainland Japan's literature, even though the quality of literature from the colonies may not equal that of Japan's literature.[118] Nakamura's preassumption of the "inferiority" of literature from the colonies was debatable, but he appreciated the vantage point of Taiwan-residing Japanese writers in capturing the essence of Taiwan. To avoid indulging in exoticism, Nakamura urged those Japanese writers in the colonies to adopt realism. Unsurprisingly, he was dissatisfied with Nishikawa's literary style and later left *Bungei Taiwan* to join Zhang Wenhuan to launch *Taiwan bungaku* in 1941. Similar to Nakamura, Shimada Kinji was concerned with the Japanese-language writing from Taiwan

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literature). In February 1941, to accommodate the Japanese military expansionism, the magazine started out being issued by *Bungei Taiwan sha* (Society of Literary Taiwan) with a distinct pro-Japan and pro-war effort stance.

[115] For a detailed account of Nishikawa Mitsuru and *Bungei Taiwan,* see Kleeman's *Under an Imperial Sun* in fn. 29, ch. 4, pp. 69–86.

[116] Ye Shitao, Chen Huoquan, and Zhou Jinbo chose *Bungei Taiwan* when submitting their works, making the difference between these two journals more a matter of literary taste than of national affinity.

[117] For discussions of the genealogy of the notion of exoticism, see Noda Utarō, "Ikoku jōchō bungei undō" (Literary Movement of Exoticism), http://www.japanpen.or.jp/e-bungeikan/study/pdf/nodautaro.pdf (March 30, 2006); Ying Xiong's *Representing Empire:* Japanese *Colonial Literature in Taiwan and Manchuria,* pp. 72–82.

[118] "Gaichi bungaku no kadai" (Topics on Colonial Literature), *Bungei Taiwan* 1.4 (July 1940): 262–65.

by Japanese authors only, and he also encouraged realism.[119] He regarded Taiwan's Japanese-language writing as an extension of the Japanese-language literature from mainland Japan, although the creole Japanese writing from Taiwan could potentially establish a subjectivity of Taiwan as a colony.

However, Shimada did not comment much on this, making his notion of colonial literature easily appear as an effort to "appropriate Taiwan literature into the context of [mainland] Japan's literary history."[120] When explaining the realism he preferred—not the politically charged proletariat realism, but a literary mode in which authors described the "uniqueness of the [colony's] modes of thinking, feelings, and ways of life according to the way they are,"[121] his seemingly apolitical definition and emphasis on Taiwan's "true indigenous color" appear somewhat incongruous. In this regard, Shimada's and Huang Deshi's perspectives on Taiwan literature were not totally incompatible. But obviously Huang was more Taiwan-centric and inclusive than Shimada. In Huang's historiography, Taiwan's literature could be dated back to the Ming dynasty's Koxinga era, and all works could be considered part of Taiwan's literature as long as they were about Taiwan.[122] In short, Huang agreed with the Japanese colonizers' call for cultural localization, but he was concerned about how to establish Taiwan's literary arena under this policy.

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[119] Rwei-ren Wu argued that Shimada's exclusion of Taiwanese authors' Japanese-language works was mainly because their Japanese usage had not reached the expected level of fluency. But this meant that future Taiwanese authors could potentially be included if their Japanese writing was "good enough." See his "Historical Consciousness of Multilayered Indigenization: A Preliminary Comparative Analysis of the Literary History Discourses of Huang Te-shih and Shimada Kinji," *Taiwan Historical Research* 16.3 (September 2009): 133–63. Shimada's plan to write a book tentatively entitled *Kareitō bungakushi* (A Record of Literature from Taiwan) on the literary activities of Japanese authors who came to Taiwan during the Meiji and Taishō periods started around 1935 but unfortunately it was never finished. See Hashimoto Kyōko's *"Karei bungakushi" to sono jidai: hikaku bungakusha Shimada Kinji no Taiwan taiken* (*A Record of Literature from Taiwan* and its Era: The Comparative Literary Scholar Shimada Kinji's Taiwan Experience) (Tokyo: Sangensha, 2012) for details about Shimada's life and writing in Taiwan.

[120] See Chen Fangming's book in fn. 90, p. 165.

[121] Shimada Kinji [Matsu Fūko], "Taiwan no bungakuteki kagenmi" (The Past, Present, and Future of Literature in Taiwan), *Bungei Taiwan* 2.2 (May 1941): 3–24. The essay was revised in the postwar era and reprinted in *Kareitō bungakushi: Nihon shijin no Taiwan taiken* (*A Record of Literature from Taiwan*: Japanese Poets' Taiwan Experience) (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1995), pp. 460–82, particularly p. 476.

[122] "Taiwan bungakushi josetsu" (An Introduction to Taiwan's Literary History), *Taiwan bungaku* 3.3 (July 1943): 2–11. In the next issue (4.1), Huang tackled Taiwan literature from the Ming and Qing dynasties. Unfortunately, *Taiwan bungaku* ceased publication in November 1943, so Huang did not publish more on Taiwan's literary history.

The debate caused by different perspectives on Taiwan literature was also present in the discussion surrounding "feces realism" (*kuso riarizumu*) in May 1943, in which *Bungei Taiwan* writers such as Nishikawa Mitsuru and Hamada Hayao (1909–1973) criticized Taiwanese authors' depiction of Taiwan's (dark) reality as counterproductive for the war effort, and their employment of realism for being too close to Anglo-American culture and straying from the "imperial-subject" spirit. Nishikawa Mitsuru in fact referred to Taiwanese writers' practice of realism as "feces realism,"[123] of which Shi Waimin disapproved.[124] In his reply to Shi Waimin, Ye Shitao (1925–2008) reiterated Nishikawa's view by stressing the need for a positive and vigorous imperial-subject literature.[125] Soon afterward, Yang Kui and others joined the debate by defending realism.[126] For Yang, literature had to come from the indigenous soil; it should not merely cater to the war effort or personal aestheticism. The stylistic and ideological discrepancies between authors from these two camps eventually came to a "natural" end in January 1944 when they combined to form *Taiwan bungei* (Literary Art of Taiwan) under the management of Taiwan Literature Patriotic Association (*Taiwan bungaku hōkōkai*).

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[123] See Hamada Hayao's "Hi bungaku teki na kansō" (Non-literary Remarks) in *Taiwan jihō* (Taiwan Times) 26.4 (April 1943): 74–79, and Nishikawa Mitsuru's "Bungei jihyō" (Commentary on Current Literature) in *Bungei Taiwan* 6.1 (May 1943): 38. For an overall discussion on the debate, see Zeng Jianmin, "Pingjie 'goushi xianshi zhuyi' lunzheng" (On the Debate surrounding "Feces Realism"), *Jinya de lunzheng* (The Silent Debates) (Taipei: Renjian, 1999), pp. 109–23. Tarumi Chie points out that Hayashi Fusao used the term "feces realism" in 1935, after his literary reorientation from Marxism to romanticism, when he criticized Japan's leftwing writers surrounding the magazine *Jinmin bunko* (People's Library). Through tracing Hamada Hayao and Nishikawa Mitsuru's relationship with Japan's romanticists, as well as Zhang Wenhuan and Lü Heruo's interactions with the *Jinmin bunko* writers or critics, she argues that the 1943 "feces realism" debate in Taiwan should be seen within this larger context. See Tarumi Chie, "Fen realism lunzheng zhi beijing—yu *Renmin wenku* pipan zhi guanxi wei zhongxin" (The Background of the Feces Realism Debate—Centering on its Relationship with the Criticism of *People's Library*), in *Ye Shitao jiqi tongshidai zuojia guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* (The Wave-breaking Generation: Proceedings of the International Conference on Ye Shitao and his Contemporaneous Writers (Kaohsiung: Chunhui: 2002), ed. Zheng Jiongming, pp. 31–50.

[124] Shi Waimin, "Kuso riarizumu to nise romantijizumu (Feces Realism and Fake Romanticism), *Kōnan shimbun* (South-Reviving News) (May 10, 1943). The identity of Shi Waimin remains uncertain. Some suspect he is Qiu Yonghan (1924–2012), whereas Tarumi Chie suggests that Shi Waimin could be Yang Kui. See Tarumi Chie's essay in fn. 123.

[125] However, Ye Shitao after several decades denied his authorship of the article in response to Shi Waimin. See Zheng Jiongming. "'Fenxieshi zhuyi shijian' jiemi—Fang Ye Shitao xiansheng tan 'Gei shishi de gongkaixin'" (Deciphering the "Feces Realism Incident"—Interviewing Ye Shitao on "An Open Letter to Shi Waimin"), *Wenxue Taiwan* (Literary Taiwan) 42 (April 2002): 22–36.

[126] Itō Ryō [Yang Kui], "Kuso riarizumu no yōgo" (Advocating Realism), *Taiwan bungaku* 3.3 (July 1943): 17–21.

Within this context of wartime literary control, several major Taiwanese writers underwent stylistic and ideological re-orientations in order to publish their work. Among the active Taiwanese authors, Lü Heruo's and Long Yingzong's narrative skills were particularly commendable. Lü's delineation of Taiwan's customs and circuitous narrative style, as well as Long's ability to capture the distressed mentality of Taiwanese intellectuals and detailed self-portrayal via his Du Nanyuan series in which neither war nor the Japanese people was mentioned, made their works more aesthetically mature than that of their predecessors. Zhang Wenhuan's delicate depiction of ordinary Taiwanese people's desires and of family love was also commendable. While his works on Taiwan's local customs were not quite in line with the wartime aesthetics expected by the Japanese colonizers, Zhang played a relatively active role in Japan's war mobilization effort.

As the war advanced, the urgency for an imperial-subject literature increased. In addition to the establishment of Taiwan Literature Patriotic Association in April 1943, several wartime literary conferences were convened, in which participants were asked to declare their willingness to assist the war effort. In the November 1943 Taiwan Wartime Literary Conference (*Taiwan kessen bungaku kaigi*) held in Taipei, Nishikawa Mitsuru more than once proposed to make *Bungei Taiwan* part of the "wartime arrangement." In 1944, Taiwanese writers were sent to various places, such as farms, factories, and mining areas to write reportage. In this context, the so-called "imperial-subject literature," dealing with the cultivation of an imperial-subject mentality, emerged. Hamada Hayo, first used the term when commenting on Chen Huoquan's (1908–1999) "Michi" (The Way).[127] In his view, there were no detailed accounts of how an individual struggled with the process of cultivating an imperial-subject mentality prior to "The Way," and its publication indicated a new direction of Taiwanese literature.

Although Hamada's initial usage of the term was primarily theme-focused, the term had pejorative connotations due to critics' nationalist and moral criteria in postwar Taiwan. Regarding works by Chen Huoquan, Wang Changxiong (1916–2000), and Zhou Jinbo, scholars either denounced them as "traitor's literature" or defended them as "inexplicitly resistant literature." For quite some time, Wang's "Honryū" (Torrent),[128] was hailed as an anti-colonial text, whereas Chen's "The Way" and Zhou's works were deemed sycophantic toward Japan or simply ignored.[129] With Japan's surrender, this process of intensive imperialization (*kōminka* or *huangminhua*) came to a halt. Since the 1990s, scholars have tried to redress the over-politicized interpretations of imperial-subject literature. Yet the problem of identity remains complex for the Taiwanese people and Taiwan studies even today.

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[127] *Bungei Taiwan* 6.3 (July 1943): 87–141.

As far as Taiwanese identity is concerned, both Wu Zhuoliu's *Yaxiya de gu'er* (Orphan of Asia) as well as Zhong Lihe's (1915–1960) *Jiazhutao* (Oleander), written at the very end of Japanese rule in Taiwan, offer an alternative option—a turn toward China and Chinese people as a reference point. The former details the intellectual protagonist's continued but unsuccessful search for a reliable identity between Taiwan, Japan, and Mainland China. The latter offers a lucid account of the quotidian life in a compound in Beiping in the mid-1940s. Although several Taiwanese writers were actively involved in promoting cultural understanding between Taiwan and China during the early postwar years, the linguistic shift from Japanese to Mandarin Chinese complicated matters for Taiwanese authors who wrote in Japanese.

Regarding this, Zhong Lihe was luckier than his contemporaries. His Chinese experience afforded him the linguistic capital needed for writing in Taiwan under KMT rule, although his candid portrayal of Taiwan's postwar poverty-stricken rural villages was incongruous with the KMT's call for the ideologically charged "anti-Communist literature." Wu Zhuoliu, in this context, carried on writing in Japanese while at the same time strove to improve his Chinese vernacular writing.[130] His *Yoake mae no Taiwan* (Taiwan before Dawn) revealed his reflections on Taiwan's colonial past and cultural subjectivity, providing a good entry point for his concerns over the construction of Taiwan's historical memory.[131] His "Taiwan trilogy," which can be summarized as his ongoing decolonizing act against Japanese rule and subsequent KMT regime, not only resonated well with new Taiwanese literature's overall counter-hegemonic practice but also exemplified Taiwanese writers' sustained process of identity negotiation.

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[128] The original Japanese version of "Honryū" was published in *Taiwanese Literature* 3.3 (July 1943): 104–29. Although the work was approved for publication, the Japanese censors made unilateral amendments to the version. See Wang Changxiong, "Laobing guohe ji" (A Veteran Soldier's River-Crossing), *Taiwan wenyi* (Taiwan Literature) 76 (May 1982): 326. "Torrent" has several Chinese versions. Six different Chinese versions were collected in *Wang Changxiong quanji* (Complete Works of Wang Changxiong) l, ed. Xu Junya (Taipei: Cultural Bureau of the New Taipei City, 2002), pp. 113–332.

[129] Interestingly, despite the "notoriousness" of "The Way" and his silence from around the mid 1960s to the mid 1970s, possibly because of his wish to further master Chinese writing and his concern over the Nationalist ideological control (Chen was taken away by two policemen on February 3, 1977, for a seventeen-hour interrogation), Chen adapted to the postwar Chinese-language literary field well. He not only published several collections of essays, but also won various national literary prizes for his contribution. See Huang Shuqing "Chen Huoquan jiqi sanwen yanjiu" (A Study on Chen Huoquan and His Essays) (MA dissertation, Taiwan Normal University) (June 2008), pp. 61–62, and Kleeman's book in fn. 29, p. 217.

In the following chapters, I will use Lai He, the focus of my first chapter, as the primary example for the literature produced in the first phase of new Taiwanese literature. It investigates to what extent Lai's writing can be considered the paradigm of Taiwan literature. The issues tackled in this chapter include how Lai He used the pen as his weapon to berate the colonial government for its corruption and to criticize the local people's ignorance and backwardness, his concept of law, and the ideological impasse he perceived between cultural enlightenment and mass movements. It traces how Lai He gradually moved toward the left by looking at his role in the Taiwanese Cultural Association. The final section of this chapter investigates Lai He's shift from pan-socialism to Taiwanese localism. It also analyzes Lai He's language usage, reading the linguistic hybridity in his works not simply as a result of the colonial experience but more as a counter discourse in response to Japanese cultural authority.

Subsequently, for the second phase, I will analyze three major trends of writing in the 1930s—namely, the continued growth of proletariat-focused left-leaning writing, the urban modernity in the modernist mode, as well as the vernacular modernism as revealed by popular love/family tales serialized in tabloids.[132] Chapter 2 discusses how Yang Kui continued the nationalist concerns discernable in Lai He's works and expanded them into a transnational socialist idea. This chapter examines how he applied class analysis in his prognostication of social ills and strove to forge a positive self in a tumultuous period when Japanese authorities were tightening their control over Taiwan. It shows the development of the narrator in Yang's stories—from a victim torn between his Japanese and Chinese identity, to a transnational (or bicultural) unionist who also identified with the oppressed. It also investigates the postwar canonization and tendentious interpretations of Yang's works, arguing that Yang should not be labeled as a follower of the idea of "Great-China" or as a Taiwanese nationalist, but perhaps a socialist humanist, as he described himself to be.

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[130] Throughout his life, Wu continued Han poetry writing. But in terms of fiction writing, both Ye Shitao and Peng Ruijin did not think that Wu had mastered writing in fluent vernacular Chinese. Interestingly, although Wu used Chinese to compose *Wuhuaguo* (The Fig Tree), he switched to Japanese for his *Taiwan lianqiao* (Golden Dewdrop).

[131] *Yoake mae no Taiwan* (Taiwan before Dawn) (Taipei: Xueyou, 1947).

[132] The term "vernacular modernism" was coined by Miriam Bratu Hansen. See her "Fallen Women, Rising Stars, New Horizons: Shanghai Silent Films as Vernacular Modernism." *Film Quarterly* 54.1 (Fall 2000): 10–22. In addition to the Chinese-language works by Xu Kunquan and Wu Mansha, Lin Huikun's Japanese work "Arasoenu unmei" (Incontestable Fate), serialized in *Taiwan xinminbao* in 1933, and Chen Chuiying's Japanese work *Danryū kanryū* (Warm Current and Cold Current, 1936), together with several other Japanese-language stories published in *Taiwan fujinkai* (The World of Taiwanese Women) and *Taiwan geijutsu* (Taiwan Art), all make good cases in point for vernacular modernism.

Concurrent with the debates concerning popularizing literature, the 1930s witnessed Taiwan's dynamic encounter with colonial modernity. Indeed, colonial modernity brought about by the Japanese compelled Taiwanese people to assume a "double life" (*nijū seikatsu*)—"Japanese" and Taiwanese (or Han), and simultaneously local and global/comparative.[133] In terms of literary representations of this experience, the dichotomy of "modern" Japan versus "backward" Taiwan was common.[134] Chapter 3 looks at how two popular writers—Xu Kunquan and Wu Mansha (1912–2005)—negotiated this new perception of being modern in their love/marriage narratives. The chapter will first discuss the varied understandings of *dazhong* (the general public/the masses) in order to clarify the targeted readership of Xu's and Wu's writing. I will then offer a close reading of their selected works, with a focus on their mixed and multi-layered vision of modernity. Aspects to be examined include their modified view of freedom of love and on "virtuous wives and good mothers" (*xianqi liangmu*) in a modern sense, their multi-cultural religious and textual imagination, and their global/comparative mapping of Taiwan.[135] In addition to discussing those writers' ambivalence toward modernity, which is evidently

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Chapter 3 is primarily concerned with Xu Kunquan and Wu Mansha so as to highlight the continuity of Chinese writing in the midst of Second Sino-Japanese War.

[133] See Harry Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture, and Community in Interwar Japan*, p. xvii. In the case of colonial Taiwan, the temporal conception was more complex than "doubling." In 1895, the short-lived Republic of Formosa referred to 1895 as "the first year of Yongqing" to express its anti-Japanese sentiments. Taiwan's colonial period was categorized according to Japan's imperial periods of Meiji, Taishō, and Shōwa. The Western calendar, including the weekly system, was introduced to Taiwan around 1919, yet the traditional lunisolar calendar remained in use.

[134] This temporal gap, especially the idea of lagging behind, is common in the subjectivity formation of the colonized.

[135] In Xu Kunquan's *Lingrou zhi dao* (Platonic and Carnal Love), Taiwan is compared vis-à-vis Singapore, and Denmark's legal system is praised.

exhibited through their polarized and morality-charged characterization of females in their works, this chapter will also analyze how Wu Mansha added "war elements" to his melodramatic romances, such as in his *Dadi zhichun* (Spring of the Earth),[136] in order to cater to the wartime mobilization.

Continuing the discussion of literary representations of Taiwan's modernity, Chapter 4 moves away from Chinese-language romance writing to explore some Japanese-language writers' stylistic re-orientation and modernist experimentation throughout the 1930s and 1940s. It begins with Lü Heruo, who serves as a great example showcasing that socialist literary notions and modernist style are not necessarily irreconcilable, although he is often labeled as a "left-wing" writer. It will then discuss the works by Long Yingzong and Weng Nao. Lü Heruo's writing about the internal conflict in Taiwanese families is, to some extent, similar to Long Yingzong's several works of self-portraiture that omitted any mention of the war or Japanese people. In order to strike a balance between the literary policy set up by the Japanese and their Taiwanese sentiments, both Lü and Long resorted to broader humanism either by shifting from bourgeois individualism to collectivism or by describing the friendship between Japanese and Taiwanese. Lü's "Gyokuran hana" (Magnolia)[137] and Long's "Renbu no niwa" (Garden with Wax-apples)[138] uniformly record a harmonious relationship between the Japanese and Taiwanese characters. In Lü's "Sansen sōmoku" (Mountains, Rivers, Grass, and Trees)[139] and "Fūtō suio" (Front of Wind and End of Water)[140] and Long's "Shirarezaru kōfuku" (The Unknown Happiness),[141] a direction toward collective laboring is suggested.

Compared to them, Weng Nao perhaps travelled even further in his literary experiment. An enigmatic author in Taiwan's literary history, Weng is known for his celebration of the modernist and cosmopolitan "vagabond (*rōnin*) aesthetic" and his vivid portrayal of the individual in sensual detail.[142] His neo-perceptionist literary mode, employing psychological depiction and stream of consciousness, encapsulated in his works such as "The Remaining Snow" and "The Love Story before Dawn," refreshingly articulates an alternative to the otherwise realism-oriented Taiwanese literary arena. Although Weng also wrote about the downtrodden, as Lai He, Yang Kui, and Lü Heruo did, his portrayal of them is comparatively objective and lacks a clear ideological leaning. Even though his "The Remaining Snow" can still be read as a veiled allegory of Taiwan's "belatedness," Weng's aesthetic innovation is fairly groundbreaking. Despite the differences in their styles, personal dispositions, and life choices, their characterizations of females seemed equally pragmatic. The last part of this chapter will analyze how these three male authors created their fictional female characters as an embodiment of their personal (or their male protagonist's) views or pursuits.

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[136] The novel was initially published in 1942, and later published by Qianwei in 1998.

[137] *Taiwan bungaku* 4.1 (December 1943): 119–31.

[138] *Taiwan bungaku* 3.3 (July 1943): 189–203.

[139] *Taiwan bungei* (Literary Art of Taiwan), launch edition (May, 1944): 12–35. The Romanization is identical with the journal founded by Taiwan's Literary and Art Alliance. But *Taiwan bungei* here refers to the one launched by the Taiwan Literature Patriotic Association (*Taiwan bungaku hōkōkai*). Hence, the English rendering is different. The eponymous magazine established by Wu Zhuoliu in 1964 is Romanized as *Taiwan wenyi* and translated as "Taiwan literature."

[140] *Taiwan jihō* 27.8 (August 1944): 83–95.

[141] *Bungei Taiwan* 4.6 (October 1942): 45–58.

[142] Weng Nao commented on the cosmopolitan ambience of Imakane Eatery near Kōenji. See his "*Tōkyō kōgai rōningai: Kōenji kaiwai*" (The Vagabond Town of the Tokyo Suburbs: The Neighborhood of Kōenji) published in *Taiwan bungei* 2.4 (April 1935)*: 13–17.*

As the Second Sino-Japanese War progressed and assimilation pressures intensified through a series of imperialization measures, there emerged a group of literary works delineating the very process and impact of this psychological cultivation of an imperial-subject mentality.[143] Chen Huoquan for example addressed the volunteer conscript system; Wang Changxiong revealed the psychological pain of Taiwanese intellectuals caught between Taiwan's national sentiment and the colonial process of imperialization. Zhou Jinbo illustrated a change from initial optimism toward the assimilation policy to later doubts about its emptiness. How these writers responded to the question of "how to become Japanese" is the subject of Chapter 5. More specifically, this chapter scrutinizes the controversial debates over "imperial-subject" literature, employing a detailed textual and contextual reading of their authors' works. In order to eschew a moralistic or nationalistic standard commonly seen in previous scholarship, my main question in this chapter concerns how these authors wrote about the Japanese assimilation policy instead of why they produced such sycophantic literature. I conclude with the idea that imperial-subject literature does not need to be rescued and cannot be assimilated into any single literary standard; instead, it can be considered a product of a rupture that challenged the existing tradition of resistance literature.

During the implementation of the imperialization policies, in which Taiwanese people were expected to become as "Japanese" as possible, some writers remained outside of the geographic scope of this policy's enforcement in Taiwan. Here, China, offered an alternative in terms of Taiwanese authors' identity search, even though this pursuit often ended in agony or disillusionment.[144] For this reason, Chapter 6 of this book selects two Taiwanese writers with wartime Chinese experience—Zhong Lihe and Wu Zhuoliu—as case studies to illustrate the allure of China. Unlike many intellectuals who studied in Japan or were attracted to "modern" Japanese culture, Zhong and Wu provided an alternative type—that of nostalgia for China as the cultural fatherland. Their works record their experiences in China, their expectations for Taiwan in her transitional period (1945–49), and their readjustment to Taiwanese society under Nationalist rule. The linguistic shift and the Nationalists' censorship policy and enforcement of anti-Communist literature created further challenges for Taiwanese authors. Newer writers like Ye Shitao and Liao Qingxiu joined veteran writers such as Yang Kui and Wu Zhuoliu. Together they continued to search for a reliable cultural identity and competed against the dominant "mainlander" authors for readership and channels for publication.

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[143] This type of writing was also available in other locales under Japan's control such as Korea and Manchuria. In the postwar era, it is often interpreted through a nationalist lens. In Taiwan, this literature is referred to as "imperial-subject literature" (*huangmin wenxue*). In Korea, it is called "Japan-leaning literature," and in China, the term "traitor's literature" (*hanjian wenxue*) is used.

The chapters considered together offer a relatively comprehensive English-language critical treatment of new Taiwanese literature under Japanese rule. Shaped by multiple sources, especially those from Japan and China, colonial Taiwan's literature not only serves as a fascinating case study for non-Western colonialism but also constitutes an indispensable addition to the history of East Asian literature in the first half of the twentieth century.[145] The six chapters in this book explore how Taiwanese writers, caught between competing cultural authorities, struggled to re-appropriate a local cultural space and search for selfhood from the 1920s throughout the colonial period. My main concern is the interactive relationship between the social and historical contexts and literary production, and the formation of cultural identity through literature. Without assuming a genealogy of a consistent and unambiguous anti-colonial Taiwanese literature or privileging realist works, I investigate the various responses and narrative techniques of a select group of writers, examining how they used writing to proclaim a cultural longing and individual searching in a period of traumatic social and historical upheaval.

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[144] For example, the Japan-trained intellectual Xie Chunmu settled in China and helped collect information for the Japanese army during the Second Sino-Japanese War and died in Beijing in 1969. His friend Wang Baiyuan, who also studied in Japan, went to Shanghai in 1934 and taught at Shanghai Fine Arts School (1935–37) until the Japanese apprehended him due to his anti-Japanese activities and sent him back to Taiwan.

[145] Taiwan in fact experienced both European occupation (the Dutch and the Spanish occupations) and non-European colonization.

Taiwan's Japanese period was not simply a historical moment taking place in colonial locales but also an element for the construction of selfhood for the colonized (and, of course, for the colonizer as well).[146] Hence, the colonial experience affected the literary production in Taiwan, as well as the consumption and interpretation of literary works in the post-colonial period. In the following chapters, I argue that the aesthetic taste was not merely constructed on the basis of linguistic mastery but was more a result of the tension between different political regimes and critics with various ideological stances. I also posit that it risks over-simplification to label any writer as either a patriot or a traitor. There are different levels of identity, and the meaning of Taiwanese-ness and the forms of expressing one's nationalism vary according to the position where one speaks from, to whom one speaks, and under what circumstances. Though writers with an anti-Japanese stance and those yearning for Japanese culture produced a rather different literature, their desire to find a sense of cultural belonging was similar. Their works can be seen as individual ways of negotiating colonialism to secure a reliable self-identity. Whether returning to local culture or embracing imperial-subject cultivation, each author wrestled with, and responded to, the colonial context in various ways. The multifaceted and linguistically diverse trajectories the writers have travelled demonstrate the inherently heterogeneous nature of Taiwan's colonial literature, which can never be summarized as a univocal anti-imperial tradition nor categorized as solely Chinese or Japanophone literature. Instead, the polyphonic nature of Taiwan literature under Japanese rule provides a valuable "contrapuntal reading," enabling a more profound understanding of the intertwined relationship between Japanese colonialism and Taiwan's literary production.[147] It also signals that identity is not predetermined by blood ties or a static location but arises through continued cultural construction and ever-changing positioning.

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[146] For more details on how Japanese writers in the twentieth century constructed their racial, ethnic, and geographical other in their works, see *Representing the Other in Modern Japanese Literature: A Critical Approach*. Eds. Mark Williams and Rachael Hutchinson (London: Routledge, 2006).

[147] Edward Said used the term "contrapuntal reading" in his discussion of the relationship between imperialism and Western literature. See his *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), p. 66.

CHAPTER 1

The Nationalist Paradigm of Taiwan Literature: Lai He

In the history of Taiwanese literature, Lai He is one of the most significant writers of the transition period from old to new literature. Credited as the "father of modern Taiwanese literature," Lai He's fame owed much to his contribution toward promoting writing in vernacular Chinese, as well as an anti-colonial leftist/nationalist thinking in his short stories and traditional Han poems.[1] In order to put an equal emphasis on both Lai He's literary texts and the social context in which he lived, I will examine the dialectical relationship between his creative writing and social involvement by approaching him as a cultural enlightener and by pointing out how his works can be seen in the light of cultivating people and reforming Taiwanese society.

Born in the year of the Sino-Japanese War (1894) in Zhanghua, Lai He received a private education in Chinese from the age of ten and grew up with a strong background in Chinese. Therefore, although he attended a public elementary school where only Japanese was taught, his education in Chinese continued.[2] In 1907, he went to study Chinese with Huang Qizhuo in Xiaoyi School (*Xiaoyi tang*), laying a solid foundation for his future writing in Chinese. At that time, for Lai He's generation, it was common to learn classical Chinese at the academy of Han Classics (*shuyuan*), using Taiwanese as the medium of

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[1] Examples include Lin Ruiming's *Taiwan wenxue yu shidai jingshen—Lai He yanjiu lunji* (Taiwanese Literature and the Spirit of the Times—Collected Research Essays on Lai He) (Taipei: Yunchen, 1993) and Shi Yilin's "Lai He hanshi de xinsixiang jiqi xiezuo tese" (The New Thinking and Writing Characteristics of Lai He's Han Poems), *Zhongzheng daxue zhongwen xueshu niankan* (National Zhongzheng University Chinese Studies Annually) 2 (March 1999): 151–89.

[2] Public elementary schools (*kōgakkō*) were set up for Taiwanese children. There were public elementary schools for Han-Chinese children, and those for aboriginal children, as well as the primary schools (*shōgakkō*) for the Japanese children in Taiwan, although a small number of Taiwanese students attended primary schools. In 1910, public school education was made compulsory, with the aims of cultivating Japanese spirit and popularizing Japanese language.

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teaching.[3] After graduating from the Japanese public elementary school, Lai He entered the Taiwan Government-General Medical School in Taipei in 1909.

The contrast between the traditionalism of his family background and the intellectual atmosphere of the Medical School was sharp for Lai He. Unlike the earlier generation—the literati who had received several years of classical Chinese training at the beginning of the Japanese rule, and different from the younger Japanese-language generations, Lai He represented a generation caught in the transition period between "old" and "new" and between "classical Chinese" and "vernacular Chinese."[4] While studying medicine, Lai He read widely. He also joined the student club, Recovery Association (*Fuyuanhui*),[5] and became friendly with Wang Zhaopei and Weng Junming, both of whom later became members of the revolutionary organization, Alliance Association (*Tongmenghui*), in China. After graduating in April 1914, Lai He stayed in Taipei for his medical practice, and later moved to Jiayi Hospital (1915 to 1917) before returning to his hometown, Zhanghua, to open a clinic. To promote the China-Japan friendship, the Government-General set up the Boai Hospital in Amoy. Lai He was one of the first group of doctors to be appointed to serve there (July 1919-May 1920). Lai He's decision to go could have been made partly because he wished to change his work environment especially after the loss of his baby boy only a few months previous,[6] and partly because he personally wanted to visit China. In one of his poems reflecting his trip to Amoy, Lai He wrote: "My ten-year dream came true in one day, but it was originally not a blessing."[7] In Amoy, Lai He was deeply concerned with China's sociopolitical issues, such as the chaos caused by warlord politics at that time. It was also during his sojourn in China that he came across China's New Literature Movement of the May Fourth period, more directly, even though the trip ended in disillusionment.

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[3] According to Fujii Shōzō, the number of schools teaching traditional Chinese classics decreased from about 1700 in 1898 to 302 in 1919. Until 1941, there were only seven such private schools left. See Fujii's book in fn. 108 of Introduction, p. 47.

[4] In Lin Ruiming's view, Lai He (together with Chen Xugu and Yang Shouyu) belonged to the first-generation vernacular group of writers. Yang Kui, Long Yingzong, Zhang Wenhuan and other Japanese-language authors belonged to the second generation, and Chen Huoquan, Zhou Jinbo, and Wang Changxiong were the third generation. See Lin's book in fn. 1, p. 326, p. 328, and p. 365.

[5] "Fuyuan" is a pun on "return to the original state," hinting at Taiwan's retrocession.

[6] See Xie Jinrong, *Qingshan youshi: Taiwanshi renwu xinlun* (A New Analysis on Some Figures in Taiwanese History) (Taipei: Xiuwei, 2006), p. 149.

[7] https://zh.wikisource.org/zh-hant/%E6%AD%B8%E5%8E%BB%E4%BE%86%28%E6%BC%A2%E8%A9%A9%29 In addition to this poem, Lai He wrote other poems to express his frustration with what he saw in China, such as the corruption and lavish lifestyle of local gentry and officials.

Lai He's interest in Chinese literature, however, continued upon his return to Taiwan in May 1920. At this time, when free from his duties as a doctor in Zhanghua, he began experimenting with vernacular Chinese writing. In 1921, he joined the Taiwanese Cultural Association and took part in numerous cultural and political activities. Two years later, the Japanese authorities apprehended Lai He due to his involvement in the Incident of the Public Security Policemen (*Zhijing shijian*). During his imprisonment, he wrote three short poems to reconfirm his anti-Japanese stance and concurrently continued to read and was influenced by western literature. This event marked Lai He's "farewell to his juvenility,"[8] leading him to play a more active role in Taiwan's cultural scene after his 1924 release. Although he still wrote traditional poems in this period, he was not indifferent to the old/new literary debate at that time. In 1925, when the demand for a vernacular literature became more and more prevalent in Taiwanese literary circles, Lai He published his first poem, "A Conscious Sacrifice," in vernacular Chinese. In the following year, he published two other vernacular short stories "Joining in the Fun"[9] and "The 'Steelyard.'"[10] The condemnation of bad social practices and Japanese oppression revealed in these three works laid a foundation for Lai He's later writing.

With his growing humanitarian concern for the masses and his wish to popularize literature, Lai He was more inclined to the left in the 1927 split of the Taiwanese Cultural Association even though he was engaged with both sides. After the nativist literary debate in 1930 initiated by Huang Shihui, Lai He's local identity grew stronger. This led to his literary experiment of writing in the Taiwanese language and promotion of Taiwanese folklore. As the Japanese imperialists banned the use of Chinese in 1937 and his Taiwanese writing was considered difficult to read, Lai He picked up traditional poetry again. He established the Response Society (*Ying she*) to promote the writing of traditional poetry in 1939 but did not publish any works from January 1936 until his death in 1943. Lai He was buried in the Shrine of Martyrs in Zhanghua in 1951 as an "anti-Japanese martyr," but his tombstone was removed in 1958 due to his suspected relationship with the Taiwanese Communist Party. Discussions of Lai He's life became taboo and his works remained little known among the general population. Not until Liang Jingfeng published the introductory essay "Who is Lai He?" in 1976 were Lai He's works brought to public attention. In February 1984, Lai's tombstone was moved back to the Shrine of Martyrs after his case was re-evaluated and classed as a miscarriage of justice. Through his works, Lai expressed his concerns for the colonial reality in Taiwan. His criticism of traditional Taiwanese society and resistance against Japanese colonialism inspired many other younger Taiwanese writers during Taiwan's Japanese period.

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[8] See Lai He's five-word classical poem entitled "Liuzi" (Wearing a Mustache), in *Lai He quanji* (Complete Works of Lai He), vol. 5, ed. Lin Ruiming (Taipei: Qianwei, 2000), p. 432.

[9] *Lai He ji* (Collected Works of Lai He), ed. Zhang Henghao (Taipei: Qianwei, 1991), pp. 47–54.

[10] Ibid., pp. 55–65. Both titles (*Tàu-lāu-jia̍t/Tàu-lāu-lia̍t* 鬥鬧熱 and *Tsi̍t-kuáinn tshing-á* 一桿「稱仔」), and the male protagonist's name (Tsîn Tik-tsham 秦得參) in "The 'Steelyard,'" make more sense in Taiwanese, and therefore should be pronounced in Taiwanese.

Lai He's View on the Taiwanese Populace

Like many Chinese intellectuals inspired by the late Qing's *xinmin* (to renovate people) thinking and later the May Fourth cultural transformation discourse, writers in colonial Taiwan often carried the self-imposed moral burden of being cultural enlighteners on behalf of society. Bearing this notion of literary utilitarianism in mind, Lai He's creative writing espoused a socially engaged realism. For him, the greatness of a writer did not lie in his mastery of words but in whether he could possess revolutionary thinking to enlighten his fellow countrymen. The first step of the cultural transformation project was to dissect the decayed part of society. Hence, Lai He's early works are often critical of the backward social practices and satirical of the character of Taiwanese people.

"Joining in the Fun" is a sarcastic work with a utilitarian purpose of social reform. Beginning with an understatement of the pleasant weather and festive atmosphere, the story makes a powerful caricature of the traditional deity-worshipping fair. Through the conversation of the few nameless characters, the *timian* or *mianzi* (face) problem of the villagers is revealed because even the poor people are forced to donate money to make the fair more luxurious than the one held by the other villages. While a few bystanders are commenting about how successful the fair seems to be, an elderly person joins the conversation, saying that before the Japanese came, the competition at the Four City Walls was even more bustling. Superficially, the words of the old person seem to be a criticism of the Japanese occupation for it indicates that the social situation was better when Taiwan was under local governance. Yet what lurks inside the story is another vision of the distance between the insightful narrator and the ignorant crowd. The tragic sense in this vision lies in the crowd's inability to recognize their oppressed status. Like the elderly person, the masses are addicted to their recollection of the pre-ceded Taiwan and do not have the awareness to fight against the colonial system.

Lai He's criticism of personal weakness was applicable not only to the ordinary villagers but also to the gentry who were indifferent about external change. "Qipan bian" (Beside the Chessboard)[11] and "Langman waiji" (A Romantic Record)[12] provide two salient examples. Written in response to the 1929 policy that regulated opium smoking, "Beside the Chessboard" reflects Lai He's worries about the impact of this policy on the Taiwanese people.[13] The story depicts gambling practices in an old-fashioned local gentry's house. Those gentry people are described as Han loyalists whose nature is valuing letters and belittling physical labor (*zhongwen qingwu*), and the story contains abundant passages about their self-complacent lifestyle, indifference to the colonial reality, and lagging behind the times. Through their inability and reluctance to change, Lai He pointed out that since Taiwanese people are the offspring of the Han tribe their thoughts are shaped by the feudalism of Chinese culture, which stems from traditional agricultural economics. Due to this negative national character, people are content in their own world, refusing to accept new things and think about improvement. Hence, even practical and reasonable Japanese cultural practices (such as celebrating the new year in a simple way) fail to push Taiwan in the direction of modernization.

Lai He's sarcastic observation of the negative Taiwanese gentry class is also revealed from "A Romantic Record," a work in which the intellectuals' passiveness becomes the target of his satire. The story begins with a description of the lawless behavior of local hooligans. Although they disturb the social peace, their "reliability, braveness, militant spirit and contempt of money" are precious, for they are not typical national characteristics of the Taiwanese. The intellectuals (*siwenren*) in this story are ridiculed as a group of pretentious people who enjoy bragging but become submissive under the intimidation of the Japanese policemen. When the local hooligans make fun of them in a wine house, they are too timid to fight back. Ironically, they need to rely on the protection of the Japanese policemen, the people who they publicly criticized. After the Japanese policemen dismiss the hooligans, the intellectuals continue to enjoy their wine as if nothing has happened. It is their timidity that makes them sigh about how violent the world is but prevents them from putting their reformist theory into action. Viewed from this perspective, they are probably even worse than the hooligans for at least the hooligans dare to challenge the imperialists' authority and their words are consistent with their actions.

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[11] *Collected Works of Lai He*, pp. 103–10.

[12] Ibid., pp. 119–32.

[13] In his 1924 poem "Afurong qigu" (A Seven-Character Verse on Opium), Lai expressed similar concerns over the opium smoking of Taiwanese people, and his reservations about the efficacy and intention of Gotō Shimpei's policy that instituted an opium monopoly. See *Lai He ji* (Collection of Lai He's Works), ed. Chen Jianzhong (Tainan: National Museum of Taiwan Literature, 2012), pp. 119–25.

Longing for a Fair and Reasonable Society

Along with dissecting the negative national character of the Taiwanese people, Lai He's critical attention was directed toward the absurdity of the law in the colony of Taiwan and the exploitative nature of colonial economy. In many of his works, he condemned imperialist oppression, portraying an ideal world governed by reason and justice. "The 'Steelyard'" and "Fengzuo" (A Rich Harvest) are two examples that reflect this theme. Inspired by the French Nobel laureate Anatole France's "L'Affaire Crainquebille," "The 'Steelyard'" depicts the survival of a vegetable vendor named Qin Decan under the Japanese capitalist exploitation.[14] One day, in order to please the Japanese policeman who visits his stall, Qin deliberately underestimates the weight of the vegetables. Unfortunately, the policeman does not feel grateful at all, and Qin is sentenced for violating the rules of weights and measures. Unable to endure the insult and pay the bail, Qin kills the policeman and then commits suicide. "A Rich Harvest" tells of the unfair economic structure and the exploitation of farmers by the Japanese-supervised Farmers' Society. The farmer protagonist, Tianfu, works hard in order to obtain an extra bonus from the Farmers' Society. Yet before the harvest day, the Society promulgates a new rule in which farmers' interests are disregarded. When other farmers go to protest, Tianfu remains submissive out of fear that his bonus will be taken away if he joins the protest. However, Tianfu fails to get the bonus because the Society deliberately rigs the scale used to weigh his sugarcane, ensuring that Tianfu's harvest is below the minimum weight required to win the reward.

In both stories, steelyards symbolize the Japanese colonial government in Taiwan. Theoretically, steelyards, which are straight-beam balances for weighing, should represent fairness, justice and objectivity. However, they are either broken or remade by the Japanese in the two works. By influencing the rule of weights and measures to serve their economic interest and political control, the Japanese imperialists deny the possibility of a fair and reasonable society. Lai

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[14] The protagonist's name 秦得參 is highly symbolic. Its Taiwanese pronounciation is homophonic with 真的慘, which means "truly miserable."

He, in one of his short essays, explicated that great power (*qiangquan*) grants the legal weight to laws, and that laws are often executed by those in positions of authority who choose to enhance domination and control.[15] Although Qin's killing of the Japanese officer and his suicide are not to be emulated, his honesty generates a stark contrast to the colonizers' avaricious and manipulative conduct. As soon as he is bailed out, Qin urges his wife to redeem the pawned hairpin his sister lent to his wife. "The 'Steelyard'" was composed in late 1925, roughly the thirtieth year of Japanese rule over Taiwan. With Qin being about thirty years of age, his story thus becomes particularly allegorical. By questioning how righteous laws can be made, and ridiculing justice as catering only to those with power, the narrator in both stories reveals a contradiction between an idealistic society and a real one full of inequality. Such an incongruity leads Lai He to a dilemma—the more he wished to use literature to make a better Taiwanese society, the more he was incredulous about whether there was a way out of the vulnerability of Taiwanese commoners. Nevertheless, the gap between he (the intellectual observer of social evils) and his fellow countrymen (the depicted object) seemed to remain large and a sense of alienation became inevitable.

Intellectuals versus the Crowd

Lai He's alienation as an intellectual who empowered himself to take up the mission of enlightening his countrymen can be seen in his work "Reshi" (Creating Trouble),[16] which tells how a Taiwanese widow is misunderstood and consequently apprehended by a Japanese policeman for stealing his chicken. Although several farmers in the story realize the widow is innocent, they are all too intimidated by the Japanese policemen's authority to stand up and help her. In the end, a young intellectual protagonist stands up to the Japanese policemen' oppression, persuading his fellow villagers to protest by not attending the gathering in which the widow would receive her sentence from the Japanese authority. His appeal, however, is not well received by his scared fellow villagers. The contrast between the militant young man and the passive villagers indicates the alienating confrontation between that era's intellectuals and their countrymen.

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[15] See Lai He's "Wei mingming 'zai suowei wenming de shehui li'" (Untitled: In the So-called Civilized Society), in *Complete Works of Lai He*, vol. 2, p. 217. The publication year is unknown. The title, drawn from the first sentence of the essay, was added by the compiler.

[16] *Collected Works* of *Lai He*, pp. 169–88.

Unlike “Creating Trouble,” which depicts an intellectual protagonist’s hopelessness for his fellow villagers, Lai He’s “Guijia” (Returning Home),[17] similar to Lu Xun’s “Guxiang” (Hometown),[18] reflects an intellectual protagonist’s sympathetic feeling for the masses. Lu Xun’s “Hometown” starts with a sentimental tone as the protagonist returns to his hometown to say goodbye to his old neighbors and playmate, while Lai He’s “Returning Home” begins with the self-mockery of the narrator, who is a newly graduated young man. He says: “If a commodity in factories is not satisfying, it can still be changed, yet as soon as it is displayed in the market and found not to be satisfying, then, it will be forever abandoned. The feeling of being abandoned troubles me upon my graduation. Therefore I go home uneasily.”[19] After taking a short break, the narrator strolls the streets, reminiscing about his hometown. To his surprise, the town has changed a lot. For instance, education has become popular. Most of the children attend the public schools designed for Taiwanese, so that there are not many of them fooling around on the street. Although still in an economic recession, many new buildings have been constructed and the number of beggars has decreased. Even the local temple, a symbol used in this story to represent the superstition of the Taiwanese people, is half-destroyed.

Assuming his fellow villagers have abandoned superstition and started to pick up modern ideas, the narrator feels astounded when learning that the local temple will be refurbished. Suddenly, he recognizes an old peddler from whom he used to buy malt sugar. In the conversation with the peddler, the Taiwanese people’s unwillingness to change is revealed. Obsessed with the old times, the peddler complains about his more “modern” life after the Japanese arrived and denies the effects of western medicine. Another peddler joins them, pointing out that he is proud of not letting his children go to school to learn “useless” Japanese, for he believes that knowledge is only useful for people like the narrator but not for people like them. When trying to explain to them that going to school is not only necessary for learning to read, write and speak, but also for cultivating national character, both peddlers insist on their idea that education is useless. The conversation ends suddenly when the peddlers hear people screaming “Police!” as a warning and they disperse.

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[17] *Nanyin* 1.1 (January 1932): 24–28.

[18] See *Nahan—Lu Xun zuopin quanji: yi* (Call to Arms—A Complete Collection of Lu Xun’s Works: 1), pp. 77–91. See Zhang Henghao’s “Rai Wa no ‘Kika’ to Ro Jin’s no ‘Kokyō’” (Lai He’s “Returning Home” and Lu Xun’s “Hometown”) in *Yomigaeru Taiwan bungaku—Nihon tōjiki no sakka to sakuhin*, Shimomura Sakujirō et al., eds, pp. 247–64, for further details about the differences between Lai He’s “Returning Home” and Lu Xun’s “Hometown.”

[19] *Nanyin* 1.1 (January 1932): 24.

In Lu Xun's "Hometown," the distance between the intellectual narrator and his fellow villagers is revealed from the difference between the narrator and his ex-playmate Runtu. The narrator used to feel envious and amused when listening to Runtu talking about his wild and "adventurous" life in the countryside. Yet when they meet again after nearly thirty years without having seen each other, the protagonist is so surprised by Runtu's change and worried about his living condition that he senses there is a "sad thick wall" between them. Driven by famine, despotic rule and poverty, Runtu has become as lifeless as a puppet. Unlike the narrator in Lai He's "Returning Home" who attempts to convince his fellow villagers with importance of receiving education, the narrator in Lu Xun's "Hometown" remains pensive when making his farewells to Runtu. He hopes that the younger generation will not experience such an unbridgeable gap as he has experienced between Runtu and himself. The only way is to pursue a new life, a life that is not as difficult as his or as "paralyzed" as Runtu's.

When comparing these two stories, Lai He seems slightly more positive than Lu Xun regarding the future of their fellow countrymen. For Lai He, although the perspectives of the intellectual and his fellow villagers are quite different, for instance, they share almost opposite ideas on the utilitarian function of education, there remains the hope of the villagers becoming enlightened enough to accept the intellectual narrator's view. Yet for Lu Xun, to hold hope was as dangerous as icon worshipping, and to long for a new life, which had not been experienced by anyone, was as difficult as opening a new road through a savage land. Unlike the ending of Lu Xun's "Hometown" in which the intellectual submerges himself in contemplation, the closure of "Returning Home" is lighter. It ends with a natural interruption, the arrival of the policemen, instead of the deep moralistic and sentimental tone found in "Hometown." The hide-and-seek relationship between the policemen and the peddlers also adds some humor to the story. However, no matter whether the intellectual holds a critical or sympathetic attitude, for Lai He, the gap between the intellectuals and the masses remains, even if it is not completely unbridgeable.

The Impasse between Cultural Enlightenment and Mass Movements

When looking at Lai He's career as a whole, it is obvious that his prestigious position in literature was not matched by an equally prominent role in politics. He did not play a leading role in the Taiwanese Cultural Association, and he did not take part in the farmers' unionist activities. However, his passive stance toward politics did not mean that he was not concerned about the social circumstances at that time. It is rather a reflection of his self-created role in anti-Japanese movements and his personal temperament. To analyze Lai He's left-leaning trajectory, I will first introduce the mindsets that shaped the actions of Taiwanese intellectuals of his era and later caused the split of the Taiwanese Cultural Association, and then investigate Lai He's involvement with the Association.

The 1927 split of the Taiwanese Cultural Association can be traced back to the different historical developments exemplified by different countries a few years before the Association's establishment. One of the roots was the notion of national liberation, which peaked after World War I. The other root came from socialist thinking emerging from Russia, China and Japan. The notion of national liberation was mild and gradual, and it won great support among the leading members of the Association (most of whom were local landlords and gentry), while the notion of class struggle was more radical and direct and met a favorable response from the petit bourgeoisie and working class. Such people not only wished to overthrow Japanese colonial domination but also to resist the capitalist exploitation of the landlords. The attempt of the petite bourgeoisie and working class inevitably led to the inner disharmony within and later the split of the Association.

At the time when the Association was established, Lai He was still a traditional intellectual who wrote poems for entertainment and was not too interested in politics. He did not attend the establishment meeting of the Association on October 17th 1921 due to his demanding career as a medical doctor in Zhanghua. His involvement with the Association was rather passive. He was recommended to Lin Xiantang, the president of the Association by his friend Jiang Weishui, and later appointed as a committee member. Despite his support of the Association's cultural enlightenment goal, he was not keen on taking up the position. On the contrary, he wrote to Jiang, gently declining the invitation. In this letter,[20] Lai He explained that he did not have the determination to sacrifice himself for the three million Taiwanese people at this time. However, Jiang never followed Lai's wish. Ironically, even though the committee members changed annually, Lai He's name remained on the list for ten years.

Lai He's low-key personality did not mean that he completely detached himself from anti-colonial movements. In 1923, when the colonial authorities cancelled the public speeches organized by the Tokyo-based Taiwanese Youth

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[20] See Lai He's autobiographic work "Asi" (Asi), in *Lai He xiansheng quanji* (Complete Works of Mr. Lai He), ed. Li Nanheng (Taipei: Mingtan, 1979), p. 334.

Society (*Taiwan qingnianhui*), Lai He wrote an article to protest against the action of the Japanese police.[21] On December 16th, the same year, he was apprehended by the Japanese Government-General in their suppression of the anti-Japanese organization known as the Aspiration League (*Qicheng tongmenghui*). This event, known as the Incident of the Public Security Policemen in Taiwanese history, made Lai He re-examine his attitude toward anti-Japanese activities. His three-week imprisonment helped strengthen his anti-colonial stance. He wrote that he would never cooperate with the Japanese oppressors, and would continue to go ahead toward the road of "brightness."[22] He even gathered annually with other victims of the Incident to celebrate their time in prison together.

Leaning toward the Left

With the development of anti-Japanese movements, the urgency for the Taiwanese Cultural Association to re-define its direction increased. Between the two conflicting voices of cultural enlightenment and class liberation, the Association gradually shifted to the latter. In "Fuhui" (Going to a Meeting), Lai He indicated the potential split of the Association. Although he did not specify that the meeting in this work referred to the committee meeting of the Association in Wufeng in May 1926, the descriptions of the meeting details match with those of the Wufeng meeting. Starting with a depiction of the poor living conditions of a group of manual laborers, the story reveals a humanitarian concern for the proletariat. On his train journey to attend the meeting, the narrator, occupied by what he has seen before boarding, begins to contemplate the effect of the anti-superstitious notions raised by the Cultural Association. He is concerned about what sort of comfort the Association (the intellectuals) can offer to the laborers after the breakdown of superstition. The train continues to go forward, and the narrator is captivated by the conversation between two male passengers (a Japanese and a Taiwanese), which he overhears. The Taiwanese says, "... most of the central members of the Association are privileged overseas students in Japan. The bourgeois intellectual class is simply a product of the time. It does not mean that they are people with awareness. Therefore, they cannot participate in the struggles actively, but only hold talks occasionally."[23] From this passage, the narrator seems to start examining his own class. However, this brief "enlightenment" is soon replaced by a boisterous noise as the train enters the station. While waiting for another train, the narrator meets another member of the Association in the waiting room. They do not talk much for this person holds a first-class ticket while he only holds a third class one. This implies the narrator's relative closeness to the laborers. This identity is later reinforced by the narrator's action when overhearing a chat between two farmers in the second half of his journey. These two farmers complain about their exploitation by the landlord class, pointing out that the Association aims high—to improve the welfare of all the Taiwanese people—but does not care about the fundamentals—treating their tenant farmers more fairly. This is because many members of the Association are from local gentry and landlord families. Although the narrator does not fully understand the farmers' language usage, which contains several harvest-related terms, he feels shameful about their negative comments about the Association.

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[21] Ibid., p. 335.

[22] Ibid., p. 337.

[23] *Collected Works of Lai He*, p. 232.

When the narrator arrives late for the meeting to which he has been travelling, the discussion has proceeded to the problem of educating the common people. Based on his experience, the narrator suggests that the Association should popularize Japanese and use it as a cover to gain permission of the Japanese authorities. Although he further points out that getting closer to the masses is necessary, he admits that some degree of compromise with the imperialists is also necessary. Disagreeing with his mild proposal, another member suggests that the Association should advocate popularizing Chinese and stop acting inferior in front of the colonizers. This proposal soon wins many members' support. Popularizing Chinese and Romanization are both passed at the end. However, the story goes on to describe the meeting on the following day when people focusing on class struggle and national consciousness cannot reach a conclusion. Yet the narrator is not bothered by the potential split of the Association. On the contrary, he visits the wealthy landlord and the president of the Association, Lin Xiantang's, family garden. Intoxicated with the peaceful atmosphere, the narrator recites three short poems. The first one praises the beauty of the plum blossoms. The second expresses his wish to maintain a tranquil life like Lao Laizi, a legendary recluse known for putting on colorful clothes to entertain his parents (*caiyi yuqin*) even in his seventies. The last poem describes the frustration of intellectuals after the Incident of the Public Security Policemen. The narrator uses metaphors such as "decayed pillar" (*xiuliang*) and "abandoned wood" (*qicai*) to express the intellectuals' helplessness.[24]

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[24] Ibid., p. 236.

To consider this story in conjunction with the social reality of the time, it can be read as a fictive version of the Wufeng meeting of the Association since the passing of the proposals for advocating Chinese and Romanization in this story matches well with the content of the real meeting.[25] Through the narrator, Lai He dissected the gentry and landlord-based structure of the Association, indicating that the reason it failed to fulfill its target lay in the class distinction between the traditional gentry-intellectuals and the masses. Although Lai He did not specify his ideological affinity in this work, his ridicule of the traditional gentry-intellectuals showed that he was no longer satisfied with the purely cultural enlightenment task originally set by the Association. His concern for the exploited proletariat made him gradually defer to the left-wing social movements, even though he was reluctant to commit himself to either side in the split of the Association in 1927.

Continuing the unsettled debate on the direction of the Association, members gradually divided themselves into two sides—the left-leaning and the right-leaning. The left wing, including Lian Wenqing and Jiang Weishui, emphasized class struggle, attempting to reform the Association and push proletarian movements. The right wing, including for instance Cai Peihuo, advocated a milder and gradual method to unite the people and to stimulate their national consciousness. In January 1927, the socialist motion proposed by Lian Wenqing was passed, marking the transition of the Association from nationalism to socialism and from a cultural association to a political association.[26] After the split, Lai He established a close relationship with the new Association, yet was also involved with the Taiwanese People's Party (*Taiwan minzhongdang*), a political organization founded by the nationalist members of the pre-split Association.

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[25] See "Wenxie lishi huiyi" (The Committee Meeting of the Taiwanese Cultural Association), *Taiwan minabo*, no. 107, pp. 5–6.

[26] In the meeting on January 2, 1927, Lian Wenqing proposed to follow the Russian proletarian movements and promoted national self-determination with socialist ideas in his essay "The Previous Social Movements in Taiwan." Jiang Weishui proposed to follow the KMT policy and called for the union of the Taiwanese people in "The Slogan of this Year—People must unite, union is powerful." Cai Peihuo expressed his relatively more conservative ideas in "My aim in the cultural movements." In the end, Lian's proposal, with Jiang's revision of his proposal, was passed. Yet Lian proposed a "committee leader system" (*weiyuanzhang zhi*) and Jiang proposed a "prime-minister system" (*zongli zhi*). Lian's proposal was chosen in the vote. Consequently, Jiang resigned his position as a central committee member and lost his power in the Association thereafter. For details, see *Taiwan minbao*, no.138 (January 2, 1927) for Cai's essay (pp. 8–11), Jiang's essay (pp. 11–12) and Lian's essay (pp. 12–13).

Lai He's attitude and stance in the Association's split can be found from his prosaic story "Qianjin" (Going Forward). Published in the premier issue of *Taiwan dazhong shibao* (Newspaper of the Taiwanese Masses) in 1928, this work suggested Lai He's growing concern for the proletariat in Taiwan—the newspaper was established with a strong aim to promote mass literature (*dazhong wenyi*) in order to challenge the bourgeois orientation of *Taiwan minbao* (Taiwan People's News). Set on a dark night, a symbol of the turbulent social circumstance around 1927, "Going Forward" offers an allegorical account of the split of the Taiwanese Cultural Association. The two child protagonists walking along the road respectively symbolize the left-wing camp and the right-wing camp. Their rootlessness, as a result of being abandoned by their original mother (Mainland China) and reluctance to follow their stepmother (Japan), implies that Taiwanese people must rely on themselves in searching for an identity and to fight against the Japanese imperialists. For Lai He, to attach oneself emotionally to one of the sides was not significant. What counted more was whether the two could help each other to keep on going forward. He wrote: "The two do not intend to take separate routes … going forward! Only by going forward are they not worried or afraid. They progress confidently with their mutual help, and finally reach the other bank of the river."[27] From this revealing passage, Lai He indicated that to be concerned with the common destiny of Taiwanese people—to fight against capitalistic imperialists—was more meaningful than personal ideological contention.

Although Lai He did not articulate his ideological preference, he expressed a quasi-socialist utopian wish in this work, stating, "Although the two children are exhausted and their thoughts become vague … they do not forget to go forward, toward a route leading to a kingdom of dreams."[28] Facing the low-tide of the anti-Japanese movements, Lai He could not predict the future of Taiwan. However, he did not abandon his hope. In fact, the idealist color in his work increased, and can be seen in his desire to stimulate renewed cooperation between the intellectuals from the two sides. The end of the story, in which the child who suffered the most continues to move forward even though he has lost his brother's company, symbolizes how the socialist-oriented new Association has inherited the mission of liberating Taiwan on its own. His mistaking his own shadow as his brother's figure reflects Lai He's idealistic call for a unification of the two groups of the Association. In a social context in which the imperialists attempted to decrease the power of the Association, Lai He's advocacy of mutual help, and his endeavor to remain "neutral" can be interpreted as dealing with the division policy of the Japanese authorities in an expedient manner.

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[27] *Collected Works of Lai He*, p. 77.

[28] Ibid.

Despite Lai He's involvement in both the left wing and the reform-oriented right wing during the split, his humanitarian concern for the proletariat made him shift closer and closer to the former. His "Suibi" (Newspaper Column), published at the beginning of 1931, revealed his left-inclined ideology.[29] The image Lai He portrayed of himself in this sarcastic piece written in commemoration of the 1923 Incident of the Public Security Policemen, is quite negative. He started with a lamentation that Taiwanese people were indeed too timid to fight against oppression, and the scholars only grumbled through writing without taking any further action. He then mocked himself that he was good for nothing. He had even less to talk about than "the socialist followers who suffer poor treatment in prison" or the "laborers who encounter a hard life of starvation and homelessness." At best, he could "boast" about his expenses for drinking, smoking, food and clothing, which either generated taxes to pay the salaries of civil servants (and thus helped reduce unemployment), or enabled farmers and workers to make a living. These passages are indicative of Lai He's disappointment with the lack of political activism among writers as well as his wish to identify himself (more) with the socialists and the proletariat. Unsurprisingly, in the second split of the Taiwanese Cultural Association in the period 1930–31, Lai He turned to the side represented by the socialist Wang Minchuan.

Like many of his contemporaneous intellectuals in Taiwan's Japanese period, Lai He took up the route of cultural enlightenment yet simultaneously recognized its limits. With the increasing importance of mass movements and his own growing sympathy for the proletariat, Lai He gradually became uncomfortable with his right-wing position. His participation in the Taiwanese Cultural Association after 1927 showed his inclination toward the left.[30] Yet throughout his life, his socialism remained an idealistic belief waiting to be practiced. Therefore, even if he can be considered a pan-socialist, he did not support Wang Minchuan's radical Red Rescuing Society (*Chise jiuyuanhui*) in Taiwan.[31] Between hesitation and action, Lai He's plight was a mixed result stemming from his personality and the external situation. Although he was not like Lu Xun who joined the League of the Left-wing Writers or Yang Kui who partook in unionist activities, he nevertheless found himself a way out of his predicament.

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[29] *Taiwan New People's News* 345 (January 1, 1931): 19.

[30] For instance, he did not participate in the right-wing Taiwan Self Government League (*Taiwan zizhi lianmeng*) led by the gentry-intellectual Lin Xiantang in 1930.

[31] It was established in support of the Taiwanese Communist Party during the suppression of the Japanese Government-General in June 1931.

From Pan-Socialism to Taiwanese Localism

With the increasing prevalence of socialist thought coming from Japan to Taiwan,[32] the Taiwanese People's Party's gradual stress on the proletariat and the establishment of the Taiwan Communist Party in Shanghai on April 15, 1928,[33] the new Association showed a more radical socialist color. Huang Shihui's call for nativist literature (*xiangtu wenxue*) in 1930 and Guo Qiusheng's advocacy of the Taiwanese language in 1931, in which local color (*bentuxing*) and popularizing literature and art (*wenyi dazhonghua*) were mentioned, also inspired Lai He, making him respond by proposing a recompilation of folksongs and legends and experimenting with writing in Taiwanese. Both literary debates gave Lai He ideas to deal with the frustrating period around 1931, a year in which fascist expansionism accelerated in Japan after the September 18th Incident and the anti-Japanese movements in Taiwan were forced to retake their old routes—the petition movements of the Taiwanese Parliament—under the more rigorous control of the imperialists. In such a changing and uncertain context, Lai He consigned himself to literature, writing works with more virile and idealistic characteristics and with stronger local awareness than before. He even returned, in 1936, to writing traditional poems.[34] In order to capture a picture of his later years under Japanese rule, it is helpful to analyze his leftist idealism, together with his Taiwanese consciousness and linguistic experiments.

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[32] The popular Japanese socialist theorists at that time included Fukumoto Kazuo (Wang Minchuan's socialism was inspired by Fukumoto) and Yamakawa Hitoshi (Lian Wenqing's theory was based on Yamakawa's advocacy of a "proletarian party"). Both had a series of theoretical debates in 1926. Fukumoto's theory won more support in Japan, and consequently Lian Wenqing's status in the new Association was gradually eroded and replaced by that of Wang Minchuan. See Lin Ruiming's *Taiwanese Literature and the Spirit of the Times: Collected Research Essays on Lai He* and Xu Shikai's *Nihon tōji ka no Taiwan—teikō to danatsu* (Taiwan under the Japanese Rule—Resistance and Oppression) for further details.

[33] See Lu Xiuyi's *Riju shidai Taiwan gongchandang shi* (A History of the Taiwanese Communist Party during the Japanese Occupation Period) for details about the establishment of the Taiwanese Communist Party.

[34] Despite his concentration on vernacular story writing from the mid-1920s to the mid-1930s, Lai He did not completely stop writing classical Chinese poems during this decade. He resumed writing traditional poems possibly because it was easier to use Taiwanese expressions in poetry than in short stories.

A Revelation of a Utopian World

Compared to Lai He's early works, in which direct resistance and critical realism are discernable, his later stories reflect an idealistic style. "Shansong de ren de gushi" (The Advocate) exemplifies this idealism, a style that is not found in his realist works such as "A Rich Harvest." Published in 1934 and adapted from a provincial folktale from Lai's hometown, Zhanghua, "The Advocate" describes an altruistic protagonist, Mr. Lin, who devotes himself to helping the poor in his village. First of all, he helps bury a relative of a poor person. Later on, he represents the poor in a lawsuit regarding the right of using the field and finally wins it. He can be taken as an embodiment of Lai He's dream of social justice. Other idealistic notions in the story are revealed from the characterization of the masses and the plot in which justice wins.

Unlike the passive and silent masses in his early works, the masses in "The Advocate" are a brave and active justice-fighting group of people. After Mr. Lin sues his landlord, the government detains him. Yet the villagers, moved by Mr. Lin's selflessness, protest in front of the government building. They even send in some representatives, hoping to negotiate with the authorities through reason. However, their representatives are also detained. Not intimidated by the power of the government, they surround the building until the local authorities finally release Mr. Lin and their representatives. In spite of all the effort, Mr. Lin receives no response to his case. He then travels to a nearby port in China to seek help. In the process of submitting the complaint, Mr. Lin meets a mysterious male character in the lodge. He leaves Mr. Lin with a sentence "Living people have no way out; dead people have no land. Pasturing sheep have no plains; farming oxen have no herbage." (*shengren wulu, siren wutu, muyang wupu, gengniu wucao*) and then walks out without saying another word.[35] Not long after Mr. Lin's encounter with this mysterious person, he wins the lawsuit, yet none of his fellow villagers see him again.

Different from the opportunist farmer, Tianfu, in "A Rich Harvest" who protests out of his own interest and easily gives up, the commoners in "The Advocate" are much braver and more organized. Yet by describing Mr. Lin and the ordinary people in such an almost-perfect way, Lai He risked constructing an oversimplified view of the landlords and the Japanese authorities (for they are not necessarily bad and exploitative) and a landlord/proletariat dichotomy. Rather than regarding the characterization as a flaw, I consider it a device reflecting Lai He's idealistic unification of the mutual-help and mutual-dependence between the landlord class and the proletariat.[36] By employing idealism, Lai He transformed the frustrating reality into an oppression-free utopia attainable only through fictional (re)-writing.

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[35] *Collected Works of Lai He*, p. 204.

Searching for a Local Identity

With the stimulation from Huang Shihui's and Guo Qiusheng's literary proposals in 1930 and 1931, and his own humanitarian tendencies, Lai He's local consciousness grew stronger in the following years. It can be found in his short stories and his lyrical writing, a genre in which Lai chose to make his debut as a creative artist. The writing of classical literature in Taiwan has a long history that can be traced back to the late seventeenth century when many educated scholar-officials of the Ming dynasty immigrated to Taiwan to resist Qing rule. Harboring loyalists' patriotism and nostalgia, the literati wrote poems to express their sentiments. With the threat posed by Japan in 1874 regarding the status of Okinawa and the 1884 Sino-French War in which the French military power reached Keelung and Tamsui, Taiwan's literati became more socially conscious and began to compose poems reflecting that reality and containing references to nationalism.

The writing of traditional poems was promoted as a tool for the Japanese imperialists to entice local gentry-intellectuals to reinforce their local control at the beginning of Japanese rule. In this context, it was normal for Lai He to start his literary career with lyrical writing. Yet unlike the traditional gentry-intellectuals who spent time polishing their words and stressing rhythms, poetry for Lai He was not an aesthetic pursuit or a channel for sentiments and eulogy. Rather, it was for him a tool offering writers in colonial Taiwan an autonomous space of freedom and imagination. In "Lunshi" (On Poetry), Lai He pointed out that sincerity is more important than the beauty of vocabulary.[37] He further stated that the world of poetry was *ziyou di* (a place of freedom), which could change the *niuma shen* (being enslaved as oxen and horses) status of Taiwanese. Naturally, Lai He's classical poems revealed a lower-class-oriented tone and can be seen as his attempt to construct a local identity in response to Japanese colonialism.

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[36] It can also be read as a wish for a cooperation between the aborigines (for Mr. Lin in this story comes from an aboriginal background) and the Han Taiwanese.

[37] Quoted in Lin Ruiming's *A Historical Investigation of Taiwanese Literature*, p. 121–22.

The poem “Yueqin” (The Chinese Harp), which describes Lai He’s experience listening to the music played by a street singer, reads as follows:[38]

月下璁琤響 (The tinkling sound under the moon)
臨風韻更清 (Becomes clearer in the wind)
曲哀心欲碎 (When the songs are sad, my heart is almost broken)
絃急耳頻傾 (When the music is hasty, I listen more carefully)
仙侶梁山伯 (The immortal Liang Shanbo)
賊豪戴萬生 (The bandit Dai Wansheng)
悠悠小兒女 (The numerous young men and women)
隔世亦知名 (Will know their names even in the next generation)

In these lines, by including legendary figures and historical anecdotes in his writing, Lai He seemed to desire more interaction with the common people. His mentioning of Dai Wansheng, a revolutionary leader from his hometown Zhanghua during the late Qing dynasty, is worth noticing. Dai’s uprising (known as the Dai Chaochun Incident), which took place between 1862 and 1865, was one of Taiwan’s three major civil commotions under Qing rule.[39] Lai’s crediting Dai as a “hero of his time” and “injustice fighter” in his poem “Du Taiwan tongshi” (Reading Taiwan’s General History) shows a relatively Taiwan-centric perspective different from the Qing viewpoint that regards Dai as an insurgent. Lai once recorded the Taiwanese song “Dai Wansheng fanqing ge” (Dai Wansheng’s Rise against Qing) sung by Yang Qingchi.[40] This poem starts with the harp player’s singing the tale of Liang Shanbo and that of Dai Wansheng, adding a layer of warmth and sentimentality to the work. It, too, reveals Lai He’s great interest in oral folklore.

Since folk literature is widely spread throughout the general population and serves as a precious source for people’s collective memory, Lai He’s poem displays his close identification with common Taiwanese people’s feelings. In his letter to Huang Zhou, editor of *Taiwan xinmin bao* (Taiwan New People’s News),

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[38] *Complete Works of Mr. Lai He*, p. 383.

[39] The other two are the Zhu Yigui Incident in 1721 and Lin Shuangwen Incident, which lasted from early 1787 to early 1788.

[40] The lyric was edited by Yang Shouyu (under the penname Gong Anzhong) and published under the title “Xinyou yi geshi” (A Song Poem in the Xinyou Year) in *Taiwan xin wenxue* (Taiwan New Literature) 1.8 (September 1936): 125–32, 1.9 (November 1936): 63–72, and 2.1 (December 1936): 63–67.

Lai He further stated: "I am in great favor of recompiling local stories and folklore … if we do not start the task soon, there will be no possibility for the investigation. Look, nowadays children often sing Japanese nursery rhymes."[41] In this short passage, Lai He indicated his wish to promote the restoration of local Taiwanese folklore and stories. That is, to establish an alternative cultural identity and challenge the authority and prevalence of Japanese culture.

Although there was a surge of interest in researching Taiwanese folklore following the advocacy of a nativist literature in 1930, Lai He's effort of collecting local literature began in the twenties. Living in a circumstance where the imperialists strove to restrain and suppress Taiwanese anti-Japanese political movements, Lai He's appeal to set up a preservation of local stories from the lower-class people can be seen as a strategy echoing Huang Shihui's promotion of a nativist literary narration to counterbalance Japanese cultural imperialism. However, in a period when short stories were deemed "progressive" and classical poems elite-oriented, Lai He's return to classical form seemed to be at odds with the trend. Nevertheless, it can be considered an effort to popularize literature among common people since the rhymes made classical poems much easier to recite than prose.

The Linguistic Hybridity of Lai He

Most modern nation-states have their own language and national literature that derives from it. An impetus toward the preservation of the Taiwanese language therefore became an urgent part in the Taiwan new literature movement. As Fanon said: "To speak a language is to take on a world, a culture."[42] The choice of language for Taiwanese writers was not simply a matter of personal preference or the result of Japanese colonialism but a symbolic performance, which was intimately related to their cultural identification.

To deal with the accelerating assimilation policy of Japanese imperialists, there appeared two strategies to authenticate Taiwanese culture and evoke a national narrative: either to return to a local cultural tradition as had already existed in the pre-ceded Taiwan, or to ratify syncretized elements of the heterogeneity created during Taiwan's Japanese period. Lai He's emphasis on restoring local folklore belongs to the former, while the linguistic characteristics of Lai He's later works—a mixture of colloquial Taiwanese and Japanese expression—exemplify the latter. Although scholars often praised Lai He as a pioneer of Taiwanese writing (*taiyu wenxue*), viewing Lai He's works in the Taiwanese language from the vantage point of viewing the history the development of Taiwanese writing, his linguistic experiment and its relationship to traditional poetry deserve more attention.[43]

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[41] *Taiwan New People's News* 345 (January 1, 1931): 18.

[42] *Black Skin, White Masks*, p. 38.

Not long after nation-wide agitation necessitated a written language that could be understood by the common people as prompted by the May Fourth Movement in 1919, Taiwanese intellectuals also began to advocate literary reform. Starting from 1920 when Chen Xin promoted *wenyan yizhi* (consistency of written language and spoken language) and attacked the *wenyan* style of classical literature, writing in vernacular Chinese was adopted by local intellectuals such as Chen Duanming and Huang Chengcong as a mode of conception and expression. However, the question of whether to adopt vernacular Chinese or vernacular Taiwanese remained unsettled. In 1923, Huang Chengcong stated his preference for the former to satisfy his cultural yearning for China. In his "On the New Mission of Popularizing Vernacular Chinese," Huang said:

> … Beginners of Chinese do not need to follow the vernacular Chinese strictly. They can add colloquial Taiwanese expression into the *completely* vernacular Chinese as used in China as a temporary compromise … through gradual study and reading of the vernacular literature from China, the ultimate goal—to write complete vernacular Chinese—can be achieved, and there will be a continuous connection with the Chinese culture in the Mainland (Italics mine).[44]

Huang's notion revealed that certain Taiwanese intellectuals identified themselves as survivors of the Han race as a response to the Japanese colonialism in the twenties. Furthermore, it also articulated the difficulty for Taiwanese intellectuals to read and write in Chinese as most of had learned Japanese at school and spoke Taiwanese in daily life.

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[43] The examples include Xiang Yang's "Dui tuli xing guolai de shengyin—shilun zhanhou taiyushi de jueqi chi qiantu" (The Voice Woken Up from the Soil—On the Rise and Future of Postwar Taiwanese Poems), *Fanshu shikan I: xian suan tian de shijie* (Sweet Potatoes Lyric Journal I: The World of Saltiness, Sourness and Sweetness) (August 1991), pp. 49–70, Chen Lie's "Lai He de wenxue jingshen" (The Literary Spirit of Lai He), *Taiwen tongxun* (Correspondence in Taiwanese), 28 (February 1994): 5–7. Hu Minxiang, in his "Lai He wenxue yuyan de bianzheng" (Dialectics of Lai He's Literary Language), reads Lai He's Taiwanese-language works as evidence of his Taiwanese nationalism.

[44] Quoted in Lin Ruiming's preface of *Taiwanese Literature and Zeitgeist: Essay Collections on the Research of Lai He*, p. v.

The debate focusing on the usage of language became more radical in the thirties when a question of cultural identity was involved. It was especially so when Huang Shihui and Guo Qiusheng proclaimed to use Taiwanese language, a dialect spoken in Fujian Province, to emphasize the "Taiwanese-ness" in literary writing. Their quasi-Taiwanese nationalist statement in which local color was stressed was similar to Lai He's concerns for the common people. Hence, even though Lai He did not initiate the debate, he adhered to the call for a Taiwanese cultural subjectivity quite faithfully and most persistently to the language reform as one means to reach the people.[45] In this way his experimenting with and attempts to write in Taiwanese began. He edited a special issue on the discussion regarding vernacular Taiwanese for the journal *Nanyin* (Southern Tone) and used Taiwanese in his fictional writing. Li Xianzhang, one of Lai He's closest friends, explained the process of Lai He's writing—to think and then write in Chinese, and finally convert vernacular Chinese into Taiwanese.[46] If Lai He's Taiwanese-language writing, or "transcription" of Taiwanese using Chinese characters, indicated his longing for a local identity in response to colonial assimilation, then one should note the hybrid elements in his "Taiwanese-ness." In Lai's "Yige tongzhi de pixin" (A Letter from a Comrade) written in Taiwanese, the infiltration of the Japanese language as well as Chinese expressions is noticeable.[47]

Narrated by the intellectual protagonist's monologue, this story describes the protagonist's response to a letter asking for financial help from his friend in prison. Although it is usually seen as the first experimental work written in

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[45] In fact, as early as in 1926, Lai He expressed his opinion regarding the forms of literary language. He declared: "The goal of the new literature movement is to reach the consistency of tongue and pen.... the new literature is for the masses." See Lan Yun's [Lai He's] "Du 'Tairizhi de xinjiu wenxue zhi bijiao'" (On Reading "A Comparison of Old and New Literature" in the *Taiwan Daily News*), in *Taiwan minbao* (Taiwan People's News) 89 (January 24, 1926): 11.

[46] Wang Shilang also mentioned Lai He's writing procedure—to write in classical Chinese, then change it into vernacular Chinese and finally change into Taiwanese. See "Lai Lanyun lun" (On Lai Lanyun), in *Complete Works of Mr. Lai He*, pp. 399–406.

[47] Chen Weizhi adopted a sociological perspective, examining the hybridity phenomenon of Taiwanese literature and its meaning by using Lai He's "A Letter from a Comrade" as an example. See Chen's "Hunyin duozi de Taiwan (wenxue)—Lai He 'Yige tongzhi de pixin' de yuedu yu quanshi" (The Multilingual Hybridity of Taiwan (Literature)—Reading and Interpreting Lai He's "A Letter from a Comrade"), paper presented at the Conference on Taiwanese Literature held on November 4–5, 1995 at Tamsui Institute of Business Administration.

Taiwanese in Taiwan's literary history, the usage of Taiwanese here was mixed with Japanese sentence structure and words. Examples include the use of:

> 郵便 (*yūbin*) (mail)
> 配達夫 (*haitatsufu*) (deliverer)
> 机 (*tsukue*) (desk)
> 殿 (*dono*) (Mr., Mrs., etc. used in formal letters)
> 郵便局 (*yūbinkyoku*) (post office)
> 止卜 (*chippu*) (tip, gratuity)
> 送金 (*sōkin*) (sending money)
> 寄付 (*kifu*) (contribution)
> 自動車 (*jidōsha*) (automobile)

There are many other examples scattered in different stories. Such as 役場 (*yakuba*) (a district office) in "Returning Home,"[48] 御歳暮 (*oseibo*) (end of the year gift) in "Buruyi de guonian" (Unsatisfied New Year),[49] 名刺 (*meishi*) (name card), ...樣 (*sama*) (polite form to address others) in "A Romantic Record,"[50] 檢束 (*kensoku*) (apprehend), 小使 (*kozukai*) (janitor), 挨拶 (*aisatsu*) (greeting) in "Yuzhong riji" (Diary Written in Prison),[51] 案內 (*annai*) (guide), 驛 (*eki*) (station), 改札口 (*kai satsuguchi*) (ticket check-point) in "Going to a Meeting,"[52] 運轉手 (*untenshu*) (drivers), 刑務所 (*keimusho*) (prison) in "Women difang de gushi" (Our Local Story),[53] and 宿舍料 (*shukusharyō*) (dorm fees), 六割 (*rokuwari*) (forty percent off), 見學 (*kengaku*) (internship), 應援 (*ōen*) (support), 卒業 (*sotsugyō*) (graduate) in "A si" (The Fourth).[54]

Apart from Japanese vocabulary, there are also Chinese expressions mixed in with Lai He's Taiwanese sentences. For example, the word "多麼" in the phrase "伊是多麼古道" (how honest he is), the word "尚" in "你那時尚細漢" (you were still young then), and the pronoun "他" in the sentence "被他欺負到底, 結局怕田也變作伊的." (if we are exploited by him, in the end, the field might also become his) are all Chinese expressions. In "Hufuren de lishi" (A History of the Rich),[55] another story in Taiwanese, there are Chinese expressions like “那些毛管出汗的人” (those with sweating pores). If Lai He’s mixture of Chinese and Taiwanese expressions could be excused as a consequence due to the difficulty of inter-translating, then why did he not convert the Japanese usage into Taiwanese? How should we interpret the Japanese usage in “A Letter from a Comrade” and how might we read the Japanese and Taiwanese usage in Lai He’s work other than as an impure apprentice to vernacular Chinese and a kind of stigmatic appendix to “canonical” nationalist literature?[56]

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[48] *Nanyin*, p. 27.

[49] *Collected Works of Lai He*, p. 67.

[50] Ibid., p. 122 and p. 132.

[51] *Complete Works of Lai He* 3, p. 24, p. 32, and p. 36.

[52] *Collected Works of Lai He*, p. 229, p. 232, and p. 235.

[53] *Complete Works of Lai He* 2, p. 273 and p. 279.

[54] *Collected Works of Lai He*, p. 244, p. 245, p. 248, and p. 249.

[55] *Wenxue Taiwan* 1 (December 1991): 29–68.

The Japanese expression in Lai He’s writing, in my view, enhances his capture of Taiwan’s social reality, since it serves as a sign of the Japanese assimilation policy in Taiwan. Furthermore, it indicates Taiwan’s transition from a traditional agricultural society into a modern and capitalistic society introduced by Japanese colonization. For instance, words such as “tip” and “automobile,” both implying new consumption patterns and technological modernity, did not exist in the common usage of Taiwanese or Chinese at that time. It is therefore difficult to describe the spirit of Taiwanese society, an already “Japanified” historical experience, by completely denying the interference of Japanese vocabulary. Likewise, efforts trying to declare Taiwan’s linguistic purity would be in vain. In the case of “chiipu,” the Japanese pronunciation “chiipu” has been kept and integrated into today’s Taiwanese expressions. As for “Kifu,” it is still used in Taiwanese even though Taiwanese people have “localized” the (Japanese) pronunciation into “*geiyahu*.”

There are at least two ways to approach and explain Lai He’s inclusion of Japanese words in his Taiwanese writing—as a reflection of the new experience and social order accompanied by the intense imperialization of Taiwan, and as a demonstration of the hybrid characteristic and unique aesthetic style of Taiwanese literature (or writing in Taiwanese). This hybridity, consisting of Chinese characters (a heritage of Chinese culture), Taiwanese vocabulary and sentence structure (local Taiwanese color) and Japanese usage (assimilation of Japanese linguistic elements), shares a common ground—Chinese/*kanji* characters. By using Chinese characters as a medium, Lai He combined three cultural/linguistic forces and manifested the diverse idiom of Taiwanese language and literature. Neither totally following the Chinese used in the Mainland nor stubbornly denying imperialization, he transformed Taiwan's colonized experience and deployed a counter-narrative by appropriating the colonizer's language. If Lai He aimed to increase the "Taiwanese-ness" in his works by writing in Taiwanese, then the route he took presents a discursive, polyphonic world of Taiwanese literature and a dynamic multi-sourced cultural identity.

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[56] In an article, Wang Dewei [David Der-wei Wang] pointed out the “canonization” of the Chinese language from the Mainland in the Western Sinology field. He explained his wish to include literature from Taiwan in various conferences on Chinese literature, but his attempts were often disregarded by other participants with the presumption that literature written in “impure” Chinese would not be worth discussing. See Wang’s “Xiandai Zhongguo xiaoshuo yanyiu zai xifang” (Research on Modern Chinese Fiction in the West), in *Lianhe wenxue* (Unitas) 87 (January 1992): 8–16.

As a writer with local Taiwanese awareness, Lai He cannot be fully considered a Chinese nationalist. However, it would be over-politicized to consider his Taiwanese-language writing as evidence of his being a Taiwanese nationalist. His choices of language, from earlier experimental works in vernacular Chinese to later attempts to write in Taiwanese, were a response parallel to the left-inclined direction of the Taiwanese Cultural Association and his growing identification with the proletariat. Similar to the literary theorist Ye Rongzhong's renovative notion of "the third literature," a literature that is based on the local Taiwanese situation (such as historical experience, social customs and political reality), Lai He's writing in Taiwanese harbored a multicultural identity showcasing the different phases of Taiwanese intellectuals' negotiation with colonialism.

It is intriguing that when the development of new Taiwanese literature peaked, Lai He, on the contrary, became relatively silent. From the time of his publication of "Taiwan huawen de xinzi wenti" (The Problem of New Taiwanese Vocabulary) in January 1932 until his death in 1941, he only published one vernacular poem and three stories. Moreover, the tone revealed from the three stories was less critical but more self-mocking and disillusioned. With anti-Japanese groups being dismissed after the 1931 September 18th Incident and the failure of the petition movements led by the Taiwan assembly, Lai He's change of style and decreased output might have been predictable. His later return to writing classical poems and eventually ceasing to publish are likely to be connected with his earlier experiments of writing in Taiwanese. A major difficulty Lai He encountered came from the problem of transliteration. Guo Qiusheng suggested following the sounds and sacrificing the words (*quwen jiuhua*) so that it would be closer to people's daily colloquial expression, for instance, "好空" (*hó-khang*, meaning "advantage") in "有什麼好空的?" (what advantage do we have/ what advantage does it have?), "無法度" (*bô-huat-tōo*, meaning "no solutions") in "現在已經無法度啦..." (there is no solution now), "細漢" (*sè-hàn*, meaning "young") in "你那時尚細漢" (you were still young then) and "白賊" (*pe̍h-tsha̍t*, meaning "tell a lie") in "She xiansheng" (Mr. Snake).[57] Other critics suggested the opposite so that the work would be smoother and the development of Taiwanese literature (in vernacular Chinese) could be continued.

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[57] *Collected Works of Lai He*, p. 85.

For Lai He, neither of these two suggestions offered a satisfying solution. The former would decrease the fluency of writing, while the latter would be no different from writing in vernacular Chinese. In January 1932, Lai He wrote to Guo Qiusheng, expressing his opinions regarding the problem of writing in Taiwanese language. He said: "The invention of new words, to some degree, is necessary. However, it should be conditional on an instance when we cannot find the equivalency of *yin* (sound) and *yi* (meaning) from the words, which already exist.[58] If we can find a word with similar meaning but an unharmonious sound, it is better for popularization if the existing word is included in a footnote."[59] Although Lai He seemed to agree that meaning is more important than sound, he was still troubled by the problem of the lack of proper words in Taiwanese and dissatisfied with his transitional "quasi-Chinese and quasi-Taiwanese" (or "neither Chinese nor Taiwanese") linguistic style. According to Wang Shilang, Lai He, aiming to reach the goal of the consistency of spoken and written language, often "... wrote drafts in classical Chinese first, 'translated' them into vernacular Chinese, and at the end added colloquial Taiwanese usage to change them into works close to Taiwanese. Yet sometimes it could be the other way round."[60]

After almost four years in contemplation, Lai He published his first story in Taiwanese. However, the reception of this story was mixed as the usage of Taiwanese language made the work difficult to read. The meaning was sometimes confusing when Lai He sacrificed the sound of the word in order to use a pre-existing word, for readers needed to not only understand both Chinese and Taiwanese, but also to keep converting these two languages in their process of reading. For instance, reading "細膩" in the sentence "特別著細膩"[61] from the perspective of Chinese would lead to it being misunderstood as "fine" and "delicate," yet when read in Taiwanese it means "careful" and "cautious" respectively, given the context. "儌倖"[62] in Chinese means "fortunate," yet in Taiwanese the meaning becomes "what a pity!" or "how poor!" "鱸鰻"[63] refers to kinds of fish, but if it is pronounced in Taiwanese, the meaning becomes "hooligans." The initial hope of writing for the masses seems to make literature more distant from them.

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[58] For example, "睭" in "目睭" (eyes), "恁" in "恁這一班東西" (you people), and "𣍐" in "罰𣍐了" (endless punishment) are all invented words.

[59] *Nanyin* 1.3: 9.

[60] *Complete Works of Mr. Lai He*, p. 405. According to Lai He's friend Li Xianzhang, in Lai He's late years, he kept thinking in Chinese, but no longer needed to write in classical Chinese first. He simply wrote in vernacular Chinese and then changed it into Taiwanese. See Lin Ruiming's *Taiwanese Literature and the Spirit of the Times: Collected Research Essays on Lai He*, p. 383 for Li's comment.

[61] "A Letter from A Comrade," *Collected Works of Lai He*, p. 218.

[62] "Creating Troubles," ibid., p. 181.

[63] "Creating Troubles," ibid., p. 172.

Rather than experimenting with Taiwanese writing further or returning to write in vernacular Chinese, Lai He opted for writing rural lyrics. But, with the usage of Chinese banned in 1937, Lai He lost his medium for creative writing and his literary experiment with the Taiwanese language came to a premature end. Harboring a solid anti-imperial stance, Lai He declined the possibility of writing in Japanese, turning instead to write lyric songs and poems in Chinese at the end of his writing career. This change may be attributed to his frustration with writing Taiwanese fiction, and poetry allowed him more freedom in his linguistic experiment.

In the context in which language was appropriated as a battlefield of cultural and political ideologies, Lai He's writing in Taiwanese can be seen as a gesture challenging the Japanese cultural and linguistic canon at that time. To view it from a post-colonial perspective, it can be seen as an effort of cultural integration subverting the orthodoxy of Chinese/Japanese and re-placing a local language (not necessarily Taiwanese) with a language that could articulate one's historical experience. In this regard, Lai's linguistic experiment of writing in Taiwanese is quite analogous to a practice of "minor (Chinese) literature" which meets "the conditions of a collective enunciation" for the colonized Taiwanese people.[64] The "Taiwanese-ness" which Lai He desired to capture should not be distorted as a construction of another cultural hegemony or ethnic ghetto-ization. On the contrary, it should be rescued from an ideological/political interpretation and seen as text reflecting the cultural differences and celebrating a cross-cultural experience.

Existing research tends to *unanimously* praise Lai He as "the father of new Taiwanese literature."[65]

While this may be seen as a consequential honor in the midst of the Japanese colonizers' call for imperial-subject literature, one must not overlook the complicity of Lai He's thinking and position-takings on account of this.[66] From a cultural forerunner, through tending toward the left and turning to localism, Lai He was constantly searching for a reasonable and meaningful stand in relation to colonial reality. His literary passage, particularly his linguistic and stylistic trials, exhibits a precarious balance between Japan's colonial enterprise and one's self-identification. Rather than reinforcing Lai He's role in the construction of a potential Taiwanese cultural nationalism, I contend that his creolized language style demonstrates cross-cultural inspiration from both Japan and China, a "Taiwanese-ness" that was in the making, and a multilingual possibility of Taiwanese literature at that juncture. Although Lai He did not live to see the end of Japanese rule, his anti-oppressive stance and social concerns reverberated in the works of Yang Kui, who took a further step with involvement in radical social movements on the road of national longing and individual searching.

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[64] Gilles Deleuze and Félex Guattari, *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature*. Trans. Dana Polan (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), p. 18.

[65] Lai He's status in Taiwan's literary arena was recognized while he was alive. For instance, in "Lai Lanyun lun" (On Lai Lanyun), Wang Shilang described Lai He as the father of Taiwanese literature. This image became further consolidated after his death. Zhu Dianren, in his "Huiyi Lanyun xiansheng" (In Memory of Mr. Lanyun), and Yang Shouyu, in his "Xiaoshuo yu Lanyun" (Fiction and Lanyun), both credited Lai He as a pioneering hero who nourished the field of Taiwanese fiction.

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66 For example, Zhang Henghao commented: "At the time when the Sino-Japanese War and Japanese assimilation policy were at their peak, Zhu Dianren dared to give Lai He a positive response regarding Lai's national spirit and literary status. It proved Zhu's inexhaustible moral courage and national consciousness." See *Wang Shilang, Zhu Dianren heji* (A Joint Collection of Works by Wang Shilang and Zhu Dianren) (Taipei: Qianwei, 1991), p. 282.

CHAPTER 2

From Nationalism to Socialism: Yang Kui

Compared to Lai He who composed only in Chinese or Taiwanese, Yang Kui represented the first generation of Taiwanese writers educated in Japanese-language schools. He was also the first Japanese-language writer from Taiwan to win literary recognition in the Japanese literary arena.[1] Born to a tinsmith family in 1905, Yang, for health reasons, delayed his enrollment in the Daimokukō Public School (1915–21) where he met the amiable and encouraging Japanese teacher Numagawa Sadao. Yet, Yang's favorable impression of the Japanese was soon shattered by the 1915 Jiaobanian Incident (also called Xilai'an Incident),[2] the last large-scale Han Taiwanese armed anti-Japanese movement, which Yang witnessed and in which he was stunned by the cruelty of the Japanese soldiers.

After graduating from public school, Yang went on to study at Tainan No. 2 High School (*Tainan erzhong*) where his encounter with world literature began. He studied works by classical Japanese writers and modern works by Natsume Sōseki (1867–1916) and Akutagawa Ryūnosuke (1892–1927), as well as nineteenth century Russian literature, French literature from the Revolutionary period and fiction by Dickens. In an interview with Dai Guohui and Uchimura Gōsuke,[3] Yang confessed that he was particularly touched by the description of lower-class people and social conflicts in Hugo's *Les Miserables*. In 1923,

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[1] Although Yang established his pre-1945 literary reputation as a Japanese-language writer, he also published a political commentary "Dangmian de guoji qingshi" (The Current International Situation) in Chinese in May 1928, and translated at least part of *An Outline of Political Economy: Political Economy and Soviet Economics* by Iosif Abramovich Lapidus and Konstantin v. Ostrovityanov into Chinese in 1931. Additionally, he tried to write in Taiwanese in the early 1930s. "Duochai jianzai" (The Firewood Cutting Children) and "Pinnong de biansi" (The Death of Poor Farmers) are two examples.

[2] "Jiaobanian" is pronounced "tapani" in Taiwanese. The Incident has been studied thoroughly by Paul R. Katz. See his *When Valleys Turned Blood Red: The Ta-pa-ni Incident in Colonial Taiwan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005) for details.

[3] See Yang's interview by Dai Guohui and Uchimura Gōsuke entitled "Yige Taiwan zuojia de qishiqi nian" (The Seventy-seven Years of a Taiwanese Writer). The first Chinese version, translated from Japanese by Ye Shitao, was published in *Taiwan shibao* (Taiwan Times) (March 2–3, 1983). It was collected in *Yangkui quanji—dishisijuan, ziliao juan* (Complete Works of Yang Kui—Volume Fourteen, Materials) (Tainan: The Preparatory Office of the National Center for Research and Preservation of Cultural Properties, 2001), pp. 242–65.

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when he read *Taiwan hishi* (A Record of Taiwanese Rebels) in which the Jiaobanian Incident was described as a Japanese suppression of Taiwanese "bandits," Yang decided to "correct" history through writing. In the same year, the news relaying the slaughter of the Japanese anarchist leader Ōsugi Sakae (1885–1923) and his family left a deep impact on the adolescent Yang to the extent that he started to read works of the Russian anarchists Bakunin and Kropotkin.

With a wish to further study the social thought of that time, and refusing to marry the adopted daughter of his parents, Yang left for Tokyo in 1924 and was attracted to the socialist thought and "proletarian literature" movements in Japan. During his Tokyo period, Yang not only read leftist magazines but also actively participated in social movements to put his humanistic concerns for the proletariat into action. For instance, in 1926, Yang established a cultural studies group and attended the meeting of the drama research society held in the avant-garde playwright Sasaki Takamaru's (1898–1986) residence. Yang also participated in the laborers' movements and social activities. His "Jiyū rōdōsha no seikatsu danmen" (A Slice of the Life of Free Laborers), published in 1927 in *Gōgai* (The Extra), the official magazine of the Journalists Association in Tokyo, marked Yang's debut in Japanese literary circles and foreshadowed his later success as a writer. In the same year, Yang, together with Xu Naichang (1907–1975) and Yang Yunping, established a "Study Meeting for Social Science" in Tokyo. However, Japanese policemen arrested Yang for taking part in a Korean anti-Japanese lecture.

To support the farmers' movements, Yang returned to Taiwan in September 1927. When the Taiwanese Cultural Association encountered its 1927 split—the right wing advocated parliamentary movements while the left wing stressed proletariat movements—Yang joined the Union of Taiwanese Farmers, reconfirming his socialist and anti-capitalist inclination. Concurrently, he remained active in the Taiwanese Cultural Association. In 1928, Yang was elected as a member of the Committee of the Association and organized study groups in Zhanghua and Lugang to exchange his socialist ideas with local intellectuals. It was in this circumstance that Yang met his literary mentor Lai He in Zhanghua in 1929. Under Lai He's encouragement, Yang recognized that literature could lead to social progress but at the same time continued to partake in laborers' movements. In March 1931, the colonizers began a series of suppressive actions against Taiwanese communists and their affiliated organizations. Both the Taiwanese Cultural Association and the Union of Taiwanese Farmers were disbanded. The outbreak of the Mukden Incident in September 1931, in which Japan exerted its imperialist expansion to northeastern China, further thwarted political radicalism in Taiwan.[4] Under these circumstances, Yang devoted himself to literary writing.[5]

In 1932, with the recommendation of Lai He, Yang's "The Newspaper Boy" was published in *Taiwan xinminbao* (Taiwan New People's News). Instead of using his original name Yang Gui, Yang published the story using the name Yang Kui as suggested by Lai He.[6] In this instance only the first half of his story was published. Although "The Newspaper Boy" won the recognition of Japan's central literary establishment in 1934, he was arrested by the Japanese authorities ten times in the same year. One year later, he joined the Literary and Art Alliance of Taiwan, and was invited to be one of the Japanese editing committee members of *Taiwan bungei* (Taiwanese Literature and Arts), the official magazine of the Alliance.[7] However, the political context around that time was no longer conducive to promoting proletariat literature. Lin Kefu, for instance, raised concern over the Alliance's leaning toward the right wing and "people of leisure" (*youxian jieji*).[8] As a writer stressing art for the masses, Yang's frustration with the "re-orientation" of the Alliance was predictable.[9] In May 1935, Zhang Xingjian, the editor-in-chief of *Taiwan bungei*, decided not to publish Lan Honglü's "Shinshi e no michi" (Road toward a Gentleman), that satirized bourgeois elites as selfish status-seekers. This made Yang realize the enormous difference between his literary notions and the editorial direction of *Taiwan bungei*.

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[4] Around the spring of 1932, Japanese Communist Party as well as the labor/farmer movements and proletariat literary movements led by it were suppressed. Several Communist intellectuals, as a result of the high-handed national control, became more "conservative." They expressed their reverence to the nationalist culture represented by the Japanese Emperor, and their willingness to assist the development of Japan's socialism. Apolitical "pure literature" was promoted in late 1933. To react against the growing fascism and increasingly conservative literary arena, different options were put forward, such as Komatsu Kiyoshi and Funehashi Seichi's *kōdō shugi* (activism), which aimed to combine art's autonomy with the theoretical thinking of proletarian literature. Yang Kui, in general, supported this advocacy of activism, but was concerned that the writers of *kōdō shugi* had yet to find their right direction between being progressive and being reactionary. See Yang's "Kōdō shugi kentō" (Examining Activism), in *Yang Kui quanji* (Complete Works of Yang Kui) 9, ed. Peng Xiaoyan [Peng Hsiao-yen] (Tainan: The Preparatory Office of the National Center for Research and Preservation of Cultural Properties, 2001), pp. 143–46.

[5] In Yang's posthumous publication "Autobiography," he wrote: "Many organisations' movements were banned, a great deal of people went to China to continue their tasks. I could not escape the strict surveillance so I stayed at home to embark on writing." See http://www.want-daily.com/portal.php?mod=view&aid=140189 (last modified January 19, 2015).

[6] Lai gave Yang this name, wishing that Yang would be like the heroic character "black whirlwind" Li Kui in *Shuihu zhuan* (Outlaws of the Marsh) who was famous for fighting against injustice. See Lin Hengzhe's "Xiandai wenxueshi shang buxiu de laobing" (The Immortal Veteran in the Contemporary Literary History of Taiwan), in *Fuhuo de qunxiang* (The Resurrected Figures), eds. Lin Hengzhe and Zhang Henghao, p. 49.

[7] Established on May 6, 1934, the Alliance was a nation-wide literary organization with political intention. With its plausible slogans such as "art for life" and "do not incline to any party," it attracted many writers and intellectuals at that time. Yet it also foreshadowed its later split. Refer to Introduction.

In November 1935, he left *Taiwan bungei*, establishing Taiwan New Literature Society (*Taiwan xin wenxue she*) and launched its official journal—a Japanese/Chinese bilingual magazine *Taiwan xin wenxue* (New Taiwanese Literature) one month later to advocate a realist literature with a distinct leftwing and anti-imperialist stance. Yang's leaving the Alliance was seen by some of his fellow writers as "lacking (Chinese) nationalist awareness" and "Japan-leaning," indicating the ideological conflicts in the pre-war Taiwanese literary field.[10] Ironically, those who criticized Yang for showing loyalty to the Japanese, such as Zhang Shenqie and Yang Chichang, often turned to prompt pacifism or joined the literary camp more associated with the Japanese during wartime.[11] This further highlights the "directional" difference between intellectuals at that time regarding Japan's fascist expansion and the aim of literature. Expectedly, Yang opted for a progressive anti-fascist stance and socially engaged realist literature.

Yang claimed, in the launch edition of *New Taiwanese Literature*, that his intention was "to create a literary garden which could accommodate Taiwanese reality so that Taiwanese writers and intellectuals could encourage themselves constantly."[12] He continued that since he was a committee member of the Union of Taiwanese Farmers, his *New Taiwanese Literature* would mainly "reflect reality and focus on the lives of the poor masses…" Indeed, left-wing writers from Japan and Korea contributed to most of the works published in the launch edition of New Taiwanese Literature. There were also special editions introducing the Russian playwright Gorky's works and lamenting Lu Xun's death. The broad content of this magazine not only demonstrated Yang's socialist inclination and realist preference, but also suggested that his socialist belief was not a provincial obsession with Taiwan but an idea grounded in a universal humanism.

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[8] Quoted in You Shengguan's "'Zhuanxiang' ji yishupai fandong de chunwenxue lun—taiwan wenyi lianmeng luxian zhi zheng" ("Conversion" and the Reactionary Literature Viewpoint of Pure Aesthetic: A Debate between Progressive and Conservative Forces in Taiwanese Cultural Association on the Peak of Japanese Fascism in 1930s), *Taiwan wenxue yanjiu xuebao* (The Journal of Taiwan Literary Studies) 11 (October 2010): 265.

[9] See Yang Kui, "Geijutsu wa taishū no mono de aru" (Art is for the Masses), *Complete Works of Yang Kui* 9, pp. 127–34. In the essay, Yang specifically promoted a "progressive," "active" realism in order not to fall into the danger of fascism such as those promoting pure literature and indulging in petty skills had done.

[10] See Zhang Shenqie, "Lichengbei" (Milestone), *Zhang Shenqie quanji* (A Complete Collection of Zhang Shenqie) 2 (Taipei: Wenjingshe, 1998), ed. Chen Fangming et al., p. 624; Yang Chichang, "Huisu" (Looking Back), *Shui Yinping zuopinji* (Selected Works of Shui Yinping), ed. Lü Xingchang, p. 224.

[11] See You Shengguan's article in fn. 8, for details about the debate between Yang Kui and his fellow writers.

After 1945, Yang remained politically active. He was apprehended during the February 28th Incident, and sentenced to twelve years in prison in 1949 due to the publication of his pacifist "Heping xuanyan" (Declaration of Peace) which promoted a cessation of the civil war between the KMT and the CCP (Chinese Communist Party). After finishing his sentence, he continuously took part in both literary activities and political democratization movements. In 1982, having been invited to the International Writers' Workshop at Iowa University, Yang was finally permitted to travel abroad. His life was an ongoing endeavor to overthrow imperialism and social injustice and pursue a free and democratic Utopia. Unlike Lai He who revealed a gloomy side in his later works, Yang remained mostly optimistic throughout his life, playing his self-ordained role—a humanistic socialist—to the full.[13] He kept on writing during the period when Japanese imperialists accelerated their control over literary production in Taiwan and even during his years of imprisonment in Lüdao. After finishing his sentence in 1961, Yang led a self-sustaining life in his Donghai Garden. Even though Yang became less critical and militant, his wish to fight against social oppression remained and was expressed alternatively through self-cultivation.

In addition to his creative writing and editorial work, he was an activist who engaged in various cultural/political movements and farmers' organizations. Unfortunately though, due to the KMT's anti-Communist ideology and the decrease in his production after his prolonged imprisonment, Yang's works were hardly mentioned for nearly three decades. Not until 1974, when both his "E mama chujia" (Mother Goose Gets Married)[14] and "The Newspaper Boy" were republished, did his works begin to be discussed in intellectual circles. In 1976, his old story "Chunguang guanbuzhu" (Spring Light Cannot be Shut Out), renamed "Yabubian de meiguihua" (Uncrushable Rose), was included in an official textbook for junior high school students. This was the first time that the work of a Taiwanese writer of the Japan-run period was "approved" by the KMT government and included in its canon, a canon that consisted exclusively of classical Chinese literature and prose by writers who settled in Taiwan after 1949.[15] In his eighty-year life, Yang suffered imperialist occupation for the first half and was misunderstood by the KMT government for the second half. Despite the harshness, Yang adhered to his socialist ideal for a Utopian world where harmony, equality and justice would prevail. His transnational socialist notions and embracing of the proletariat were not blind ideological worship but an interlocking result from his personal encounters with Japanese people and a position taken responding to the context.

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[12] See Wang Shilang's translation of Yang's prefatory notion in "'Taiwan xin wenxue' zazhi shimo" (The Start and End of *New Taiwanese Literature*) in *Taipei wenwu* (Cultural Artifacts of Taipei) 3.3 (December 1954): 70. Ye Shitao also quoted Yang's preface in his *Taiwan wenxue shigang* (An Outline of Taiwanese Literary History), pp. 40–41.

[13] Lin Jinkun, "Yang Kui fangwen ji" (Interview with Yang Kui), *Jinbu zazhi* (Progress Magazine), launch edition (April, 1981), quoted in Chen Fangming's "Fangdan wenzhang pinmin jiu" (Outspoken Writings and Life-Risking Wines), in *Collected Works of Yang Kui*, ed. Zhang Henghao, p. 326.

Identifying with the Oppressed

"The Newspaper Boy" offers a good starting point for insight into Yang's application of class analysis and internationalism to his socialist ideas. Based on Yang's personal student life and experiences in Tokyo, this story expresses concerns for the hardship of laborers and condemns capitalist exploitation. It recounts a foreign student/newspaper boy being exploited by his newsagent boss and his later support for farmers' unions as a means of fighting back. Set in a period of economic recession, the story begins with the narrator's difficulty in job hunting and the horrible working environment of the newspaper boys. Overworked and having barely enough money to buy food (as all his money has gone to the boss of the newsagents as a deposit for the job), the narrator almost gives up. Yet, fortunately, a Japanese student worker, Tanaka, helps the narrator out of his financial difficulty. With the use of contrast in describing the two main Japanese characters, the exploitative newspaper boss and the generous Tanaka, this story marks more the opposition between capitalists and the proletariat than that between Japanese and Taiwanese at that time. The narration in the beginning of the story does not specify that the narrator is from Taiwan but only that he is not Japanese, further indicating that in this work the class struggle comes before national consciousness.[16]

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[14] *Yang Kui ji* (Collected Works of Yang Kui), pp. 115–47.

[15] The inclusion of Yang's "Uncrushable Rose" was an effect of misrepresentation. It will be examined later in this chapter.

In fact, not until the second half of the story does the narrator mention that he is Taiwanese. However, the theme of anti-imperialism remains enveloped by that of anti-capitalist movements. For instance, upon being fired by the newsagent and regretting his trip to Japan, the narrator realizes that the capitalist exploitation of laborers in Japan is no different from that of the landlords and their tenant-farmers in Taiwan. The father of the protagonist is a farmer who tills the land he owns and leads a self-sufficient life. Yet, in the land concentration policy set out by the Japanese authorities to serve the interests of their sugar companies, local Taiwanese farmers are forced to give up their land and are consequently driven into poverty. When narrating in a flashback how his family and villagers were pushed into misfortune under the imperial government, the protagonist's resistance awareness emerges and finally forms into a unionist protest at Tanaka's suggestion.

After joining the Japanese laborers' organization, the narrator realizes that his main enemies are not the Japanese, and not simply the Japanese capitalists, but capitalists all over the world. The suggestion made by Satō, the Japanese unionist leader, that the Japanese laborers are against Japanese capitalists' exploiting and oppressing Taiwan deeply touched the newspaper boy. For the first time, the protagonist abandons the Japanese/Taiwanese opposition; in fact he identifies himself with the Japanese laborers by organizing a strike to fight for their rights. Yet the narrator's participation in Japanese unionist movements is not necessarily equal to his affiliation with Japanese imperialism for his action can be seen as a general socialist yearning for an equal society and a humanistic concern for the proletariat, in general, not exclusively for the Japanese (laborers). Although the story does not end in the unionist's triumph in Tokyo but in the newspaper boy's homeland (Taiwan), it is insufficient to read this work as Yang's revelation of his Taiwanese nationalism. From a shy and native newspaper boy to an active and confident socialist practitioner, and from the depressing snowy winter in Tokyo to the homebound journey to Taiwan, Yang, through his narrator, expressed a universal and humanistic compassion for the proletariat instead of a provincial nationalism.

Yang's identification with the oppressed in "The Newspaper Boy" was continued in "Wantong fagui ji" (How the Naughty Boys Quelled the Demon), a work written in 1936 that satirizes capitalist exploitative behavior. Narrated in four sections—“A Village in a Swamp,” “The Paradise in a Rubbish Heap,” “The Demon’s House,” and “How the Naughty Boys Quelled the Demon”—the story portrays a Japanese artist helping some children regain their playground from a local factory. It opens with a description of the young Japanese male Kensaku and his accommodation and local surroundings; the humid weather, the insect bites and even the poor and muddy roads he must use when visiting his brother’s family in Taiwan. Coming from a working class family, Kensaku was unable to finish his study in art school without financial support from his teachers. After graduating, he decides to visit Taiwan to experience its beauty for himself. However, the local destitution and poor living conditions of the island make him feel disappointed and he begins to doubt Japan’s colonial enterprise. When Kensaku contemplates the scenes he sees in Taiwan, his thoughts are interrupted by his nephew’s injury while playing near a factory where the glass waste, a symbol of the ruin of the war and capitalist invasion, is left everywhere. A picture of the ugly and exploitative nature of capitalist imperialism emerges from Kensaku’s mind.

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[16] Yan Yuanshu [Yen Yuan-shu] in his essay "The Japan Experience in Taiwanese Fiction," *Tamkang Review* 4.2 (1973): 167–88, has already observed that the narrator is not subjected to political persecution or national hostility.

As Kensaku goes out to look for a proper playground for his nephew, the theme—to fight against the capitalist imperialism and popularize art and literature—gradually unfolds. Kensaku believes that the garden belonging to the boss of the nearby factory would make an ideal place for a playground, but learns from his nephew that the factory owner is referred to as a demon by the kids for his land-grabbing capitalist behavior. Thinking about Hugo’s *Les Miserables* (one of Yang’s favorite novels) in which the evil of a society is generated from a poor social system and era, and not simply because the people are intrinsically bad-natured, Kensaku is determined to help the oppressed get back what is theirs. He feels ashamed for his capitalist oriented art, which resembles the factory owner’s well-trimmed garden. Henceforth he makes up his mind to paint for the unemployed proletariat. Upon returning to Tokyo, Kensaku leaves a painting entitled “Vanquish the Demon” for the local children, which later inspires them to think of a strategy to deal with the factory owner. The story ends with Kensaku’s receiving a letter from the children saying that they have successfully chased the demon away. By merging Kensaku’s disillusionment with the Japanese colonial invasion and the local children’s loathing of the factory owner together, the work suggests that the real demon is the exploitation by capitalist imperialism, and a transnational cooperation and popularization of literature and art are solutions for defeating the demon.

“Mofan cun” (Model Village), a caricature indicating that the village is the “best” example of exploitation through the cooperation between Japanese policemen and Taiwanese landlords, is similarly themed.[17] The village is superficially under the efficient governance of the Japanese authorities, but this "Japanization" is implemented at the cost of the Taiwanese villagers' welfare. The two intellectual characters in this story symbolize the different types of Taiwanese intellectuals during that period. Ruan Xinmin, the Japan-educated son of a local landlord is presented as the reformer who refuses an arranged marriage and disagrees with his father's exploitative behavior. Like his name, meaning "new people," Ruan not only abandons his own class by engaging in social movements but also decides to leave for China to fight for Taiwan's liberation. Chen Wenzhi is a poverty-stricken intellectual. Through reading the books left by Ruan, Chen realizes that the Japanese farmers suffered from the exploitative capitalism just like their Taiwanese counterparts. Determined to help the farmers in his village, Chen finds his life's purpose. The depiction of capitalism as a universal problem in "Model Village" resonates with Yang's internationalist thinking in "The Newspaper Boy."

Despite Chen's words to his students, "Taiwanese are Chinese," and despite the reference to China as the motherland, whether or not Yang was a unification supporter remains debatable, especially as Ruan's decision to fight for his motherland is left unresolved. Quite the reverse, the route taken by Chen—staying in Taiwan to fight with the farmers—is encouraged and described as "an unknown power for an empty soul" and "a sunbeam breaking through the darkness."[18] Yang did not show favoritism toward Ruan's choice (joining the revolution for national liberation) or Chen's path (taking the peasants as a model for self-cultivation). Both options remain symbolic and unfinished in the story. Through the friendship and intellectual exchange between the two protagonists, the fate of people from Taiwan and China becomes connected on the ground in the fight against capitalist exploitation and imperialist oppression. Interestingly, in the Chinese version published in the post-war era, Yang added the Manchuria Incident and the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, stating that China was not immune from Japan's military invasion and this was "not a personal problem but a national one."[19] This has led some scholars to conclude that the story illustrates Yang's transition from a writer identifying with the proletariats to that harboring Taiwanese (national) consciousness.[20] In my view, the proletarian inclination remained the core of Yang's thinking. Rather than suggesting that national crisis made Yang tone down his class awareness, I contend that it is the transnational proletarian identity that enabled Yang to extend his attention to national issues in his writing. Indeed, by mentioning the Chiba farmers' protest movements in Japan, "Model Village" transgresses national boundaries, reconfirming that Yang was more concerned with class inequality than political affinity. If "The Newspaper Boy" indicates that collective efforts are necessary for achieving a class-equal society, then "Model Village" declares that this ideal also demands scientific thinking and methods. Yet these two requirements are not the only way leading to an oppression-free Utopia. Promoting popular literature and art, too, is beneficial. How Yang attempted to eradicate capitalist persecution through the popularization of literature will be analyzed below.

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[17] "Model Village" was published in 1937, but its earlier version entitled "Denen shōkei" (Pastoral Scenes) was composed in 1936. The exisiting hand-written version contains various amendments in different-colored pens, indicating Yang's effort of trying to find a balance between what he wished to write and what he was expected to write. Tsukamoto Terukazu has published a few essays comparing "Model Village" with "Pastoral Scenes." See his "Yō Ki no "Denen shōkei" to "Mohan mura" no koto" (On Yang Kui's "Pastoral Scenes" and "Model Village"), in *Yomigaeru Taiwan bungaku: Nihon tōjiki no sakka to sakuhin*, pp. 313–44, as an example.

[18] See *Collected Works of Yang Kui*, ed. Zhang Henghao, p. 297.

Construction of Selfhood in Japanese Colonialism

With the increasing tension from the external situation, Yang felt an urgency to confirm a realist direction for new Taiwanese literature and to popularize literature to Taiwanese people. Embracing these ideas, Yang was dissatisfied with the slogan "a fake direction is worse than no direction" as proposed by *Taiwan bungei*, a magazine issued by the Literary and Art Alliance of Taiwan, for the Japanese edition of which Yang was editor. He therefore resigned his position as editor, launching *New Taiwanese Literature* with the support of Lai He, Yang Shouyu and other Taiwanese writers in December 1935. From its launch and until it was banned in June 1937, due to the colonial authorities' prohibition of the use of Chinese, Yang strove to raise the profile of *New Taiwanese Literature*, especially once *Taiwan bungei* was stopped in August 1936 and the Literary and Art Alliance of Taiwan was forced to disband. In June 1937, Yang left for Tokyo to meet editors of *Bungei shuto* (Literary Metropolis), *Nihon gakugei shimbun* (Japan News in Literature and Art) and *Seiza* (Constellation), attempting to persuade each of them to open an edition for Taiwanese literature. Though his suggestion was sympathetically received by Hodaka Tokuzo and Ishikawa Tatsuzo of *Bungei shuto*, it became impossible after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident when Japan declared war on China. Yang was arrested by the Japanese in Tokyo due to this event, and only released on bail with help from the leading editor of *Taisei shimbun* (General Trend News). Disappointed by the colonial reality and the restriction of literary production, Yang returned to Taiwan and became a gardener in his Shouyang Garden (*Shouyang yuan*) as an alternative way to fight against colonialism.[21]

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[19] "Mofan cun" (Model Village), *Complete Works of Yang Kui* 13, p. 259.

[20] Huang Huizhen, *Yang Kui jiqi zuopin yanjiu* (A Study of Yang Kui and His Works) (Taipei: Maitian, 1994), pp. 138–39.

Concurrent with the escalation of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, Japanese imperialists promulgated a series of assimilation policies in which literary production in Taiwan became limited. In 1941, the Imperial Subjects Service Association (*kōmin hōkōkai*), the official organization set up for supporting imperialization in Taiwan, was established. After the outbreak of the Pacific War, the colonial government recruited many Taiwanese authors to write investigative reports to help promote production. In consequence, "literature for increasing production" (*zōsan bungaku*) became prevalent. The convening of a series of conferences on wartime literature and the promotion of two to three hundred word short paragraphs at crossroads (*jūjiro shōsetsu*) posted around road junctions further encouraged writers to produce an optimistic literature as requested by the Japanese administrators.[22] In such a context, some writers gave up writing completely, while others strove to maneuver through the censorship and ideological controls. Yang remained productive during 1941–45, yet his earlier socialist thinking and political activism were replaced by a milder cultural and literary participation.

Unlike his earlier stories filled with class contradictions and direct criticism of capitalists, Yang's works written around 1942 were allegorical and lyrical. He once confessed that in order to avoid the strict Japanese censorship, he went to great pains in his attempt to write. The publication process of his story "Model Village" exemplified the repeated difficulties that many Taiwanese writers encountered. Only the first half of the story, under the title "Denen shōkei" (Pastoral Scenes), was accepted for publication in *New Taiwanese Literature* that Yang had himself launched. After the magazine was banned, Yang went to Japan to seek assistance to continue the management of the magazine and to find other channels for literary expression. He re-titled the work "Model Village" and found a chance to publish the whole story.

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[21] The garden was named after the brothers Bo Yi and Shu Qi, who died of starvation on Mount Shouyang to express their allegiance to the Shang dynasty and refusal to subjugate to the Zhou dynasty.

[22] Those conferences included the first and second Greater East Asian Writers Assemblies held in Tokyo in 1942 and 1943, as well as the Conference on War Literature from Taiwan held by the Japanese Society in Taipei in 1943.

His contribution, unfortunately, was sent back due to a reorganization of the Japanese cultural circle. The work was unable to reach people until 1946. Apart from the pressure coming from the colonial administrators, Yang's self-contained rural life also made his writing deeper and more tranquil, often with abundant implications and metaphors. Therefore, the four stories published in 1942—"Muison" (A Village without Doctors),[23] "Doro ningyō" (Clay Dolls),[24] "Udori no yome iri" (Mother Goose Gets Married),[25] and "Me moe yuru" (Sprouts)[26]—were relatively "private" ones, which echoed Yang's daily life. Even "Zōsan no kage ni—nonki na jīsan no hanashi" (The Old Buffoon: The Story Behind Increasing Production), published two years later, maintained this pseudo-autobiographical style and optimism.[27]

Coining a Positive Self

Just as his literary ideas claimed that "Literature needs to speak for people," and "Literature must offer people brightness and hope,"[28] many of Yang's works were written with a hope of constructing a positive self. However, this was not without occasional frustration and self-parody. In "A Village without Doctors," the first short story Yang published since the implementation of imperialization, the state of living of poor people in the city cools the enthusiasm of the writer-cum-doctor protagonist, Dr. Liu, who is surprised by the underprivileged people's lack of medical knowledge and inability to afford medical treatment. Although Dr. Liu doubts how much he can truly help under the condition of an inefficient government, his compassion for them transforms him from a lethargic doctor caring only about his financial comfort into an activist advocating reform of the medical system. The story can also be read as Yang's contemplation of the role of writers, for doctors' curing their patients' physical illness is parallel to writers' hoping to improve the spiritual stagnancy of their society.

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[23] *Complete Works of Yang Kui* 5, pp. 283–92.

[24] Ibid., pp. 311–29.

[25] Ibid., pp. 347–75.

[26] Ibid., pp. 431–42.

[27] *Complete Works of Yang Kui* 8, pp. 1–47.

[28] "Taiwan bundan no kinkyō" (The Recent Situation of the Literary Arena in Taiwan), *Literary Review* 2.12 (December 1935): 137.

Published also in 1942 but slightly after “A Village without Doctors,” “Clay Dolls” is a work in which self-cultivation is suggested and the boundary between fiction and autobiography blurred. Despite the lengthy details of the narrator’s gardening and family life, “Clay Dolls” contains a subtext about the colonial reality of that time. It starts with the narrator struggling to find time for fiction writing, and his being interrupted by his ex-classmate, Mr Liu, who comes to borrow money. After receiving this unwelcome guest half-heartedly, the narrator laments that as long as he is still a person with social responsibility, he cannot laugh with the naivety of a child. The story continues with the narrator’s latent worry about the impact of colonial education on the younger generation, a worry arising after his son expresses his wish to become a volunteer conscript. Yet, the narrator’s mourning is soon replaced by his joy toward the strong physique of his son. From the narrator’s repeated recitation of a poem by Dongfang Shuo of the Han dynasty at the beginning of this story, a self-image of him, as a lone but upright hermit, is shown. The poem is as follows:[29]

> 窮隱處兮 (to place oneself in poverty and seclusion)
> 窟穴自藏 (to hide oneself in a cave)
> 與其隨佞而得志 ([but] to be successful in an official career with those obsequious people)
> 不若從孤竹於首陽 (I would rather starve to death in Shouyang)[30]

With these few lines, Yang Kui, through his I-narrator, demonstrated a self-imposed image—a virtuous recluse who prioritized moral fortitude over mundane fame and wealth. At the end of the story, after a short monologue in which the narrator reminds himself to teach his children that the imperialist invasion should be blocked, the shameless Mr. Liu returns to borrow money again. Mr. Liu’s opportunism is compared to that of exploitative imperialists, for both are seeking profit from another’s misfortune. The story concludes with the narrator’s self-encouragement that if his own son can be moldable (from a fragile boy who plays with clay dolls to a responsible young man), then he should be able to write positive works praising the “vigorous, courageous, blissful and bright” image of human beings. The last line, describing how a heavy rain makes the children’s clay models (of the Japanese soldiers and their weapons) turn into a mess of mud not only indicates the destructibility of imperialists but also reflects Yang's self-creation in his Shouyang Garden where he attempted to forge a positive selfhood through the joy of labor.

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[29] This poem reappears in Yang’s 1959 play “Niuli fenjia” (Separation of the Cow and the Plough). It suggests that Yang’s self-image as a self-sufficient gardener and fighter was unchanged.

[30] *Complete Works of Yang Kui* 5, p. 321.

The Revelation of the Suppressed Self and Covering the Fabrication

During the height of Japanese military expansionism, Yang wrote a few stories based on his daily life in Shouyang Garden, such as "Mother Goose Gets Married." The text can be read as Yang's response to the slogan of "Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere."[31] The first part of the story recounts the protagonist's friendship with an intellectual Lin Wenqin, whom he met in Tokyo. Rather than following the trend of participating in social movements, Lin is an idealistic pedant who believes that through negotiation and peaceful reform, a class-equal society will finally be reached. Even when his family declares bankruptcy after the death of Lin's father, Lin remains a non-action theorist determined to write a book on "Ideas of Co-prosperous Economics" to call for the conscience and purity of people. Unfortunately, the book remains unfinished due to his premature death. The second part of the story recounts a Japanese hospital director's exploitation of the gardener narrator. The Japanese director attempts to buy some plants from the gardener. When the gardener does not give him the mother goose that he desires, the director purposely delays the payment.

Instead of depicting the covetousness and savageness of the Japanese imperialist (as represented by the Japanese hospital administrator), the narrative focuses on the forbearance of Taiwanese, that they try to restrain themselves by keeping the insults quiet. For instance, when coming to view the plants, the administrator also asks for different flowers as gifts. The narrator simply lets him take most of the plants and suffers the business loss himself. He does not ask for repayment until he needs to pay for a seedbed garden, and even finds a female goose to be paired with the director's male goose. His efforts, however, are in vain. Eventually he demands the payment straightforwardly but receives only the administrator's mockery. Only through the seedbed owner's help does the narrator understand how to make the administrator pay the bill. It is by separating his children's favorite female goose from her family and giving it to the administrator. The narrator is saddened by this "co-existence and

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31 This imperialist idea was announced in August 1940. Centering on Japanese superiority, it aimed to establish a bloc of Asian nations led by Japan not only culturally but also economically and politically.

co-prosperity," which the seedbed owner interprets as "bilateral and mutual help in business," as he himself plays a role in this false enterprise for survival.

In order to make up for his "sin," he decides to finish his friend Lin Wenqin's book on the concept of co-prosperous economics. Reciting Lin's words "do not ask for anyone's sacrifice but help each other and reach prosperity together," the narrator's feelings of repression overwhelm him. Though making great efforts to restrain his narrator, Yang's criticism of the exploitative behavior of the Japanese and the deceptiveness of their co-prosperous ideas are revealed through the self-betrayal of his gardener narrator, a quasi self-projection of the role he played in real life.

If "Mother Goose Gets Married" shows that self-repression will ultimately bring about repentance, then "The Old Buffoon: The Story Behind Increasing Production" tries to mix one's true feelings and superficial rhetoric so that the truth becomes equivocal. Written around the same time that Yang published his "'Shuyō' kaishō no ki" (Record of the Release of "Shuyō") in *Taiwan bungei* (Literary Art of Taiwan), declaring his abandonment of his reclusive life in Shouyang Garden and giving support to the external war situation, "The Story Behind Increasing Production" is often considered Yang's attempt to speak out for the Japanese colonizer. This understanding becomes even more self-evident as this work was written under the commission of the Japanese authorities' Information Office as an investigative report into Yang's coalmine visiting experience.

Some scholars have endeavored to rescue this work from the list of the notorious imperial-subject literature so that their approach to Yang as a nationalist hero can remain plausible.[32] Others have concluded that this work is an example articulating Yang's admiration for the Japanese culture and spirit.[33] Both perspectives are tendentious. The former harbors a moralist standard while the latter tends to identify the narrator as Yang's incarnation without interrogation. An application of the methodology of new criticism by re-scrutinizing the literary text is therefore necessary, making an interlocution between these two opposite readings possible.

The story begins with a gardener narrating his "commissioned" visit of a coal mine with a "mission" to write an investigative report. While there, the narrator bumps into Lao Zhang, an ex-employee of his farm. Lao Zhang is illiterate, but his rich life experiences and sensitivity offer the narrator various subjects for writing and make him the best audience for the narrator's stories. After their encounter, they start to talk about the narrator's new story, which, Lao Zhang complains, is not interesting for the plot seems too unnatural. Yet the narrator answers that all novels are fictive; it will be a bad novel if people can easily detect it. From this conversation, Yang seemed to detach himself from his commissioned work by reminding the readers that although this story is imperial-subject literature, it is simply an uninteresting and fictive work.

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[32] For instance, Zhang Henghao approached Yang as a nationalist fighter by attempting to find out whether Yang capitulated to Japanese colonialism in his "Yang Kui youmeiyou jieshou tewu gongzuo," (Did Yang Kui Serve as a [KMT] Secret Agent?), *Nanfang yuekan* (Southern Monthly) 2 (November 1986): 122–25.

[33] See Angelina Yee's "Writing the Colonial Self: Yang Kui's Texts of Resistance and National Identity," *C.L.E.A.R.* 17 (December 1995): 111–32.

There are several other "reminding" sentences relating to what is natural (real) and what is unnatural (as the text itself) in this story. For instance, when heading back to Lao Zhang's lodge, the narrator again reminds the reader that Lao Zhang's loud laughter sounds pretentious. When reaching the lodge, Lao Zhang introduces the narrator to an old Japanese buffoon who is described as a selfless philanthropist. The first time the narrator meets him; this old man is so busy moving stones to make the road smoother that he does not stop despite the fact that he is completely sweaty and his fingers continue to get hurt. His super-kindness makes the narrator uneasy and his humble greetings sound like insincere and only ceremonious words.

Apart from this device, the story is also full of words from the narrator to the Japanese buffoon, which allow the reader to detect that they are especially added in order to pass the Japanese colonial censorship. Upon seeing the old man strive to make some children laugh by playing with his false teeth, the narrator becomes "so touched" that he almost cries. Yet just a few sentences before this figurative rhetoric, the narrator also detects that looking at the wrinkled and flat mouth of the old man, resembling a frog's mouth, makes him unable to laugh joyfully. When the buffoon says good-bye to the children, the narrator says: "Though it is indeed a leaking and unclear voice, it is like 'gospel' from the heaven which passes to my ears so happily."

Through this short exaggerated praise, the narrator's embarrassment about being "unable to laugh" is soon dissolved and replaced by high-sounding remarks. As an altruistic man, the old buffoon adopts a Taiwanese girl, Jinlan, and treats her well, as if she were his own daughter. He not only teaches her the national language (Japanese), but also teaches her all the virtues of Japanese girls. The narrator once again is impressed by this old Japanese man's unselfish spirit. Yet his admiration toward the buffoon is overshadowed by his respect for the Taiwanese miners. He follows them down the shaft and is very touched by their efforts and courage. The real experience down the shaft makes him mock himself as a useless and easily scared intellectual and he discovers that the miners' motivation comes from collective labor.

While the narrator is still bathed in his moment of enlightenment, a wooden beam falls onto his head. Fortunately, Jinlan happens to pass by and takes the unconscious narrator out of the mine. After waking up in the hospital, the shamed narrator does not forget to remind the reader of the fabricated elements of his report. In a long monologue, he says that even if he feels extremely embarrassed he will still "pretend" to be a brave knight in front of Jinlan. As to how undaunted he will pretend to be, and how frightened he was in the shaft, he will leave for the readers to imagine themselves. But in addition, the narrator continues by saying that he must "confess" something from his heart: for he will abandon his intellectual's complacency, and join the laborers to discipline himself.

After finishing his investigative visit, the narrator is so entangled by his experience that he cannot write his report, especially when considering that it should serve the Japanese administrator's slogan "increasing production." He decides to go to a rural area to look for a capable farmer who can supervise the collective farming and the set up of a seedbed for the miners. He promises himself to help the miners with their vegetable growing after being impressed by them in the mineshaft. While the narrator is still looking for a suitable candidate, he receives a letter from Lao Zhang, informing the narrator of his desire to stay as a miner.

The story ends with the narrator's contemplation of Lao Zhang's decision. He concludes that: "no matter what reason makes him stay, the pure mood of following beauty so that he [Lao Zhang] even jumps into danger, I *suppose*, *should be* the sprouts of a beautiful Japanese spirit." (italics are mine).[34] What makes this story intriguing lies exactly in this short closure for it opens a space for discussion instead of leading to a fixed or standardized interpretation. Reading it as a sample of collaborationist literature, the ending eulogizes the Japanese spirit. However, that the narrator fails to confirm what that beautiful Japanese spirit is (it is not necessarily the altruistic Japanese culture for it can also be voluntary, self-motivated labor with collective effort!) makes reading it as imperial-subject literature problematic. The characterization of Lao Zhang may offer a clue to answer the questions surrounding Yang's national identification. At the start of the story, Lao Zhang is depicted as a sincere and reliable voice in this work. Yet, he gradually turns into a man with unnatural laughter and obsequious words. At the end of the story, the silent and indirect form of a letter replaces Lao Zhang's direct conversation with the narrator. Lao Zhang never expresses what reason makes him stay in the coal mine. His real intention, therefore, can only be interpreted by the narrator according to his assumptions. Since Lao Zhang's function as a "truth teller" is dissolved, the readers are endowed with the same function as he—to be the truth teller and to judge the story.

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[34] *Complete Works of Yang Kui* 8, p. 47.

The relationship between the narrator and Lao Zhang is similar to the one between Yang Kui and his readers (or critics), for Lao Zhang's listening to the narrator's story is parallel to the critics' interpreting Yang's works. No matter whether the story is true or false (interesting or uninteresting in Lao Zhang's terms) or whether Yang submitted himself to Japanese imperialism, Yang seemed to play a game with his readers who must spot the fabrication in this work and fill in the gaps between text and subtext themselves. Lao Zhang's comment that the narrator's new work is not too interesting and sounds like a fabricated story can be read as Yang's hint to his readers that this story should not be taken too seriously because it is simply an uninteresting and fabricated report written at the request of the Japanese authorities.

On more than a few occasions, Yang confessed that he chose literature as his career to rectify the "official" histories written by the imperialists, since literary works can be seen as attempts to write an alternative history from below, inclining to the perspective of the oppressed and ordinary people. In the two stories discussed above, the "public"—the colonial reality—is pushed away from the center of the narration and replaced by the everyday experiences of Taiwanese laborers. Through those individual stories left out by official history, Yang provided a fictive "popular memory," and wove the multilayered texture of history through private and even autobiographical narratives to challenge the Japanese colonizers' accounts of history, reminding readers of the ambiguities of historical narrative.

In Yang's effort to interweave the public and the private, "Sprouts" warrants attention for its gendered perspective. The story showcases how the female protagonist, a servant in a wine house, becomes a socialist practitioner. It is narrated in the form of a letter from the protagonist to her imprisoned husband. Throughout the letter, the satire toward the colonial control over the Taiwanese literary circle makes itself gradually and calmly felt without militant narration or severe criticism. From the sentence "The literary arena of Taiwan has degenerated recently for there are many true supporters of Japanese imperialism who have appeared. Though there are people with hearts, they hide themselves and turn into stillness," Yang not only implied his attitude toward the colonial literary policy but also attempted to distinguish himself from the "degraded" group. However, after "complaining" about the censorship set up by the Japanese colonizers, the female character also suggests to her husband that to struggle in prison is useless, so he should wait with patience to join a people's movement. A reasonable and "tranquil" socialist route that bases itself on the welfare of the laborers is thus suggested to the reader.

Through the narrator's monologues to her husband, the child-like conversation between the narrator and her son, and the record of her son's every behavior, the historical events are woven into the story and told through the subjectivity of the female narrator with understatement. By allowing historical knowledge to emerge from private narrative and dreams of popularization of drama and fiction, Yang's "Sprouts" avoids a univocal account of historiography and accommodates the polyphony of common people's discourses. By celebrating the merriment gained from writing literature based on the proletariat, Yang acted as an example to intellectuals at that time through his continuous self-remodeling. Though his self-transformation varied in different stories, his wish to forge an energetic and positive self was consistent.

Writing Poems with Hoes: Selfhood in Farming and Labors

The image of such a vigorous and optimistic selfhood can be found in the stories published at the end of Japan's colonialism or right after Japan's surrender. "Kenen tonarigumi" (Inharmonious Neighborhood),[35] "Imo zukuri" (Planting Sweet Potatoes),[36] and "Kinō no hi" (The Day of Returning to Farming)[37] are all works praising active labor and productive farming. "Inharmonious Neighborhood" depicts the diligence of an old blind and widowed woman whose only son is drafted as a volunteer soldier. Contrary to her self-reliance and the farmers' mutual-help are the greediness and hypocrisy of the local governor (referred to as the "dog") and regional governor (referred to as the "monkey"). In the earliest Japanese version included in *Me moe yuru* (Sprouting), a collection of five short stories, Yang added a preface calling readers to abandon their arrogance so as to truly put neighborhood help into practice. He continued that we should therefore be grateful for the resolute emergence of the Taiwanese mother, hailed as the "mother of Japan" by the (Japanese) officer, in the story.[38]

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[35] Collected in *Complete Works of Yang Kui* 5, pp. 149–60.

[36] Ibid., pp. 183–91.

[37] Ibid., pp. 201–11.

[38] The issue was banned from sales, and the Japanese version published in October to November 1945 in *Yiyang zhoubao* (One Sun Weekly) was revised. Yang mentioned in the afterword for the 1945 version that he painstakingly composed the short story two years before in order to avoid censorship though he was unsuccessful. For the preface, see *Complete Works of Yang Kui* 5, p. 161.

Calling for neighborhood help, mentioning the volunteer soldiers, together with the statement in which the mother is seen as both Taiwanese and Japanese, easily make the story a text echoing the colonizers' advocacy of *nittai shinzen* (Japan-Taiwan Goodwill). This label is nearly self-evident, since Yang did compose in a censored environment where labor and increasing production were officially promoted. A more fruitful reading would be to compare Yang's characterization of the working class before and after he turned to a gardener's life. In earlier works such as "The Newspaper Boy," the proletariat served more as an antithesis of the capitalists' exploitation. Yet, in Yang's works published after 1942, they function as an integral part of Yang's construction of selfhood and become an embodiment of Yang's aesthetics of physical labor, containing virtuous characteristics such as diligence, altruism, self-contentment, and self-sufficiency.[39] In other words, the several positive meanings with which Yang entrusted physical labor enable him to find a reconciliatory solution between the colonizers' demands and his own value system. Hence, his endorsement of physical labor can be found in many other stories written toward the end of the war. Take "Planting Sweet Potatoes" as an example. Yang, in this story, accentuates that good labor demands perseverance and continued effort instead of restlessness and bullying, revealing a calmness different from his earlier unreserved activism. The closing, in which one of the main protagonists gives up his lessons and runs toward the field, not only indicates the significance of physical cultivation but also expresses that persistence and determination are crucial for national liberation.

Living in seclusion since 1937, Yang consigned his wish for national liberation and a class-equal society to his farming life. As one of his maxims said: "One editor asked me whether I have written any poems recently, I replied: 'Yes, I have been writing everyday. However, I now use hoes to write on the soil.'" Yang turned inward to examine himself and contemplate colonial reality. For him, writing was simultaneously an exercise of creativity and an act of liberation. Though his works often tackled Taiwan's oppressive reality and ridiculed capitalistic imperialism, he nevertheless forged a selfhood in his own (hi)story. He devoted himself to laboring in the isolated Shouyang Garden, but continued to be involved with the wider social context emotionally and politically during Taiwan's Japanese period. Even during the interregnum years (1945 to 1949) when Taiwan was caught in a transition between two cultural and political authorities, Yang carried on his prewar pursuit of an equal, free and democratic society. He prepared a draft entitled "Declaration of Peace" to call for a peaceful solution to the war between the two parties (the Nationalist and the Communist) in 1949, which led him to be imprisoned for twelve years in Lüdao.

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[39] Another short essay displaying Yang's extolment of diligence can be found in "Kinrō reisan" (An Ode to Labor), *Complete Works of Yang Kui* 10, pp. 160–62.

Two cases particularly highlight his continued class-informed thinking and wish of reaching out to the masses. The first one is Yang's identification with Lu Xun's concern for the oppressed class, when translating "The True Story of Ah Q" into Japanese.[40] Although many critics interpreted "The True Story of Ah Q" as Lu Xun's merciless sarcasm toward the Chinese common people—and even Lu Xun confessed that it was intended to be a portrayal of the Chinese national character—Yang read it as a reflection of the unfortunate situation of lower-class Chinese coolies during the Republican revolution period. Perhaps it was only through such a Marxist reading, based on class struggle, that Yang's humanistic concerns for the oppressed and dreams of social reform could be comforted. The second one is his composition of two street plays (*jietou ju*) in the Taiwanese language—"Guangfu jinxingqu" (March of Retrocession) and "Shengli jinxingqu" (March of Triumph)—in 1955 during his imprisonment. He then continued to define a street play and its characteristics. The main function of street plays, Yang asserted, is "to perform for the masses."[41] His transnational political concerns continued. He was not only preoccupied with the problem of national liberation in China and Taiwan, but also very concerned about and even engaged with that of Korea. His *Yangtou ji* (Sheep's Head Collection) helps shed light on his post-1945 identity and political stance.[42] Several essays compiled in the volume expressed Yang's anti-imperialism and concern for oppressed people. For instance, Yang's modern, scientific socialist ideas and his staunch optimism can be found in his letter to his children dated January 1958. It says:

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[40] See the article Yang wrote for the tenth anniversary commemoration of Lu Xun's death. It was published in *Heping ribao* (Peace Daily News) in 1946. Quoted in Shimomura Sakujirō's *Cong wenxue du Taiwan* (Reading Taiwan from Literature), translated by Qiu Zhenrui, pp. 182–83.

[41] Yang specified that the main function of street plays is "to perform for the masses." *See Complete Works of Yang Kui* 2, p. 19. This was in line with Yang's wish to establish "Pingming chubanshe" (Plebeians' Publisher) to promote literature for the masses between 1945–49. Unfortunately, Yang's being apprehended brought the project to a premature close.

[42] Besides "Shouyangyuan zaji" (Miscellaneous Notes from Shouyang Garden) and "Clay Dolls," which were written during the Japanese period, the rest of the works collected in this book were written during Yang's imprisonment in Lüdao and after his release in 1961.

> Though there are still many unsolved problems and contradictions in the universe, humans are still making an effort to open the door to wisdom, attempting to solve complicated problems with reason alone. The scientific spirit is to make a conscientious effort to do and understand things. That which cannot be solved today can be solved tomorrow; that which cannot be solved in this generation can be inherited and completed by succeeding generations. No superstition and illusion are allowed.[43]

The title *Yangtou ji* was named with self-assurance and self-mockery. By choosing his childhood nickname "Yangtou" as the book title and stating that his surname (which shares the same pronunciation as "sheep" in Chinese) remains unchanged,[44] Yang seemed to reconfirm his lifelong anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist stance. The collection of essays thus implies a self-portraiture. "Yangtou" was also related to Chinese slang *gua yangtou mai gourou* (to sell dog meat while hanging a sheep's head), a figure of speech for "cheating" similar to the English expression "sailing under false colors." Yang explained that there was no need for him to "hang the sheep's head," for it was unnecessary to publish the volume. He actually considered his works "dog meat," commenting "dog meat has a great advantage recently" and "there may be shops which sell sheep's meat while hanging a dog's head in the imminent future."[45] Although Yang mocked his writing as the inexpensive dog meat behind the deceptive sheep head, this note can also be interpreted as his reassuring himself that honest works from the bottom of a writer's heart (like his writing) would eventually be cherished. The irony lies exactly in the gap between the sheep's meat and dog's head. Yang's wartime literary endeavors could not be totally immune from "not hanging the sheep's meat." Neither did his "dog meat" writing remain ideologically stable or manage to successfully escape the postwar moralistic and nationalist judgment.[46]

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[43] *Complete Works of Yang Kui* 12, p. 34.

[44] "Yangtou ji" (Sheep's Head Collection), *Yangtou ji* (Sheep's Head Collection) (Taipei: Huihuang, 1976), p. 145.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Yang had the habit of revising his own works. Changes included the wordings, plotline, and even ideology. See Huang Huizhen's book in fn. 20, pp. 132–40. As for the politicized reading of Yang's works, the 1986 debate between Zhang Henghao and Wang Xiaobo exemplies it. See Zhang Henghao's essay "Yang Kui youmeiyou jieshou tewu gongzuo" in fn. 32 of this chapter; Wang Xiaobo, "Ba dikang shencang zai diceng—lun Yang Kui de 'Shouyang' jiechu ji he 'huangmin wenxue'" (Hiding the Resistance at the Bottom—On Yang Kui's "The Dissolution of Shouyang" and "Imperial-subject Literature"), *Wenxing* (Apollo) 101 (November 1986): 124–31.

A Road Leading to Democracy

Yang's constant sense of identification with the masses, together with his pacifist notions, moved him closer to national self-determination regarding the fate of Taiwan. When asked about his political stance in an interview,[47] Yang carefully defined the difference between *tongyi* (unification by self-determination or according to public opinion) and *yitong* (unification by force), declaring his wish for the former. For him, ruling was a dictatorship based on the opinion of a small group of people or individuals such that the ordinary people's interests would be held down, while he considered unification, real unification, to be democracy self-initiated by the majority of people and something that should be achieved naturally. He considered the situation between Taiwan and China as a competition stage leading toward democratic development. He was not attached to either a Taiwanese identity or a Chinese identity. If he was ever obsessed with anything, then it was a transnational (an internationalist's) identity, an identity constructed upon the welfare of the common people and of those who were oppressed; an identification with a democratic and classless society.

Yang's preference for "unification by self-determination" therefore was a condemnation for forceful exploitation by the superior (like the capitalists and the imperial political apparatus) of the inferior (the laborers and oppressed common people), and a call for a subjectivity initiated from, and centered upon, the exploited. It is this pacifist pursuit of freedom and democracy and abhorrence of tyranny that made Yang keep his distance from the KMT government after his release from Lüdao.[48] He relied on his own strength, making efforts for the welfare of Taiwanese people independently, and never seeing himself as an intellectual.[49] Literary historians have tried to define Yang's ambivalent and elusive politics as left-wing liberal, humanist, socialist, internationalist, anarchist and so on. However, Yang was in any event not a passive theorist, but an optimistic activist for whom the welfare of the weaker and of the common people was the principle of action.

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[47] See Yang's interview "Taiwan rō shakai undō ka no omoide to tenbō—Nippon, Taiwan, Chūgoku tairiku o meguru kōkei" (An Old Taiwanese Social Activist's Reminiscences and Prospects for the Future: The Spectacle Surrounding Japan, Taiwan and the Chinese Mainland) conducted by Dai Guohui and Wakabayashi Masahiro in Tokyo in 1982, *Taiwan kin gendai shi kenkyū* (Historical Studies of Taiwan in Modern Times) 5 (December 1982): 193–206.

[48] A few years before his death, Yang, together with a Taiwanese historian, Dai Guohui, was invited by the Committee of Cultural Work of the KMT government for a banquet. Unlike Dai who attended the meeting, Yang declined the invitation.

[49] Same as fn. 47: 206.

From his student days in Tokyo in 1924, when he identified with the Japanese unemployed and attended a Worker Study Group, to his postwar writing and cultural involvement, Yang's identification remained with the masses. It was this sense of identity that led Yang to prioritize class equality over national affinity. It was also this sense of identity that made Yang embrace a universal humanism for it was a thought that went beyond political boundaries, a thought purely dominated by the welfare of the people. Compared to the hegemonic cultural construction of the KMT government after 1949, Yang's identification with the masses undoubtedly became a parody in response to not only the "unusual" circulation of his works but also all the tendentious readings that attempted to hail him as a grass-roots Taiwanese hero and a politically-correct nationalist model. For example, with the changed social reality and the radical nativization trend in the seventies, Yang's works, along with Lai He's, Wu Zhuoliu's and Zhong Lihe's, having been banned by the KMT government or read as a bastardized appendix to Chinese literature by China-leaning critics, were appropriated by nativist theorists as a root of their Taiwanese cultural nationalism. The 1977–78 nativist literary debate helped "rescue" many works from Taiwan's Japanese period. But it also established a literary hierarchy in which works without a strong resistant spirit and critical realism were mostly excluded. Even for those writers whose works fit these criteria, only certain works of theirs were republished.[50] A second hierarchy—selecting paradigmatic works and inventing an orthodox reading—further worsened the problem of canon formation in literary history. The tendentious scholarship on Yang Kui's writing raises many issues.

Yang's "Spring Light Cannot be Shut Out" is an example showing the politicized interpretation by the Nationalist government with an attempt to reinforce an anti-Japanese consciousness within the Taiwanese people. In 1976, at the recommendation of Wu Hongyi (at that time a lecturer of Chinese literature at National Taiwan University and also the head of the textbook compilation committee), Yang's "Spring Light Cannot be Shut Out" was considered part of the official teaching material for high school students. As *chunguang* (spring light) is slightly ambiguous and can be associated with sexual impulse, the story was re-titled as "Uncrushable Rose" and published under Yang's original name in the secondary school textbook. The new title was chosen from the metaphor used at the end of the story to indicate the anti-Japanese national movements by Taiwanese people, with a wish to concentrate a national consciousness. However, the elevation of this story was actually the result of misrepresentation.

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[50] Taking Wu Zhuoliu for example, his *Yaxiya de gu'er* (The Orphan of Asia), which tackles the question of Taiwanese identity, was much praised. Yet his autobiographical work *Wuhuaguo* (The Fig Tree), satirizing the KMT government, remained sensitive until the lifting of martial law in 1987.

Set during the war period of 1941–45 when many Taiwanese youth were drafted to South Asia or Japanese construction camps, "Spring Light Cannot be Shut Out" depicts the almost-concentration camp experiences of those young students. With the discovery of a flowering rose under the heavy concrete, the Taiwanese people's longing for freedom and undefeated resistance against Japanese tyranny are symbolized. The rose is sent to the sister of Lin Jianwen, one of the young "prisoners," and is buried by her as a reminder of many brave stories of Taiwanese soldiers fighting against Japan in China. The story ends with a positive and allegorical tone with the thought that even though there is much suffering in life, time will help people solve their problems if they keep their composure.

Although ridicule of the colonial policy is mentioned and anti-Japanese sprit is suggested, this text can be read as a figure of speech framing Yang's genuine concern for the common people, since anti-Japanese rhetoric only appears at the beginning and end of the story. Reading "Spring Light Cannot be Shut Out" in this light, a portrait of Yang as a humanitarian social activist emerges. It is ironic that this story, written during Yang's imprisonment as a political inmate, was admitted into the official canon formation. Compared to Yang's "The Newspaper Boy," which was "frozen" for forty-two years (until 1974 when the complete version in Chinese finally became accessible to the public), the inclusion of "Spring Light Cannot be Shut Out" owes much to its anti-Japanese plot as it happens to be accordant with the KMT's implementation of nationalist education in Taiwan during the postwar era.[51]

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[51] In a paper presented in 1995, Zhang Henghao has already pointed out the necessity of a depoliticized reading of Taiwanese literature by taking Yang Kui as an example. See Zhang's "'Chunguang guanbuzhu' de qishi" (Lessons from "Spring Light Cannot be Shut Out") in *Taiwan wenxue fazhan xianxiang—Wushi nianlai Taiwan wenxue yantaohui lunwenji, er* (Literary Developments in Taiwan: Symposium on Fifty Years of Taiwanese Literature, vol. 2), pp. 123–36. Yvonne Sung-sheng Chang also discussed the problem of paradigm making in Taiwanese literary studies. See Chang's "Beyond Cultural and National Identities: Current Re-evaluation of the *Kōminka* Literature from Taiwan's Japanese Period," *Journal of Modern Literature in Chinese* 1.1 (July 1997): 75–107.

CHAPTER 3

Popular Romances and Their Alternative Modernity: Xu Kunquan and Wu Mansha

The 1930s witnessed the emergence of serialized love stories as seen in the cases of Lai He and Yang Kui expressing nativist concerns, which appeared in major newspapers such as the *Taiwan shinminpō* (Taiwan New People's News) and Chinese tabloids such as *Sanliujiu xiaobao* (Three Six Nine Tabloid) and *Fengyuebao* (Wind and Moon Bulletin). Unlike those authors who wished to compose for the proletarian masses or who won recognition in Japan's central literary establishment, writers like Xu Kunquan and Wu Mansha, two key players of *Wind and Moon Bulletin*, were more concerned about composing works that could appeal to the city-dwelling literate general public. Although popularizing literature had been the goal of many Taiwanese authors of the time, the targeted general readership referred to often as "dazhong" (or *taishū* in Japanese, meaning "the general public" or "the masses") varied.

The Contested Notion of Dazhong

Under the stimulation of the Soviet Union's proletarian literature movement, certain writers in China had been eager to promote proletarian revolutionary literature since about 1928. The establishment of the League of Left-Wing Writers in Shanghai further advanced this development. In interwar Japan, the growth of proletarian literature, which commenced in 1921 with Komaki Ōmi's launch of the workers' journal *Tanemaku hito* (The Sowers), took place almost concurrently with the mass marketing of high literature and the emergence of popular fiction which were made possible primarily by the advancing print technology.[1] Serialized novels became a popular genre among Japan's middle-class readers. Journal publications also started to boom. *Kingu* (King), for instance, enjoyed wide circulation. A low-priced *enbon* (one yen) paperback series introduced by Shinchōsha helped make serious literature widely accessible. At the time when the mass-produced and reasonably priced books became successful, the term *taishū bungaku* (literature for the general public)

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[1] Although there had been a commercial print culture in the Edo period, the scale of publishing increased sharply during the Meiji and early Taishō (1912–1926) eras.

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was coined to designate popular genres during the late Taishō and early Shōwa periods. This term later became associated with other generic terms such as *tsūzoku shōsetsu* (popular fiction). Nevertheless, this type of literature appealed to the public in a way that was different from the aforementioned class-oriented *taishū* discourse, which started to gain currency from the 1920s onward.

In colonial Taiwan, intellectuals put forward different, and sometimes competing, definitions of "dazhong" depending on their varied literary tastes and socio-political agendas. Therefore, the question of how to popularize literature and art remained a central topic in several debates. Huang Shihui, for example, proposed in 1930 that writers should write for "the laboring masses."[2] Inspired by Japan's interwar popular literature, Ye Rongzhong offered his views on how to popularize literature. In his 1932 article entitled "Preface: Expectations for 'Mass-oriented Literature and Art'," Ye urged Taiwanese writers to follow the *taishū* literature in Japan, and to compose for the masses. Unlike Huang Shihui who was an advocate of proletarian literature, Ye defined the masses as "ordinary people whose cultural level is relatively low."[3] In light of Taiwan's "lack of literature," Ye urged writers to compose "mass-oriented works that are entertaining and useful, and with the setting drawn from Taiwan's local customs and history."[4] Ye continued with the idea that the old literature had a historical background that was difficult for readers to identity with, whereas authors of the new literature "gave no thought to readers' tastes." For Ye, the most effective way to attract readers would be to produce plotline-centric fiction.

Compared to the class-informed ideas promoted by Huang Shihui and alike, Ye's definition of the masses was broader. He regarded Taiwanese as a "social group" (*shehui jituan*) shaped by a unique culture (including of course Japanese colonialism) and social condition, emphasizing Taiwanese peoples' commonly shared cultural tradition and historical experience.[5] In this regard,

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[2] Huang Shihui's "Zenyang butichang xiangtu wenxue" (How Not to Advocate Nativist Literature?) was a socialist call for writing that reflected Taiwan's unique circumstances. Huang's article was first published in *Wurenbao* (August 1930), vols. 9–11. See Liao Yuwen, "Taiwan wenzi gaige yundong shilue xia" (A Historical Outline of Taiwan's Language Reform, Part Two)," *Taipei wenwu* (Taipei Artefacts) 4.1 (May 1995): 99.

[3] Qi [Ye Rongzhong], "Juantouyan: 'Dazhong wenyi' daiwang" (Preface: Expectations for "Mass-oriented Literature and Art"), *Nanyin* 1.2 (January 1932): unpaginated.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Douglas Fix argues that Ye Rongzhong had already developed a sense of "Taiwaneseness," which is different from "Chineseness." See Douglas Fix, "Advancing on Tokyo: The New Literature Movement, 1930–1937," in *Riju shiqi Taiwanshi guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* (Proceedings of the 1992 Conference on Taiwan History under Japanese Rule), ed. History

Ye's was not too different from Huang Shihui's notion. However, Ye was quite concerned about the rigid dogmaticism of the proletarian-centric literary discourses to the extent that he explicitly promoted "the third literature" to shy away from the aristocratic and proletarian literatures—he called for a type of writing based on the foundation of the particularity of Taiwanese as a social group.[6] Not surprisingly, Ye's downplaying of class issues triggered criticism. Lin Kefu, for instance, censured Ye for advocating a literature of leisure for the bourgeoisie in 1934. As discussed above, there were several different approaches to the issue of popularizing literature—particularly the class-focused approach represented by Huang Shihui; the story-oriented one as proposed by Ye Rongzhong; and the language reform-centric one put forward by Huang Chengcong and Huang Chaoqin in the early 1920s. Despite the varied methods, a great number of intellectuals agreed on the major premise of reaching out to as many people as possible through literature.[7]

Under such circumstances, Xu Kunquan was expectedly conscientious about his targeted readership. Born in 1907 in Penghu, off the western coast of Taiwan, Xu studied Chinese privately with a well-respected local literatus, Chen Xiru. He joined the poetry society for several years before going to Amoy, Hong Kong, and Shanghai's St John's University to continue his education. Upon graduation, Xu worked as an overseas correspondent for *Taiwan xinminbao* in the Philippines. In the spring of 1935, after his relocation to Taipei, he began to edit the supplementary "Chinese-language literature column" (*Hanwen xueyilan*) for the same newspaper. Soon after he assumed the editorship, Xu serialized his "Ke'ai de chouren" (Star-crossed Lovers) in *Taiwan xinminbao*. In January 1936, the work was released in book form. From 1940 to 1945, Xu travelled for business to Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Southern China. His extensive business trips unfortunately affected his writing schedule, causing his serialized *Xin mengmu* (New Mencius' Mother) to be suspended for more than three years (February 1939–April 1942). After being found not guilty for his

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Department at National Taiwan University (Taipei: National Taiwan University, 1993), pp. 251–97.

[6] Qi [Ye Rongzhong], "Juantouyan: Disan wenxue tichang" (Preface: Advocating the Third Literature), *Nanyin* 1.8 (May 1932): unpaginated.

[7] Jie Zhou [Guo Qiusheng] suggested that in addition to literature, writers could make use of some existing popular art forms such as story-telling (*shuoshu*), romance (*yanyi*), libretti (*changben*, meaning song-based scripts/pamphlets), and comic strips while exploring new forms. See his "Wenyi dazhonghua," *Taiwanese Literature and Art* 2.1 (December 1934): 21–22.

involvement in the August 15th Incident in 1945,[8] Xu assumed the position of hotel proprietor in Beitou, Northern Taipei, in 1947 until his death in 1954.

Juggling between his creative/editorial tasks and business trips, Xu exhibited a conspicuous sense of readership. Both his preface to *Star-crossed Lovers* and the editor's remarks published in *Wind and Moon Bulletin* illustrated his view that a writer ought to strive to produce works that could appeal to the general public. He commented that it was extremely difficult to compose a novel that could be deemed *dazhonghua* (mass-oriented) in Taiwan due to the fact that different readers preferred classical, colloquial, and vernacular styles. Xu confessed that he had decided to write in a hybrid style—not classical, colloquial, or vernacular—hoping to appeal to every reader (*pubian duzhe zhujun*).[9] While serving as the editor for *Wind and Moon Bulletin*, Xu was dissatisfied with the monopoly of gentry-class readers during its earlier *Fengyue* (Wind and Moon) stage. Hence, he hoped that *Wind and Moon Bulletin* could become "the garden of the general public" (*dazhong de yuandi*).[10]

Given the melodramatic content of *Star-crossed Lovers* and the prevalence of geisha-related articles in *Wind and Moon Bulletin*, Xu's aim was clearly not to popularize serious literature as the Japanese *enbon* culture had done. Nor did his book contain the class-oriented messages prevalent in left-wing journals such as *Hongshuibao* (Flood), *Taiwan zhanxian* (Taiwan Frontline) and *Chidao* (Equator). The concept of the reading public envisioned by Xu was most likely the emerging literate urbanites, and therefore akin to Ye Rongzhong's concepts mentioned earlier. Although Ye's notion was similar to *taishū bungaku* of interwar Japan, the debate surrounding the term "*dazhong*" in Taiwan in the 1930s was not necessarily a direct imitation of the Japanese case. It was also closely associated with Taiwan's internal social conditions at the time. The various social movements that took place in Taiwan throughout the 1920s and the series of "enlightenment-oriented" events, organized by the Taiwanese Cultural

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[8] Also called the Taiwan Independence Incident, or Taiwan Self-Governance Incident, the event happened soon after the Japanese Emperor's declaration of unconditional surrender. Xu Kunquan, together with Taiwanese gentry intellectuals such as Lin Xiantang, Gu Zhenfu, Lin Xiongxiang, Xu Bing, and some pro-war Japanese military officers met in Caoshan (now Yangming Mountain) to prepare the "Draft of Taiwan's Self-Governance." Although the plan was never realized, several leading figures were taken into custody and later imprisoned in 1947.

[9] A Q zhidi [Xu Kunquan]. *Ke'ai de chouren* (Star-crossed Lovers) (Taipei: Qianwei, 1998), p. 20.

[10] Lao Xu [Xu Kunquan], "Juantouyu": Taiwan de yishujie weihe buneng xiangshang?" (Preface: Why Can't Taiwan's Art Scene Advance?), *Fengyuebao* (Wind and Moon Bulletin) 59 (March 1938): unpaginated.

Association, continuously showed the importance of involving the "general public."

The market niche Xu set for his writing was not exclusively revealed through his linguistic considerations. It was also applied to his choice of subject matters. In this aspect, Xu's sense of *dazhong* can be seen as a combination of the means of language reform proposed in the 1920s and Ye Rongzhong's call for an attractive story. As a writer with a distinct sense of audience, Xu made use of romance, a popular genre, with the hope of drawing a wider readership. *Star-crossed Lovers*, for instance, depicts the unfulfilled love between the widow Qiuqin and the widower Zhizhong, as well as their next generation's tangled relationships. Xu's choice seemed to be wise, as the novel, when it was published in book form in 1936, underwent three print runs within just a few years.[11] Its popularity was quite phenomenal at that time.

Freedom of Love is Not Free Love

This moralistic novel contains two noticeable features. One is the polemic characterization of virtuous women and disloyal men. The female protagonist Qiuqin is a model wife and mother, whereas her late husband Jianhua is a womanizer. Shuhua, the late wife of the male protagonist Zhizhong, is a considerate and supportive wife, yet Zhizhong only treats her as a sex object. Likewise, Zhizhong's son Ping'er fails to control his desire and engages in an affair with a Japanese woman named Kimiko. The second feature is the stark contrast between platonic love and carnal desire. Throughout the novel, Zhizhong and Qiuqin have no physical contact. Their love for each other is only expressed indirectly through their dreams. Even though Zhizhong sometimes dreams of being united physically with Qiuqin, such sensational dreams are destroyed by his late wife Shuhua's spirit. At the end of each dream session, Xu Kunquan inserts some paragraphs to rebuke adulterers and reiterate the significance of moral values.[12] Qiuqin's occasional dreaming of Zhizhong is similarly disturbed. Even after her death, Xu added moral teachings to his fictional narrative through Zhizhong's declaration that his purely platonic love for Qiuqin is "absolutely holy in present day society marred by carnal desires and money."[13]

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[11] In 1938, the Japanese version *of Star-crossed Lovers* was published. And in 1939, the Chinese version went for the second edition. The third edition was released in 1942. In 1954, when Qingfang Bookstore in Kaohsiung tried to publish the first half of the story, the Nationalist government banned the book. After some revision, the Taiwan Provincial Security Command approved of its publication.

[12] Xu Kunquan, *Star-crossed Lovers*, pp. 32–37.

Xu's narration about the younger generation is riddled with the same moral message. For example, when Liru, Qiuqin's daughter and Ping'er's childhood sweetheart, dreams of Ping'er, her imagining is cut short and replaced either by a sense of longing for her late mother or by her role as an elder sister. Liru eventually holds Ping'er's picture while in bed. When Ping'er envisages his lustful encounter with Kimiko, Kimiko's image suddenly disappears. All he can do is to wish to dream of her. These paragraphs indicate that Xu used dreams to curtail the novel's erotic imaginations. Accordingly, the sensational dreams serve more as a device aimed to increase the novel's readability than as evidence of Xu's celebration of bodily desires.

This relatively conservative attitude toward love and marriage becomes more evident in Xu's *Lingrou zhidao* (Platonic and Carnal Love). Despite the novel's emphasis on the freedom of love, it censors unconstrained lust-driven sexual relationships. In the chapter entitled "Qinyou dexin" (Letters from Relatives and Friends), it explicates that freedom of love becomes the excuse for the youth to justify their carnal desires, and thus part of the morally degenerated money-driven society. In the preface, Xu explains that the novel was meant to depict the crimes caused by the two forces—money and carnal desires—and the distress experienced by those who involuntarily indulged themselves in those two pursuits. The novel, from the beginning, warns its readers that lust is difficult to control, and unrestrained sexual desire leads to resentment. It opens with an extramarital affair between the affluent Pan Shengdi and his in-house maid Achun. Pan's wife simultaneously engages in an extramarital relationship as revenge for her husband's infidelity. The chapter on the sexual adventure Pan's wife enjoys with her illicit partner is entitled "Yihen qiangu" (Eternal Regret), signifying the disaster one's extramarital affair would bring to one's life.

The entrapment by lust is also experienced by the younger generation. Yuehan,[14] the pastor's son, is initially a diligent and well-behaved model youth. Yet, when he learns that his lover, A-lan,[15] falls for their common friend, the rich boy, Guohun, Yuehan indulges in a casual relationship with Meizi, a waitress at a local café. He dismisses his father's advice, considering it more worthwhile to follow one's sexual desire than believe in the Bible's teachings. Contrasted with the negative examples set by Pan and his wife, as well as by the morally degenerate Yuehan, the female protagonist, A-lan is the embodiment of virtue. After her husband, Guohun, leaves her, A-lan maintains a platonic interaction with Yuehan. Interestingly, Xu makes use of the power of public opinion to enhance the moral lessons of the novel. In *Platonic and Carnal Love*, Pang's wife commits suicide out of shame after her adultery is reported in a newspaper. Toward the end of the novel, the brotherhood between Guohun and Yuehan also makes a headline for the newspapers.[16] Equally, in *Star-crossed Lovers*, Qiuqin's reputation as a chaste woman, after being discovered by a police officer, gradually spreads as a result of people's gossip.

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[13] Ibid, p. 411.

[14] The name is equivalent to John in English.

[15] The name should be spelled as Alan in *pinyin*. Given that Alan is usually a male's name in English, a hyphen is added to clarify that it is the female protagonist's name in *Platonic and Carnal Love*.

With a wish to compose stories that would attract as wide an audience as possible, Xu's focus on the issues surrounding love and marriage is natural. This subject matter was not only relevant to many youth, but also trendy, as Taiwan was then in the midst of a transition from a society ruled mostly by patriarchy to one in which marital autonomy began to gain momentum. What it meant to be virtuous "modern" women was in need of re-definition, so it was understandable that numerous authors tackled the changing status of women in their creative works. Concerning the roles and general living conditions of Taiwanese women, Xu's view was somewhat ambivalent. On the one hand, he endowed his female characters with the possibility of breaking away from the traditional social order. On the other hand, he did not afford them much success in fighting for their future. In *Star-crossed Lovers*, Xu referred to Taiwan's "valuing men and belittling women" (*zhongnan qingnü*) as evidence of it being a "distorted society."[17]

Through the female protagonist Qiuqin, who was taught Confucian doctrines at a tender age, *Star-crossed Lovers* suggests that female emancipation simply remained on the superficial level, and became an excuse for self-indulgence. Women caught in the interim period, when the old morality became challenged but the new form had yet to be established, were therefore doomed to suffer. In the chapter "Manku sisheng" (Screams from the Cave), a whole section is dedicated to the gloomy situation in which most Taiwanese women lived. Only toward the end does the narrative return to focus on Qiuqin.

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[16] Similarly, in Wu Mansha's "Jiucaihua" (Chive Blossoms), the illegitimate affair between Yuejiao and her lover Zhang Tianshun and the subsequent tragedy (in which both are stabbed to death by Yuejiao's ex-lover) makes the headline of all the newspapers and generates widespread comments.

[17] *Star-crossed Lovers*, pp. 66–67.

However, it does not take long before the narrative switches to a lamentation on the misery of Taiwanese women: "Taiwan's female comrades! How miserable our fates are!"[18] The narrative does not stop here. Rather, it once more emphasizes that women's misery may be attributed to men being "venomous snakes and wild beasts" and the money-worshipping mentality of Taiwanese society.

Nevertheless, in *Star-crossed Lovers*, Xu did characterize a rather exceptional female—Huiying, who bravely confesses her feelings for Aguo. However, Aguo is unable to express his feelings for her, and only promises to act as her protector. Although Xu was fairly concerned with the limited options for Taiwanese females and criticized the old practice of arranged marriages, the overall view toward the role of (Taiwanese) women remained comparatively conservative. Qiuqin's devotion to the traditional female virtue of being a good mother is highly praised throughout the novel. The police officer Mr. Cai, for example, cannot help but admire Qiuqin exactly because she does not blindly follow the social trend of pursuing individual freedom to love. Quite the opposite, she selectively sticks to certain old-fashioned roles and is thus a "progressive woman of the new era."[19]

In *Anjiao* (The Submerged Reef), published two months before *Platonic and Carnal Love*, Xu already provided his definition of the twentieth century "virtuous wives and good mothers." They are, in his view, "old-style but not stubbornly adhering to outworn ideas, open-minded but not untamed, and endeavoring to solve issues related to prostitution and mistreatment of maids."[20] For Xu, the commendable "new women" did not refer to those who totally embraced the new value system, but those who acted upon a "reformed" social etiquette by discerningly choosing what to follow and what to abandon.

In this protocol concerning marriage, freedom to marry was appreciable, but the boundary of love should not exceed the Confucian imperative of *fa hu qing zhi hu li* ([let things] emanate from emotions; [let things] stop at propriety). Therefore, rather than promoting individual resistance, Xu's novels seek space for negotiation *within* the conventional value system. The ambivalence toward love, and the overall moderate view, can be seen as one of the features of Taiwanese society in its transition period.

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[18] Ibid, p. 67. The same devices, such as the plural appeal and the lengthy depiction about Taiwanese females' living condition, can also be found in Xu Kunquan's *Anjiao* (The Submerged Reef) (Taipei: Wenshuai, 1988).

[19] *Star-crossed Lovers*, p. 102.

[20] Xu Kunquan, *The Submerged Reef*, p. 37.

Not so different from Huiying in *Star-crossed Lovers*, Meizi (or Umeko in Japanese pronunciation) in *Platonic and Carnal Love* is endowed with the image of a "rebellious woman of the modern era" and "a heroine of the old society." Born to a good family, Meizi is a literate and romantic woman who speaks fluent Japanese and understands some Chinese and English. She goes against traditional propriety by actively pursuing her own happiness, but in the end suffers from her lover's betrayal. Xu made an intriguing parallel comparison between Meizi's rebellion and the social activists' movement by revealing his "disapproval" of their clinging obstinately to their course. Therefore, when Meizi meets with misfortune, she begins to doubt her choice. Her self-doubt then turns into her disappointment with the society in general. She sighs: "There were many social activists a few years ago. Some of them were imprisoned. Others changed their beliefs. Nowadays, it can be said 'all quiet on the western front' (*xixian wu zhanshi*)."[21] The association of Meizi's bitter life (as a rebellious woman) and the decline of Taiwan's social movements encourages readers to draw a link between individual suffering and the social circumstance, pondering upon whether the old society, or Meizi's nonconformist personality, should be blamed.

The plotline seems to suggest that Meizi, despite her rebellion, does not completely abandon the value system of the old society. Her rebellion, in effect, is like grabbing at straws when other options are no longer available. After all, she still wishes to marry a man who would cherish her. Her returning to a "normal track" by working as a caregiver in a hospital (after her lover Yuehan's leaving without saying goodbye), seems to be a redemptive move to compensate for dishonoring her family. Thus, even though she meets her biological mother, with whom she had lost contact, Meizi does not have the courage to reconnect with her. Eventually the mother-daughter relationship is fixed, but Meizi's father still does not forgive her. Meizi then leaves for Tokyo to study medicine. Her choice may be commendable, but it is more a reaction against her being rejected by the patriarchal order (her father) than a well-thought-out plan. Toward the end of the novel, Meizi saves up enough money to travel around the world, and at one point enjoys playing golf on the deck of a cruise ship with a group of modern females (*modeng nü*). This implies that Meizi's true conversion into a modern woman is realized outside Taiwan.

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[21] *Platonic and Carnal Love*, p. 229. The expression "all quiet on the western front" is the title from a 1930 American epic war film, showing the imports of America's film culture into Taiwan and based on Erich Maria Remarque's novel published in 1928 in German. Whether or not Xu understood German is unknown.

A Hybrid Articulation of Modernity

Xu's mixed vision that contains both progressive and backward-looking morality is also reflected in the religious imagination in his works. In *Star-crossed Lovers*, when the male protagonist Zhizhong attempts to quell his desire for Qiuqin, he hopes to rely on the legendary late Eastern Han Dynasty military general and the revered protective deity Guan Gong's green dragon blade as well as the power of Zhang Tianshi, a popular Daoist deity, to control his impulses. However, when Qiuqin suffers from hardship, a British lady who works in a local Christian church turns up to offer help. Her identity is not revealed until much later while at the beginning, an anonymous helper mysteriously leaves money in Qiuqin's house. On the stack of money, it only says "It is a godsend. Please take it."[22] As the story unfolds further, readers come to realize that Zhizhong is the real philanthropist, whereas the British woman is merely a facilitator of Zhizhong's goodwill.

Folk beliefs and Christianity are compatible in the novel. Qiuqin for example finds the stories from *Genesis* illuminating, but she also follows the Taiwanese' practice of ancestor worship. Despite her eventual adoption of Christianity, she does not impose it on her son. Another example is found in the dispute between Qiuqin's younger brother Chunsheng and Doctor Zhuang, who treats Qiuqin flippantly. To teach Doctor Zhuang a lesson, Chunsheng assaults him physically and is consequently detained. Doctor Zhuang plans to exert his power to make Chunsheng suffer more during his detention, but the same mysterious person intervenes and helps, leading Doctor Zhuang to be put into detention. This situation reversal resonates with the Chinese notion of "what goes around comes around." When Qiuqin shares the news with the British lady in the church, she feels "as if God has sought vengeance for them. Who would have thought this is due to the efforts of the 'nocturnal man' (*yexingren*) [referring to Zhizhong]"[23] Once again, both Christian belief and the Chinese concept of karmic retribution seem to be at work in Xu's chivalrous tale.

Xu's fantasy grows even wider in one of Qiuqin's dreams. In the rosy dream, Zhizhong informs Qiuqin that there is a revolution in heaven. Dissatisfied with the Jade Emperor's dictatorship, Dr. Sun Yat-sen and Jesus form a united front and are prepared to fight against Guan Gong. The imagery goes further to suggest that both Dr. Sun Yat-sen and Jesus, on the basis of their commonly shared idea of "universal love" (*bo'ai*), are mobilizing all the supernatural beings to take part in the revolutions in the East and West respectively. In the near future, presidentialism can become a reality and everyone can have the right to vote. Whether one should be sent to heaven or hell would be decided by the parliamentary vote of the Kingdom of Heaven.[24]

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[22] *Star-crossed Lovers*, p. 91.

[23] Ibid., p. 231.

In this highly imaginative reverie, China's revolutions at the turn of the twentieth century and Christian beliefs are combined into one "modern" power to challenge the "old" beliefs represented by Guan Gong. Personal love, political ideas (such as democracy and civil rights) and the Christian views on heaven and hell are coalesced into one. Although Christianity plays an important role in advancing the plot of this novel, the storyline is full of Confucian thoughts. Aguo's choosing not to continue studying due to his family's financial situation is, for instance, an embodiment of the filial piety of Zi Lu, who suggested "one whose family is poor and whose parents are old is not particular about the office he will fill" (*jiapin qinlao, bu zelu ershi*). His motto "one should practice love without distinction if one's career progresses well" (*chengze jian'ai tianxia*)[25] is not much different from Mencius' doctrine "in success, one tries to benefit others" (*daze jianji tianxia*).

The creative religious vision as exhibited in Xu's novel is indicative of the multilayered imbrication Taiwan has undergone on her way to modernity. Religion has played a vital constituent in people's everyday lives. The existing folk beliefs have often formed a tension with the discourse of modernity, as the former are frequently deemed "superstitious." As Gerald Figal has pointed out in his study of Meiji Japan, folk beliefs were a thorny issue in the construction of modern citizen identity, since the pursuit of civilization is normally constructed on the tension between rationality and the "superstition" of folk beliefs.[26] In the case of Taiwan, religion could be the cause for uprisings (such as Xilai'an Incident). It could also be an integral aspect demonstrating the colonial power's control over its colonies' indigenous cultures. Zeng Jinglai, in his *Taiwan shūkyō to meishin rōshū* (Taiwan's Religions and Bad Superstitious Practices) commissioned by the Taiwan Government-General, referred to the folk beliefs of Taiwan as a hotbed of "superstitions" and "evil customs."[27]

Yet, in *Star-crossed Lovers*, both Christian beliefs and Taiwan's indigenous folk religions are appropriated into Xu's conception of "modern." They are also seen as compatible with the external conditions, such as democracy and the right to vote, on which most modern society is built. Xu's depictions of Christianity contain rich Taiwanese linguistic expressions. In *Star-crossed Lovers*, it says "no need to be a vegetarian if you follow Christianity" (*jidujiao mian shicai*). The Chinese characters "免食菜 (*mian shicai*)," meaning "no need to eat vegetables" literally, read more naturally if pronounced in the Taiwanese language (*bián-tsia̍h-tshài*).[28] And in *Star-crossed Lovers* as well as *Platonic and Carnal Love*, there appear rhymed Taiwanese proverbs, such as "If you believe in the barbarian religion [Christianity], no one would weep for you when you die" (*xin fanzaijiao sihou wuren ku*), that vividly capture Taiwanese people's rough impression of Christianity. It is unclear how much Xu understood Christianity. But it is quite obvious that he used those elements to highlight the unreasonable aspect of Taiwan's old morality. The several dream passages in Xu's novels can be interpreted as social commentaries about Taiwan in transition, despite their wild and seemingly unreasonable images.

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[24] Ibid., pp. 187–88.

[25] Ibid., p. 296.

[26] Gerald Figal, *Civilization and Monsters: Spirits of Modernity in Meiji Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), p. 4.

[27] Zeng Jinglai, *Taiwan shūkyō to meishin rōshū* (Taiwan's Religions and the Bad Superstitious Practices) (Taipei: The Association of Taiwanese Religions, 1938).

Analogous to Xu's hybrid religious imaginings mentioned above, the fusion of Taiwanese and foreign cultural sources are found in the abundant Chinese, Japanese, and Western literary references. In *Star-crossed Lovers*, Qiuqin and Jianhua are compared with Nora and Torvald Helmer in Ibsen's renowned work "A Doll's House."[29] As for the younger generation, they enjoy reading a variety of world literature and watching East Asian films, ranging from Tolstoy's *Resurrection*, Kikuchi Kan's novels, the film "The Golden Demon" (*Konjiki yasha*) adapted from Ozaki Kōyō's novel, and Ruan Lingyu's "Husband and Wife in Name" (*Guaming fuqi*). Classical Chinese literature appears on several occasions too, including quotes from Wang Zhu's "prodigy poem," *The Analects*, and Cao Zhi's "seven-step poem."

In comparison, there are fewer cultural references in *Platonic and Carnal Love*. However, Guohun is likened with Napoleon in exile. Toward the end of the novel, there is direct usage of the English word "broker." Moreover, Guohun's wandering in the Southeast reminds the readers of Robinson Crusoe's tale. Consider this example, when depicting his survival on the deserted island, the narration says "The pitiful Guohun indeed leads a life like Robinson Crusoe, with his hair, beard, and eyebrows becoming scarily long."[30] It seems Xu "borrowed" Guohun's physical features from the original tale; a

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[28] A smoother Chinese expression would be "不必吃菜" or "不需要吃菜."

[29] Jianhua is also compared with the philandering Alving in Ibsen's "Ghosts." See *Star-crossed Lovers*, p. 88.

[30] *Platonic and Carnal Love*, p. 443.

Crusoe-like marginalized vagrant, instead of the imbedded cultural relativism and imperialism.[31]

The paragraphs depicting Guohun's wandering life, upon further scrutiny, show that Xu endowed Guohun's life with a kind of utopian imagination, away from the ordinary hustle and bustle of life. Through the use of free indirect speech emphasizing Guohun's inner thoughts, the abandoned remote island becomes a paradise free of the desire to scramble for power and wealth in the secular world. For example, Guohun tells himself" "if human beings wish to avoid the sins and pains in life, they must return to nature. Here I am. Nothing bothers me. Laws, fame, everything, is absolutely not related to me any more. What is civilized society?" and "I am the happiest man in the world. Only when people get here would they understand the civilized society is filled with evil thoughts."[32] As soon as Guohun returns to the world of human civilization, he quickly picks up the bad practices driven by money and carnal desire that he previously criticized. And even his escape can be seen as a voluntary choice, he fails to totally shoulder his ethical roles as a husband and a father. Hence, Guohun's drifting in the end is at best a non-subversive and temporary flight that can be seen as a reiteration of (Chinese) ethics and moral values through a Western Robinson Crusoe-fashioned plot.

Despite the mixed cultural elements in Xu's novels, his writing remained moralistic and its gallant "Chinese" elements are palpable. Guohun's happy reunion with his wife and son before his death implies the value of family. Yuehan's confession in front of his late mother's tomb after he returns to Taiwan serves a similar purpose. The moral instruction in Xu's narratives can also be seen from the *xiayi* (knight-errant) of the plotline. Knight-errant fiction, consisting mainly of the blending of action and romance, has been an established and well-loved genre in Chinese literature. In *Platonic and Carnal Love*, the female protagonist A-lan's camouflaging herself, out of need, as a chivalrous woman in Shanghai, and her being able to avenge the death of her father with assistance from Brother Wild Fox whose hobby is to take up the cudgel for the injured party, celebrate heroism and a strong sense of justice. Another good example is Yuehan's assistance to A-lan, which is out of "a friendly and chivalrous heart."[33]

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[31] In the novel Crusoe originally plans to kill the cannibals, but eventually retracts his plan. This indicates an awareness of cultural/moral relativism. Crusoe considers Friday a friend because Friday is more "British" than the "savages." Their relationship thus is symbolic of imperialist ideology.

[32] Ibid., p. 443, and p. 434.

[33] Ibid., p. 557.

The purpose of such *xiayi* elements, in my view, is twofold. One is to enhance the novel's appeal. As there is interplay between the readers' pre-existing value systems and the written content, they can reevaluate their ethical principles and views on the freedom to love. The other is to express Xu's own vision of modernity, or response to Taiwan's social change. Rather than unreservedly glorifying the women's option of leaving home, as Ibsen's Nora, in the play "A Doll's House" has done, Xu went for a relatively moderate moral standard. It is true that the depiction of lustful adventures between some of his characters was bold at that time. Conversely, those more explicit passages do not last. They function as a brief performative act that enhances the novel's readability. Eventually they are buried under the larger overarching message of moral instruction ubiquitous in Xu's love-themed fiction.

Staging Taiwan in the World

As a writer who had lived in a few different cities in Southeast China and Hong Kong, and travelled extensively for work, Xu's novels reveal his impressionist views of some of those locations.[34] *The Submerged Reef* depicts the prosperity of Tokyo and Shanghai, but Xu's protagonists feel rather lost in the metropolis. The narration tackles the complex traffic of Tokyo, which makes the first-time visitors "feel dazzled" and like they "do not know what to do."[35] The description of Shanghai touches upon the trams and the crowd, too, but the scene in Shanghai, for the protagonist Zhizhong, is as beautiful as a filmic scene. Although Zhizhong seems to be impressed by Shanghai's openness, he feels that people from Fuzhou are not particularly hygienic as they do everything in the River Min, and their loudness comes across as unusual. In other words, the degree of civilization of Fuzhou at that time was less developed than elsewhere. But, the strangest place is in fact revealed to be Taiwan, because in Taiwan "free love is frowned upon, and love is seen as shameful ... and its [Taiwan's] social evolution lagged behind Shanghai by at least half a century."[36]

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[34] Xu Kunquan studied at Ying Wa College in Amoy, Diocesan Boy's School in Hong Kong, and St John's University in Shanghai. While working as an overseas correspondent for *Taiwan xinminbao*, Xu had the opportunity to travel to Japan and Southeast Asia. He also worked in Changsha, Hunan Province, as an agent for the Eng Aun Tong Tiger Balm Company. In the spring of 1935, Xu relocated back to Taipei from the Philippines to be in charge of *Taiwan xinminbao*'s supplementary "Chinese-language literature column, marking the beginning of his writing career. Later, Xu was invited to serve as the editor for *Wind and Moon Bulletin*. From Issue 77 onward, notes about his businesses trips to Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Southern China frequently appeared, as did Xu's personal apologies to the readers for being too busy to compose his serialized stories.

[35] *The Submerged Reef*, p. 39.

Star-crossed Lovers contains lengthy depictions of Tokyo. Tokyo's modern scenes evoke, for the lonely Ping'er, homesickness and a stronger sense of missing his lover, Liru, in Taiwan. Therefore, when strolling on Tokyo's streets, Ping'er is neither impressed by the nighttime views nor the passing modern girls. However, for Liru, who joins Ping'er later, Tokyo is "exceptionally prosperous," "an ultra modern place with busy traffic," and certainly deserves the name of "one of the big metropolises of Oriental civilization."[37] Even the policemen in Tokyo are much more "amicable and approachable," which makes Ping-er and Liru feel they have "jumped out of the danger zone."[38] A similar view that favors the Japanese police officers, appears in *The Submerged Reef* as well. Through a vendor who is taken to the police station by force, in *The Submerged Reef,* a remark is made about Taiwanese policemen's oppression of their own fellow countrymen, which starkly contrasts to their kind and friendly Japanese counterparts. The aforementioned passages imply that reasonable legal protection is an essential criterion for a modern city and society. At the same time, they show Xu's comparative, or even hierarchical, view on modernity in general. Taiwan, reflected through Xu's fictional writing, is presented as in an inferior state and needing to catch up.

Writing on the eve of the Second Sino-Japanese War, Xu's works were a response to the colonizers' call for harmony between Japan and China, and between Japan and Taiwan. In *Star-crossed Lovers*, Qiuqin's brother Tianchun imagines Amoy to be a pleasant place, but later finds out it is a sinful place marred by whoring and gambling. To his surprise, it is mainly Taiwanese who frequent those places. He therefore calls for the Taiwanese to awaken so that they do not hinder the road toward *nikka shinzen* (Japan-China goodwill).[39] To become an emulatable model, himself, Tianchun decides to quit his bad habits by following *ryōshin shinzen* (goodwill by consciousness), because should war break out, it would be "a great disaster for the yellow race in the Orient."[40] Following Tianchun's logic, Amoy becomes less a place of his Chinese dreams and rather, offers a valuable reference point for Taiwanese people to reflect upon the world/war situation within the context of East Asia and the framework of the "yellow" race.

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[36] Ibid., p. 73.

[37] *Star-crosssed Lovers,* p. 429.

[38] Ibid., p. 429.

[39] Ibid., p. 199.

[40] Ibid., p. 418 and p. 417.

The issues surrounding *shinzen* (goodwill) between East Asian countries are mentioned on a few occasions in *Star-crossed Lovers*. When Aguo starts working at a Japanese company, for example, he quickly discovers it is the Taiwan-residing Japanese businessmen who sabotage the Taiwan-Japan friendship. They not only view themselves as the superior "Yamato minzoku" (the Yamato race), but also address him in a disrespectful way as "Qingguo nu" (slave of the Qing Empire). Resistant, Aguo regards himself as "an individual of the Asian race," aspiring to "contribute to the whole of Asia."[41] Similar race-conscious statements are also found in *The Submerged Reef*, in which Japan's strength is compared with that of Germany and the unification of the "yellow race" in the Pacific region is considered necessary in order to contend with the alliance of the "white race."

This type of race discourse, as well as the emphasis of the harmony between East Asian countries, resonated well with the colonizers' policy. This can be taken as Xu's making use of "Pan-Asian" declarations to get around Japanese censorship at a time when he felt "writing seemed to be under ghostly surveillance" (*xiabi ru yougui*).[42] But it can also be interpreted as Xu's anti-war pacifism,[43] and his envisioning of Taiwan's position in relation to the modernization of other East Asian countries. Some researchers have accepted the first interpretation by going as far as claiming that Xu's stance toward Japan-China friendship remained consistent.[44] Given Xu's limited political involvement and the fact that writers' characters can make situational statements that may not fully reflect the author's thoughts, whether Xu reoriented himself ideologically remains debatable. Regardless of whether Xu indeed believed in Japan-China friendship, his racially informed sentences show a race-centric worldview, as well as "yellow/white" (or Orient/Western) dichotomy. Such Asia-centrism is also noticeable in *Platonic and Carnal Love*, in which Guohun plans to make Hong Kong the center of his business empire and then to open branches in the rest of the world. Moreover, he hopes to "hire exclusively people from the Orient" so that the world would "understand the true capability of Oriental people, and that Oriental people could be on par with Westerners."[45]

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[41] Ibid., p. 297.

[42] *The Submerged Reef*, p. 21.

[43] In the chapter entitled "Visiting Tokyo" (*Youlan Dongjing*), the narration asks why clever human beings would want to kill each other. See *Star-crossed Lovers*, p. 427.

[44] Wu Shunjun and Gao Qijin both compared Xu's 1942 essay entiled "Great Changes" (*Canghai sangtian*) with his creative writing to argue Xu's continued support of the "Japan-China Friendship" policy, but Xu Yicai indicated that this might be Xu's wishful thinking of addressing the inequality between Japan and China. See Wu Shunjun, "Xu Kunquan yanjiu" (A Study on Xu Kunquan), MA dissertation submitted to the Graduate School of History, Donghai University, 1994; Gao Qijin, "Penghu Wang'an xiaoshuojia 'A Q zhidi'—Xu Kunquan" (A Novelist from Penghu's Wang'an—Xu Kunquan), *Penghu yanjiu" Diyijie xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* (Penghu Studies: The First Academic Conference Proceedings) (Penghu: Penghu Cultural Bureau, 2002), pp. 186–207; Xu Yicai, "Xiandai wenming de jiaohun xingge—Xu Kunquan jiqi xiaoshuo) (The Hybrid Characteristics of Modernity—Xu Kunquan and His Fiction), MA dissertation submitted to the Graduate School of Taiwan Literature, National Cheng Kung University, 2005.

Similar to *Star-crossed Lovers*, Taiwan in *Platonic and Carnal Love* is compared with Tokyo and deemed inferior (with portrayals such as a repressive Taiwan versus equal Tokyo). Tokyo is described as "a prosperous place, where people are relatively more dignified-looking and more amiable," yet in Taiwan, life is stressful and one cannot help but "lower one's head and sing somebody's praises" (*fushou gongwei*).[46] In the protagonist's view, Shanghai is a mixture of heaven and hell. It is a heaven owing to the beauty of the women of various nationalities that are found there. It is a hell because of its money-worshipping value system dominated by capitalist logic. Shanghai's women are comparatively seen as more vivacious than those in Taipei. Besides Shanghai, Southeast Asia and Europe are also included in Xu's references. Singapore, in *Platonic and Carnal Love*, is portrayed as a free port, which brings luck to Yuehan. Relying on his work with the Tiger Balm Company based there, Yuehan's financial condition improves accordingly.[47] After marrying a local woman from an affluent family, Yuehan is propelled upward to become a gentrified person in the Singaporean community. He even attained the financial means to travel around Europe, and encounters into his previous lover Meizi.

During Yuehan's cruise to France, he encounters a Singaporean tin mine tycoon. Despite this person's wealth, Yuehan does not think highly of him. Seen from Yuehan's viewpoint, the tycoon "has a simple brain, and knows nothing about etiquette apart from how to make money," and his "English is not very fluent" (which implies that English proficiency could be an indicator of one's cultural level). He even scratches himself in public, and is merely "a provincial [*tutou tunao*] entrepreneur."[48] After Yuehan encounters Meizi, he invites her to visit Singapore. Compared with Taiwan's "backwardness" and "superficial modernity" (*jia wenming*), Singapore is portrayed as an open and prosperous society that does not regard an unmarried man and woman being together as inappropriate.[49]

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[45] *Platonic and Carnal Love*, p. 334.

[46] Ibid., pp. 329–30.

[47] This plotline is autobiographical because Xu composed the novel during his role as an editor for *Xinminbao* (New People's Daily). Gao Qijin pointed out that Guo Qiusheng once raised doubts about Xu, suspecting that he made use of the newspaper and the novel (*Platonic and Carnal Love*) to advertise for the Tiger Balm Company. See Gao Qijin's article mentioned in fn. 44 of this chapter, p. 197.

[48] *Platonic and Carnal Love*, pp. 492–93.

If we follow Xu Kunquan's hierarchical worldview, then Europe occupies the highest status in his vision. Yuehan's wife and the younger generation (such as Yuehan's only son Baoluo/Paul, and Guohun's son Pan Fengsheng) all choose England or Europe as their destinations for further studies. Yuehan's wife seems to harbor ambivalence toward England. For example, she warns her son Baoluo (Paul) that "London's traffic is very complicated, which is unlike Singapore. Although it is advisable to take exercise, you should not take risks *excessively.* Exercise like horse racing and car racing are typical British pastimes. They could be dangerous, so you'd better take care of yourself. You also should not spend *exceedingly*. You ought to remember that we are a religious family, and therefore you should act with Biblical teachings in mind" (Italics mine).[50] This passage suggests that Xu harbored a mixed view on the European civilization. He was concerned about the strong influence of Western culture, maintaining that it at least should not be at the expense of one's central principle (Christian belief in this case).

In addition to the United Kingdom, Denmark is another country featured in the novel. In *Platonic and Carnal Love*, the Danish lawyers' association is specifically mentioned, implying that Taiwan should emulate the Danish model to ensure the materialization of its laws. Although Xu's accounts of Singapore, the United Kingdom, and Denmark were far from profound and comprehensive, they provide a topographical vision on which Xu's conceptualization of civilization was established. Put another way, Taiwan's (insufficient) modernity became more reckonable only when staged in reference to the global-aware worldview. Xu's "Taiwan writing," which opened up new possibilities (in addition to taking Japan and China as the loci for comparison) was broader than that of many of his contemporaries. It also demonstrated that a balance between moral instruction and popular taste was achievable.

The Dilemma of Going Popular

Although the popularity of Xu Kunquan's stories swiftly established his reputation as an adroit writer of vernacular romances, his editorial style received criticism. Kawasaki Hiroyasu, for one, was dissatisfied with Xu's literary column, in *Taiwan xinminbao*, suggesting that it introduced old films and published low-class popular stories, rather than making acted as a forum for discussing literature and the arts.[51] Guo Qiusheng went further by mocking Xu for turning the column into a supplement of commercial advertisements.[52] Indeed, while serializing *Star-crossed Lovers*, the story came with an illustration of a spa hotel in Beitou, suggesting Guo's comment was not too far-fetched. These two commentaries indicate that Xu had a good sense of what general readers liked to read and that he was a fairly business-savvy person who knew how to better promote his works.

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[49] Ibid., p. 505.

[50] Ibid., p. 510.

One of the methods Xu employed was team up with like-minded authors. Xu's collaboration with Wu Mansha for the editorial task of *Wind and Moon Bulletin* offers a great example.[53] *Wind and Moon Bulletin* initially continued the entertainment goal of its earlier *Fengyue* (Wind and Moon) phase, defining itself as "pastime reading at one's leisure and a playground for writers and poets."[54] But it gradually displayed an editorial preference for aesthetically oriented works. On the covers of issues 90 to 132, "cultivating a pure art space and promoting modern literary creation" appeared, indicating its stylistic reorientation. Yet, a scrutiny of *Wind and Moon Bulletin* shows the editors strove to reconcile artistic and commercial sensibilities.[55] Additionally, in order to attract Japanese-language readers, a Japanese-language section was introduced in August 1938 under Zhang Wenhuan's charge. Unfortunately, this attempt was less than successful. The

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[51] Kawasaki Hiroyasu, "Taiwan no bunka ni kansuru obegaki (ni)" (Notes on Taiwanese Culture II), *Taiwan jihō* (February 1936): 35.

[52] Guo Qiusheng, "Niantou fangyan de xiaoji" (Honest Comments at the Beginning of the Year), *Taiwan xin wenxue* (Taiwan New Literature) 2.2 (February 1937): 74.

[53] The earliest phase of *Wind and Moon Bulletin* was *Fengyue* (Wind and Moon), launched by a group of gentry-class writers who were well-versed in classical Chinese literature. Many of the contributors appreciated geisha performances, so articles related to geisha culture were quite dominant in *Fengyue*. The editorial aim during this phase—"sustaining literary pleasure and promoting art"—contained a distinct characteristic of literature for amusement. It was renamed *Wind and Moon Bulletin* in July 1937, and *Nanfang* (The South, Issues 133–188) in 1941. In February 1944, it was renamed *Southern Poetry* (*Nanfang shiji*), and published only two issues (in February and March) before it was totally suspended. The last two phases of the journal became an integral part of the Japanese colonizers' wartime mobilization.

[54] This can be found on the cover of *Wind and Moon Bulletin*, Issues 59 to 89.

[55] For more details on the commercial tactics used by the *Wind and Moon Bulletin* editors, see Pei-yin Lin's "Envisioning the Reading Public: Profit Motives of a Chinese-Language Tabloid in Wartime Taiwan" mentioned in the introductory chapter.

Chinese-language readers remained split, with some demanding more articles in classical Chinese while others preferred to read vernacular works. Likewise, readers of Japanese were dissatisfied with the small portion of Japanese articles. The journal then resumed its monolingual Chinese-language publication.

Around the same time, Xu Kunquan became less involved in the editorial team as a result of developing his own business. During Xu's inactivity, sensuous, courtesan-related, *hualiu* (literally meaning "flowers and willows") submissions reappeared, causing Xu's successor Wu Mansha to plead with the contributors to "change their pens" and "abandon the pink-colored articles" (Issues 129 and 146). Eager to publish more "serious" literature, Wu, in Issue 114, referred to the popularity of long love stories as "an abnormal development" of Taiwan's literary field. He further expressed his disappointment with general readers who considered literature simply as entertainment, blaming the prevalence of melodramatic love stories for escalating this "bad" reading habit. Wu reasoned that the large quantity of romances in *Wind and Moon Bulletin* was attributable to the fact that the authors enjoyed writing them to get fame quickly and that such works were easy to produce. Yet for Wu, those long love stories were not worth talented writers' time and effort. He thought all capable writers should compose short stories, as they not only warranted critical evaluation in the history of world literature, but also better reflected the zeitgeist of the era.

Despite Wu's support of writing more "serious" short stories, Wu and other editors (such as Xu Kunquan) were paradoxically the primary contributors of serialized love/marriage stories, a genre on which he had previously poured scorn. This may be seen as Wu's careless self-contradiction, but it could also be considered a sensible reader-oriented compromise, or profit-making tactic; issues of love and marriage were especially topical and popular among readers at that time. In Issue 81, Wu Mansha in fact commented on this dilemma faced by writers—whether they should write for the readers or compose something more in tune with the times. He acknowledged that general readers "enjoy reading family tragedies," which is "a very immature art" and "seldom captures the essence of the times." He further lamented over the difficulty of "catering to the ordinary people's psyche," stating that a writer had to decide either to "make one's works popular in society" or "compose pieces that are full of life."[56] For Wu, satisfying readers' demands by producing love/marriage or family stories, though "outmoded" and "backward," was almost inevitable.[57] However, whether or not those stories were "backward-thinking" as Wu had claimed is open to debate. One way to tackle this question would be to examine the female characterization in some of those works. In what follows, I will use Wu Mansha's "Jiucaihua" (Chive Blossoms), a story about the fate of women in a materialistic society, and Xu Kunquan's "New Mencius' Mother," which is an account of the female protagonist's tragedy in a money-oriented forced marriage.

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[56] See the preface to Issue 81.

[57] In Issue 114, Wu Mansha explained his apprehension about making concessions in genres and themes. He stated: "Although authors recognized the popularity of novels is an

A Glimpse of Modern and Gendered Modernity

"Chive Blossoms" depicts a morally distorted Taiwanese society in which most of the victims are females. The female characters, such as Ailian, Wanfen, and Xiuzhu all yearn for new-style romantic love but in the end resent losing their chastity. The characters Huiqin and Juemin, even though they are made for each other, cannot easily get married due to the objection of Juemin's status-seeking father. Through one of the female narrators, Duanmei,[58] the novel reveals the difficulty of being a woman in a morally degenerating society. Duanmei laments: "The most unfortunate are Taiwanese women, who are undervalued, cursed, despised, blamed as a depreciating asset … and even have to debauch themselves to work as prostitutes … In this abnormal society and evil world, being a person is truly not easy, especially being a woman."[59]

Following Duanmei's comment, several other female characters express their views. Duanmei's Shanghainese sister-in-law praises Duanmei as the model for all women because she is able to resist external temptations. Huiqin argues that women should not be ladies of leisure or disregard domestic chores. The male character, Xinmin, joins the "ladies' chat" by criticizing the unreasonable child bride practice. The seven-page long discussion on women's questions continues in the last chapter of the story, in which the narrative focuses on the obsolete nature of arranged marriage, but at the same time urges young men and women to "preserve one's moral integrity" (*jieshen ziai*).

Similar to Xu's works that have clear heroes and anti-heroes, Wu's "Chive Blossoms" also casts a negative example, Yuejiao. Yuejiao is endowed with the "privilege" of being in charge of her own desires and takes the initiative

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abnormal development, they could not help but write such works to fulfill the demands of the majority of readers."

[58] The name implies that the society expects women to be "duan" (decorous) and "mei" (beautiful).

[59] *Jiucaihua* (Chive Blossoms) in Taiwan's Popular Literature Series edited by Shimomura Sakujurō and Huang Yingzhe (Taipei: Qianwei, 1998), p. 285.

to seduce Zhiming, and her carnal adventures with Zhiming are depicted in detail.[60] This desire narrative, termed as "body consumption" (*shenti xiaofei*) by Huang Mei-e, affords the story a relatively innovative and even avant-garde feature.[61] Simultaneously, however, it is also indicative of the gap between the signifier (the word) and the signified (the concept/idea indicated by the signifier, or some referent to which the signifier refers) of "Chive Blossoms" and other similar popular works.

In other words, those authors' ambivalence toward modernity and their sometimes progressive and sometimes conservative female characterizations were closely associated with the bifurcated nature of modernity that opened up fresh possibilities (such as new roles for women) but concurrently created new problems (such as mammonism). This paradox generated by the tension between a desire narrative and a moral discussion can be seen as a special feature shared by Xu Kunquan and Wu Mansha, and other writers of comparable novels. Rather than being totally opposite each other, this dual plot thread functions like two sides of the same coin, supplementing and discounting the other. It also enables readers to take what they need and to be reflexive in deciding which role model (either the "immoral" or "moral" one) they wish to follow. This disjuncture between conservatism and modernity, in my view, is exactly what makes these serialized Chinese love/marriage tales particularly interesting.

However, in terms of the proportions of the novel, the narrative about desire normally was much shorter than that on morality. Even though a character such as Yuejiao could *potentially* be considered a "heroine" whose conduct follows her own desires instead of the usual virtues expected of women, Wu did not elaborate much on the social conditions that tended to beget women's misery. Instead, he highlighted the difference between the exemplary female protagonist and Yuejiao so as to evoke a moral sense among his readers. Yuejiao is thus "reduced" to a negative role model rather than a fighter for women's sexual autonomy, and the text exhibits a "conservative modernity" through its dichotomous female characterization.[62]

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[60] Another of Wu's work "Taohuajiang" (Peach Blossom River) also contains lengthy passages on women's bodies and desires.

[61] See Huang Mei-e, "Cong 'richang shenghuo' dao 'xingya shengzhan': Wu Mansa tongsu xiaoshuo de shenti xiaofei, dizhi shuxie yu dongya xiangxiang" (From "Daily Life" to the "Great East Asia War"—The Body Consumption, the Topographic Representations and the Imagination of East Asia), *Taiwan wenxue yanjiu jikan* (NTU Studies in Taiwan Literature) 10 (August 2011): 1–37.

Although I do not suggest that erotic writing is better than a predominantly moral narrative, it is fair to say that the passages related to sexual autonomy are only occasional performative utterances in a structurally morality-leaning tale. Another element contributing to this work's moral conservatism is the description of several female protagonists relying on fatalist ideas such as "born unlucky" (*boming*) or "bemoaning one's lot" (*yuanming*).[63] Even though this might well be the depressing social reality the majority of the women of that time had to face, writers like Wu Mansha and Xu Kunquan could easily have "invented" more types of women in their works if they had wished. Yet, rather than providing a broad spectrum in their characterizations of women, they continuously imagined polemic female roles. Consequently, their works contain a high concentration of either extremely chaste or dissolute women who contrast and complement each other, and their preference for the former is continuously reinforced.

Similar to Xu Kunquan who blamed the external (urban) environment as the cause of Taiwanese youth's degeneration, Wu Mansha associated his characterization (especially that of females) with the debaucherous lifestyle of Taipei. Taking "Chive Blossoms" as an example, the narration says: "The evils of a city are truly countless. People all say that a bad society is *mostly* caused by women. But... we cannot simply blame them. The young women's degeneration is often a result of family background and evil society." (italics are mine).[64] When depicting the degeneration of young men in the same work, Wu similarly blamed the evil society for ruining Zhiming's life. Moreover, Wu seemed to reveal a greater sympathy for his male characters. When describing Zhiming's affair with a married woman, Wu, through another male character, states: "you were seduced by society's evilness and lost yourself temporarily. We all harbor maximum sympathy for you."[65]

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[62] Yuejiao in the work is also depicted as an irresponsible mother, which seems to further support the interpretation of reading her as a negative example. Alison Light uses "conservative modernity" to analyze the characteristic of Agatha Christie's novels. See her *Forever England: Femininity, Literature and Conservatism between the Wars* (London: Routledge, 1991). I found the term quite suitable to describe the vision of modernity in the works by Xu Kunquan and Wu Mansha. I would like to thank Wendy Gan for bringing Light's book to my attention.

[63] Examples can be drawn from Huiqin's lament on p. 100 and p. 102 and Biyun's self-pity on p. 167 and p. 185. And on p. 226, when the pregnant Ailian becomes suicidal after being abandoned, Duanmei comforts her by saying everything that happens to her is fate and she should try to battle with the God of Fate.

[64] *Chive Blossoms*, p. 142.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the female character Duanmei blames her fellow woman (Zhiming's mistress) for seducing Zhiming. Duanmei is so forgiving of Zhiming that she even makes a break with her father, indicating an unbalanced male/female characterization. This gendered moral message of "Chive Blossoms" is conveyed in a melodratic tone in which the evil seductive powers are described as "stormy winds and autumnal rains that violently pour into the ground." For instance, narrated from Duanmei's point of view, the story says:

> Oh no! The stormy winds of society and the autumnal rain that is the adulteress blow our sweet love away. She smears, exploits, and ravages his body, putting him into a dangerous state. Alas! He is conquered by the distorted society, and thus falls and is sacrificed. Alas! Zhiming! Even though you were obdurate to demand my virginity and I severely rejected and scolded you, but—my heart never changes, and I will always forgive and sympathize with you. You, why were you so self-unaware that you have now caused harm to yourself and others?[66]

The passage quoted above does not merely exhibit Wu's hyperbolic narrative style, it also tells that Wu blamed Taiwan's social conditions on lewd women, for exacerbating its population's (particularly its males') moral degeneration. Wu's description of the cities' evils and his praise of the pastoral lifestyle found in the countryside are actually two sides of the same coin. In "Chive Blossoms," the farmers are portrayed as kind-hearted people without evil thoughts, and the simplicity and innocence of high school girls in Shishi town (Wu's own hometown in Fujian Province)[67] make them "purely the women of the new generation" and immediately outshine the female protagonist Huiqin's pursuit of fashion (such as wearing make-up and a satin cheongsam, and having her hair permed).[68]

It is important to note that the terminologies employed by Xu and Wu in their coining of either the ideal or negative women are not the same. In Xu's "New Mencius' Mother," Xu referred to the immoral women as "modern new women" (*xiandai xinnüxing*). Yet in his "Danshui hebian" (Beside the Tamsui River), he applied the term "*modeng nü*" to negative female images.[69] Like Xu, Wu Mansha reserved the term "*modeng*" for "bad" women. Yet, he utilized "new women" to refer to fairly positive females' roles. As such, "*modeng*" (modern) and "new" in Wu's works seem to be used as antonyms for each other in his female characterization. In the preface of *Wind and Moon Bulletin*, Issue 117, Wu encouraged Taiwanese women to mobilize themselves to join the Association for Patriotic Women, stressing that becoming a new woman meant to be a Mulan-like female fighter for one's country, while simultaneously being a "virtuous wife and good mother" in the domestic sphere. He continued that women should "break their vanity dream" and "put on the clothes with the color of national defense." In "Nüpengyoumen lai zuoge xinshidai de xinnüxing" (Girls, Be New Women of the New Era), preface to *Wind and Moon Bulletin*, Issue 118, Wu carried on his criticism of material/*modeng* women, and associated "new women" with a motherly nature. He argued that new women should shoulder all the domestic affairs of East Asian society such as "a wife's duties" (*zhongkui zhilao*), "serving the husband and teach[ing] the children" (*xiangfu jiaozi*) and "cooking" (*jingjiu gengtang*).[70]

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[65] Ibid., p. 59.

[66] Ibid., p. 38.

[67] In Wu's works, as in Xu's, Taiwan is compared with other places. In *Chive Blossoms*, China (particularly Amoy and Shanghai) is depicted as a place full of new opportunities and where one could prove oneself.

[68] Ibid., p. 124.

In "Peach Blossom River," the *modeng* woman is represented by the seductive *femme fatale*, Qianli Xiang, whereas the new woman is represented by the virtuous Meihen. Actually, before the last installment of "Peach Blossom River" became available in *Wind and Moon Bulletin*, Wu further defined "*modeng* women" in a short essay entitled "Fangdiao modeng ba" (Giving up Modern) published in the same journal. For him, modern women "downgrade their personality to the level of dancing girls and waitresses," and are at best appearance-focused women who are "driven by vanity and treat themselves as playthings."[71] Predictably, Qianli Xiang is described in a series of unpleasant terms such as "full of *modeng* flirtatious manners" and "practicing wearing two saddles" to refer to her complex affairs with men. Similar to Yuejiao's death in "Chive Blossoms," Qianli Xiang's behavior was eventually "corrected" as she is imprisoned together with her lover. In contrast to her, Meihen preserves her moral integrity even though she has to work as a dancing girl in the city to help improve her family's financial situation. She strives to fight against her adversity. She is a virtuous woman in both domestic and public spheres, as she not only shows great concern about her parents and younger brother, but also takes part in the development of her birthplace, Peach Blossom Town.

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[69] "Beside the Tamsui River," collected in Xu Kunquan's *The Submerged Reef* (Taipei: Wenshuai, 1988).

[70] In 1941, he further used the penname Jingzi to write a series of essays promoting motherly virtues.

[71] See Wu's "Fangdiao modeng ba" (Giving up Modern), *Wind and Moon Bulletin* 58 (February 1938): 12.

The analysis above suggests that women can be accomplice to a society's moral degeneration as well as an indispensible part of its social development. Whether the female characters are portrayed as negative or positive, they are more often imagined by male authors through the lens of their social roles, rather than their special features as women. Even though the works of Xu and Wu occasionally depict women's beauty and desires, those parts risk becoming a fantasy resulting from the male gaze and appropriated into the larger and major moral discourses. All in all, the "gendered" articulations of modernity in the works demonstrate the male authors' continuous negotiation of what "modern" meant and what it might entail. Their ambivalent language shows their dialectical contemplation between radicalism and conservatism. On the one hand, the moral message embedded in those works makes them appear almost "anti-modern." But, as those works manifest the trail of the authors' selective acceptance (and refutation) of urban civilization as well as freedom of love, their contents (such as tension that arises from the dual narrative) and forms (such as the authors' blend of fictional description and social instruction) can be considered "modern." Interestingly, in the preface to *Wind and Moon Bulletin*, Issue 105, the editors express their shame that they continued to write novels in nativist style (*xiangtuyu de zuopin*) to satisfy readership demands. Retrospectively, they did not need to be too apologetic. They at least offered readers literary enjoyment that was highly relevant to the times in which they lived and different from that of more "serious" works.[72] In 1981, when commenting on Taiwan's nativist literature, Ye Shitao praised Xu's works for its rich nativist color.[73] This much-delayed recognition may just be Ye's personal insight. Nevertheless, Ye's view prompts us to regard topical love stories as alternative nativist works, especially in regards to their audience-pleasing language if not the genre itself.

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[72] Huang Mei-e argues that one of the major differences between popular literature and highbrow literature (*yawenxue*) lies in authors' varied attitudes toward writing about love. According to Huang, Wu Mansha simply treats it as the main subject matter of his writing and is more concerned about the problems and reactions of people in love. On the contrary, in the realm of highbrow literature, "freedom of love" usually becomes an integral part of authors' cultural enlightment task. Hence, authors of highbrow literature place more emphasis on individual freedom evoked through the call of "freedom of love" than the love affair itself. See Huang's "From 'Daily Life' to the 'Great East Asia War'—The Body Consumption, the Topographic Representations and the Imagination of East Asia" mentioned in fn. 61.

[73] Ye in fact referred to Xu as "Zhang Henshui in Taiwan." See Ye Shitao, "Taiwan de xiangtu wenxue" (Taiwan's Nativist Literature), in *Taiwan xiangtu zuojia lunji* (Collected Essays on Taiwanese Nativist Writers) (Taipei: Yuanjing, 1979), p. 32.

When "Nativist" Romances Meet the War

Following the intensified wartime mobilization, Wu Mansha called for the revival of East Asian literature. In May 1941, Wu stated: "We should not write those privileged articles as we have done previously. The stories in the red-light district are no longer our writing materials! . . . We ought to be aware that those amorous and lustful wordings are not only not required nowadays, but also would affect our future generations. We appeal to our fellow writers to change their pens . . . we unite together in order to realize the slogans we sing loudly, to revive East Asian literature, and to establish a new East Asian literature."[74] Following this sentiment, Wu's addition of wartime elements to his fictional writing was clearly motivated.

In his "Liming le dongya" (East Asia at Dawn), a work which was retitled "Dadi zhichun" (Spring of the Earth) when it was released in book form in 1942, Wu continued in his forte—a love story—but with a twist of including a nationalist message. The work recounts the male protagonist Huang Yiping's love for his cousin Xiangyun. Another important plotline is the social transformation around that time, with a focus on China. Changes dealt with included Chinese students' frustration with their reformist ambitions, Chinese youths' joining the war and actually putting the slogan of "Japan/China goodwill" into practice, and the need for establishing a new culture and order after the war.

Different from Wu's earlier works, China was placed in the foreground in this novel, rather than being a reference point for Taiwan. Apart from Hangzhou, where the male protagonist is residing, the novel contained descriptions of Shanghai, Nanjing, and Jinjiang. Wu not only wrote about the natural scenery (in this regard, China is considered a better place than Taiwan), he at the same time revealed his views on China. In *Spring of the Earth*, there are passages that are critical of China, such as in reference to Chinese people's lack of punctuality, and Chinese women's inflexibility. His questions, "how come China lags behind foreign countries so much?," and statements "the fate of China is not rising, its science is not growing but regressing" reinforced his views.[75]

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[74] "Juantouyu: 'jianshe dongya xinwenyi'" (Preface: Establishing the New East Asian Literature), *Wind and Moon Bulletin* 129 (May 1941): unpaginated.

[75] *Spring of the Earth*, p. 28 and p. 64.

Interestingly, Wu created a Taiwanese girl named Huang Xiuzi, the paternal cousin of Huang Yiping, to be almost a twin with Huang's own biological younger sister Xiujuan. The closeness between Xiuzi and Xuejuan seemed to suggest an intimate connection between China and Taiwan.[76]

Nevertheless, far from being an evil society, Taiwan, narrated through Xiuzi, became a "world of immortals. If anything is dropped upon the road, none picks it up, nor are the doors of houses locked at night. Education there is particularly prevalent. People are all very friendly, and the hygiene is very good. I very much wish I could live there forever."[77] "Thanks to" Japan's colonial rule, Taiwan in this work became almost a paradise. However, the most advanced country in East Asia was certainly Japan, a place where lessons could be learned in order to help build a new China.[78] In other words, Taiwan turned out to be a more advanced place than China as a direct result of Japan's colonial modernity, but China was encouraged to learn from Japan.

This hierarchy seemed anticipated, given the context in which the Second Sino-Japanese War had broken out. Japanese policy-leaning details include the Japanese military officer Sano's looking after the wounded Yiping, which embodied the slogan of "Japan-China Friendship." Also, when serving as a caregiver in the Japanese military hospital, Xiuzi (a colonized Taiwanese) explained to Yiping that Japan does not consider China or Chinese people as enemies. Its enemy is the anti-Japanese troops. And the war is for "establishing the newly risen Greater East Asia, realizing the unification of the East Asian races." She then urges Yiping to "get rid of his gun and pick up the flag of establishment to explore the continent of reviving Asia, and establish the bright, Greater East Asia."[79] After listening to Xiuzi's advice, Yiping becomes "enlightened." He returns to his hometown Hangzhou to set up the "Youth Peace Salvation Association," devoting himself to promoting Japan-China friendship.

With Xiuzi serving an advocate for the notion of Greater East Asia Co-prosperity, a new role in Wu's female characterization, war in this novel was ingeniously downplayed and paradoxically replaced with the calls for Japan-China friendship and Greater East Asian peace.[80] Unsurprisingly, when

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76 Even their names are similar. However, as Xiuzi (or Hideko in Japanese) can be a common Japanese name, Taiwan's colony status is implied.

77 *Spring of the Earth*, p. 27.

78 Ibid., p. 58.

79 *Spring of the Earth*, pp. 247–48.

80 Xiuzi's enlightener's role is like a one-off device. Throughout *Spring of the Earth*, males remain the chief instructors. For instance, at the beginning, despite Yiping's feelings for his cousin Xiangyun, he "educates" her that it is now not the time for love, but the time

encountering some of his Taiwanese relatives on the war's front lines, Wu did not comment on the irony in which family members were turned into enemies owing to the war. Rather, he hastily urged everyone to look forward to the peace after the war. Toward the end of the novel, the plotline has another twist—the evil power that the students fail to overthrow collapses naturally as a consequence of the war, as if the "holy war" initiated by Japan was conducive to Taiwanese society. This plot twist not only rectifies the forces of evil in Taiwanese society, but also echoes with the colonizer's policy.

Wu's keeping in line with the dominant ideology at that time became clearer when *Wind and Moon Bulletin* was renamed *Nanfang* (The South). Responding to the new title, Wu Mansha, quoting He Haiming and Tsuneo Yonaiyama,[81] declared that "culture" is the only fundamental element for a Japan-China friendship, and this important task requires the Southerners (*nanfang renshi*) and comrades from the friendly countries to work together.[82] Resorting to the official wartime call of friendship between the Japanese and Chinese peoples and employing the sweeping term "culture," and urging the Asian populace to unite together, were certainly timely responses to the extreme external situation. Inevitably, the wartime condition led Wu to adjust his creative writing too. When preparing the new edition of his 1939 work "Liming zhige" (Song at Dawn), Wu added a preface, in which he commented on why he wished to publish it in book form. He explained:

> ... when writing it, I aimed for mass appeal. Therefore, I used mostly the nativist style (*xiangtuse de bifa*). The story is straightforward and the

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of striving for the peace and establishment of East Asia. Here, the call for collective war mobilization is seen above personal love. Yiping's sister in fact asks her brother to be the "rescuer" for Xiangyun, by helping her throw off the constraints of moral doctrines.

[81] He Haiming (1864–1944) was an important "Mandarin Duck and Butterfly" writer during early Republican period. During wartime, he worked for the Wang Jingwei Regime. Tsuneo Yonaiyama (1888–1968) was a Japanese diplomat and scholar who had worked as a Consul in Hangzhou. He was the author of several books, including *Shina fudoki* (China's Customs, 1939), *Unnan shisen tōsaki* (Travelogue in Yunnan and Sichuan, 1940), and *Shina to Mōko* (China and Mongolia, 1943).

[82] Wu Mansha, "The New Establishment of Southern Culture" (Nanfang wenhua de xin jianshe), *Nanfang* 133 (July 1941): 8. Such a call for helping establish a Greater East Asian culture was also resonant with "Peace Literature" promoted in Shanghai between 1939 and 1941. For details about "Peace Literature," see Li Wenqing, *Gongrong de xiangxiang—Diguo, zhimindi yu dadongya wenxuequan (1937–1945)* (The Imagination of Coprosperity—Empire, Colony, and the Great East Asian Literary Circle (1937–1945)) (Taipei: Daoxiang, 2010), pp. 437–47.

> twists are not too complicated. It received the support of the majority of readers, for which I am grateful and ashamed! When the last installment was published, many readers sent in letters, asking me to continue writing. At this time, my mentality has changed. I truly do not have the courage to continue, and I am very sorry to those readers who have been supporting me…Nowadays the publisher has been established, and with various encouragements, I go beyond my depth in preparing it for publication in book form. In the midst of the reading public's searching for healthy food for thought, the release of this book perhaps would make some contribution to the six million people who are not fighting on the front lines during wartime.… If readers wish to know more about the situations of the characters, I would, if there is a chance, write the sequel of "Song at Dawn," using the color of the present time and meeting closely the requirements of wartime entertainment. After having said this, I still hope that readers would give me guidance and sympathy.[83]

A comparison between the work's initial 1939 version and the 1942 version enables us to decipher what Wu meant by "the requirements of wartime entertainment." The revived version contained new passages in which Sufen, one of the female protagonists, joins the Taiwanese youth's patriotic trend by going to the front lines to help as a volunteer caregiver. Following the plot development of the original version's last installment in *Wind and Moon Bulletin*, a reunion of some of the protagonists is inevitable. However, this seemingly more natural ending was cut short and abruptly diverted to cater to the needs of battlefield. Given the external war condition, Wu's plot twist was comprehensible even though this change was somewhat contrived. Skipping the violent nature of the war and taking the casualties lightly, Wu's emphasis on the postwar peace appeared evasive.

Wu seemed to be more interested in writing mass-appeal romances than dealing with what imperialization had brought upon the Taiwanese population, since there was hardly a sign of identity crisis in the story. No matter whether or how Wu's view had changed according to the fast-changing war, and regardless of whether the narrator can be considered equal to Wu himself, the textual adjustment exhibited a genre grafting, in which imperial-subject elements were consciously inserted into an archetypal tale of love and family melodrama. It is worth highlighting the ending of Wu's remarks as quoted above, in which he implored readers to offer him "guidance and sympathy" (*zhidao yu tongqing*). The guidance could perhaps be interpreted as Wu's continued wish to gain a wide readership, whereas the sympathy might hint at his having to go so far to produce a "grafted" work in order to match the needs of the war situation. Wu's working in coordination with the official line became more patent in *The South*'s editorial meeting's minutes made about three months later, wherein Wu declared that as a channel of mass-oriented literature in public, *The South* should promote the vitalization of Taiwan's literary and art field—especially that of war literature, imperial-subject literature, and Asia-reviving literature.[84]

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[83] The article was initially written in June 1942. See Wu Mansha, "Preface: A Few Words" (Jiju qianyan), in *Song at Dawn* (Liming zhi ge) (Taipei: Qianwei, 1998), p. 13. Wu was not the only author who made such remarks at that time. In 1940, Lin Jingnan, when translating Heno Ashihei's war novel *Wheat and Soldiers* (*Mugi to heitai*) made similar statements in the translator's note. He explicated that he hoped the work would be able to urge the six million Taiwanese people to help established the new East-Asian order, defend the South firmly, and accomplish the great cause of reviving Asia. See *Wind and Moon Bulletin* 103 (February 1940): 12.

Wu's case highlights the making of entertaining wartime literary works. Compared to the new literature writers, both he and Xu were more sensitive to readers' tastes. Although they were also concerned with literary values and the social function of literature, they were willing to give in, in order to maximize readership. Yet they made good use of tragic romances as a means to convey their ideas about modern society. Their vacillation between the traditional value system and new social order projected a mixed and dubious vision about the era in which they lived. It offered an alternative discourse on modernity—an in-between space that was not overly concerned with nationalist sentiments or class struggle, but dwelled on the less "grand" issues surrounding personal love and the predicaments of women. Wu's case also exemplified the ambiguity of identity for the Chinese nationals in Taiwan at that time. He was born in Jinjiang, Fujian Province, in 1912. His father came to Taiwan for business when Wu was still young. He visited his father in Taipei briefly in 1929 and returned to China in 1931. His second visit to Taipei took place in 1935. While helping at his family's coal-storage yard in a suburb of Taipei, Wu began to write and publish in *Taiwan xinminbao*.

Wu's "dual" identity—a Chinese national who established his literary career in Taiwan—afforded him an interesting angle to respond during wartime. It also brought unexpected trouble for him. In September 1941, when Yuzhen Bookstore in Jiayi was preparing the publication of Wu's "Peach Blossom River" in book form, the Japanese police confiscated all three thousand printed copies. The content was deemed to be instigating the Taiwanese to resist the

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[84] *The South* 159 (September 1942).

Japanese and implying that China would come to re-establish Taiwan (the Peach Blossom River). Wu himself was accused of harboring anti-Japanese thought as he had received his education in China.[85] In December 1941, Wu was imprisoned for being suspected of being a "Chinese spy." He claimed that he firmly denied the accusation despite being tortured. Perhaps because the last few years of Japanese rule in Taiwan were quite traumatic, Wu, in his postwar recollections, comes over as slightly contradictory. At times he would stress that he could not afford not to eulogize the Japanese spirit in order to continue being able to perform his own plays.[86] But on other occasions, he would emphasize how he risked his life in order to protect Chinese culture (*zuguo wenhua*).[87] His somehow discrepant memories may be explained by his trying hard to ensure the publication of his Chinese-language romances. That is, as long as his works could be published, he was willing to compromise. It may also be related to his Chinese background that he was able to skip the Han Taiwanese/Japanese dilemma that the majority of Taiwanese authors had to battle with over and over again.[88] Or perhaps Wu did at one time harbor a Panglossian dream of East Asia's peace and co-prosperity. Yet clearly, authors such as Chen Huoquan, Wang Changxiong, Wu Zhuoliu and the like did not share Wu's utopian vision. Instead, their works painted a complex, and even schizophrenic psychological trajectory of Taiwanese intellectuals.

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[85] Wu Mansha, "Chujing riwei" (Increasingly Dangerous Living Conditions), *Zhuixi ji* (My Recollections) (Taipei: Taipei County Cultural Bureau, 2000), p. 89.

[86] Wu Mansha, "Chentong de huiyi (daixu)" (Painful Memories (In Lieu of a Preface)), *Zhuixi ji*, unpaginated.

[87] Wu Mansha, "Laoyu zhi zai" (Imprisonment), *Zhuixi ji*, p. 106.

[88] Chen Jianzhong argues it is Wu's "conservative" personality that enabled him to transcend national morality easily. He points out that Wu's tendency of conforming to a system made him a promoter of patriarchy, and it is natural that he conformed to a greater patriarchal system—the nation. See Chen's "Dadongya limingqian de luomanshi: Wu Mansha xiaoshuo zhong de aiqing yu zhanzheng xiuci" (The Romances before the Dawn of Great East Asian Empire: A Study on the Rhetorics of Love and War in Wu Man-Say's Novels), *Taiwan wenxue xuebao* (Bulletin of Taiwanese Literature) 3 (December 2002): 131.

CHAPTER 4

Stylistic Reorientation and Innovation: Lü Heruo, Long Yingzong, and Weng Nao

While writers surrounding *Wind and Moon Bulletin* strove to find equilibrium between their artistic identity, readership, and colonizer's demands through their Chinese love/marriage tales, Taiwanese novelists who published in Japanese were also caught up with their own concerns, particularly their stylistic re-orientation. Facing fast-changing external conditions, several writers developed complicated visions for which a single label (such as "leftist" or "modernist") fails to capture their oeuvre. A number of Taiwanese scholars have pre-assumed an emphasis on anti-imperialist (if not anti-Japanese) and anti-feudal resistance, and their readings on certain writers interpreted cause for effect. This "reductionist" reading is conspicuous through the labeling of Lü Heruo as a consistently leftist writer.[1] It is true that some, such as Tarumi Chie, have noted that Lü Heruo produced several works that cannot be seen as proletariat literature, yet it is only in recent years that analysis has begun to redress this more comprehensively.[2] I cannot deny that there is a socialist color in Lü

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[1] Examples include Ye Shitao's interpretation of Lü's "Seishū" (Clear Autumn) as an anti-feudal and anti-imperialist "mission literature." Lü Zhenghui stresses Lü Heruo's resistance, arguing that the inevitable historical and social power led Lü Heruo to his martyrdom. Chen Fangming refers to Lü Heruo as a "red youth." See Ye Shitao, "Qingqiu—weizhuang de huangminhua ouge" (Clear Autumn—A Pretend Ode to Imperialization), *Taiwan wenyi* (Taiwan Literature) 77 (October 1982): 21–26; Lü Zhenghui, "Xundaozhe: Lü Heruo xiaoshuo de 'lishizhexue' jiqi lishi daolu" (A Martyr: The Historical Philosophy and Historical Trajectory in Lü Heruo's Fiction), *Lü Heruo xiaoshuo quanji: Taiwan diyi caizi* (A Complete Collection of Lü Heruo's Fiction: Taiwan's Most Talented Man), trans. Lin Zhijie (Taipei: Lianhe wenxue, 1995), pp. 569–98; Chen Fangming, *Zuoyi Taiwan* (Taipei: Maitian, 1998), pp. 219–42. Similarly, Lin Ruiming argues that Lü Heruo's stepping on the path of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal proletariat revolution was unsurprising at all. He applied the same "resistance standard" to his analysis of Long Yingzong, striving to trace the "determined and resistant" characteristics in Long's works. See Lin's "Lü Heruo de 'Taiwan jiazushi' yu xieshi fengge" (Lü Heruo's "Taiwanese Family Saga" and its Realist Style), in *Lü Heruo zuopin yanjiu: Taiwan diyi caizi* (A Study of Lü Heruo's Works: Taiwan's Most Talented Man) by Chen Yingzhen et al. (Taipei: Wenjianhui, 1997), pp. 57–78; "Buwei renzhi de Long Yingzong" (The Unknown Long Yingzong) in *A Historical Investigation of Taiwanese Literature*, pp. 265–93.

[2] For instance, see You Shengguan's "Qimeng, rendao zhuyi yu qianxiandai wozu de ningshi—Lü Heruo zuowei zuoyi zuojia lishi dingwei de zai shangque" (Enlightenment, Humanitarianism, and Premodernity Local Race Review—Confirming Lu He Ruo's Historic

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Heruo's earlier and later works. Nor do I wish to undermine the cogency of an anti-imperial nationalist reading. However, a more balanced investigation is essential in order to trace his literary and political paths and better understand the insights and blind spots of his works.

Regarding the dubious (colonial) modernity and its impact on Taiwan's populace, works by Long Yingzong and Weng Nao, too, offer illuminating subjects. The former's sensitive capturing of Taiwanese intellectuals' distressed mental states and the latter's celebration of a fluid urban identity, together with Lü Heruo's series of "family history" writings, were pioneering. In addition to their innovative styles, Lü's wartime works make a fascinating case study exemplifying the dialectic between politics and (personal) aesthetics, whereas both Long and Weng provided powerful evidence demonstrating an array of different coexisting modes of literary expression available in Taiwan during the last decade of Japanese rule. This chapter explores the inward-turning narrative and individual searching in the writing of these three authors. Among them, Lü Heruo makes a particularly effective sample illustrating how the socialist ideal became compromised and was transformed into a more subdued thematic exploration.

The Reorientation of a Young Socialist

Born in 1914 to a landlord family in Taizhong, Lü Heruo grew up in an environment full of artistic and literary atmosphere. During his studies in Taizhong Normal School (1929–1934), Lü had his first encounter with leftist thinking. Upon graduation, Lü started his literary writing. In 1935, his "Niuche" (Oxcart) was published in the Tokyo-based liberal journal *Bungaku hyōron* (Literary Review), making Lü the second Taiwanese author whose work was recognized by Japan's central literary arena.[3] In 1936, "Oxcart" was translated into Chinese

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Role as Left-wing Writer), *Taiwan wenxue xuebao* (Bulletin of Taiwanese Literature) 16 (June 2010): 1–32.

[3] Taiwanese writers who won Japan's literary recognition in the 1930s include Yang Kui (in 1934), Lü Heruo (in 1935), and Long Yingzong (in 1937). According to Wu Yongfu, Lü chose "Heruo" (meaning "young Chang Hyŏkchu" as his penname for wishing to be as successful as the Korean writer Chang Hyŏkchu, whose 1932 story "Gakidō" (Hell of the Starving) won a literary prize organized by Japan's leftwing magazine *Kaizō* (Reconstruction). But Lan Bozhou suggests the penname came from both Chang Hyŏkchu and Chinese writer Guo Moruo. See Wu Yongfu, "Lü Heruo de diandian didi" (Bits and Pieces of Lü Heruo), *Wenxue Taiwan* 1 (December 1991): 13–15; Lan Bozhou, "Taiwan diyi caizi—Lü Heruo shengping zaipingjia yi" (A Re-evaluation of the Life of Lü Heruo: Taiwan's Most Talented Man Part I), *Minzhong ribao* (The Commons Daily) (December 3, 1990).

by Hu Feng, along with Yang Kui's "The Newspaper Boy" and Yang Hua's "Boming" (The Ill-fated), and published in the anthology *Shanling: Chaoxian Taiwan duanpian ji* (Mountain Spirit: Collected Short Stories from Korea and Taiwan) in Shanghai.[4]

From 1939 to 1942, when the Japanese assimilation policy reached its climax, Lü left Taiwan to study singing and drama in Tokyo. Yet his stay in Japan brought him little sense of fulfillment. After returning to Taiwan in 1942, Lü worked as a journalist for *Kōnan shimbun* (Kōnan News) and joined the journal *Taiwanese Literature*, led by Zhang Wenhuan, where he published his "Zai shi ju" (Wealth, Sons, and Long Life),[5] "Fūsui" (Geomancy)[6] and other stories. In 1943, he established the Public Welfare Drama Research Association (*Kōsei engeki kenkyū kai*) to promote the development of drama in Taiwan. Also in 1943, his "Wealth, Sons, and Long Life" won second prize in the Taiwanese literature awards (*Taiwan bungaku shō*) and his "Geomancy" was selected to be in the anthology *Taiwan shōsetsu sen* (Selected Stories from Taiwan).[7] In 1944, Lü published a collection of short stories under the title *Seishū* (Clear Autumn).[8] After the War he overcame the switch of official language from Japanese into Chinese, publishing "Dongye" (A Winter's Night) along with several other stories in Chinese while teaching music in the Taipei First Girls' High School and working as a part-time journalist for *Renmin daobao* (People's Herald).[9] Lü stopped writing after the February 28th Incident. It is said that he died in an armed uprising in Luku around 1950 or 1951. His death remains a mystery even today.[10]

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[4] See "Niuche" (Oxcart), in *Shanling: Chaoxian Taiwan duanpian ji* (Mountain Spirit: Collected Short Stories from Korea and Taiwan) (Shanghai: Wenhua shenghuo, 1936), pp. 229–71. The reception was presumably good, as Hu Feng mentioned he decided to translate Chang Hyŏkchu's "Shanling" (Mountain Spirit) and had the anthology idea after readers' enthusiastic response to Yang Kui's "The Newspaper Boy." See Hu's preface in the anthology, pp. I–III.

[5] *Taiwan bungaku* 2.2 (April 1942): 2–37.

[6] *Taiwan bungaku* 2.4 (October 1942): 40–56.

[7] Published by Daimoku Publisher on Nov 27, 1943.

[8] *Seishū* (Clear Autumn) consists of seven stories: "Rinkyo" (Neighbors), "Sekiryū" (The Pomegranate), "Zai shi ju" (Wealth, Sons, and Long Life), "Gōka heian" (The Whole Family is Safe and Sound), "Byōtei" (The Shrine Garden), "Tsukiyo" (Moon Night), and "Seishū" (Clear Autumn). It was the first anthology of Taiwanese writers under Japanese rule. Initially published by Shimizu Shoten in 1944, it was re-printed in 2001 by Tokyo's Yumani Shobō, with an introduction provided by Tarumi Chie at the end.

[9] Originally published in *Taiwan wenhua* (Taiwanese Culture) 2.2 (February 1947). See *Complete Collection of Lü Heruo's Fiction*, pp. 533–45.

Both Lü's "Oxcart" and "Arashi no monogatari" (The Tale of a Tempest)[11] display his leftist concerns about class inequality and the proletariat. As early as 1936, Lü emphasized the social and class function of literature. In his essay "Bungaku zakkan—furui atarashii koto" (Miscellaneous Literary Note—Old and New Things),[12] he addressed literature's social function of helping people understand reality by quoting Lunacharsky and Hegel. For him, a literary work touches people not because it is pure art but because of its social character and class character. Lü further declared that art is a unique form to understand reality because writing is a way of knowing reality. He maintained that all forms of art should generate from social reality and economic structure since only this art can bring spiritual inspiration to people.

Given his views, it is no surprise that the subject matter of Lü's writing was dominated by his socialist thinking. In "Oxcart," he exposed the cruel social reality and class inequality in colonial Taiwan. Narrated in the third person, the story details how an oxcart puller's (Yang Tianding) initially self-sufficient life is destroyed due to his inability to compete with the advanced mechanized farming techniques and modern transportation methods brought by Japanese colonialism. To vent their anger, Yang and other oxcart pullers illegally drag their carts at night on the road designated for automobiles, shouting that mechanization is a Japanese thing and their deadly enemy. Yang later encounters his friend Lao Lin, a former oxcart puller who turned to thieving in order to survive, just as he is released from prison. Yang is puzzled about why his hard work still led to poverty. Failing to amass the start-up money needed for tenants and unable to pay a fine for his unlawful oxcart driving, Yang is finally apprehended for stealing. His degeneration unveils the multiple oppressions suffered by those involved in traditional industries. The oxcart-pullers' misery is attributed not only to the newly introduced mechanization and colonial laws, but also to the specific historical juncture of global economic recession, a dramatic fall in Taiwan's rice price, and the emergence of the transportation business. In other words, Yang's tragedy seems inevitable and is an emblem of the gradual collapse and increased poverty of traditional Taiwanese society.

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[10] Lü's whereabout became unknown in the second half of 1950. Some speculate that he was killed by fatal snakebite; some believe that he escaped from Taiwan. But his partner Su Yulan suggests that some Communists involved in the Luku Incident killed Lü in the fear that he might surrender himself to the Nationalist government.

[11] *Taiwan bungei* 2.5 (May 1935): 85–111.

[12] *Taiwan bungei* 3.7/8 (August 1936): 57–60.

Yang Tianding's quandary is replicated in "The Tale of the Tempest," which accounts how the tenant Lao Song and his wife Wangshi are in turn economically and physically exploited by their landlord Baocai. Similar to Yang, Lao Song is unaware of the cause of his impecunious situation. Eventually, Lao Song resorts to violence by killing Baocai to revenge Wangshi, who committed suicide after realizing Baocai had been deceiving her. Like Qin Desan's murder of a Japanese policeman in Lai He's "The 'Steelyard'," Lao Song's action results from Baocai destroying his life and causing his wife's death. The "enlightenment" of both characters is not a true realization of colonial and class oppression but an emotional venting of their personal agony and frustration. Though the narrator in "Oxcart" and "The Tale of the Tempest" takes pains to depict the psychological transition of the leading proletarian characters, the characterization of the exploitative policeman and landlord is relatively flat. The oppressor and oppressed are polarized as if to create a socially engaged text that underlines the proletarian characters' inescapable suffering.[13] It is true that the oppressed in these two works do not have an ideal way-out, and both texts illustrate Lü's emphasis on literature's social characteristics. However, it would be an oversimplification to consider Lü's representation of the oppressed a display of his elitism or intellectual superiority,[14] especially as the narrator is not necessarily equal to Lü Heruo, and the proletariat protagonists' submission is heavily associated with the unfavorable external context.

With the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, the Japanese promoted their assimilation policy more comprehensively. The use of Chinese in major newspapers and journals was consequently banned. In January 1940, the Association of Writers in Taiwan (*Taiwan bungeika kyōkai*) was established with a goal to promote "realist" literature, which eulogized the imperialization policy such as the recruitment of volunteer soldiers. Its magazine *Bungei Taiwan*, led by Nishikawa Mitsuru was also launched. Following the Association's reshuffle in February 1941, *Bungei Taiwan* revealed a stronger feature of being a coterie magazine and became more integrated with the wartime rhetoric.[15] Dissatisfied with Nishikawa's self-centered editing style and romantic aesthetics, Zhang Wenhuan, together with Taiwan-born writer Nakayama Susumu and others, launched *Taiwanese Literature* in May 1941. Faced with limited literary channels and a frustrating social reality, Lü left Taiwan for Tokyo in 1939 to study vocal music. While in Japan, he wrote several plays, and was involved in performances at the Tokyo Takarazuka Theater. In addition, he read extensively and watched plays and films frequently.

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[13] Kawasaki Hiroyasu once commented that Lü's characterization in "The Tale of the Tempest" is so stereotypical that the work is truly a realist one. See his "Taiwan no bunka ni kansuru oboegaki (ni)" (Notes on Taiwanese Culture II), *Taiwan jihō* (February 1935): 29–36, especially 33–34.

[14] See You Shengguan's essay in fn. 2 of this chapter and Li Kunlong's "Lun zuoyi zhishifenzi de shuxie celue yu qimeng lichang—yi Lü Heruo xiaoshuo "Niuche" weili" (On the Left-wing Intellectuals' Writing Strategy and Enlightenment Stance—taking Lü Heruo's "Oxcart" as an Example), http://blog.ncue.edu.tw/sa_tl/doc/3799.

The highly cultural and artistic life he led in Tokyo indicated his ardent longing for modern art and literature.[16] But curiously, Lü did not publish much during his stay in Japan.[17] This can be attributed to a few things, such as his growing interest in theatrical performance and thus having less time for creative writing, the limited publication channel for Taiwanese authors, and the sense of isolation in Tokyo and inability to determine his future writing direction.[18] In his diary entry dated January 16 1942, Lü mentioned the receipt of a letter from Zhang Wenhuan in which Zhang expressed his interest in contributing to the "home front fiction" (*jūgo shōsetsu*) writing. Lü then concluded that perhaps "writing about life and interpreting it following the direction of national policy" is the best literary direction for those, like himself, not participating in the war.[19] But the wish to write about life seemed difficult during his stay in Japan. It was not until the publication of "Wealth, Sons, and Long Life" in April 1942 (roughly about the time when Lü gave up drama for literature and prepared to settle in Taiwan) that Lü truly became productive. Nevertheless, the colonial reality bothered him. In his diary entry of January 16, 1943, for instance, he commented on his concern of being forced to submit an application for soldiering, and revealed his view that compelling people to join the army by police force was a disgrace.[20]

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[15] For instance, several issues were designed to promote the wartime ideology such as the issue on wartime poetry in Greater East Asia (Issue 5.2) and on the Greater East Asian Writers Assembly (Issue 5.3).

[16] Lü's diary entries from January 1942 to his return to Taiwan show that he had wide-ranging interests and multi-sourced literary inspirations, ranging from the drama theories of August Strindberg and Hermann Sudermann, various European films, as well as Japanese and Chinese literature.

[17] Some scholars regard the period between Lü's publication of "Nigesaru otoko" (The Runaway Man) in May 1937, and the publication of "Wealth, Sons, and Long Life" in 1942, as a blank period in Lü's writing career. The few works he wrote during these years are incomplete. Hence, this period remains understudied.

[18] These can all be backed up from Lü's diary entries. For instance, on March 8 and 17, 1942, he wrote he was overwhelmed by melancholy and solitude, and on April 10, 1942, he no longer found Tokyo attractive. On March 28, the same year, he thought he would specialize in drama, but on April 7, he quit the performance at Takarazuka Theater and made up his mind to concentrate on literature. See *Lü Heruo riji* (Lü Heruo's Diary), translated by Zhong Ruifang (Tainan: National Taiwan Literature Museum, 2004), p. 80, p. 86, p. 102, p. 92, and p. 100.

[19] Ibid., p. 46.

Maneuvering through Darkness in Self-Fashioned Family Tales

It was perhaps through this frustrating reality that Lü found the spark to use literature to "fully describe reality from the root in order to conquer darkness."[21] This wording was a direct quote from the commentary of Odagiri Hideo, a Japanese Marxist theoretician. In addition to the Japanese sources, Lü, at the same time, tried to gain sustenance for his writing from Taiwan's folk customs and European literature, including Balzac, Stendhal, Gottfried Keller, and Marcel Arland.[22] Describing Taiwanese customs is certainly not solely Taiwanese writers' privilege. Shōji Sōichi's *Chin fujin* (Madame Chen), for example, contains lengthy depiction of Taiwanese customs. After seeing its theatrical performance in Tokyo, Lü commented that he was impressed by Shōji's clear capturing of Taiwan's various customs, but had reservations about his portrayal of Taiwanese people who received less modern education and were distanced from modern trends.[23] It is difficult to judge whether or not Lü deliberately strove to offer a more "indigenous" version of the Taiwanese populace and their cultural practices as different from representations by the Japanese, however his "Wealth, Sons, and Long Life" and several other works published after it are concerned with the customs or conflicts of Taiwanese traditional (or less modern) families, and Lü took pains to characterize Taiwanese women and patriarchal figures, the aspect to which Shōji's novel pays less attention.[24]

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[20] Ibid., p. 275.

[21] Entry dated February 28, 1942, p. 74.

[22] Lü called for understanding the merits of Taiwanese customs (March 6, 1942). In his diary, he also commented that he had reached the level of Balzac (August 18, 1942), and expressed that Stendhal's style was very suitable for him (August 30, 1942). Lü commented that Keller's short-story techniques were worth learning (October 15, 1942) and the depiction of nature and lyricism in Arland's works were impressive (October 26, 1942). See *Lü Heruo riji*, p. 79, p. 183, p. 190, p. 218, and p. 225.

[23] Lü Heruo, "*Chin fujin* no kōen" (Public Performance of *Madame Chen*) One to Six, *Kōnan shimbun*, nos. 3706–3711 (May 20–25, 1941).

[24] In Shōji's *Madame Chen*, the focus is the Japanese female protagonist Yasuko, the wife of the Taiwanese male character Chen Qingwen. But Lü put Taiwanese women to the foreground of his stories such as "The Shrine Garden" and "Moon Night." In his "Wealth,

Lü's diary corroborates that his turning to Taiwanese family life as the focus of his creative writing was a conscious choice. In the entry dated March 16, 1942, Lü mentioned he burned his thirty-page draft of "Moon Night" because he was not happy with it. He also stated that he would like to write stories that could resemble Taiwanese lives more, without exaggeration but with Taiwanese color.[25] Bearing his thematic aspiration in mind, it is logical that "Wealth, Sons, and Long Life" contains a thorough depiction of the family house Fushoutang (Home of Fortune and Longevity) and its surrounding environment (such as the field in the front and bamboo forest at both sides). In addition to the detailed spatial and architectural depictions, Lü offered a vivid characterization of Zhou Haiwen, the patriarch in the family. He also narrated the feudal family's internal conflicts delicately. Inclusion of such things as the weeping practice and drama performance at Haiwen's mother's funeral further enhance the "Taiwanese-ness" of this work.[26] Similar attention to a Taiwanese family's internal conflict and funeral ritual is found in Lü's "Fūsui" (Geomancy). The lengthy account of Taiwan's burial practice in "Geomancy" again exemplifies Lü's ambition to capture things Taiwanese.[27]

Lü's effort to document Taiwan's disappearing customs is potentially radical, especially as he indicates a return to a "purer" Taiwanese society like that found prior to the intervention of Japanese colonialism—indeed Lü's portrayal of the "ignorant and old-fashioned" Taiwanese people did cause concern for some Japanese critics.[28] However, it would be over-simplified to regard Lü's representation of Taiwanese folk culture as an unambiguous act of resistance. This is because the emphasis on Taiwan's local folk practice, to some extent, was already a by-product resulting from the colonial policy of re-invigorating local culture; as such, it was promoted by the Imperial Rule Assistance Association

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Sons, and Long Life" as well as "Geomancy," there are descriptions of elderly Taiwanese men. For an analysis of Shōji's *Madame Chen*, see Kimberly Kono's *Romance, Family, and Nation in Japanese Colonial Literature*, pp. 99–118.

[25] *Lü Heruo riji*, p. 85.

[26] Lü's characterization of a Taiwanese family seemed to be a feasible way to respond to Japan's call for resuscitating "local culture." "Wealth, Sons, and Long Life" was officially sanctioned, as it won the 2nd "Taiwan Literature Award" organized by Taiwan Literature Service Association (*Taiwan bungaku hōkōkai*) on November 13, 1943.

[27] This story's plotline was likely derived from Lü's family dispute over the ancestral bone collection. See Lü Heruo's diary entry dated October 5, 1942, *Lü Heruo riji*, p. 212.

[28] Kawano Yoshihiko, for instance, considered Lü's writing of the decaying traditional Taiwanese family "dark." See Kawano's "Ro Kakujaku ron—sakuhinshū *Seishū* ni tsuite" (On Lü Heruo's *Clear Autumn*), *Taiwan jihō* 27.6 (293) (June 1944): 90–93.

(*Taisei yokusankai*) in January 1941.[29] The monthly magazine *Minzoku Taiwan* (Taiwanese Folklore) also used this "opportune time" of Japan's promotion of local folklore to establish itself.[30] It was perhaps obvious that Taiwanese writers would take advantage of the colonizer's call for reviving local cultures, and take it as an opportunity for advancing Taiwanese culture and literature. As Tarumi Chie notes, Huang Deshi's notion of establishing the Taiwanese literary arena was put forward under the logic of Taiwan equalling "local" and therefore promoting Taiwanese culture revitalized local culture and assisted with the progress of the Japanese Empire.[31] In addition, the lamentation about how modern people disregard tradition or disrespect ancestors due to their selfish desires can be detected from the articles in *Minzoku Taiwan* and can be explained as Lü's heeding of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association's call for prioritizing public interest.

Although Lü's writing was subject to the colonial policy, his agency should be taken into consideration too. His "Rinkyo" (Neighbors), published around the same time as "Geomancy" can be seen as an example of fitting Japanese demands alongside his personal artistic considerations. "Neighbors" depicts the transnational love the Japanese woman Mrs. Tanaka has for a Taiwanese boy whom she tries to adopt due to her inability to have children. It follows Lü's concerns about family structure and relationships, with the first three paragraphs containing detailed spatial depictions just like the beginning of "Wealth, Sons, and Long Life." However, Mrs. Tanaka is placed in the foreground, rather than a traditional Taiwanese male patriarch. The story seems to develop along the fine line between supporting and questioning the politically coded slogan of "Japan-Taiwan Oneness" (*naitai ichinyo*).[32] On the surface, the Taiwanese narrator and his Japanese neighbors live under the same roof peacefully, and Mrs. Tanaka seems to be an ideal mother who genuinely dotes on the Taiwanese boy. But at the same time, through the narrator's surprise, Lü reminds readers it is a rarity for the Japanese to live in a mixed area where the majority of residents are Taiwanese. At the end, readers are told that Mrs. Tanaka has not properly adopted the boy (a possible metaphor for Japan's handling of Taiwan), but insists on taking the boy with her when she and her husband relocate to Taipei. Mrs. Tanaka's rather rude and aggressive behavior adds ambiguities to the text, making it possible to read it either as a conformist work or a story with underlying sarcasm toward the "oneness" ideal. It is therefore a salient case illustrating Lü's "bifurcated" writing—a co-existence of some "traits" of the policy and his literary preference. In Lü's diary dated October 1, 1942, he stated that his intention of writing "Neighbors" was to write about the attitude Japanese and Taiwanese should hold.[33] Given the text's ambiguities, Lü's goal was at most partially delivered.

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[29] This para-fascist organization was founded in October 1940 in order to merge the political parties into one. It was dissolved on June 13, 1945. The main goal was to unite people to perform public service for the sake of Japan. In January 1941, the organization published *Chihō bunga shinkensetsu no konpon rinen to sono hōsaku* (Fundamental Ideas and Strategies for a New Development of Local Culture), stressing the importance of establishing local cultures across the Japanese Empire.

[30] The journal started in July 1941 and lasted until January 1945. The two main figures were Kanaseki Takeo (an anatomy professor at Taihoku Imperial University) and Ikeda Toshio from Taiwan's Government-General's Information Office. The aim of the journal was to record Taiwan's customs that were soon to disappear under the radical imperialization. The editors confessed that they sometimes had to add some messages aligned with the colonial policy in order to circumvent censorship. Kawamura Minato, however, offered a different view reminding people to rethink the colonialist and exoticist tendencies associated with *Minzoku Taiwan*. See Wu Micha's "The Nature of *Minzoku Taiwan* and the Context in Which It was Published," in *Taiwan under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1895–1945: History, Culture, Memory* edited by Liao Ping-hui and David Der-wei Wang (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), pp. 358–87 for details.

[31] Tarumi Chie, "Lü Heruo yu *Chen furen*: yi yijiu si'er nianhou Lü zuopin wei zhongxin" (Lü Heruo and *Madame Chen*: Focusing on Lü's Post-1942 Works), in *Zhongxin dao bianchui de chonggui yu fengui* (The Convergence and Divergence from Center to Periphery) (Taipei: National Taiwan University Press, 2012), vol. 1. Wu Peizhen, ed., p. 56.

Lü's quasi-autobiographic "Gōka heian" (The Whole Family is Safe and Sound), published in April 1943,[34] tells of the decline of a traditional Taiwanese gentry family and is similar to "Wealth, Sons, and Long Life." The male protagonist Fan Qingxing is an opium-addicted unproductive landlord. After wasting the ancestral wealth on opium smoking, he relies on his patriarchal authority to demand money from his adopted and biological sons who eventually all move away. Writing in the context of the Japanese wartime mobilization,[35] Lü was aware that his works about a dark Taiwanese family conflict could not be deemed "politically correct." Lü's concern over what to write was not unfounded, especially given that he was accused by Nishikawa Mitsuru of disregarding social reality and not contributing to *kōkoku bungaku* (imperial literature) in the "Feces Realism" debate in early May 1943.[36] On May 17th, the same year, Ye Shitao sided with Nishikawa, maintaining that Lü (and Zhang Wenhuan too) pretended that they did not understand the trend of the times, and Lü's "The Whole Family is Safe and Sound" and "Byōtei" (The Shrine Garden) are like the new drama performed in the countryside.[37]

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[32] The aim of "Japan-Taiwan oneness" was one of the strategies advocated by Kobayashi Seizō in 1936 when he assumed his role as the 17th Taiwanese Governor-General. This pan-Asianism as an ideology can be traced back to the 19th century. It became the guiding ideology of Japan's wartime military expansion, even though its promotion in Japan caused conflicts as conservative expansionists raised concerns about its embedded contradiction. Compared to Taiwan, this "oneness" was more extensively promoted in Korea through the slogan "Naisen ittai" (Japan-Korea One Body).

[33] *Lü Heruo riji*, p. 209.

[34] According to Lü's son, Fan Qingxing in the story referred to Lü Heruo's uncle, and the 3rd uncle who helps Youfu refers to Lü Heruo's father Lü Kunlin. See Lü Fangxiong, "Zhuji wode fuqin Lü Heruo" (Recollecting my Father Lü Heruo), in *Lü Heruo xiaoshuo quanji shangxia* (A Complete Collection of Lü Heruo's Fiction, Two Volumes), trans. by Lin Zhijie (Taipei: Ink, 2006), p. 716.

In fact, before Ye Shitao joined the debate, Lü had already expressed his annoyance with Nishikawa's criticism. He argued that Nishikawa "failed to convince people with literary capability" and thus used dirty tricks to frame a case against people."[38] He further added that, "literature after all means literary output, and [I] must produce good works."[39] Regarding Ye Shitao's comment, Lü simply dismissed him for the vulgarity in his argument and lack of intellectual thinking.[40] However, the technique and topic of writing are indeed vexing questions for him.[41] He noted the advice "to pursue beautiful things and head toward the direction that is constructive" given by Kudō Yoshimi in his diary dated May 30.[42] On June 1, Lü wrote "Is it the time to write about something which will make a greater contribution to the nation? I just want to describe a typical character, and this idea has helped me to keep writing until now. Consequently, it also makes me write about the dark side—Well! Write about beautiful things!"[43] On June 3, he mentioned he had started to draft "Kyōdai" (Brothers), a work on brotherly love. Four days later, Lü stated that he bought *Shijing* (Book of Songs), *Chuci* (Songs of Chu) and *Shina shi kenkyu* (Research on the History of China), as studying China was an obligation, and a means for knowing oneself. He further commented on his wish to write works containing "Oriental awareness" (*tōyō teki jikaku*).[44]

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[35] For instance, in June 1942, the Japan Literary Patriotic Association (*Nihon bungaku hōkokukai*) sent Kume Masao and Kikuchi Kan to Taiwan to convene a wartime literary forum, and in November 1942, Zhang Wenhuan and Long Yingzong were "mobilized" as Taiwan's representatives to attend the first Greater East Asian Writers Assembly held in Tokyo. Both indicated Japan's effort of making literature as an important integral part of its imperial propaganda concept of Greater East Asia Co-prosperity.

[36] Nishikawa Mitsuru, "Bungei jihyō" (Literary Commentary), *Bungei Taiwan* 6.1 (May 1943): 38 and 6.2 (June 1943): 26–30. Nishikawa's comments were a follow-up of Hamada Hayao's "Hi bungaku teki na kansō" (Non-Literary Thoughts) published in *Taiwan jihō* on April 8, 1943. Their essays, together with Ye Shitao's article in the footnote below were the main essays that censure realism.

[37] Ye Shitao, "Yoshi e no kōkaijō" (An Open Letter to the Author Surnamed Shi), *Kōnan News*, 4428 (May 17, 1943), edition 4. It is worth noting that in postwar Taiwan, Ye praised the unsentimental and objective realism as displayed in Lü Heruo's "Wealth, Sons, and Long Life." See Ye Shitao, *Taiwan wenxue de beiqing* (The Sadness of Taiwanese Literature) (Kaohsiung: Paise wenhua, 1990), p. 51.

[38] *Lü Heruo riji*, p. 339.

[39] Ibid., pp. 339–40.

[40] Ibid., p. 344.

[41] Ibid., p. 351.

[42] Ibid., p. 352.

These diary entries indicate that Lü placed Taiwan as an integral part of his "Oriental mapping" and hoped to search for a reliable "Chinese" cultural base so as to better make sense of Taiwan's position. One may view Lü's "Oriental awareness" as a spin-off of Japan's overall promotion of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity, but rather than exploring Japanese cultural sources and literary works per se, Lü's turning to Chinese heritage opened up an alternative for positioning Taiwan. The pressure of writing works in line with the Japanese demand of "character of the times" remained, however. On June 15, Lü expressed how he felt stuck with the composition of "Brothers." He stated: "I hate to insert thin historicity into it. I insist on writing truthfully and artistically. I want to write works that have long-lasting value.... I jam in too many characteristics of the times. The plotline is unnatural. Distressed."[45] Struggling with the storyline and changing the title several times,[46] Lü nevertheless published "Sekiryū" (The Pomegranate) on July 31, 1943, and was satisfied with it.[47]

"The Pomegranate" is a story about brotherly love and returning to one's ancestors. If brotherly love is what Lü meant by "beautiful things" in his June 1st diary entry, then what he referred to in the same diary entry by saying "contributing to the nation" and "depicting typical personalities" can be understood as returning to Taiwan's family tradition and continuing the family line by producing a male heir in "The Pomegranate." Just a few months before the publication of "The Pomegranate," Nishikawa launched an attack on the "untimely" theme and style of Lü's writing. Lü did not dismiss Nishikawa's criticism. In his diary dated June 13, Lü defended himself thus: "It is not that I am incapable of writing novels about the beauty of the individual personality. I am simply keener to write about society and to describe the change of people's fate."[48] Lü was more concerned with social change and an individual's life than writing about imperialization and greater East Asianism. In "The Pomegranate," the image of the eldest brother, Jinsheng, as a surrogate-father and a caregiver for his brothers is simultaneously heartrending and uplifting. The farm owner's helpfulness and compassion further consolidate the positiveness captured. The projection differs substantially from that of the familial infighting prevalent in "Wealth, Sons, and Long Life" and "Geomancy."

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[43] Ibid., p. 354.

[44] Ibid., p. 358.

[45] Lü's diary entry dated June 15, 1943, *Lü Heruo riji*, p. 361. In the entry dated February 28, 1943, he stated that writers should not get involved in politics, but focus on writing. He also wrote that he felt angry about the literary notions that lack writers' personality and are formulaic. See *Lü Heruo riji*, p. 300.

[46] Initially entitled "Sōki" (Double Happiness), "Brothers" was later renamed "Chi" (Blood), and "Ryū" (Flow). Finally Lü settled on the title "The Pomegranate."

[47] *Taiwanese Literature* 3.3 (July 1943): 169–88. Lü's satisfaction with the work can be supported by his dairy dated July 2, 1943, *Lü Heruo riji*, p. 370.

Pomegranates usually represent abundance and fertility. The title thus encapsulates a layer of irony because the three brothers are forced to separate due to poverty. The youngest, Muhuo, is sent to the Huang family as an adopted son. Although Jinsheng is sometimes overwhelmed by a sense of guilt related to Muhuo's eventual insanity, Muhuo's premature death enables him to be "unified" with his deceased biological parents through the Taiwanese ritual of "tablet-combining" (*helu*).[49] Through another ritual called "paternal uncle-nephew adoption" (*guofang*), Jinsheng symbolically makes his second son the late Muhuo's adopted son, as if this would please Muhuo's spirit. The ending, in which Muhuo symbolically returns to his original family and has a son, confirms the significance of acknowledging one's biological parents and carrying on the family lineage. It can be argued that family (or Taiwan's folklore) narrative enabled Lü to strike a peculiar balance between the tension of what he would like to write and what he was expected to write. But the work is not without problems. Jinsheng's emotional state oscillating between self-condemnation and contentment can come across as too drastic. The insertion of a dream scene, in which Jinsheng's parents accuse him of causing Muhuo's insanity (by sending Muhuo away to another family as a foster son), is not fully convincing either. And the section in which Jinsheng suddenly makes his two brothers sit and listen to his *huqin* playing of "Mulian Saves His Mother," a popular narrative about filial piety, is somewhat forced. These imperfections, however, can be seen as traces of Lü's ongoing negotiations between his literary ideas and external forces.

Lü's "Gyokuran hana" (Magnolia),[50] may perhaps offer a more salient example of his aesthetics of "conquering darkness." Finished around the eve of the suspension of *Taiwanese Literature*, it was almost like a swan song for Lü's aesthetic exploration before he (and other Taiwanese authors) became more entwined in literature's wartime "rising to action" (*sōkekki*).[51] Although it has often been seen as a work about racial integration (or Japan-Taiwan friendship),[52] the translingual intimate relationship between the seven-year-old Taiwanese child Hufang (also the story's narrator) and the Japanese photographer Suzuki Zenbei (the family's houseguest) is invested with sentimental lyricism and autobiographical elements.[53] Kleeman has observed that the magnolia tree, which features prominently in many scenes, represents a sense of eternity and the camera creates a distance between Suzuki and the Taiwanese.[54] This brings me to the potential meaning we might associate with the picture taking itself. Although the camera and photography in this story are connected with Japanese modern culture, and the local Taiwanese (including the narrator's family) hate to have their pictures taken, this visual documentation, in return, produces valuable memorabilia evoking the adult narrator's fond memories of his family and of course his encounters with Suzuki. The story starts with the words: "Even until today, I still keep more than twenty childhood pictures of my family. Although each of them has faded and turned to tea-color, and the images on some of them have disappeared and become blurred, it is still sufficient for me to recall the atmosphere of my youth with my family as long as I can glance at those old pictures. The pictures are mostly those of my deceased grandmother, aunts, and my mother."[55] This opening clearly and successfully sets out the poetic and recollective gist of the work.

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[48] Ibid., p. 360.

[49] *Taiwanese Literature* 3.3 (July 1943): 186.

[50] *Taiwanese Literature* 4.1 (December 1943): 119–31. This is the last issue of the journal.

It is interesting to note that Suzuki recovers from his fever after a symbolic process of "indigenization" in which Hufang's grandmother (with bound feet) performs a soul-summoning ritual for him. The beautiful interaction between

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[51] "The Total Rise of Taiwanese Writers" (*Taiwan bungakusha sōkekki*) is the theme of the second issue of *Literary Art of Taiwan* published in June 1944.

[52] Racial integration was promoted according to the Basic National Policy Outline announced by the Konoe Fumimaro cabinet. The Outline formalized the policy of the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere, calling the East Asian states including Korea and Taiwan, China, Manchukuo, Thailand, Burma, the Philippines, Java, French Indochina and Portuguese Timor to unite together under the principle of "all the eight corners under one roof" (*hakkō ichiu*).

[53] The child narrator was born in the same year as Lü himself. According to Lü's second son Lü Fangxiong, the first few paragraphs of the story are about Lü Heruo's grandfather. See Lü Fangxiong. "Zhuiji wode fuqin Lü Heruo" (Recollecting my Father Lü Heruo), *Lü Heruo's riji*, p. 478.

[54] Faye Yuan Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun*, p. 190 and p. 187.

[55] *Taiwanese Literature* 4.1 (December 1943): 119.

Hufang and Suzuki is *only* possible through mutual "indigenization"—Hufang getting used to Suzuki's camera, and Suzuki experiencing the Taiwanese ritual and hospitality in a traditional Taiwanese space and becoming "less Japanese."[56] Although this sweet friendship is curtailed by Suzuki's departure for Tokyo, Lü's capturing of the innocent child's psyche effectively transcends and nostalgically lyricizes the otherwise dogmatic imperial-subject discourse on Japan-Taiwan friendship.

From Familial Piety to Collectivism

Lü's novelette "Qingqiu" (Clear Autumn) continues his thematic deliberation and relatively positive take on reality as shown in "The Pomegranate." Composed with a wish to guide Taiwanese intellectuals toward a direction under Japanese colonial rule,[57] "Clear Autumn" touches upon the issue of volunteer soldiers, but the main plot concerns a medical school graduate's indecision as to whether he should observe filial piety and be a doctor in his home village in Taiwan, or remain in Tokyo. An interesting question arises about how "Clear Autumn" passed the Taiwan Government-General's censorship and reached publication in 1944, while Long Yingzong's *Renbu no niwa* (Garden with Wax-apples), an anthology which contains politically correct works echoing Japan-Taiwan goodwill, was banned just one year earlier? As for the story itself, can it be considered Lü's response to the Japanese literary policy, and if so, in what direction did Lü attempt to guide intellectuals in Taiwan?

Contrary to the turbulent social surroundings when the story was written, "Clear Autumn" begins with a description of the beauty of Taiwan's countryside. The protagonist Yaoxun, after spending nearly a decade in Tokyo, returns to his hometown and prepares to open a clinic as a village doctor. But there are two obstacles—the venue for the clinic is rented out and the required clinic-opening permit might be difficult to get because there is already a practicing doctor (Doctor Jiang Youhai) in the village. The obstacles further complicate Yaoxun's thinking and make him hesitant about returning home. Eventually, Yaoxun's predicament is solved by the natural course of events, for Doctor Jiang (the incumbent) is about to be drafted to the frontline and the tenant, Huang Mingjin, in the designated clinic property decides to head to the South. Indeed, at his farewell party, Doctor Jiang expresses his wish that Yaoxun replace him as the local doctor. The story ends with Yaoxun reassuring himself of his position as a local doctor.

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[56] There is a minor detail that symbolizes Suzuki's becoming "less Japanese"—he arrives in Taiwan from Japan in a Japanese costume, but wears a Western suit upon his departure.

[57] Lü's diary entries dated June 18, 1943 (when he referred to "Clear Autumn" in its original title "The Road") and August 7, 1943, ibid., p. 362, and pp. 389–90.

Compared with Lü's aforementioned works, "Clear Autumn" easily invites interpretation as an imperial-subject work. This is largely attributed to its overall plotline in which everyone seems to be engulfed by a period of exodus to the South (or Malaya) to seek a (better) way-out. Structurally the story unfolds slowly as we learn the details about Yaoxun's indecision. Toward the end though, the pace picks up rapidly with events converging and particularly with Huang, Doctor Jiang, and Yaoxun's younger brother Yaodong all about to depart for the South. On the surface, the fulfillment of filial piety (being a respectable countryside doctor) and Yaoxun's intellectual/idealist/Japan-longing temperament (such as his admiration for knowledge, interest in literature, and recollections of Japan) seem to be at odds with each other. The generational difference and the dissimilarity between Yaoxun and his younger brother Yaodong both serve to highlight the dilemma Yaoxun encounters. As seen by Yaoxun with his idealization,[58] the knowledgeable and carefree grandfather represents an ideal scholar who has a genuine interest in literature, making Yaoxun feel ashamed of his utilitarian view on modern education. In addition, Yaodong's boldness and promising career in Japan as a pharmacist magnify Yaoxun's indecision and relatively conservative career choice. Even when dealing with the poor (such as Huang Mingjin's mother), Yaoxun's humanist empathy becomes rather awkward and useless in the negotiation.

In addition to being a sentimental doctor-to-be, Yaoxun is depicted as a person who senses unspeakable merriment in family life and enjoys the beauty of his hometown. His holding onto the family order and his appreciation of his hometown's serenity can be seen as evidence of Taiwanese identification. However, this association is precarious and we must remain alert to other details in the story. Firstly, even though Yaoxun's grandfather can be taken as an emblem of nostalgia for Taiwan's recent past vis-à-vis the present Japan-ruling wartime, he turns out to be the person who is most "understanding" about the trend of the times. His comment that "the South is the place that can ignite the passion of the young people at present" seems abrupt and can only be explained by how much the external condition has changed people,[59] including the older generation. In this regard, the grandfather's pragmatism paints a gloomy picture and hints at the disappearance of (the literati) tradition and impossibility of going against the current political situation. Secondly, Yaoxun's father is pushy and easily annoyed when it comes to the matter of the clinic-opening permit. This does not sit well with his image as a responsible father and filial son. Finally, Doctor Jiang's entrusting Yaoxun to replace him in being a good village doctor, as well as Huang Mingjin's determination to vacate the property, further signify that things are *not quite* what Yaoxun has assumed. Thus, Yaoxun "completely admits defeat" in front of the little-educated Huang and "feels [it was] stupid of himself" in front of Doctor Jiang.[60]

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[58] Yaoxun feels the grandfather is "the root of family warmth." For his brother Yaodong, the grandfather is "god-like." See "Seishū," *Seishū* (Tokyo: Yumani Shobō, 2001), p. 307 and p. 306.

[59] Ibid., p. 280.

Such twists suggest the argument that Yaoxun's staying in his hometown is an act of resistance is on unstable ground. It remains unknown whether he would be a conscientious doctor.[61] Nevertheless, staying behind to be a doctor still provides a possibility of fulfilling filial piety and "loyalty" and of reconciliating medical ethics and personal profit for Yaoxun. The clear autumnal sky, as the title denotes, in the end symbolizes Yaoxun finally reaching an inner balance. But it is only obtainable at the cost of other characters' "going South" (*nanshin*) or "launching out" (*yūhi*). Some may prefer to argue that Yaoxun does not "give in" by actively heading southward. But his indecisiveness is also indicative of the inevitability of colonial coercion.

After "Clear Autumn," Lü published "Sansen sōmoku" (Mountains, Rivers, Grasses and Trees)[62] and "Fūtō suio" (Front of Wind and End of Water).[63] Both works touch upon the beauty of physical work and emphasize active participation and the need for continuous effort in life. "Mountains, Rivers, Grasses and Trees" tells of a gifted and privileged student, Baolian, who abandons her music studies in Tokyo to move into the mountains to be a farmer following her father's sudden death. Baolian's return to the rural community resonates with the Japanese slogan—men for battlefields and women for production—despite the absence of colonial oppression and wartime violence. But its imperial-subject elements should not be an excuse for us to disregard Lü's agency. It can be argued that the quasi-socialist idea of merging with the crowd and pursuit of collective farming were identified by Lü as a feasible way forward thematically and ideologically.

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[60] Ibid., p. 326 and p. 333.

[61] In the story, there is a hint that Yaoxun's claim of fulfilling filial piety could merely be a disguise of his self-interested medical practice in the near future. After encountering a child who suffers from elephantiasis and whose family is too poor to take him for proper treatment, Yaoxun realizes medical doctors are merely businessmen with medical knowledge. When wondering whether or not he would become a conscientious doctor, he just laughs. This suggests his self-doubt about it. Ibid., p. 295.

[62] *Taiwan bungei* (Literary Art of Taiwan), launch edition (May 1944): 12–35.

[63] "Front of Wind and End of Water" was written on commission of the Japanese Information Office as an investigative report on Xieqing Farm in Taizhong.

Yaoxun's pondering about a doctor's work ethics in "Clear Autumn" can in fact be seen as a prelude to Baolian's identification with the farmers in "Mountains, Rivers, Grasses and Trees." Around the time of publishing "Mountains, Rivers, Grasses and Trees," Lü wrote a short essay entitled "Ichi kyōwaon ni demo" (If It Can Become a Harmonious Sound), in which he claimed: "In view of the significance of ideological and cultural wars, literature can also be considered a fight … nowadays writers have social consciousness, so that they must serve the public honestly … If our [Taiwanese] literature can become at least a harmonious sound, then, nothing is happier to know than this."[64] If we juxtapose the sentiments expressed in this essay with the themes of "Mountains, Rivers, Grasses and Trees," then it seems Lü found an intricate link between the colonizers' call for literary mobilization and physical laboring.

"Front of Wind and End of Water," Lü's last work during the colonial era, takes this further by celebrating collective farming in a barren and remote seaside area. The leader of the farming team is Hong Tianfu, and similar to Baolian, he is an example of how a privileged person's physical and mental self-training is a core part of how they discover the essence of their life. By "declassing" his well-educated or affluent protagonists and making them farmers, Lü returned to his early socialist ideas. Whether or not Lü found in this work a balance between his literary aesthetics and the colonizers' demands without having to compromise remains debatable, but the class dichotomy evident in his earlier writing is noticeably removed.[65] This representation of intellectuals and the "trans-class" belief foreshadow Lü's own development of becoming more politically involved during the post-1945 period. He joined the Youth Organization of Three People's Principles (*Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan*)[66] and the new democratic movement led by the Working Committee for Taiwan Province (*Taiwansheng gongzuo weiyuanhui*), an organization established by the Communist government in China. He also started to publish in Chinese fairly early in the period.[67]

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[64] *Taiwan bungei* (Literary Art of Taiwan) 1.2 (June 1944): 4–5.

[65] Douglas Fix reads the story as Lü's "attempt to enact the 'proper form'" as a writer. Tarumi Chie shares this view, but goes further by tracing Lü's transition from a proletariat writer to a writer of "national policy peasant literature." See Douglas L. Fix's "Conscripted Writer, Collaborating Tales? Taiwanese War Stories," presented at "Lai He and His Contemporaneous Writers: An International Conference on Taiwanese Literature during the Japanese Occupation Period" held on November 25–27, 1994, pp. 1–23; Tarumi Chie's "Lü Heruo wenxue zhong 'Fengtou shuiwei' de weizhi: *Juezhan Taiwan xiaoshuo ji* ji qita guiji (The Position of "Front of Wind and End of Water" in Lü Heruo's Works: *A Collection of Wartime Taiwanese Fiction* and other Trajectories), trans. Zhang Wenxun, *Taiwan wenxue xuebao* 3 (December 2002): 23–37.

[66] It was established in July 1937 by Chiang Kai-shek in order to improve the KMT's image after its inner split. With a passion to help re-establish a new Taiwan, many Taiwanese

His Chinese work "Dongye" (Winter Nights), published shortly before the February 28th Incident, is not only allegorical to Taiwan's socio-historical situation at that time but also presages Lü's fervent political participation in the last few years of his life. In the story, the three men that the Taiwanese female protagonist Caifeng encounters represent three archetypes—the volunteer soldier (her late husband), the sweet-talking but unreliable opportunist from China (her second husband Guo Qinming), and the Taiwanese local mob (one of her brothel clients, Gouchun). In retrospect, it becomes a self-evident gendered political parable of Taiwan. Caifeng's wild running out into the darkness at the end can perhaps be interpreted as Taiwan's isolated and uncertain historical path in the early postwar period. It, too, can be taken as a metaphor of Lü's "arduous struggle with literature" or political devotion to Taiwan's liberation.[68]

Long Yingzong and His Portrayal of the Alienated Colonized Intellectuals

Unlike Lü Heruo whose life exhibited the high cost of political activism, Long Yingzong, another important Taiwanese writer during the Second Sino-Japanese War, showed an enduring dedication to creative writing. Born into the declining family of a businessman in Xinzhu, and troubled by a stutter and shy personality, Long from an early age turned to literature as a way of communicating with the outside world. He started to compose short Japanese poems when he was a teenage boy, and was also an avid reader. He read the poetry of Shimazaki Tōson (1872–1943), Kitahara Hakushū (1885–1942), Du Fu

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intellectuals became its members. However, many of the members were ex-members of the Taiwan Communist Party. When Chen Yi was appointed to take over Taiwan, there was a clash between the KMT's troops and the Organization. Its members thus became the most serious victims of the 1947 February 28th Incident.

[67] According to Lü Fangxiong, Lü Heruo once learned Chinese at the age of sixteen. Lü's journalist's job also facilitated him to grasp Chinese writing ability earlier than other Japanese-language writers of his generation. See Lü Fangxiong, "Zhuiji wode fuqin Lü Heruo" (Recollecting my Father Lü Heruo), *Lü Heruo riji*, p. 463.

[68] See Lü's diary entry dated January 1, 1942. On January 2, 1943, he once encouraged himself to "do literature vigorously." See *Lü Heruo riji*, p. 37 and 268.

(712–770), and Heinrich Heine (1797–1856) at the age of sixteen, and later familiarized himself with French and Russian literature through their Japanese translations. Inspired by the Korean author Chang Hyŏkchu's gaining much recognition in Japan's literary arena, Long was determined to write. In August 1936, while working for the Taiwan Bank in Taipei, he started to draft his first story "Papaiya no aru machi" (A Small Town with Papaya Trees).[69] This work won the competition held by the Japanese magazine *Kaizō* (Reconstruction) in 1937, making Long the third Taiwanese writer—after Yang Kui with "The Newspaper Boy" and Lü Heruo with "Oxcart"—to be accepted by the Japanese central literary community.

As a newcomer who had never published creative works before, Long's win surprised many and the work attracted mixed reviews. In Japan, negative comments targeted its loose structure, over-long conversations, lack of fluency and clear characterization, or regarded the work as merely an essay instead of a novel about a small town in mid-Taiwan. The positive reviews praised the honest writing style and excellent description of Taiwan.[70] In Taiwan, the reception was similarly diverse. Doyōjin (Yang Kui's pen name) found it difficult to agree with Long's bleak view toward life as depicted in this story, whereas the Taipei-born writer Nakayama Susumu argued that the theme—the distress of Taiwan's young educated men—was commendable even though he was in disagreement with the characters' vulgar thinking.[71]

The timing of Long's award warrants attention for several reasons. By 1937, the Literary and Art Alliance was already disbanded in Taiwan, which reduced the vitality of Taiwanese writers' literary activities. In Japan, the establishment of both the Akutagawa Prize and Naoki Prize in 1935 offered aspiring writers from Japan, as well as from the colonies, more channels for gaining fame quickly than existing literary prizes (*bungaku kenshō*). Long's winning the magazine competition may therefore have been partly related to a "quiet time" for the ordinary literary competitions with ambitious authors keener to compete for the prestigious Akutagawa and Naoki Prizes.[72] Nevertheless, Long made good use of this opportunity by embarking on his first trip to Tokyo (June 6–July 9, 1937). During his stay, he met the president of *Reconstruction*, Yamamoto Sanehiko, and also visited the editor-in-chief of *Bungei shuto* (Literary Metropolis), Yasutaka Tokuzō.[73]

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[69] The work was published in the spring (April) edition of the magazine *Kaizō* (Reconstruction) 19.4 (April 1937): 1–58.

[70] Wang Huizhen, *Zhangusheng zhongde zhimindi shuxie: zuojia Long Yingzong de wenxue guiji* (Writing from the Colony in the Sound of War Drum—Writer Long Yingzong's Literary Trajectory) (Taipei: National Taiwan University Press, 2014), pp. 112–15.

[71] Doyōjin, "'Fuken', 'Chichūkai' to 'Papaiya no aru machi'" ("The General Virtuous," "The Mediterranean Sea," and "A Small Town with Papaya Trees"). *New Taiwanese Literature* 2.4 (May 1937): 33. As for Nakayama Susumu's comments, see Wang' book in fn. 70, p. 133.

[72] Izumi Tsukasa argues the establishment of Akutagawa and Naoki prizes made other journals' literary competitions less attractive, and Long Yingzong happened to emerge in

After returning to Taiwan, Long remained in contact through letter exchange with both Yamamoto and Yasutaka. He joined the membership of *Literary Metropolis* in February 1940 and submitted a few works to it. Among them was "Yoitsuki" (Twilight Moon), a work published in July 1940 that showed a continued concern regarding the degeneration of Taiwan's educated class.[74] 1940 was also the year that Long joined Nishikawa Mitsuru's *Bungei Taiwan* and assisted him with the editorial task. By Nishikawa's invitation, Long attended the first Greater East Asian Writers Assembly in Tokyo in November 1942. In the following year, his collection of short stories entitled *Garden with Wax-apples* was banned for being unbeneficial to war propaganda.[75] Most of Long's works written during the 1937–45 period reflected the sentimentality and melancholy of Taiwan's newly emerged Japanese-educated intellectuals. He continued

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this transitional year. He further posits that writers who emerged through those literary competitions were not regarded highly. See his *Nihon tōchiki Taiwan to Teikoku no "nundan": "Bungaku kenshō" ga tsukuru "Nihongo bungaku"* (Japan-ruled Taiwan and Imperial Japan's "Literary Establishment": "Japanese-language Literature" Made by "Literary Prizes") (Tokyo: Hitsuji Shobō, 2012), pp. 144–45 and pp. 62–65.

[73] It was a non-commercial coterie magazine which was willing to publish works by unestablished writers.

[74] After "Twilight Moon," Long started an epistolary exchange with the Korean writer Kim Saryang. According to Shimomura Sakujirō, Long's "Twilight Moon" was inspired by Kim's "Into the Light," and both works were written with a wish to introduce the reality of the colonies to Japanese readers. See Shimomura's "Lun Long Yingzong de 'xiaoyue'—cong *Wenyi shoudu* tongren Jin Shiliang de laixin" (On Long Yingzong's 'Twilight Moon'—From a Letter by His *Literary Metropolis* Friend Kim Saryang) in *Zhongxin dao bianchuai de chuigui yu fenlie: riben diguo yu Taiwan wenxue, wenhua yanjiu shang* (The Off-track and Split from Center to Periphery: Japanese Empire and Taiwan Literature, Cultural Studies 1) (Taipei: National Taiwan University Press, 2012), Wu Peizhen, ed., pp. 171–98, and also Nayoung Aimee Kwon, *Intimate Empire: Collaboration and Colonial Modernity in Korea and Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), pp. 60–61.

[75] Long made some amendments to the stories in the review copy, and tried to negotiate with the officer in charge of the censorship but failed. See Long Yingzong's "Yiqi cangmang wangshi—'Wuqian de xuanya' ersan shi" (Recollecting the Past: Some Remarks about *Cliff before Noon*). *Wenxun* (Literary Message) 30 (June 1987): 58–60.

writing in Japanese after 1945, but his literary output substantially decreased after the February 28th Incident.[76]

Compared with his contemporaries, Long's life was not that eventful.[77] His long-term service in the banking industry gave him the label of someone "belonging to the white-collar class who cannot survive without a fixed income" by Ye Shitao. Ye also commented that Long was "forced to compromise" because of the frustration and obstacles in his life, and this "unsettled petit bourgeois characteristic plus the weakness in his personality often made him shrink and escape the stage of reality." His protagonists' "desperation and melancholy," in Ye's view, reflect this mentality of Long. Ye concluded that Long's "inward-looking personality, complicated thinking, and the pressures of life pushed him to an impasse so that he could not but surrender to the intimidation of the colonial regime."[78] Interestingly, Ye seemed more positive in his earlier appraisal of Long. In the mid-1970s, Ye praised the vivid psychological depiction and profound humanism in Long's works, crediting him for initiating an alternative aesthetics different from the mainstream resistance-focused realism.[79] Ye's inconsistent assessments of Long can probably be explained by the generally moralistic valorization of works from Taiwan's colonial era in the 1990s. In any case, Ye's comments on Long's petite bourgeois mentality and escapist characteristics are useful in approaching Long's writing.

Long's writing style was shaped by a variety of literary nutrients. He confessed that he grew up immersed in Japanese culture and literature.[80] He read Japan's famous anthology of classical poetry, *Manyōshū* (Collection of

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[76] Only after Long's retirement from the Taiwan Cooperative Bank did he start to write and publish more regularly. In 1979, his "Hongchen" (Bustling World), translated from Japanese into Chinese by Zhong Zhaozheng, was serialized in *Minzhong ribao*. He began to write in Chinese afterward.

[77] For a compelling account of Long's life, especially his family life, see Zhou Fenling's *Long Yingzong zhuan* (A Biography of Long Yingzong) (Taipei: Ink, 2015).

[78] Ye Shitao, "Kumen de linghun—Long Yingzong" (A Depressed Soul—Long Yingzong) in *Fuhuo de qunxiang* (Resurrected Portraits), eds. Lin Hengzhe and Zhang Henghao (Taipei: Qianwei, 1994), p. 44. Lü Heruo also commented on Long's "weak physique," but felt Long's writing had potential if Long's thinking could be less rigid and Long were healthier. See Lü Heruo, "Sōfu mama ni" (My Random Reflections), *Taiwan bungaku* 1.1 (May 1941): 109.

[79] Ye Shitao, "Cong 'Songbaofu,' 'Niuche' dao 'Zhiyou muguashu de xiaozhen'" (From "The Newspaper Boy," "Oxcart" to "A Small Town with Papaya Trees"), *Daxue zazhi* (The Intellectual) 90 (October 1975): 62–65.

[80] In the semi-autobiographical article, Long mentioned he enjoyed spending time reading Japanese lyrics and the children's magazine *Aka dori* (Red Bird). See Long Yingzong, "Iku yama kawa koede" (Going Beyond Many Mountains and Rivers), *Ia* 24 /25 (1989): 13.

Ten Thousand Leaves), several times. In addition, he practiced writing tanka poems. This helped lay the foundation for his lyrical approach to literature. His extensive reading of world literature, a habit developed since attending high school in Taipei, further enriched his imagination. Among the many masterpieces Long had read, he was particularly impressed by Shimazaki Tōson's "Hakai" (The Broken Commandment), a work reflecting juvenile melancholy and isolation in the context of the social inequality encountered by lower-class Japanese subjects.[81] Shimazaki's depiction of the external social oppression, and the protagonist's internal self-alienation soon attracted the young Long Yingzong for they not only echoed with the depressing reality in colonial Taiwan but also offered a spiritual shelter for his sentimentality. As early as in his first work, a 1931 essay about the powerful and vivacious Chicago-based American celebrity gangster Al(phonse) Capone, there are hints of Long's characteristic mournful outlook on life. For instance, Long wrote as follows:

> The old, surrealist metropolitan skyline
> construction—huge construction
> building!
> Human beings, standing civilization
> the phantom of houses become green-white mystery
> and armored vehicles roar on the street.
> Machine-guns, blood
> Oh, the king of night, Alphonse Capone
> the crazy earth is like the widow's hopeless pupils
> distant winds, distant sorrows
> lay at the mechanical lakeside
> Oh! Chicago!! Chicago!

Between the lines depicting Capone's violence was Long's reflection on the monotonous urban life. Through Capone, Long noticed how individuals are inevitably reduced to a pair of sorrowful eyes in a mechanical metropolis.

Such sentimentality is relayed to Long's debut fictional work "A Small Town with Papaya Trees." Narrated in a third-person perspective, the story records the pursuit and disillusionment of Taiwanese intellectuals against the backdrop of Japan's political oppression and economic exploitation. In response to Doyōjin [Yang Kui] who faulted the work's gloominess, Long maintained that writing, for him, was more an individual matter of self-expression than ideological propaganda promoting an optimistic attitude toward life and Taiwan. When talking about his expectation about Taiwanese literature, Long did not even consider himself as a writer but "a person who stands outside the wall of literature."[82] Long's "self-marginalization" may appear passive, but his take on literature as a personal expression in which pessimism should also be given allowance is illuminating. Unsurprisingly, he is often deemed in contemporary scholarship as a realist writer whose forte is self-reflexive psychological depiction instead of the mimesis of external environment.[83] Although the bias embedded in Yang Kui's comment has been redressed, Long's stylistic characteristics warrant further analysis.

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[81] Long mentioned this in a letter to Shimomura Sakujirō. Quoted in Shimomura's *Bungaku no yomu Taiwan* (Insight into Taiwan through Literature), p. 106.

"A Small Town with Papaya Trees" accounts how Chen Yousan, an assistant accountant in a town hall, gradually abandons his ideals and sinks into despair under Japanese rule. Dissatisfied with his low salary and the Taiwanese-Japanese inequality at his workplace, Chen studies diligently in order to pursue a career as a lawyer. Yet knowing his lover Cui'e is soon to be sold to a rich family, Chen's determination for "climbing upward" is destroyed. Despite the encouragement from Cui'e's elder brother, Chen abandons his potential future by turning to alcohol. The story tone exhibits further bleakness when we learn that Cui'e's brother is dying of tuberculosis. It ends in early autumn as Chen takes a stroll in a park. There he recollects the words of Cui'e's brother and feels everything is close to death.

Long was successful in setting up a suffocating atmosphere for the story through the characterization. Chen Yousan represents the archetype of petty but educated salary men in general. The life path Chen yearns for is humble—to rely on his merits to find a better-paid job and improved living environment, and to marry Cui'e. However, under the colonial system, this becomes an almost impossible dream. The few paragraphs at the beginning of the story—which refer to the unbearable heat, smell and dirtiness of the town where Chen arrives to assume his job—already hint at Chen's disquiet. The gigantic chimney of the Japanese-owned sugar factory, which stands in the midst of lush fields, suggests the omnipresence of colonial exploitation.

Later we are told that Taiwanese and Japanese workers live in segregated accommodations. The area for the Taiwanese is like a pigsty whereas that for the Japanese is superior, with the houses lined up in order and surrounded by luxuriantly grown papaya trees. Even the residents look at ease. Hong Tiansong

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[82] Long Yingzong, "Wakai Taiwan bungaku no tame ni" (For the Young Taiwanese Literature). *New Taiwanese Literature* 2.5 (June 1937): 25–26.

[83] Ye Shitao, for instance, considers that the depiction of modern men's psychological frustration began with Long Yingzong. See Ye's essay in fn. 79.

(Chen's colleague) comments that he would be able to move into one of the units after five years because he holds a high school diploma. But for those who had not attended high school, they could only "have a glance at this life" but would never be able to live it.[84] Similar to Hong Tiansong's yearning to move into the Japanese quarter, Chen also dreams of social mobilization and even Japanization. He wears Japanese costume, speaks Japanese and even dreams of marrying a Japanese lady in order to distinguish himself from his "stingy, poor-mannered, and vulgar" Taiwanese neighbors.[85]

Chen Yousan's mentality, from the outset, seems to be nothing more than that of a "colonized" intellectual who considers himself "superior" to his fellow countrymen but "inferior" in front of his Japanese counterparts. However, Long invested a layer of Don Quixote-like idealism on his protagonist. This is made obvious by the contrasts to the hypocrisy, degeneration, or ambitionless existence of his colleagues. By making use of the seasonal change and serving up various "blows" in Chen's life, Long provides a natural account of how Chen falls step by step into dejection. This work's use of imagery is also effective. Papaya trees are the most obvious. In addition to their use in the opening paragraphs where they symbolize Japanese socioeconomic superiority, papaya trees are also used as a metaphor for temporary escape (as in the night walk between Chen and Hong Tiansong), Chen's ambitions and desires (as in Chen's walk under the setting sun in late March), and finally they mirror Chen's fragility and desolation.

The contrast between warm and cold helps highlight the Taiwanese people's struggle in the South. For instance, the narration says: "In the South, when it comes to this [cool] season, the brain becomes clear. It is a good time to study, but Chen Yousan, on the contrary, cannot concentrate. Within half an hour or an hour of study, he feels apathetic, and indulges himself in fantasy. Why Chen Yousan feels tired about studying is not entirely caused by his classmate Liao Qingyan's words, but because the general lazy character of this small town has gradually penetrated into Chen's body. It is exactly like the fierce sun and rich nature that are eroding the aborigines' civilization. The air of this lonely and lethargic small town is weathering Chen Yousan."[86] Long admitted that he wrote this work with a wish to "present the living conditions of the Han Taiwanese to the people in Japan."[87]

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84 "A Small Town with Papaya Trees": 8.

85 Ibid.: 15.

86 Ibid.: 36.

87 See Wang Huizhen's book in fn. 70 of this chapter, pp. 91–95.

Taking this into consideration, the description of Taiwan (as the South) and its heat seem to match with the Japanese imagination of the South. One may argue that Long's writing was an act of "self-southernization" in order to win recognition of Japan's central literary establishments. Given the fact that a few comments from Japan regarding the work after its publication did praise its capturing of the colony's reality, this argument looks quite plausible. It is likely that Long included more details for his targeted Japanese readers and employed some of their rhetoric into his writing. But then it opens up another question about the grounds upon which Long's "A Small Town with Papaya Trees" was chosen for the competition. The "supply-and-demand" aspect of the relationship between Japan and its colony, Taiwan, may not fully explain the implications of Long's 1937 win, but it provides a fruitful angle to examine the colonized authors' voyage into the "center" (or the targeted "North").

Long once revealed that the nameless character, Cui'e's brother, is the one whom he most appreciated.[88] In the story, Cui'e's brother is delineated as a left-leaning young man who enjoys reading Lu Xun, Engels, and Gorky. He contemplates upon the era in which he lives, hoping to find an answer to explain the social reality and historical development through scientific thinking. For him (and perhaps for Long himself), all phenomena are reflections of historical rules. Only by continuously exploring the historical trajectory can one prevent oneself from sinking into desperation while attempting to accommodate desolate social surroundings. Long perhaps hoped to indicate a feasible way-out through this anonymous character. But this character's "cameo" appearance toward the end of the story and his lengthy theoretical reflections, after all, become nothing more than an illusion for the deranged Chen.[89] His dying of tuberculosis nevertheless adds ambiguity to "A Small Town with Papaya Trees," as his death can be taken either as a talented man's romantic fall or a poor man's tragic passing.[90]

Although Chen's vulnerability can be taken as a subtle caricature of Japanese colonialism, Long's coining of the image of disgruntled "new intellectuals" from the colony was innovative. A similar portrayal of frustrated intellectuals is also found in the two 1940 works "Twilight Moon" and "Kōka" (The Huang Family) published in Japan.[91] All those stories invite a multilayered analysis of literary production in colonial Taiwan. Textually, they paint the difficulty or impossibility (as in the case of Huang Ruoli in "The Huang Family") for the intellectuals in the colony (the South) to fulfill their ambitions. Contextually, they illustrate the export of "local knowledge" produced by colonized subjects for the intended audience in Japan. In addition to providing an interesting case study concerning the politics of recognition for writers from the colony,[92] Long's inward and individualistic take on colonial reality offers an alternative vision different from those imbued with enlightenment messages or resistant color.

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[88] See Long Yingzong, "Dan Taiwan bungaku—papaiya no aru machi to sonota" (On Taiwanese Literature—"A Small Village with Papaya Trees" and Others). *Nihon gakugei shimbun* (Japanese Literary News) (July 10, 1937).

[89] The story contains other sections of long conversation. A prominent example is the part when Hong Tiansong warns Chen Yousan of Dai Qiuhu's fake friendliness.

[90] Susan Sontag has pointed out that tuberculosis was romantically glorified in the 19th century and its patients were often seen as artistic and delicate. See her *Illness as Metaphor* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1978) for details.

Different Perceptions of *Gaichi* (Colonial) Literature

Like his contemporaries who either turned to silence or readjusted their writing at the height of Japan's military expansion, Long was no exception. To maximize the channels for publication, Long joined the Association of Taiwanese Poets (*Taiwan shijin kyōkai*) established by Nishikawa Mitsuru in 1939, and as mentioned, became involved with the editing of *Bungei Taiwan*. However, Long did not fully share the romantic and exotic style often associated with Nishikawa and *Bungei Taiwan*. In one of his essays, Long declared that he joined the Association of Taiwanese Poets to soothe the distress he felt in Taiwan and with a hope of preserving a seed of Taiwanese literature (even if it were an alienated flower generated from the trunk of Japanese literature).[93]

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[91] "Twilight Moon," originally published in *Literary Metropilis* 8.7 (July 1940), is compiled in *Guangfu qian Taiwan wenxue quanji 7 Zhiyou muguashu de xiaozhen* (Complete Works of Taiwan Literature before Retrocession Seven A Small Town with Papaya Trees), eds. Ye Shitao and Zhong Zhaozheng (Taipei: Yuanjing, 1979), pp. 101–26; "The Huang Family," originally published in *Bungei* (Literature) 8.11 (November 1940), is collected in the same volume, pp. 65–100.

[92] For instance, Long expressed his disappointment with the lukewarm reception his work "The Huang Family" received in the readers' vote organized by *Bungei*. See Long's "'Yeliu' zixu" (Preface to *Night Flows*), *Long Yingzong quanji zhongwenjuan* (Complete Works of Long Yingzong Chinese Edition), 7 (Tainan: Nationl Taiwan Literature Museum Preparatory Office, 2006), ed. Chen Wanyi, p. 239.

[93] Long Yingzong, "*Bungei Taiwan* to *Taiwan bungaku*" (*Bungei Taiwan* and *Taiwan Bungaku*), *Taiwan kin gendai shi kenkyū* (Historical Studies of Taiwan in Modern Times) 3 (January 1981): 87.

He further commented that Taiwanese poets should devote themselves to pursue the uniqueness of Taiwanese literature. They "must establish their own style, digging into the literary resources in the virgin land of Taiwan, instead of simply imitating their Japanese counterparts."[94] Long pointed out directly in *Bungei Taiwan* that the practice of "colonial literature" (*gaichi bungaku*) generated mostly works which depart from life.[95] A few months later, he further offered his definition of "colonial literature." According to him, it should be made with a local awareness. It is "neither an imitation of Japan's literature, nor an exotic literature with only superficial depiction of the colony." Colonial literature is "not nostalgic or decadent," but ought to be that written by those who "grew up and will be buried in Taiwan and those who love Taiwan with an aim to promote Taiwanese literature."[96] From such clarifications, a discrepancy between Long's notion of Taiwan literature, and that held by Japanese authors in Taiwan such as Nishikawa is discernable.

Despite Long's less exotic take on Taiwan literature, he harbored a fairly pessimistic view on the future of Taiwan literature. In his 1941 essay "Nettai no isu" (The Tropical Chair), Long positioned Taiwan in "the South," stating: "The South used to be the origin of human civilizations, but now the origin has moved northward. What is left [in the South] is a rich nature and withered life. On this matter, I think, India, Indochina and Java are the same, and it is applicable to Taiwan too. As there is no strong culture in India, Indonesia, and Java, we probably cannot see prosperous culture in Taiwan either."[97] He continued that the South keeps providing foreign authors with literary material, and the Southerners' cultural inferiority is because of the constraints from local conditions and climate. The Southerners should, he suggested, "fight against the climate and local conditions" and exchanges with highly developed cultures would help balance this situation.[98] The essay does not merely reconfirm Long's differing view from that of Nishikawa's when it comes to Taiwan literature. It also reveals Long's pessimism-punctured faint hope of raising Taiwan's cultural level, even though he did not directly identify what the Northern culture represents.

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[94] *Taiwan xinminbao* (September 13, 1939), p. 106.

[95] Long Yingzong, "*Bungei Taiwan* sakka ron" (On Writers of *Bungei Taiwan*), *Bungei Taiwan* 1.5 (October 1940): 402–05.

[96] Long Yingzong, "Taiwan bungaku no tenbō" (My Prospects for Taiwan Literature). *Osaka mainichi shimbun* (Osaka Daily News) (February 1941).

[97] Long Yingzong, "Nettai no isu" (The Tropical Chair). Originally published in *Literary Metropolis* 9.3 (April 1941). Collected in *Complete Works of Long Yingzong Chinese Edition* 6, p. 183.

[98] Ibid., p. 183, p. 185, and p. 187.

While Long did not endorse Nishikawa's perception of Taiwan literature, he continued his affiliation with *Bungei Taiwan* after relocating to Hualian for work in April 1941.[99] This could be related to his friendship with Nishikawa,[100] or the fact that Long was not invited to join *Taiwanese Literature* upon its launch by Zhang Wenhuan. Although Zhang invited Long to submit articles to the journal after their trip to the Greater East Asia Writers' Convention, the invitation came too late as the Japanese authorities banned the journal soon afterward.[101] But it could also be because Long's literary notions and Nishikawa's were not totally incompatible. For example, Long gave credit to Nishikawa's pursuit of beauty in his novel *Rika fujin* (Madame Rika). Long also placed a great emphasis on poetic imagination, which sat well with Nishikawa's views on literature. Long argued that writers "do not copy reality as it is," but "break it up temporarily and then assemble it organically with literary methods and using imagination or fantasy as a medium."[102] His regarding literature as a means of transcending reality in fact made Long more appreciative than his Taiwanese peers of Nishikawa's romanticism.

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[99] Long quit his job at Taiwan Bank Hualian Branch in early 1942. He returned to Taipei, starting to work for *Taiwan nichi niche shimpō* in February 1942. Works such as "Shiroi sanmyaku" (The White Mountains), published during his stay in Hualian, will be discussed later in this chapter.

[100] According to Wang Huizhen, this was related to Long's friendship with Nishikawa and the difference in viewpoints did not make Long feel constrained by staying with with *Bungei Taiwan*. See Wang's book in fn. 70, p. 186. But Long, in 1943, felt more and more "unfit" in the *Bungei Taiwan* circle. Lü Heruo in his diary entry dated July 2, 1943, mentioned Long's helplessness in *Bungei Taiwan*, referring Long as a "weak and pretentious person." See *Lü Heruo riji*, p. 370.

[101] Long explained there was a misunderstanding between Zhang Wenhuan and him, and it was likely related to his frequent silence in the Fujian writers' gatherings where Taiwanese—of which he knew only little—was "required" along with Japanese. Their relationship improved after their chat during the Assembly. See Long Yingzong, "*Bungei Taiwan* to *Taiwan Bungaku*" (*Bungei Taiwan* and *Taiwan bungaku*), *Taiwan kin gendai shi kenkyū* (Historical Studies of Taiwan in Modern Times) 3 (January 1981): 87–88. It is interesting to note that the first time the two met, Zhang gave Long a copy of the Japanese version of Xu Kunquan's *Star-crossed Lovers* he had translated. Long was fairly impressed by Xu's passion in completing this work as well as Zhang's fluent translation. See "'Ke'ai de chouren'" (Star-crossed Lovers), *Complete Works of Long Yingzong Chinese Edition* 5, pp. 177–78.

[102] "Sakka ni tsuide" (On Writers), originally published in *Taiwan Art* 2.1 (January 1941). See *Complete Works of Long Yingzong Chinese Edition* 5, p. 77.

Long's various writings around the early 1940s illustrate the convergence and also divergence between his literary notions and the aesthetic tendency of *Bungei Taiwan* writers. They also show he was concerned about the stagnancy and "low" level of Taiwanese (or Southern) culture albeit that he simultaneously doubted the possibility for cultural progress. His accentuation of poetic imagination and its capability of "transforming" reality was likely a result of his extensive reading experience. It could also be a self-identified shield against the fast-changing external sociopolitical environment. As the Second Sino-Japanese War advanced, Long, as anticipated, became increasingly tangled with Japan's wartime mobilization.

Long's Making of *Yūwa Bungaku* (Unification Literature) and Linguistic Double Cut

In February 1941, the Taiwan Writers Association (Taiwan *bungeika kyōkai*) readjusted its policy and a new system, in which literary and artistic activities fully supporting Japanese culture, was confirmed. As one of its members, Long was invited to contribute to an article for the special column on this new system and culture.[103] In the article, Long pointed out that Taiwanese culture had been ignored for a long time, calling people to farm the poor and immature land with cultural hoes. By concerning himself with Taiwanese culture and avoiding the use of the words relating to national character or Greater East Asia, Long strove to justify his position in the Association. In April of the same year, Long was appointed again to write a script to promote imperial-subject cultivation among youths.

This script "Kirei na tahata" (Beautiful Field) is a cliché repeating the notion of the great Japanese spirit (*daiwa kon*) and Japan's wartime imperialist "*hakkō ichiu*" (all the world under one roof) ideology. Although Long did not touch much upon Japan's fascist expansionism, he defined the Japanese spirit as one of co-prosperity in the play. He elaborated on this by saying: "For instance, the excellent progress in economics and great development in culture are all from outstanding ability, and outstanding ability is outstanding spirit."[104] While Long seemed to find a balance between the colonizer's spiritual/cultural remodeling and the colonized's literature for war/nation's sake, he risked becoming overly optimistic about his idea of spiritual/cultural upgrading. As the war situation developed, Long became more intertwined with wartime politics. In his speech given at the Greater East Asia Writers' Convention in Tokyo in October 1942, Long mentioned his "gratitude for the Japanese soldiers."[105] In the Taiwan Wartime Literary Conference held in November 1943, Long announced that the revelation of Japanese national spirit was to promote literature for the one thousand million people of Greater East Asia, a unification literature.[106] Read in the turbulent historical context of an increasingly fascist Japan that stepped up the cultivation of a national spirit, the metaphorical significance of Long's speeches becomes inescapable. His leaving *Bungei Taiwan* three months before attending the Taiwan Wartime Literary Conference suggested his growing uneasiness at being involved with the Japanese-dominated literary group. In October 1943, Long openly expressed his ineffable difficulty. He said:

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[103] Long, "Shimtaisei to bunka" (New System and Culture), *Bungei Taiwan* 2.1 (March 1941): 106.

[104] *Kani seishonengeki kyakuhon* (Collections of the Easy Youth Play Script) 1 (Taipei: The Taiwan Government-General's Information Office) (April 13, 1941), p. 153.

> The first fiction I have written is "A Small Town with Papaya Trees." It was written in the autumn when I was twenty-six. It was selected by *Keizo* magazine. Even now I still feel I was too young and too lucky then. However, this is also the reason putting me into misfortune. I am now drinking from its unfortunate cup, it is very bitter. In spite of this, these feelings will soon become my literary fertilizer.[107]

To consider the literary fame gained with his first fiction "A Small Town with Papaya Trees" as a starting point for his later "misfortune," Long's self-mocking and remorseful tone revealed his helplessness when being requested to write so as to assist in the war.

Actually, a few months before he made the above confession, Long already published "Renbu no niwa" (Garden with Wax-apples), his debut work in *Taiwanese Literature* that deals with the harmony between Taiwanese and Japanese, including a cursory mention of intermarriage.[108] Half a year later, he published "Uta" (Songs), another story about Japan-Taiwan unification.[109]

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[105] Quoted in Lin Ruiming's "The Unknown Long Yingzong," in *A Historical Investigation of Taiwanese Literature*, p. 267.

[106] Originally published in *Taiwan nichinichi shimpō* (*Taiwan Daily News*) (November 13, 1943). See *Collected Works of Long Yingzong*, p. 282.

[107] Originally published in *Okominami shimbun* on October 11, 1943. See Long's postscript in *The Lonely Bookworm*, p. 188.

[108] *Taiwan bungaku* 3.3 (July 1943): 189–203.

[109] *Taiwan bungei* (May 1944-January 1945) 2.1 (January 1945): 15–21.

Narrated from a Taiwanese youth's recollection, "Garden with Wax-apples" offers a transnational humanist utopia where Japanese and Taiwanese interact closely. The main characters are a Taiwan-born Japanese youth Fujisaki and his family. Fujisaki's parents move to Taiwan for business. Fujisaki likes playing the harmonica, and often plays Japanese tunes under a wax-apple tree. Even though the melody is Japanese, the setting reminds readers of Taiwan since wax-apple trees are found locally in southern Taiwan. Living near to each other and often studying together, the Taiwanese narrator and Fujisaki soon develop a close friendship. The narrator is fond of Fujisaki's elder sister Mikako, and dreams of marrying her. With the narrator's moving to Taipei and the Fujisaki family moving southward, the two boys lose contact. They reunite a decade later, owing to the help of the narrator's friend Morikawa, whom Fujisaki meets during his army life in South East Asia. During their encounter, Fujisaki informs the narrator that his younger sister Mariko, who used to be hostile to the narrator, is now eager to meet him. Fujisaki continues: "[one's] mind must develop, which is being totally honest."[110] Rejoining him, the narrator utters: "Isn't the so-called race or things like that, in short, a question of love? Whatever happens, what makes us unite together is love . . . Simply love. . . ."[111]

While the story appears "thematically correct," some details in it hint otherwise. First, the Fujisaki family is exceptional. They rather unusually live with Taiwanese people due to their poor financial situation. They also look darker (than the typical Japanese complexion) after their long-term stay in Taiwan. Second, although Fujisaki seems reasonably localized by eating pig's haslet (a loaf made of minced organ meats), his mother finds it disgusting and yearns to resettle in Japan. Ironically, it is this "un-Japanese" eating habit that enhances the friendship between the two boys. Third, when referring to his feelings for Mikako, the narrator's aforementioned remark (that only love makes us unite together) becomes somewhat ironic as if it is a mockery of the policy encouraging interracial marriage. Notwithstanding that those details do not overthrow the overall theme of Japan-Taiwan friendship, this work can be interpreted as a tale about its limits, similar to Lü Heruo's "Magnolia." Like "papaya trees," wax-apples entail a rich image of the tropical South as found in Taiwan. While they fit with the Japanese wartime discourse on Japan-Taiwan friendship and Greater East Asia Co-prosperity, Long felt awkward about the title in the postwar era. Hence, when some of the stories compiled in his banned 1943 anthology were translated into Chinese and published in 1985, he retitled the anthology *Wuqian de xuanya* (Cliff Before Noon). This indicates that the colonizer's ideological control and writer's own self-censorship were both at work.

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[110] *Taiwan bungaku* 3.3 (July 1943): 203.

[111] Ibid.

"Songs" is another story whose theme is transnational love and friendship. It is narrated in the flashbacks of a Taiwanese man Li Dongming, who is reuniting with his old Japanese friend Misawa. The encounter evokes Li's memory of his sojourn in Tokyo. Li thinks of a meeting when the famous literary critic Shirohama was invited to give a speech for his musician friend Kigawa, who would soon be leaving for the Philippines to teach music. Shirohama reminds Kigawa that there is only one thing that he must remember to take there—the affection of the Japanese.[112] While thinking of Shirohama's words, Li returns to his conversation with Misawa, for Misawa expresses a similar opinion: "We must understand people there (South East Asia) with love, to promote those good people is our responsibility."[113]

Different from the Japanese family in "Garden with Wax-apples" who are from a common background, Misawa is of a distinguished family background. Therefore, the (colonizers') love (for the people in the colony) suggested in this story is not only a transnational goodwill corresponding to Japan's southward advancement but also a mutual classless understanding.[114] Interestingly, the image of "the South" in "Songs" is slightly different from Long's earlier work such as "Minami ni shisu" (Death in the South)."[115] In "Death in the South," the first-person narrator desires to go to the South if his family condition permits, whereas in "Garden with Wax-apples" and "Songs," the (Taiwanese) narrators are like contemplative observers who merely present various Japanese friends' perceptions of the South (Taiwan and further South) and decisions of going to Indochina and Manila without commenting on the larger external cause of Japan's military advancement southward. The call for love and goodwill in both stories further creates a contrast to the hard war-ridden reality.

Indeed, even though the overall messages of both "Garden with Wax-apples" and "Songs" are in line with Japan's "Southern Expansion" at that time, Long invested much lyricism in both stories. In "Garden with Wax-apples," from the letter Fujisaki (who later becomes a soldier in South East Asia) writes to the narrator, there is no mention of war nor of South East Asian customs and practices. It is all about the recollection of their carefree childhood when they used to play together. And in "Songs," when Misawa invites Li Dongming to join him in South East Asia, their conversation is interrupted by Misawa's sudden goodbye in order to catch a train. Walking toward the railway station, Misawa sighs that he has never seen such a beautiful starry night in Taiwan. Li replies with romantic understatement that perhaps in places further south, it is also possible to see the Southern Cross.[116] One may take the Southern Cross as a metaphor of Japan's military advancement southward, but it is also possible to read Misawa's quasi-benign economics-promoting mission and Kigawa's self-empowered cultural instruction as a potentially altruistic idealism.

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[112] *Literary Arts of Taiwan* 2.1 (January 1945): 20.

[113] Ibid.

[114] It is also possible to read "Songs" as a fictional representation of Long's own trip to Japan in 1937 after his "A Small Town with Papaya Trees" won the 9th writing competition organized by the journal *Kaizō*. For instance, Shirohama refers to the literary critic and leading theorist in the proletarian literary movement Aono Suekichi (1890–1961). See Wang Huizhen, "Yangfan qicheng—zhimindi zuojia Long Yingzong de didu zhi lü" (Sailing Away: A Travel of the Colonial Writer, Long Ying-Tsung, to Tokyo), *Taiwan wenxue yanjiu xuebao* 2 (April 2006): 53.

[115] Long Yingzong, "Minami ni shisu," (Death in the South), *Taiwan jihō* (September 1942): 136–52.

Long's writing about ethnic unification also applied to that between Taiwan's Han population and aborigines. His prose "Hakuhakusha no kyōen" (The Banquet at Bobo Village) is like a brief anthropological account of the Atayal wedding that Long was invited to attend.[117] It starts with the content of the wedding invitation (which Long copied down) and the quasi-Biblical legend about the genesis of the Bobo Community. It then describes the wedding proceedings, the tribal leader's speech in the Atayal language (which Long represented in Katakana), the matriarchal tradition, and the singing together of guests consisting of Japanese, Hokkien, Cantonese and the Atayal people, and Long (who is Hakka). While Long commented on the ethnic harmony he experienced at the banquet, he remarked that the Atayal songs seemed "meaningless" to him, and were not those belonging to "the thinking reed in Pascal's sense."[118] He further added that the Atayal people's taboos are not as many as those of the civilized people, and that their lives served as a critique of modern civilization. Only through his Atayal friend's translation did Long understand what the Atayal people were singing. It ends with Long's inability to join his Atayal host for a celebratory dance and his groggily cycling away. In this prose, Long wove his personal experience into Japan's *hakkō ichiu* ideology, elaborating it with some "local" twists, particularly around Taiwan's internal ethnic integration. The linguistic gap between Long and his Atayal friend seemed to discount the possibility of a truly seamless integration. Long's quoting Pascal to explain his (mis)understanding of the "meaningless" Atayal culture, and the suggested Atayal primitivism versus modern civilization, further manifested a self/other boundary in which the difference between the two races becomes reinforced.

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[116] *Literary Arts of Taiwan* 2.1 (January 1945): 21.

[117] Long Yingzong, "Pokupokusha no kyōen" (The Banquet at Bobo Village), *Minzoku Taiwan* (Taiwanese Folklore) 2.3 (March 1942): 42–45.

[118] Here Long was referring to the French philosopher Pascal's notion that "man is a thinking reed."

Japan's surrender in 1945 brought to Taiwanese a linguistic shift that was more drastic than the linguistic barrier between Long and his Atayal friends. Nevertheless, Long initially managed to rely on his Japanese linguistic capital and worked as a Japanese-edition editor for *Zhonghua ribao* (China Daily News), a Tainan-based newspaper run by the Nationalist Party from March 1946 to the ban of using Japanese in newspapers in October of the same year. Before his brief editorial career, Long already participated in Taiwan's cultural reconstruction. He referred to colonial Taiwan's literature as "false literature," maintaining that Taiwanese writers "must restart and walk on a correct path."[119] He was somewhat apologetic, considering people like him were "born in the wrong times" and "could only resist passively."[120] While working for *China Daily News*, he wrote literary commentaries introducing world literature to Taiwan's Japanese-language readership and expressing his literary ideas.[121] Occasionally, he commented on Chinese culture, urging China to emulate America's democracy and pragmatism.[122] Besides these random essays, Long hardly published any creative works for nearly three decades, mainly due to his lack of confidence in his Chinese writing. Interestingly, Long was invited to help with the Tokyo-based monthly journal *Konnichi no chūkoku* (Modern China) launched in 1963 by the Nationalist Party for the purpose of promoting their political legitimacy in Japan. This formed an ironic reversal of Japan's appropriation of the Chinese language for their wartime propaganda, demonstrating the arbitrary and even complicit relationship between Japanese and Chinese usage in Taiwan. However, for Long, his Japanese linguistic capital seemed to lead him to a double quandary—to produce works consistent with Japan's wartime policy and to be mobilized by the KMT for advancing its own postwar anti-Communist ideology.

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[119] Long Yingzong, "Bungaku" (Litearture), *Xinxin* (New New Monthly) 1 (November 1945): 11.

[120] Long Yingzong, "Sentō kara kita otoko" (The Man from Shantou), ibid.: 16–17.

[121] The authors were mostly French and Russian writers, but there were Chinese writers too (such as Lu Xun, Liu E, and Shen Fu). For instance, he was critical of Shen Fu, regarding his works as "not socially grounded." He was fond of the German writer Heinrich Heine. In his poem "Hainie yo" (Oh Heine), Long imagined himself as a pitiful and unestablished poet thinking of Heine. See Long's "Oh Heine" published in *China Daily News* (June 1, 1946).

[122] Peng Zhiyuan (Long's penname), "Chūbei kankei nanabini sono tenbō" (An Outlook Juxtaposing China and America), *Zhonghua* (China), launch edition (January 1946): 21–22.

Voyaging into Tokyo: Weng Nao and His Gendered Modernist Eclecticism

Compared with Lü Heruo and Long Yingzong, Weng Nao travelled further on the road of literary exploration. Born in 1910 in Zhanghua, Weng worked as a schoolteacher from 1929 and for a few years after he arrived in Japan in 1934, with an ambition of establishing his fame in Japan's central literary arena.[123] He lived near Kōenji, a Bohemian suburb of Tokyo and gathering place for Marxist scholars and avant-garde artists.[124] This culturally vibrant environment, and the "drifter" (rōnin)[125] lifestyle, helped formulate Weng's twofold literary characteristics—quasi-socialist concerns for the social underdogs and ultra-individualistic modernist experiment.[126]

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[123] In his poem "Ikyō ni te" (In a Foreign Land), Weng quoted Nietzsche that "homelessness is a misery," indicating his diasporic mentality. Weng's use of the eagle can be seen as a metaphor of Weng's literary ambition in Japan. See *Taiwan bungei* 2.4 (April 1935): 35–36.

[124] See Weng Nao's "Tōkyō kōgai rōningai: Kōenji kaiwai" (The Vagabond Town of the Tokyo Suburbs: The Neighborhood of Kōenji), *Taiwan bungei* 2.4 (April 1935): 13–17. In this piece, Weng mocked his ambition of becoming a writer.

[125] "Rōnin" originally refers to the samurais with no lord or master during the feudal period. Liu Jie, a writer contemporaneous of Weng, referred to Weng as a typical "wandering literary man" in Tokyo. See Liu's "Huanying zhi ren—Weng Nao" (A Man of Mystery—Weng Nao), *Taiwan wenyi* (Taiwan Literature) 95 (July 1985): 190.

[126] One may argue that Weng was inspired by the two major literary trends in Japan at that time—the proletariat literature represented by *Bungei sensen* (Literary Front) founded in 1924 and the neo-perceptionist literature represented by *Bungei jidai* (Literary Times) founded too in 1924. Scholars have pointed out that the two sets of Weng's writing were complementary to each other. Liao Shufang argues that the anxiety about time is seen in both types of works, and Zhu Huizu [Chu Huei-chu] posits that the difference between modernism and leftwing writing, as well as that between abstract and realist representation, is not absolute. See Liao Shufang, "Guojia xiangxiang, xiandai zhuyi wenxue yu wenxue xiandaixing—yi riju shiqi Taiwan zuojia Weng Nao weili" (National Imagination, Modernist Literature and Literary Modernity: Taking Weng Nao from the Japanese Occupation Period as an Example), *Beitai guowen xuebao* (Bullentin of Northern Taiwan Chinese Studies) 2 (June 2005): 129–68; Zhu Huizu [Chu Huei-chu], "The Heterogeneous Mixture of 'The Modern' and 'The Primitive': Modernism in Ong Nao's Novels," *Taiwan wenxue xuebao* 15 (December 2009): 1–32.

In 1935, not long after Weng's settling into Tokyo, his "Kanjiisan" (A Simple Old Man) won a special mention in the second writing competition organized by the journal *Bungei* (Literature and Art).[127] This signaled the start of a very promising writing career, which unfortunately was cut short when Weng died in 1940. He left behind only a handful of works.[128] Although Weng won recognition in Japan in the mid-1930s with his realist work depicting an elderly character in Taiwan's countryside, contemporary critics usually regard him as a pioneering modernist writer.[129]

"The Remaining Snow" is a representative work demonstrating Weng's urban-centric modernist aesthetics.[130] Narrated in the third person, it can be summarized as the male protagonist Hayashi [Lin Chunsheng] being caught between two females, and his flâneur life in Tokyo. Born to a middle-class family in Southern Taiwan, Hayashi comes to study in Japan with financial support from his family. He gives up his law studies to pursue his interest in theatrical performance, and later establishes a romance with Kimiko, a Japanese waitress whom he meets at a local café. While living together with Kimiko, Hayashi often dreams of mysterious beautiful women he would like to meet, or indulges in women-related fantasies. It is only after Kimiko moves out of the flat to pursue a new job that Lin realizes he has fallen in love with her.

As Hayashi ponders whether or not he should visit Kimiko in Ōmori, he receives a letter from his old Taiwanese love, Yuzhi, who informs him that she is working at a café in Taipei in an attempt to escape from an arranged marriage. Hayashi replies to the letter, but soon forgets about this matter. Only when Hayashi learns from a friend later that Yuzhi's parents plan to sell her in Taipei to work as a geisha does Hayashi become concerned. Despite his sympathy for Yuzhi, it is Hayashi's feelings for Kimiko that are rekindled when their paths accidentally cross again. Kimiko informs Hayashi that her parents have asked her to return home to Hokkaido. As Kimiko prefers not to go back, she asks Hayashi for help but without success. Shortly after this, Hayashi is told that Yuzhi is going to be forced into marriage. Although Hayashi is distressed by this news, he goes in search of Kimiko at her workplace. Unable to find her and planning to return to Taiwan, Hayashi unexpectedly receives a letter from Kimiko from Hokkaido. Trapped between the two options of heading to Hokkaido to be with Kimiko and returning to Tainan to help Yuzhi, Hayashi decides to stay in Tokyo alone.

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[127] *Bungei* (Literature and Art) 3 (June 1935): 116.

[128] Reports of Weng's death follow different versions. Some suggest that he died in an asylum while others suggest he froze to death. His only novel "Minato no aru machi" (A Town with a Harbor) was published in a bilingual form under the title *You gangkou de jieshi: Weng Nao changpian xiaoshuo zhongri duizhao* (The Street by the Port: A Novel by Weng Nao in Chinese and Japanese) (Taizhong: Chenxing, 2009).

[129] Yang Kui used Weng's "A Simple Old Man" as an example showcasing Taiwanese authors' ambition, and Huang Deshi also praised Weng for his literary potential. See Yang Kui, "Henshū kōki" (Editors' Postscript), *Taiwan bungei* 2.7 (July 1935): 217; Huang Deshi, "Bankin no Taiwan bungaku undōshi" (A History of Recent Taiwan's Literary Movements), *Taiwan bungaku* (Taiwan Literature) 2.4 (October 1942): 2–15.

[130] Chen Fangming referred to Weng's writing as "city literature" (*dushi wenxue*). He points out that there are main two trends—works dealing with colonial modernity by authors in Taipei, and works depicting the metropole Tokyo by authors in Tokyo. See Chen's *Taiwan xin wenxueshi* (Taiwan's New Literary History), vol. 1 (Taipei: Lianjing, 2011), p. 138.

"The Remaining Snow" is filled with the glorification of modernity. The entire story is a vivid sketch of Tokyo's dazzling life in the 1930s, such as the trendy café culture and Western cultural imports (Schubert's music and Shakespeare's "Hamlet" are mentioned in the text), a sensational encounter (between Hayashi and Kimiko), and the continuous and fast-paced traffic movement in nighttime Tokyo. The way Hayashi enjoys his life in Tokyo resembles the way he appreciates women. Weng Nao employed free indirect discourse and the first person point-of-view to highlight Hayashi's subjective psychological state, whereas Hayashi's past in Taiwan and the depiction of Tokyo are both narrated in the third person point of view.

The portrayal of (Tokyo's) modernity is also revealed from Hayashi's attitude toward love. After inviting Kimiko out for a date, Hayashi is unsure whether she would turn up. But he tells himself: "I would be satisfied if I could gaze at her from a distance among the crowd of people. Why would it matter even if she forgot her words, and could not care less about me?"[131] Obviously, what Hayashi yearns for is not "love at first sight," but the thrill brought by "love at last sight."[132] This "love at last sight" not only enables Hayashi to keep changing the (next) object of his love and desire, but also provides a valuable glance into the exciting life in a metropolis like Tokyo. Regardless of the gender of the characters, the city remains the destination of their moves—Hayashi arrives in Tokyo to study, Kimiko comes to Tokyo to make a living and reluctantly returns to Hokkaido, and Yuzhi "escapes" to Taipei from Southern Taiwan. While both Kimiko and Yuzhi fail to settle into either big city, Hayashi remains in Tokyo to pursue his dreams.[133]

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[131] See the 1991 Qianwei version of "The Remaining Snow" mentioned in fn. 98 of Introduction, p. 53.

[132] Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations* (London: Pimlico, 1999), p. 166.

[133] Female characters (both Taniko and her friend Asako) in Weng Nao's *A Town with a Harbor* encounter a similar entrapment in life. Unlike Yuzhi and Kimiko who at least make their way to the big(ger) cities, Taniko and Asako have little freedom of move.

If we take Kimiko and Yuzhi as symbols of Japan and Taiwan respectively, then Hayashi's final choice indicates a rejection of a fixed identity and an embracing of a forever changing urban identity.[134] His role as an actor already hints at the expediency, complexity, and instability of identity formation. I agree with Scruggs that "urban identity trumps ethnic difference" in this story.[135] However, we should remain aware of the gender politics in "The Remaining Snow." Hayashi's indecisiveness actually imperils his identification with the city, since it is only when he conclusively makes his final decision of going nowhere that he becomes free from the entrapment of cultural identity. The reason why Hayashi is two-minded seems to be related to his being caught between the two women (or their expectations of him). In this regard, "The Remaining Snow" is a potentially misogynist text, especially as both Kimiko and Yuzhi stand in the way of Hayashi pursuing a transnational urban identity.

The end of story indicates Hayashi's ultimate self-realization. In comparison, Kimiko and Yuzhi at best serve as distractions for Hayashi's self-pursuit; they are decorations of his life in Tokyo, or an occasional supplement through which Hayashi contemplates the patriarchal or authoritative parental domination. When responding to Yuzhi, Hayashi laments the fast speed at which time passes and confesses that he had almost forgotten about her. Even though Hayashi can foresee Yuzhi's misery once she returns to Tainan (as he imagines Yuzhi's weeping in the farm house), he acts inattentively and comments that Yuzhi's being taken home is perhaps not entirely awful. When Kimiko seeks help from Hayashi, he patronizingly suggests that she had better return home. Yet, when he fails to find Kimiko, he wonders: "A girl like her would not possibly do this [return home]. She must be somewhere in Tokyo having fun."[136] After returning to Hokkaido, Kimiko writes to Hayashi expressing that she is the type of person who "screws up" whereas Hayashi is a "decent" man. She continues: "decent people would not hold onto obtainable merriment. This perhaps is happiness itself."[137]

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[134] Some Taiwanese critics have questioned Weng Nao's "blind" admiration of Japanese women. See Yang Yizhou, "Yi yaozhe de juncai Weng Nao" (Remembering the Talented Man Weng Nao who Died Immaturely), *Weng Nao zuopin xuanji* (Selected Collection of Weng Nao's Works), edited by Chen Zaoxiang and Xu Junya (Zhanghua: Zhanghua County Cultural Center, 1997), pp. 248–51. Xu Junya takes it further by arguing this is indicative of Weng Nao's identity crisis and sense of inferiority of being Taiwanese. See *Rizhi shiqi Taiwan xiaoshuo xuandu* (On Taiwanese Fiction under Japanese Rule) edited by Xu Junya (Taipei: Wanjuanlou, 1998), p. 421.

[135] Bert Scruggs, *Translingual Narration: Colonial and Postcolonial Taiwanese Fiction and Film*, p.44.

[136] *Weng Nao, Wu Yongfu, Wang Changxiong heji*, p. 74.

Compared to Yuzhi, Kimiko is savvier about surviving in the city. She eventually reaches a belated understanding of Hayashi's choice. But still, the pursuit of a modern urban identity remains by and large the privilege of male intellectuals. Women may take part briefly in the process, but will have to return to the traditional patriarchal order in due course. For Kimiko and Yuzhi, their participation in modernity is constructed chiefly upon their emphasis on love (or the freedom of love). Yuzhi refuses the marriage her parents arrange for her, whereas Kimiko's letter implies she might stay in Tokyo should Hayashi ask her to do so. In contrast, the male intellectual Hayashi's self-fulfillment as a free-spirited metropolitan dweller becomes truly materialized only after his refusal of going steady with one woman.

Weng's "The Singing Clock" (1935) and "The Love Story Before Dawn" (1937) provide further examples of Weng's neo-perceptionist style. Narrated in a flashback, "The Singing Clock" tells how the protagonist's youthful memory is evoked through the sound of a singing clock. He begins to recollect that a long time ago, on one of the nights during his high school period, he very much wished to hug a nameless girl who shared his room. However, he never manages to do so the entire night. Apart from being an emblem of mechanical modernity, the singing clock also hints at the narrator's acquisition of Japan's cultural knowledge and evokes the adolescent narrator's burgeoning desire.[138]

In "The Love Story Before Dawn," Weng employed the first-person point-of-view to recount the thirty-something protagonist's unrequited love for a young woman. The male protagonist embodies the image of the wandering intellectual coined in Weng's "The Vagabond Town of the Tokyo Suburbs: The Neighborhood of Kōenji." He cares little about fame and wealth. All he wishes is to physically unite with his beloved Hokkaido woman, so that he could die without regret. The story begins with a description of various animals' mating (a rooster and a hen, geese, a pair of butterflies), using them as a metaphor to bring out the male protagonist's desperate wish to be physically intimate with someone, only if just for one second! The story then gives an account of the male protagonist's lascivious imagination of his beloved woman whom he has yet to meet. Not until the second half does Weng unveil to his readers the lonely male protagonist's two unsuccessful love stories. It is at the very end that readers finally learn that the person with whom the protagonist has been sharing his story is a prostitute.

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[137] Ibid.

[138] The adult narrator recalls the melodies of the two Japanese children's songs he learned as a child in Taiwan.

In this modernist piece hailed as Taiwan's *Les Fleurs du Mal* (Flowers of Evil),[139] the woman (prostitute) becomes the listener of the distressed yet highly self-reflexive male narrator's interior monologue. The female characterization in Weng Nao's modernist stories overall is closely associated with the male narrator/protagonist's self-fulfillment. In addition to being an unreachable sex object or a reliable confidante for the fanatic and lonesome male character, the female characters in Weng's writing can also serve as Weng's self-portraiture.[140] The orphaned female protagonist Taniko in Weng's last work "Minato no aru machi" (A Town with a Harbor) is one such case.[141]

The analysis on Weng's female characterization can be extended to his often overlooked work "Aware na rui bāsan" (Poor Old Rui).[142] Weng Nao translated ten English-language poems into Japanese in 1935, including the work by the Indian poet Sarojini Naidu, several Irish writers (Joseph Campbell, George

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[139] See the short biography of Weng Nao in *Riju shidai Taiwan xiaoshuo xuan* (Selected Taiwanese Fiction from the Japanese Occupation Period), ed. Shi Shu (Taipei: Maitian, 2007), p. 201.

[140] The work was serialized in *Taiwan xinminbao* in July and August 1939. According to Weng, it was written to depict "a slide of a famous treaty port during a certain period of human history," the author also said he would like to dedicate it to "the fatherless children, the fathers separated from their children, and those unfortunate brothers." The work contains Weng's modernist style and "vagabond" temperament, but it also reveals humanistic concerns for the underprivileged (such as the prostitutes and orphans) in Kobe, and a criticism of capitalism. See the bilingual edition translated by Sugimori Ai. *You gangkou de jieshi* (A Town with a Harbor), pp. 93–95.

[141] For an analysis on the theme and the significance of *A Town with a Harbor*, see Sugimori Ai's "Jiling de xiangzheng, gu'er de jiushu—yi Weng Nao xinchutu xiaoshuo *yougangkou de jieshi* wei fenxi duixiang" (The Symbol of Superfluousness and an Orphan's Redemption—On Weng Nao's Newly Unearthed Novel *A Town with a Harbor*) and Xu Sulan's "Zuihou de qidisheng—yougangkou de jieshi zai Weng Nao chuangzuo licheng de weizhi yu yiyi" (The Last Steam Whistle—The Position and Meaning of *A Town with a Harbor* in Weng Nao's Writing). Both essays are collected in *Weng Nao de shijie* (The World of Weng Nao), eds. Xiao Xiao and Chen Xianren (Taizhong: Chenxing, 2009), pp. 25–51 and pp. 52–71. In the same book, there is also an essay dedicated to Weng's characterization of flâneuses in which the author argues the flâneuses offer a possibility for the awakening of female consciousness in Weng's works, and the dividing line between this awareness and the characters' degeneration is very fine. See Gao Weihong, "Weng Nao wenben zhong de younü xingxiang" (The Images of Flâneuses in the Works of Weng Nao), pp. 72–95.

[142] Weng Nao, "Aware na rui bāsan" (Poor Old Rui), *Taiwan bungei* 3.6 (May 1936): 2–19.

William Russell, William Butler Yeats, Padraic Colum), and the Imagist poets (Amy Lowell from America and Richard Aldington from the U.K.).[143] "Poor Old Rui" is a loose fictional re-writing of Campbell's poem "The Old Woman." The story begins with a stanza from the poem to highlight the loneliness of the eighty-two-year-old Rui, who has been living alone for fifteen years. Due to her poor health, she moves to the countryside to live with her eldest son and his family. She is content with her life surrounded by her family.

However, when sitting in silence, she begins to reminisce about her old living environment in town. Various scenes from her life emerge as strange dreams at night and wild illusions during the daytime. She even visualizes her funeral. This "homesickness" makes her fall ill again, leading her to return to her shabby hut on a back street in town until her death. Although the story is set in Taiwan and contains concrete descriptions of Rui's living environment, Weng used different images to bring out Rui's inner thoughts. For instance, when portraying Rui's expressionless face, Weng described her as still as the rock she was sitting on, and her static image is like the worldly-wise rock that has seen, heard, and thought about everything. Weng added that Rui gets further and further away from human beings and becomes closer to the nature.

Although Rui's becoming closer to nature, and the recuperative power of the countryside can be understood as Weng's celebration of (returning to) a more primitive lifestyle, Rui's death suggests the impossibility for such a "return" and the inevitability of social change (in the story, the town Rui returns to is no longer the same as before). At the end of the story, Rui's son, after returning from Rui's funeral, sees his own shadow in his lit-up house. This ambiguous episode hints at his (and perhaps Weng's) epiphanic realization that there is no permanent or intact homeland to which one can return. Change is unavoidable, similar to the passing of time and aging.[144] Referring back to Campbell's short poem, Weng seemed to have invested his personal diasporic feelings in his translingual and cross-cultural re-writing. In other words, Weng's synthetic style, which combines the Campbell-inspired theme and his Taiwan-specific setting, demonstrated an eclectic modernist practice.[145] It, too, showed Weng's Janus-faced take on modern civilization.

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[143] Those translations, grouped as "Gendai eishi shō" (Modern English Poems), were published in *Taiwan bungei*. Apart from Weng's interest in the Imagist poets, it was unclear whether Weng's interest in Irish (and even Indian) writers' works had anything to do with both countries' colonized past. Weng's peer Wang Baiyuan was very keen on Tagore's works and Gandhi's thoughts. The two's shared interest in India was indicative of the wide literary taste of the *Fuorumosa* (Formosa) group, with which both were associated to a different degree.

[144] Liao Shufang takes this further by arguing that the shadow symbolizes historical memory and concludes Weng's contemplation on his cultural identity. This nationalized reading, in my opinion, remains debatable. See Liao Shufang's essay in fn. 126 of this chapter, p. 165.

Like Weng Nao, Lü Heruo's and Long Yingzong's works offer fascinating cases to explore the relationship between gender politics and the multilayered forms of colonial domination. Several of their stories with female protagonists have drawn scholarly interest. Lü Heruo was even hailed as the "spokesman of suffering women."[146] Focusing on Lü's works, Chen Fangming argues that Taiwan's patriarchal system should be blamed for Taiwanese women's tragedy.[147] He claims that there are two types of Taiwanese women in Lü's fiction—those who are oppressed by the feudal system and colonialism and who failed to fight against the patriarchy; and those with autonomous will who endeavor to pursue their own lives. Both types, according to Chen, show the historical path that Taiwan had been through. Hence, the fate of Taiwanese women in Lü's stories can be read as a miniature of Taiwan's colonial history.

Lin Ruiming, by contrast, concentrates on the relationship between Japanese domination and Long's female characterization.[148] He divides Long's protagonists into two groups—the pale, frustrated male intellectuals, and the vivacious, determined females. The former, Lin argues, represent Taiwanese's no-way-out predicament under Japan's colonial reign, while the latter reveal Long's obscure resistance. Both Chen's rethinking of the internal colonization—the patriarchy in Taiwanese society—and Lin's reading on Long's "resistance" offer insights into gender politics in colonial Taiwan. Yet, neither of them tackles the problem of representation nor discusses the construction of cultural/national identity in relation to those male authors' female characterizations.

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[145] Weng revealed a similarly eclectic view regarding how to retain Taiwan's characteristics in literary representation. He proposed to keep Taiwanese expressions and add the Japanese kana syllabary if needed. For instance, he suggested using 大廳 with the syllabary "ひろま" (the kanji should be "広間," meaning "hall"). See "Taiwan wenxue dangqian zhuwenti—wenlian Dongjing zhibu zuotanhui" (Various Present Problems of Taiwan Literature: Forum of the Literary and Art Alliance of Taiwan Tokyo Branch)," in *Huangxi wenxue: Weng Nao zuopin xuanji* (Huangxi Literature: Collected Works of Weng Nao) (Zhanghua: Zhanghua County Cultural Center, 1997). Chen Zaoxiang and Xu Junya, eds., pp. 225–26 and pp. 229–30.

[146] Wen Wenlong. "Zhounan nüxing de daiyanren—lun LüHeruo xiaoshuo zhong de nüxing jiaose" (The Spokesman of Suffering Women—On the Female Characters in the Works of Lü Heruo), *Taiwan wenyi* (Taiwanese Literature) 154 (April 1996): 85–95.

[147] Chen Fangming, "Zhimindi yu ning" (Colony and Females), in *Lü Heruo zuopin yanjiu* (Research on Lü Heruo's works). Chen Yingzhen et al., (Taipei: Lianhe wenxue, 1997), pp. 248–64.

[148] Lin Ruiming, "The Unknown Long Yingzong," in *A Historical Investigation of Taiwanese Literature*, pp. 265–93.

From his first work "Oxcart," Lü Heruo deals with the fate of Taiwanese women under Japanese rule. In the story, the farmer Yang Tianding and his wife Amei lead a poverty-stricken life under Japan's capitalist exploitation. In order to improve their lives, Yang Tianding "allows" Amei to go into prostitution. This reveals an unequal social system in which women's bodies become lucrative commodities under men's charge. However, the reasons leading to Amei's misery come not only from external economic oppression but also from Taiwan's internal class inequality and patriarchy. For instance, in a traditional agricultural society as portrayed in "The Tale of a Tempest," the female character Wangshi is doomed to become a victim caught between the class patriarchy (the landlord) and sexual patriarchy in which women often become "the lesser" in a male-dominated social order.[149] Wangshi was sold to a local landlord to help with housework duties, but soon suffers sexual assault by the landlord, Baocai. Baocai threatens her so that she would not reveal his evil behavior, and thus he deviously kept her husband, Lao Song, as his tenant.

Without knowing the truth, Lao Song blames Wangshi for not appreciating Baocai's "kindness" and disregards her complaint about being maltreated by Baocai. When ultimately understanding how Wangshi was abused by Baocai (after her suicide) and knowing of Baocai's malicious exploitation, Lao Song becomes overwhelmed with anguish. The story ends when Lao Song kills Baocai with triumphant happiness as if Wangshi has approved of his conduct by showing him her smile. Through Lao Song's killing of Baocai, Lü combined the females' tragedy with his socialist class-equal utopia. Despite his concerns for the Taiwanese women of his time, Lü risked turning them into a monolithic and stereotypical symbol of the oppressed for promoting his socialist idea.

Lü's appropriation of his female characters is also found in "Konyaku kidan" (Anecdote about Marriage).[150] The female protagonist Qinqin in this story can be seen as a practitioner of Lü's leftist dream for she is modeled as a left-inclined intellectual actively devoted to social movements, much like Lü himself. In order to please Qinqin, Qinqin's arranged husband, Li Minghe, pretends to be a leftist youth. After Qinqin agrees to be engaged with him, Li Minghe reveals his nature as a dandy boy and Qinqin walks away. Li blames Qinqin's socialist friend Chunmu for inciting Qinqin's running away, threatening Chunmu that he will appeal to the Japanese police to settle this. In this way, Taiwan's internal patriarchy becomes further strengthened by the external Japanese imperialism, for men from both the colonizer and colonized sides enter into an alliance with each other. This enforcing of masculine power makes Qinqin's suppressed position simultaneously an individual predicament and an allegory of Taiwan's colonial history.

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[149] Wangshi's name, meaning to bring up inattentively in Taiwanese, is a symbol.

[150] *Taiwan bungei* 2.7 (July 1935): 23–40.

With increased Japanese aggression in Taiwan, Lü's socialist ambition ended in frustration and he turned to study music in Tokyo. However, in his fiction, his appropriation of female characters for articulating his own social/cultural notions remained. His longing for a modern, aesthetic culture and his condemnation of bourgeoisie were represented through Miaoli's yearning for art and loathing of her uncultivated bourgeois fiancé in "Lanyi shaonü" (The Girl in Blue).[151] This story describes a young schoolteacher, Cai Wanqin, who creates a painting based on his female student, Miaoli. Jealous over the painting, the rich but vulgar youth Jiang Dachuan, Miaoli's fiancé, plots with some villagers to steal the painting and makes the president of Wanqin's school believe that Wanqin seduced Miaoli. The ignorant school president and the angry villagers insist that Wanqin should apologize.

Being misunderstood by his villagers and unable to maintain his artistic ideal with his salary, Wanqin mocks himself as a powerless artist. When he is about to agree that after all money is more powerful than art, Miaoli reveals how the whole situation was set up by her fiancé. In the conversation between Miaoli and Wanqin, Miaoli screams that she can never be content as a housewife living in a culturally barren village. Instead, she would like to keep exploring the meaning of life through art.

From "Oxcart," through "Anecdote about Marriage" to "The Girl in Blue," the female characters in Lü's works switched from the symbol of the oppressed to the idealistic dream pursuer on behalf of the frustrated male bourgeois intellectuals. Nevertheless, they are commonly portrayed not as being women but as tools for the incarnation of Lü's socialist notions on class and sex equality and for serving his modernist temperament. These two characterizations of women in Lü's works resonate with his ideological and aesthetic concerns in general. Let us look closer by analyzing masculinity in "Byōtei" (The Shrine Garden), and exploring how the female character is constructed through the male gaze.[152]

Though placing the female character in the foreground of the work, "The Shrine Garden" is told from a male first-person narrator's recollection in which the female protagonist Cuizhu remains silent. It opens with a peaceful description of countryside scenery when the narrator, Cuizhu's cousin, is on his homebound journey. With the narrator's reaching his home, the story about Cuizhu is gradually revealed from his recollection of his childhood when he used to play with Cuizhu. From the conversation between the narrator and his mother, we are told that Cuizhu has remarried yet is not treated well. In the whisper from the narrator's mother to her son we are given the hint that Cuizhu's father intends to ask the narrator to help solve the tension in Cuizhu's second marriage.

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[151] *Complete Collection of Lü Heruo's Fiction*, pp. 183–92.

[152] Ibid., pp. 266–81.

After reaching Cuizhu's home, the narrator chats with Cuizhu's parents. When looking around the house, he thinks of his childhood when he and Cuizhu used to play games by pretending they were husband and wife. Everything seems to be almost the same as before and the only difference is Cuizhu's absence. While waiting for Cuizhu, the narrator takes a walk to the nearby yard of the Guandi Temple where he remembers a boisterous fair that Cuizhu and he experienced together. The narrator recalls a special sensory moment when Cuizhu wiped his teardrops with her red blouse after he was frightened by a witch performance. With his gradual returning to reality from the childhood memory, his sensory remembering and feminine part are replaced by his suppressed affection for Cuizhu and the patriarchic social values.

Though Cuizhu's second husband's family mistreats her, the narrator is convinced that marriage is the best way out for women. Regarding the reality in which both of them have grown up and Cuizhu is married, the narrator talks to himself thus: "What I can do now [for Cuizhu] is to wish that she is happily married."[153] Upon reaching the cane fields, the narrator bumps into his cousin Cuizhu. However, Cuizhu simply stares, as still as a stone, at her cousin, then walks away without a word. After following Cuizhu back, the narrator is informed by Cuizhu's parents of Cuizhu's unsuccessful marriage. Ignoring his daughter's willingness to divorce, Cuizhu's father considers Cuizhu's returning home to be a disgrace. Even the educated narrator comes to agree that to maintain a bad marriage is still better than to divorce.

Being forced by her father to explain her unsuccessful marriages in front of her cousin and knowing that she will soon be "sent back," Cuizhu runs out. When looking for Cuizhu and contemplating her life, the narrator feels great sympathy. But he indicates a chauvinistic ideology when sighing that "marriage will easily overthrow their [womens'] beauty, intelligence and liveliness." His sympathy becomes the sentiment that women fail to remain as attractive as they were instead of leading to an insightful recognition of the patriarchal system that produces a tragedy like Cuizhu's. Even though the narrator feels agony for Cuizhu's suffering, he blames her for her weakness. The narrator's lamentation "why are women so weak" not only pre-supposes all women are "weak" but also suggests a cause and effect male/female relationship. That is, due to women's "weakness," they are unable to fight for themselves. Consequently men can/must rescue them from their poor situation. Though this male narrator allows himself to make mistakes of patronization and over-generalization, he fails to achieve his self-empowered mission as a rescuer. Quite the opposite, he pushes Cuizhu closer to the patriarchic code in a Taiwanese male-dominated social/cultural context.

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[153] Ibid., p. 271.

As the story continues, the setting returns to an earlier romantic scene with a description of dim moonlight shining down through the bamboo, a little brook with white pebbles and the sound from crickets. This constructs a natural and feminine space that Cuizhu occupies and which is pinned in the narrator's memory. At the end of the story, the narrator finds Cuizhu leaning against the paper-money-burning pavilion of the Guandi Temple. Like her earlier stone-like gaze at her cousin, Cuizhu now stands statue-still. Seeing the teardrops flowing down Cuizhu's cheeks the narrator feels sentimental. But this compassion is soon forgotten and overwhelmed by the patriarchal value system in which the narrator is constructed. The narrative voice therefore is not only male-centered but also imbued with a patriarchal epistemology.

This masculinity as demonstrated by the male narrator can also be found in "Tsukiyo" (Moon Night),[154] the sequel of "The Shrine Garden." The first line of the story—"I once again realize that getting married is the greatest duty for women"—shows an unequal system of values in which marriage becomes an obligation for women.[155] The narrator believes that Cuizhu "should" return to her husband's house, regardless of the fact that her mother-in-law and sister-in-law attack her verbally. After convincing Cuizhu to stay in her husband's house, the narrator returns, yet he is soon informed of Cuizhu's suicide. This ending opens a debate on the unequal treatment of women in a male-dominated society, as Cuizhu's death can be taken either as a submission to, or as a subversion of, the patriarchal social structure.

Long Yingzong, too, expressed his concerns about Taiwanese women. This feature became conspicuous around 1942 when Long started to work for *Taiwan Daily News*, an official newspaper of the colonial government. Luo Chengchun reads "Shirarezaru kōfuku" (The Unknown Happiness)[156] and "Aru onna no kiroku" (The Record of a Woman) as Long's expression of the endurant and submissive spirit (*rencong jingshen*).[157] Lin Ruiming argues, based on Long's two 1942 stories, that Long's writing suggests a spirit of insistence and resistance (*jianchi yu fankang*), as opposed to his more recognized submissive and wavering (*qucong yu qingxie*) side.[158] Zhu Jiahui went further by claiming Long's focus on Taiwanese women was his expediency to avoid dealing with the colonial context and to respond to the hostility he encountered from *Taiwanese Literature*.[159]

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[154] *Taiwanese Literature* 3.1 (January 1943): 74–90.

[155] Ibid.: 74.

[156] *Bungei Taiwan* 4.6 (October 1942): 45–58.

Long's choosing women as his subject matter can be traced back to 1937, the year when "Yūkage" (Twilight Shadows), a story describing an old widowed lady's lonely begging life and her unnoticed death, was published.[160] Two years later, Long wrote "Kuroi shōjo" (A Dark-skinned Girl) in which the story about a naive and energetic rural girl was narrated through a male-intellectual's recollections.[161] Ayan, the female protagonist in "A Dark-skinned Girl," is an adopted daughter who needs to help with housework and serve her adopted parents. She never complains or acts self-pityingly; she simply keeps working. The vital, self-contained, laboring female images evidently attract Long, for in his later works, his female characters all remain active and lively, almost opposite his sentimental and pessimistic male intellectual narrators and characters.

In 1942, when Japan accelerated its control over Taiwan's literary production, Long published "The Unknown Happiness" and "The Record of a Woman." Both works continued his earlier concern about adopted daughters' fate in Taiwanese society. "The Unknown Happiness" is narrated from an adopted woman's recollection of her whole life after her husband's death. As the story opens, we are told that she had been "spontaneously given" to another family because she was unfortunate enough to be the third girl born to her family (girls are less wanted than boys in traditional society). A few years after she is adopted, she starts helping with housework and later fulfills her "duty" as an adopted daughter—to marry her adopted parents' son when she reaches the age of sixteen. After the marriage, she is treated violently by her husband, and finally gets a divorce and starts a new life in Taipei. By supporting herself through tailoring, she later marries a warm-hearted man against her parents' wishes.

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[157] Luo Chengchun, "Long Yingzong yanjiu" (A Study on Long Yingzong), in *Collected Works of Long Yingzong*, p. 300. "The Record of a Woman" is collected in *Zhiyou muguashu de xiaozhen* (A Small Town with Papaya Trees), edited by Zhong Zhaozheng and Ye Shitao (Taipei: Yuanjing, 1979), pp. 165–86.

[158] Lin Ruiming, "The Unknown Long Yingzong," *A Historical Investigation of Taiwanese Literature*, pp. 265–93.

[159] See Zhu's MA dissertation, p. 66.

[160] Compiled in *Du Fu zai Chang'an* (Du Fu in Chang'an), pp. 127–32.

[161] *Collected Works of Long Yingzong*, pp. 73–79.

She leads a poor yet sweet family life with him until he passes away. While recollecting her life and her late husband, she considers herself a winner in life for what she has achieved, rather than pitying herself.

"The Record of a Woman" is also a story focusing on the life of "adopted daughters" in Taiwanese society. Yet unlike "The Unknown Happiness" which is narrated in flashback by the female protagonist, "A Record of a Woman" is told chronologically in the third person. It recounts the life of the anonymous female protagonist, who is referred to as *yi* (she) throughout the story, from the time she is one until she is fifty-four years old. She is the sixth girl in her family and consequently given to another family. After being sexually abused by her adopted father, she is "sold" to a poor yet hard-working farmer as his wife.

However, the farmer loses his arms in an accident and later commits suicide so as to not worsen the financial burden on his family. Her daughter repeats her adopted fate and her son dies of typhus. She lives a lonely life from forty until her quiet death. Her death resembles her little valued life, for the story ends in a somewhat indifferent tone: [her] tomb is damp and full of weeds. People scarcely visit it, only the winter sun and seasonal wind have been there. Reading these two stories together, Long seems to construct a relatively private space for his female characters. Hence, their happiness is "unknown" or not understood by people (the public), and their fighting to survive is "reduced" to a trifling death and an icy-cold tomb.

Though in Long's works, female characters are often strong and determined and their hardworking lives are also portrayed in an aesthetic and gentle tone, it would be hasty to conclude that Long is a feminist as Lin Ruiming has claimed.[162] In my view, the positive female laborers/depressed male intellectuals dichotomy found often in Long's works implies women are endowed with great strength and courage to live so that they can be of support to their desperate male counterparts. In other words, generally only male intellectual characters are allowed to be sentimental and lamentful. In contrast, Long's female protagonists ought to be tough, tolerant, and self-reliant.

Interestingly, in Long's female-focused stories, the wartime context is absent. Though they can be read as "realist" works for recording unequal treatment of women in colonial Taiwan, they are often soft-spoken and whisper-like in narration. Compared to Long's public speeches made for and in Japanese literary circles, his works about Taiwanese females read as though relatively private. Lin Ruiming and Zhu Jiahui pre-assumed Long's resistant side, arguing that the characterization of women in Long's works is his intended device to express his concern over Taiwan and resistance against Japanese literary policy—namely that literature should serve the imperialist's assimilation stratagem. Instead of defending Long from a nationalist literary "canon" and analyzing why Long chose to represent Taiwanese women in this way, I believe it is more enlightening to explore how Long has empowered himself to appropriate the female space for a more authorial inward self-expression.

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[162] Same as fn. 158, p. 283.

Apart from acting as the male intellectuals' emotional and spiritual props, the female characters in Long's fiction can be seen as a symbol of motherly love. The work "Shiroi sanmyaku" (The White Mountains)[163] and the first story of the Du Nanyuan series,[164] offer salient examples. "The White Mountains" consists of three parts: "Yūgure no naka no kazoku" (The Family in the Thin Twilight), "Umi no yado" (A Seaside Inn) and the third part which shares the same title as the story, "The White Mountains." The first two sections describe two lower-class women—one who has a developmentally disabled younger brother, the other who is a humble maid. The last one concentrates on the weak and cowardly man named Du Nanyuan.[165] In section one, the narrator describes the "poor" family: "Looking in from outside, people might feel this family is rather unlucky. However for them, from their unseen delight, they do feel happy. Their appearance, when walking toward the sea, is of a happy gathering connected with deep love rather than of annoyance."[166]

In the second part, though Long used the third person point of view, the narrator maintains a focus on Du Nanyuan even while telling the story of the female servant. For instance, when describing her, it says:

> What surprises Du Nanyuan is that this worthless woman has a pearl-like sparkling luster and beautiful love. Maybe her love toward the useless man is not simply a love toward the opposite sex! For him [Du Nanyuan], this is perhaps because she has the most honorable and adorable female affection—motherly love![167]

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[163] *Bungei Taiwan* 3.1 (October 1941): 43–55.

[164] Long started to write fiction with Du Nanyuan as the protagonist's name in 1941, after he moved to Hualian for work. The utilization of the name suggested that Long considered his relocation similar to Du Fu's alienation. "The White Mountains" (1941) was the first story of the series. Others include "Longshelan yu yue" (Tequila and Moon, 1943) and "Guisu yu hai" (Settling Back to the Sea, 1944). All of them are autobiographic. After the war, Long even declared: "Du Nanyuan is me!" See the preface of *Du Fu in Chang'an*, p. 8.

[165] It is believed that "Du" refered to Du Fu, one of Long's favorite poets. See Long's "Mingxiang" (Meditations), *Taiwan wenyi* (Taiwan Literature) 53 (October 1976): 14–15 for his admiration of Du Fu.

[166] Same as fn. 163: 47.

[167] Ibid.: 51.

The first paragraph resonates with "The Unknown Happiness," for the female characters' merriment in both stories seems unintelligible. In the first two parts of "The White Mountain," their merriment is closely associated with their domestic roles. In "Family in the Thin Twilight," the female character's satisfaction is constructed upon her taking care of her disabled brother. As for the female character in "A Seaside Inn," her mother-like tolerance toward her husband makes her stand out among all the other female maids, enabling her to transform from a fatigued and coarse-skinned maid to a "pearl-like holy woman."

For Du Nanyuan, and perhaps for Long himself (since he made the Flaubert-like declaration that the narrator in his stories is his incarnation), women are perceived more from a male psychological need for a motherly woman than from their sexuality.[168] Although they are endowed with active and positive characteristics, their merriment is still much reliant upon a successful marriage or loving relationship with men. Their contentment lies in their acting the role of the sentimental male characters' supporters instead of in their own self-fulfillment as individuals. Long Yingzong on more than one occasion stressed that literature is for pursuing "happiness in life."[169] Clearly, such a view as Long's on literature was built upon his caring and contented female characters.

Apart from the tolerant and affectionate motherly roles, the female characters in Long's works also function as mediators connecting reality with his male protagonists' imagination of transnational unification. In the aforementioned "Garden with Wax-apples," there is a possibility for the Taiwanese protagonist and his Japanese playmate Fujisaki's elder sister, Mikako, to get married. However, the protagonist gives up the idea of interracial marriage due to his own financial poverty and the cultural gap between them. The device of this loving relationship is not simply in sync with the Japanese demand for a unification literature. It also offers Long, through his Taiwanese protagonist, lyrical space textually if needed. This perhaps explains why Mikako, throughout the story, is represented primarily by the male narrator rather than by her brother Fujisaki.

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[168] In "A Seaside Inn," Du Nanyuan's depiction of other maids is quite mean. Comments include "ugly like a pig," "very greasy face," "mackerel-like rough skin," and "mediocre looking."

[169] Long Yingzong. "Bungaku to wa nani ka (jō)" (What is Literature Part One), *Taiwan nichinichi shimpō* (July 9, 1941), and *"Gudu de wenxuelu"* (*The Lonely Road of Literature*), *Taiwan shibao* (January 25, 1988).

She is first mentioned as an interlude in Fujisaki's conversation with the narrator. Fujisaki says, laughing, that his father teases Mikako, asking her what she thinks of Mr. Chen (the narrator). Mikako becomes bashful and tries to change the topic. When hearing this from Fujisaki, the narrator feels embarrassed and begins murmuring about his impression of Mikako. The description that followed is:

> She [Mikako] has a round face, but her appearance is only average and nothing special. If you want to say pretty, then her younger sister Mariko can be considered pretty.… However, to be honest, I indeed like Mikako. Sometimes I will dream about having a happy time with her. For example, I will design a small and stylish house, then we will relax on the cool balcony and talk to each other quietly on a starry night. Of course, this is at best a dream, in reality, I will never even consider it seriously.[170]

Later the narrator continues to think of his poor family background, assuming that Mikako is not the kind of woman to have the strong character required to endure poverty. Once again, the narrator tries to convince himself there is no possibility for love between the two of them. His thinking of Mikako later ends with adolescent sentiments. The narrator says:

> Although getting married is still a distant dream, Mikako's appearance, for me, is like the lady from the legend who wanders in the olive forest, in an alien sphere at the end of the blue sky and sea. So I use sentiment and sorrow to pluck my twenty-year-old flower.[171]

In these lines, Mikako becomes an object of the male narrator's lyric imagination. She only lives in his romantic dream but never in his reality. The narrator's love toward Mikako is kept in private so that despite the frustrating reality, there remains an uninflected, feminine space which offers hope and comfort, sublimating the suffering of Long's male characters and even that of himself.

As discussed above, gender politics became a battleground of political ideologies and utopian yearning for Taiwanese male writers of the colonial period. A gender-centric reading indicates that Taiwanese women have frequently become iconographic in male authors' construction of identity and selfhood. Despite those male writers' awareness of Taiwan's gender inequality, their female characterization (both Taiwanese and Japanese) was still constructed under the larger scheme of a masculine value system.

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[170] *Collected Works of Long Yingzong*, pp. 142–43.

[171] Ibid., p. 144.

The images of Taiwanese females created by these writers vary, yet the female protagonists are endowed with a similar function—to incarnate their creators' political/aesthetic beliefs and to satisfy their emotional/psychological needs. Therefore, Lü's female protagonists are either weak or socialist followers. The former epitomize the oppression encountered by colonial Taiwan and her people, while the latter promote his socialist ideas. For Long, his female protagonists are usually motherly figures ready to pamper their male counterparts, or inspirers of the male characters' lyricism. As for Weng Nao, his male protagonist reaches self-fulfillment by rebuffing women or finds temporary solace through confiding in women. And in "Poor Old Rui," Weng poetically confirms the necessary socio-historical progress through Rui's aging.

To read these works allegorically as Taiwan's anti-colonial struggle (toward the external Japanese regime and internal patriarchal structure), as numerous scholars have done, renders moot the problem of gender representation. Although this nationalist reading in Taiwan's literary criticism has slackened gradually over the past two decades, it remains a widely adopted framework among scholars in Taiwan and beyond. This, to some extent, explains why Lü Heruo was generally regarded as a "leftwing" writer, and Long Yingzong was considered an author with a "sublimated" or "unknown" anti-Japanese spirit of resistance.[172] In comparison, Weng Nao was most belatedly "canonized" in the literary historiography of Taiwan, even though his highly modernist experiment had received ample attention and praise.[173] Through Lin Chunsheng's embracing a transnational urban identity, Weng's works persuasively serve as a panacea shying away from this nationalist interpretive blemish. As for how politically and moralistically charged contemporary Taiwan's literary appraisal can be and has been so far, the so-called "imperial-subject literature," the subject matter of the next chapter, provides a most telling case in point.

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[172] When commenting on the decadent intellectual characters in Long Yingzong's works, Ye Shitao argued that those protagonists' anti-Japanese consciousness "becomes sublimated and turns into a sense of repressive and alienated melancholy." See Ye Shitao, "Taiwan de xiangtu wenxue" (Taiwan's Nativist Literature), in *Taiwan xiangtu zuojia lunji* (Collected Essays on Taiwanese Nativist Writers) (Taipei: Yuanjing, 1979), p. 30.

[173] Although the publication of an author's works and his/her canonization are not necessarily always interrelated, the comprehensive Chinese translation of Weng Nao's works came later than that of Lü Heruo's and Long Yingzong's. The most comprehensive translation of Weng's works so far is Huang Yuting's translation published in 2013 under the title *Poxiao ji: Weng Nao zuopin quanji* (Breaking Dawn: Complete Collection of Weng Nao's Works).

CHAPTER 5

How to Become "Japanese"?: Chen Huoquan, Wang Changxiong, and Zhou Jinbo

On April 9, 1941, the Imperial Subjects Service Association was established in Japan. The implementation of imperialization policy entered a more intensified stage, with Japan demanding more manpower and supplies from Taiwan for its military expansion. In addition to the ongoing conscription of young Taiwanese and aboriginal men as volunteer soldiers, the Japanese imperialists mobilized Taiwanese writers to assist in the war effort. In April 1943, the Taiwan Literature Patriotic Association was founded to further support the imperialization policy. Seven months later, the Japanese authorities held a Taiwan Wartime Literature Conference (*Taiwan kessen bungaku kaigi*) in Taipei, at which Nishikawa Mitsuru dedicated *Bungei Taiwan* to the Imperial Subjects Service Association.

Under pressure to express his patriotism, Zhang Wenhuan made a dramatic statement by claiming "there is no non-imperial-subject literature in Taiwan. Anyone who writes non-imperial-subject literature will be shot." Zhang's announcement in which Taiwanese literature equals imperial-subject literature not only drew a clear line between imperial-subject and non-imperial-subject works, but also foreshadowed the unsettled argument on imperial-subject literature. Almost fifty years later, Zhang's declaration was completely reversed by Ye Shitao, who declared: "There is no imperial-subject literature. All are protest literature."[1] Ye's equally absolute statement revealed how critics in the 1990s regarded the imperial-subject works in the 1940s as a moral and nationalist blemish and felt compelled to rectify the negative connotations attached to this type of writing.

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[1] Ye Shitao, "'Kangyi wenxue' hu? 'Huangmin wenxue' hu?" ("Protest Literature"? "Imperial-subject Literature"?) in *Taiwan wenxue de beiqing* (The Sadness of Taiwanese Literature) (Kaohsiung: Paise wenhua, 1990), p. 112. For Zhang Wenhuan's statement mentioned above, see Lin Ruiming, *A Historical Investigation of Taiwanese Literature*, p. 296. Over the past two decades, scholars in Korea and beyond have also begun to reevaluate the pro-Japanese (*ch'inil*) writers and their works from colonial Korea. For instance, a panel titled "Assimilation, Collaboration, and National Identity in Colonial and Postcolonial Korea" was presented at the 2006 annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies. For more recent endeavors, see Nayoung Aimee Kwon's *Intimate Empire: Collaboration and Colonial Modernity in Korea and Japan* in fn. 74 of ch 4.

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Scholars' perspectives on this issue are diverse. Zhong Zhaozheng, Ye Shitao, and Zhang Liangze were fairly sympathetic. They viewed writers of that period as "victims" of the wartime context, considering imperial-subject a type of protest literature as it details the psychological struggle of Taiwanese people in the process of becoming Japanese.[2] Hoshina Hironobu argued that Chen's "The Way" points out the impossibility of the "non-discriminatory" (*isshidōjin*) policy. He shared the view of Zhong, Ye, and Zhang, considering "The Way" a work containing resistant features.[3] Almost opposite this sympathetic reading is that which condemns imperial-subject literature as "traitor's" literature and the writers as being "enslaved" or "brainwashed" by Japan. Several of those articles were compiled into the book entitled *Taiwan xiangtu wenxue, huangmin wenxue de qingli yu pipan* (Clarifications and Criticisms of the Nativist Literature and Imperial-subject Literature of Taiwan) edited by Zeng Jianmin.[4] Lin Ruiming's statement that "writers from colonial Taiwan cannot be irresponsible," though not as radical as the articles in the aforementioned edited volume, can also be placed in this category.[5]

Tarumi Chie went even further by claiming that Chen Huoquan's "The Way" contains *no* resistance because Chen portrayed the image of an exemplary imperial-subject in order to gain a reputation as a writer and for promotion in the workplace.[6] Since the late 1990s, scholars have attempted to problematize the rigid resistant literature/imperial-subject literature dichotomy. Yvonne Chang traced the tendentious readings of imperial-subject literature by previous Taiwanese scholars, calling on a contextual reading.[7] Likewise, Leo Ching reminded us that a grasp the logic of imperialization is necessary for a fruitful reappraisal of imperial-subject literature and that an imperial-subject identity and concern for Taiwan are not mutually exclusive.[8] More recently, Joyce Chi-hui Liu argued that the focus is not to determine which work should be categorized as "imperial-subject," but to understand the psychological transformation of those Taiwanese who embraced the Japanese ideology so completely at that time.[9] Focusing on Japan's "national language" policy, Chen Peifeng read "The Way" as an example showcasing the great impact such a policy had on cultivating Japanese identity.[10]

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[2] See Zhong Zhaozheng, "Riju shiqi Taiwan wenxue de mangdian—dui 'huangmin wenxue' de yige kaocha" (The Blind Spots of Taiwanese Literature during the Japanese Occupation: An Investigation on "Imperial-subject Literature"), *Minzhong ribao fukan* (*The Commons Daily* supplement) (June 1, 1979); Ye Shitao, "Huangmin wenxue" (Imperial-subject Literature), *The Sadness of Taiwan Literature*, pp. 125–27; Zhang Liangze, "Zhengshi Taiwan wenxueshi shang de nanti—Guanyu Taiwan 'huangmin wenxue' zuopin shiyi" (Facing the Thought Problem in Taiwnaese Literary History—"Addenda about 'Imperial-subject Literature' in Taiwan"), *Lianhebao fukan* (*United Daily News* supplement) (February 10, 1998).

[3] "'Dadongya gongrongquan' de Taiwan zuojia (yi)—Chen Huoquan zhi 'huangmin wenxue' xingtai" (Taiwanese Writers of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere (One): The Style of Chen Huoquan's "Imperial-subject" Literature), *Taiwan wenxue yanjiu zai riben*, pp. 33–57.

[4] Representative articles include Chen Yinzhen's "Jingshen de huangfei—Zhang Liangze huangmin wenxue lun de piping" (Spiritual Desolation—A Criticism of Zhang Liangze's Notion of Imperial-subject Literature), Zeng Jianmin's "Taiwan 'huangmin wenxue' de zong qingsuan—cong Taiwan wenxue de zunyan chufa" (A General Liquidation of the "Imperial-subject Literature" in Taiwan—Starting from the Dignity of Taiwanese Literature), and Liu Xiaochun's "Shilun 'huangmin wenxue'" (A Trial Discussion of "Imperial-subject Literature"). See *Taiwan xiangtu wenxue, huangmin wenxue de qingli yu pipan* de *qingli yu pipan* (Clarifications and Criticisms of the Nativist Literature and Imperial-subject Literature of Taiwan) (Taipei: Renjian, 1998), pp. 5–19; pp. 20–37, and pp. 38–45.

[5] Lin Ruiming, "Saodong de linghun" (The Agitated Souls), in *A Historical Investigation of Taiwanese Literature*, pp. 294–331. The quote is from p. 322.

Although scholars have striven to eschew the neat traitor-collaborator divide by contextualizing those works more, there remains space for a detailed textual analysis. Before I delve into the creative works, it is necessary to point out that the assessment of those works in postwar Taiwan was often built on a negative definition of imperial-subject literature. In brief, the term was often used interchangeably with "pro-Japan" literature, or "traitor's" literature. It became a handy tool for critics to propel their own ideologies to the extent that it seldom was treated as a more neutral theme-based genre. Retrospectively speaking, "imperial-subject literature" was gradually formed in late 1942 after a series of activities held by the Imperial Subjects Service Association. The term, when used in *Bungei Taiwan* in July 1943, was a positive one endorsing the uniqueness of Chen Huoquan's "The Way."[11] As the imperial-subject cultivation came with a possibility for Taiwanese people to be "elevated" and become "Japanese," many Taiwanese considered it a plausible course through which racial inequality would be eradicated. Consequently, it attracted writers to portray the psychological process of imperial-subject forging. In what follows, I will offer a close reading, scrutinizing how writers maneuvered colonial policies without pre-assuming a nationalist/moralistic standard.

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[6] Tarumi Chie, "Riben tongzhi yu huangmin wenxue—Chen Huoquan de lizi" (Japanese Rule and Imperial-subject Literature: Chen Huoquan's Case), *Taiwan de ribenyu wenxue*, pp. 67–94.

[7] Yvonne Chang, "Beyond Cultural and National Identities: A Current Re-evaluation of the *Kōminka* Literature from Taiwan's Japanese Period," *Journal of Modern Literature in Chinese* 1.1 (July 1997): 75–107.

[8] Leo Ching, "Give Me Japan and Nothing Else!": Postcoloniality, Identity, and the Traces of Colonialism," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 99.4 (2000): 763–88.

[9] "Immanentism, Double Abjection, and the Politics of Psyche in (Post)Colonial Taiwan," *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 17.2 (Fall 2009): 261–87.

[10] Chen Peifeng, *"Tonghua" no tongchuang yimeng: Rizhi shiqi Taiwan de yuyan zhengce, jindaihua yu rentong* (The Different Intentions behind the Semblance of "Dōka": The Language Policy, Modernization and Identity in Taiwan during the Japan-Ruling Period) (Taipei: Maitian, 2006), pp. 447–58.

Chen Huoquan's "The Way"

Born in 1908 in Lugang, Chen learned Chinese at a private school in 1914 and began to receive Japanese education in 1918. He later studied chemistry in the colonial public Taipei Industrial School before starting work for the Taiwan Camphor Company (*Taiwan shōnō kabushiki kaisha*). By 1934, Chen had found his way to the Monopoly Bureau of the Taiwan Government-General. He was honored in public in 1941 for his invention of a new style of stove for camphor distillation, but did not get the expected promotion due to his Taiwanese identity.[12] It was believed that he composed "The Way" out of frustration, and the work seemed "effective" as Chen did get promoted to the position of assistant engineer in 1944. Apart from working, Chen also participated in various literary societies such as the Japanese Literary School (*Kōmin bungaku juku*) and the Taiwan Literature Patriotic Association. After "The Way" was published in *Bungei Taiwan*, it triggered many discussions, and in Chen's recollection the work almost won the prestigious Akutagawa Prize of that year.[13] The story, at that time, was seen as a standard imperial-subject work partly because it was published during the peak of imperialization and partly because it details the process of becoming Japanese.

In the early postwar era, Chen spent time studying Chinese on his own, and "changed his distorted ideology" through reading the literary works from

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[11] According to Ide Isamu, the term was first used by Tanaka Yasuo in his article published in *Taiwan Kōron* (Taiwan Review) in May 1943. See Ide Isamu's *Juezhan shiqi Taiwan de Riren zuojia yu huangmin wenxue* (Japanese Writers and Imperial-subject Literature in Wartime Taiwan) (Tainan: Tainan City Library, 2001), pp. 164–66.

[12] In the same year (1941), Chen applied to change his name to a Japanese name (Takayama Bonseki). "The Way" was published under Chen's Japanese name.

[13] Chen mentioned this in his essay "Xiedao tianhuang dilao" (Write till the End), *Central Daily News* supplement (November 16, 1966). But Chen's "The Way" was not found on the short-listed works for the 1943 Akutagawa Prize. It may have been mistaken as Oda Sakunosuke's same-titled work, which was indeed shortlisted.

China since the May Fourth period. He claimed that he had been "held up" for thirty-eight years, and thus must "do his upmost to catch up" through reading.[14] Concurrent with his Chinese learning, Chen continued to publish works sporadically. From the late 1970s, he stopped writing novels, devoting his energy to writing essays about life in general. In the 1990s, when critics in Taiwan began to reappraise literary works from the colonial period, Chen felt so awkward about "The Way" that he declared his intention in writing the work was to "reflect the bloody, repressed, and injured life and reality experienced by the white-collar class at that time."[15]

Nevertheless, the procedure by which "The Way" was published in 1943 seems to contradict Chen's self-justification under the KMT government. According to Nishikawa, Chen brought the 163-page draft to the office of *Bungei Taiwan* and recommended his work. Despite the presence of grammatical mistakes, the editors Yamada Hayao and Nishikawa Mitsuru felt touched by the story.[16] Hamada Hayao not only corrected the mistakes for Chen, but also praised the work commenting "… it has connotations which cannot be found in other works from Taiwan… From this work, a brand new Taiwanese literature is in prospect."[17] Nishikawa immediately published the complete work. In late 1943, the Imperial Subjects Service Association selected Chen's "The Way" and "Mr. Zhang" (*Chō sensei*) as part of the "Imperial-subject Series" (*kōmin sōsho*).[18] Taking into consideration the "Feces Realism" debate in 1943, in which both Nishikawa and Hamada tried to make Taiwan's literary production more integrated with the wartime mobilization, their endorsements appeared political. Interestingly, Yang Kui, who stood on the opposing side to Nishikawa in the debate, praised Chen's realistic depiction evident in "The Way."[19]

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[14] For details of Chen's Chinese learning, see his "Bashisui xue chuigushou—cong Riwen dao Zhongwen, xiedao tianhuangdilao" (Learning to Become a Trumpeter at the Age of Eighty: From Japanese to Chinese, Write till the End), *Youyou renshenglu* (The Long Road of Life) (Taipei: Jiuge, 1980), pp. 217–18; "Tawen jiaobu manmanxing" (Stand Firmly and Walk Slowly), *Ganshi nian fumu* (Reflecting the Times and Recollecting my Parents) (Zhanghua: Zhanghua County Cultural Center, 1993), pp. 84–85.

[15] Chen Huoquan, "Zui kuaile de yike" (The Happiest Moment), *Rensheng changduandiao* (The Long and Short Notes of Life) (Taipei: Jiuge, 1993), p. 268.

[16] Yamada Hayao and Nishikawa Mitsuru. "Shosetsu 'Michi" ni tsuite" (On the novel 'Michi'), *Bungei Taiwan* 6.3 (July 1943): 142.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Chen Huoquan, in the *Imperial-subject Series*, changed his name to Takayama Bonseki.

[19] Yang Kui, "Kono 'michi' ari—bungei jihyō" (On "The Way": A Literary Commentary), *Yangkui quanji—dishisanjuan, weidinggao juan* (Complete Works of Yang Kui—Volume

"The Way" in this regard seemed to be a proxy of the two different camps' larger literary and ideological conflicts. Chen's contemporary, Zhou Jinbo, had published a few works related to imperial-subject cultivation by 1943. Nishikawa's and Hamada's singling out of "The Way" as an exemplary imperial-subject work is intriguing. This is perhaps partly because the publication date of "The Way" was immediately after the "Feces Realism" debate, and partly because Chen's notion of imperial-subject was more inclusive and not confined by ethnic difference, or the "politics of 'blood'" in Hoshina Hironobu's terms.[20] For Chen, the criteria for "imperial subject literature" are whether the author writes with "sincerity as a Japanese," and whether the content is "war-assisting." But for Zhou, the racial difference between Japanese, Han, and Taiwan's aborigines remains clear, and therefore writers of imperial-subject literature should address the issues surrounding race and blood.[21]

Taiwanese Skin, Japanese Masks

Narrated in the third person, "The Way" is an autobiographic work depicting the psychological process of a Taiwanese camphor factory worker named Qingnan who wishes to follow the way of imperial-subject forging as the title suggests.[22] Qingnan identifies himself as Japanese, and his understanding of Japanese culture even outstrips that of his Japanese colleagues. When quarreling with some Japanese people in a wine house, Qingnan quotes classical Japanese poetry to rebut the drunken Japanese customers, which impresses his Japanese colleague Miyazaki Takeo so much that he asks whether Qingnan is Japanese or

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Thirteen, Unfinalized Works) (Tainan: The Preparatory Office of the National Reservation and Research Center of Cultural Heritage, 2001), pp. 648–49.

[20] Hoshina Hironobu, Trans. Mo Suwei. "'Xieyi' de zhengzhixue—yuedu Taiwan 'huangminhua shiqi zuopin'" (The Politics of "Blood"—Reading Taiwan's "Literature from the Imperialization Period"), *Taiwan wenxue xuebao* 6 (February 2005): 19–57. See also Ide Isamu's "Riren zuojia yu 'huangmin wenxue'" (Japanese Writers and "Imperial-Subject Literature"), *Juezhan shiqi Taiwan de Riren zuojia yu huangmin wenxue* (Japanese Writers and Imperial-Subject Literature in Wartime Taiwan), pp. 171–78.

[21] See Takayama Bonseki [Chen Huoquan], "Kōmin bungaku ni tsuite" (On Imperial-subject Literature), *Bungei Taiwan* 7.2 (January 1944): 48–49; Zhou Jinbo, "Kōmin bungaku no juritsu" (The Establishement of Imperial-subject Literature), *Bungaku hōkoku* (Literary Patriotism) 3 (September 1943), edition 3.

[22] The pronunciation of "quan" in Japanese (*sen*) is same as the "fire-revolving" style (*ka"sen" shiki*) camphor stove, which the protagonist, Chen, invents in the novel. "Qingnan" is related to Chen's pennames such as Qingnansheng and Qingnan jushi.

Taiwanese. Uncomfortable to admit his Taiwanese background, Qingnan interrogates Miyazaki contemptuously as to whether he understands the meaning of the Japanese spirit. Qingnan then goes on to define the Japanese spirit as "to die for the Japanese emperor and to happily sacrifice oneself for the fatherland (Japan)."[23] In other words, the condition of becoming Japanese does not lie in the primordial blood, but in having been nurtured by traditional Japanese culture and in expressing the Japanese spirit all times.

Miyazaki's questioning of Qingnan's nationality indicates that Qingnan bears a striking resemblance to "real Japanese." However, with Miyazaki's disappearance after this passage, the debate on how to become Japanese is carried out by another Japanese character in this story—Qingnan's group leader, Hiroda. In a conversation with Hiroda, Qingnan states that after observing the movements and conduct of the Japanese around him, he has learned what the Japanese spirit is comprised of. Qingnan believes that only if he becomes Japanese can he be promoted. Consequently, he works extra hard, with the wish to be promoted to a technician. However, his dream never comes true due to his Taiwanese nationality. After a fight with a Japanese colleague, he realizes the gap between becoming Japanese and being Japanese. He becomes overwhelmed by a sense of frustration and disillusionment, for even Hiroda, who has been encouraging him to write about how to become an imperial subject, comes to disclaim the possibility for Taiwanese to become Japanese in an unfriendly utterance: "... But anyway, Taiwanese are not OO after all."[24]

In order to increase the production of camphor, Qingnan endeavors to improve the stove for camphor making. Yet his diligence is not recognized. Though rumors that he will be promoted have been spread for a few years, the position eventually goes to his Japanese colleague, Takeda. Qingnan believes this is because he is not "Japanese" enough (for he still thinks in the Taiwanese language). For him, the only way to be granted equality is to make an even greater effort in the Japanese forging movement (*kōmin rensei undō*) promulgated by the Japanese colonialists. Thus, he encourages himself to think, speak and write in Japanese. He also starts to keep a journal about his way of becoming Japanese. Qingnan's endeavors make his group leader Hiroda notice his "difference" from normal Taiwanese. Seen by Hiroda, Qingnan's sensitivity and cleverness are unlike his fellow countrymen, and his attitude toward life is "as pure as the Japanese."

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[23] *Bungei Taiwan* 6.3 (July 1943): 93.

[24] "The Way": 125. According to Tarumi Chie, the blank in Chen Huoquan's draft is "ningen," meaning "human beings," but it was replaced by OO when the text was published in *Bungei Taiwan*. Chen Huoquan put the word "ren" in the blank when he translated the novel into Chinese after the War. See *Taiwan wenxue yanjiu zai riben*, p. 105.

However, when Qingnan claims one can immediately become an imperial subject as long as one believes in the Emperor and Japanese culture wholeheartedly, Hiroda simply replies that "it takes time to become an imperial-subject," and reminds Qingnan "not to forget the bloodline question."[25] Qingnan's efforts are proven useless when Hiroda informs him that his promotion is unsuccessful. Although Hiroda pretends that the reason is not because of Qingnan's nationality, he reminds Qingnan that Taiwanese will never be Japanese. Hiroda's words knock Qingnan down until the Japanese authorities start to draft Taiwanese youths to join the war as volunteers. "The Way" ends with Qingnan deciding to be a volunteer soldier in order to fully transform himself to become Japanese.

The Doubling of Colonial Mimicry

Employing Homi Bhabha's concept of "colonial mimicry," Qingnan's wanting to become Japanese can be considered a "desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite."[26] Bhabha argues that mimicry is "stricken by an in-determinacy: mimicry emerges as the representation of a difference that is itself a process of disavowal."[27] Qingnan in this novel is hesitant when encountering the question of his identity. Although he strives to camouflage his Taiwanese roots by talking about the Japanese spirit and culture all the time, Qingnan is often aware and reminded of the essential difference between Taiwanese and Japanese. Early in the novel, he is described as a person who is extremely sensitive to terms such as "*naichijin*," meaning ethnic Japanese, and "*hontōjin*," meaning Taiwanese, as used by his Japanese colleagues. After being beaten up by his colleague, Takeda, for a trivial thing in a wine house, Qingnan feels the behavior of the Japanese, about which he used to care little, has now turned into something unbearable. The fight further makes him realize that he is, after all, not Japanese, although he rather believes he is "a kind Japanese citizen."[28] While Hiroda likes Qingnan's "un-Taiwanese" characteristics, he discourages him by stressing the primordial tie of blood in becoming "Japanese."

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[25] "The Way": 122.

[26] See "Of Mimicry and Man," *The Location of Culture*, p. 86.

[27] Ibid.

[28] "The Way": 110.

Qingnan's determination to become "Japanese" makes Hiroda feel increasingly uncomfortable, especially when he refutes Hiroda's notion of (Japanese) blood by arguing that Japan is made up of people from different countries, such as Chinese and Koreans who have become naturalized as Japanese citizens. Hiroda finally expresses his antipathy to Chen's enthusiasm for volunteer conscripts. While Chen is composing a poem to show his support for the policy, Hiroda informs Qingnan that he will not be promoted and comments on the "nonhuman" status of Taiwanese people.

After learning that Takeda has been promoted to the position that he himself had dreamed of, Qingnan is shattered and forced to accept the gap between Japanese and Taiwanese. He expresses his frustration in his diary using the metaphor of flowers: "... True flowers are only cherry flowers. Can peonies after all be categorized as flowers? Those who can shout 'Your Majesty' and die for the Emperor are only Japanese soldiers. Only Japanese people can sacrifice themselves for Japan. Can islanders like me become Japanese after all? Can we be human beings after all?"[29] Qingnan's sense of defeat reveals the dual nature of Japan's assimilation policy. On the one hand, Qingnan is transfigured to an imperial subject during the wartime mobilization. On the other hand, however, he is a figure of *double entendre* for his repetitive mimicry. It makes him at most pseudo-Japanese. The impossibility of his ability to "be Japanese" infers the mendacity of imperialization, as the racial divide is ironically reinforced rather than removed. As Zhou Wanyao has argued, there probably would not have been imperialization if Japan had not launched its military expansion, because the idea of re-modeling people from the colonies to become "true Japanese" is incompatible with Japan's racial notion in which being Japanese means being an "ethnic Japanese."[30] In other words, Qingnan's continued wish to be Japanized lies exactly in the impossibility of being Japanese.

The difference between being Japanese and being Japanized, as shown by Qingnan's mimicry, is not merely found in Hiroda's cruel utterance. It is underlined in some previous research on "The Way." Both Tarumi Chie and Hoshina Hironobu, for example, agreed that the work invites the Japanese to rethink what the conditions of becoming Japanese are and to re-examine their colonial policy in Taiwan.[31] Tarumi considered the text important because it asks

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[29] Ibid.: 126–27.

[30] *Haixingxi de niandai—riben zhimin tongzhi moqi Taiwanshi lunji*, p. 35.

[31] Tarumi Chie reads Chen Huoquan's intention as masochistic—not as criticism or protest against imperialization policy, but rather as hurting oneself to make the Japanese feel guilty about their policy, and to further cause their sympathy to affect their decision making in employment and promotion. She "proves" her theory by pointing out that

Japanese people: "How do you identify yourself as Japanese?"[32] Hoshina read it as a "proletariat's bitter weeping" demanding non-discriminatory treatment, and in so doing, it discloses the discrimination wrapped in the assimilation policy.[33] In 1963, Ozaki Hotsuki already made a similar observation. He regarded Qingnan's devotion to imperialization as "spiritual desolation" and as conduct that "betrays people in Asia," calling on Japanese to examine their colonial past with self-blame, and Taiwanese to inspect, with wrath, the "collaborators."[34]

Comparing these statements in the postwar period with the comments made by Nishikawa during the war, a tendentious reading in which "The Way" is considered either to be propaganda eulogizing the assimilation policy or a testimony unveiling the selfishness of the colonial enterprise, becomes apparent. Although such an interpretation avoids the debate between moralistic and tolerant scholars by shifting the focus from whether imperial-subject writers should be pardoned from the messages they attempted to convey through their works, the ambiguities in "The Way" and how the imperial-subject ideas are presented by Chen Huoquan remain unsolved. A close reading of "The Way" with a focus on the plot and characterization offers responses to these questions.

Reverse Realism?

It is not surprising that reading the same text at different times will produce different interpretations. By focusing on different parts of a text, one is also led to various conclusions. This was well illustrated by critics' diverse interpretations of "The Way" in the 1990s. Lin Ruiming and Hoshina Hironobu, for example, expressed almost opposite points of view. For Lin, "The Way" is an imperial-subject work because it focuses so much on what Japanese spirit

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Chen Huoquan was indeed promoted to a technician just one year after "The Way" was published. See Tarumi Chie, "Zhanqian 'ribenyu' zuojia" (Prewar Writers in 'Japanese Language') in *Research on Taiwanese Literature in Japan* translated by Tu Cuihua, p. 93. Hoshina Hironobu argues that "The Way" can be read as a protest work because the reason Chen, identifying with the protagonist, wishes to become Japanese is to overcome the inequality between Japanese and Taiwanese. See *Research on Taiwanese Literature in Japan*, pp. 39–40.

[32] See Tarumi's essay mentioned in fn. 31, p. 95.

[33] See *Research on Taiwanese Literature in Japan*, p. 47 and p. 45.

[34] "Kessenka no Taiwan bungaku" (Taiwanese Literature during Wartime). *Kindai bungaku no kizuato* (The Scar of Modern Literature) (Tokyo: Futsūsha, 1963), pp. 99–169, especially pp. 143–44.

means such that the distress of the Taiwanese people is disregarded.[35] Yet for Hoshina, "The Way" contains elements of protest literature. He points out Chen Huoquan's obsession with becoming Japanese as coming from his recognition of the mental distress suffered by the Taiwanese people, stating that Chen's wish to liberate Taiwanese people should be taken into account.[36] The nearly opposite conclusions reached by Lin and Hoshina demonstrate the ambiguity associated with Chen Huoquan's presentation of his imperial-subject ideas in the work.

A scrutiny of the plotline shows the imperial-subject narrative in "The Way" that is expressed latently. Chen's use of the third person point of view offers a clue. This perspective enables Chen to present his characters in a more impersonal, noncommittal fashion without offering any judgment on them or their actions. Besides, Qingnan, in general, does not actively speak of his imperial-subject ideas. Often, he only expresses his wish to become Japanese when being asked to choose one of the two competing national identities. For instance, at the beginning of the novel, Qingnan begins to talk about his imperial-subject ideas because his colleague Miyazaki questions him about whether he is Japanese or Taiwanese while both of them are drunk. In his response to Miyazaki, Qingnan answers deviously by offering his definition of Japanese spirit. The second time, when Qingnan reveals his imperial-subject thinking, he suffers from a mental breakdown, which discounts his wish to become Japanese.

On both occasions, Qingnan's imperial-subject revelations are associated with a delirious mental state. If we read Miyazaki as a prompter of Qingnan's imperial-subject dream, then he is absent throughout the novel except at the beginning and the end. Given that he can be regarded as a character symbolizing Chen's Japanese inclination, Miyazaki's disappearance for a large portion of the novel somehow hampers the imperial-subject message of "The Way." Moreover, when Miyazaki re-emerges in the story, he communicates with Qingnan only indirectly through a letter sent from the frontline. Even though his letter inspires Qingnan so much that Qingnan takes an oath of loyalty to the

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[35] "Saodong de linghun—juezhan shiqi de Taiwan zuojia yu huangmin wenxue" (The Agitated Soul: Taiwanese Writers and Imperial-subject Literature during the War), in *A Historical Investigation of Taiwanese Literature*, p. 317.

[36] Hoshina Hironobu, "'Dadongya gongrongquan' de Taiwan zuojia (yi)" (The Taiwanese Writers of "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" (One)), in *Taiwan wenxue yanjiu zai riben*, pp. 39–40. Hoshina's argument is plausible, as the protagonist in "The Way" does point to his group leader, Hiroda, that those suffering from distress and in need of consolation are Taiwanese.

Japanese emperor, Qingnan does not spontaneously reveal his "Japanese" side. Only when being provoked by others do readers have the chance to glimpse Qingnan's imperialized mentality. This device makes the novel's imperial-subject message hardly a straightforward manifestation.

In addition to Miyazaki, other Japanese characters (such as Qingnan's colleagues Takeda and Chitsukime, and the group leader, Hiroda) in "The Way" are endowed with similar roles of concretizing Qingnan's perceptions of Japanese people and culture. After hearing the news about Takeda's promotion, Qingnan is overwhelmed by a sense of frustration. A few months later, when Takeda almost hits him for a trivial matter, Qingnan comes to discover that he cannot agree with a certain part of the Japanese character. He then starts to doubt his adherence to the Japanese spirit, remembering a friend's prior warning to him about the Japanese. However, Takeda only disheartens Qingnan temporarily. Qingnan eventually strives harder to become Japanese by developing his own imperial-subject ideas. He pronounces that the Japanese spirit can be acquired, and it is not exclusively for those born Japanese. In other words, "among those ethnic Japanese, there are people who forget the Japanese spirit" and "among Taiwanese, Koreans, and Manchurians, there are indeed people who manifest Japanese spirit."[37] Qingnan reiterates, "one becomes Japanese not because one has Japanese blood, but because one is trained in the Japanese spiritual tradition from childhood and is able to reveal the Japanese spirit at any time."[38]

As Qingnan shares his beliefs with Hiroda, we recognize in Qingnan a frank and self-revealing thinking quite opposite to the hostility in his response to Miyazaki's question. It also differs from Qingnan's hypocrisy when he encounters Takeda earlier in the novel. However, Hiroda's appearance in the text expresses a duality, similar to Takeda. Hiroda's presence elicits Qingnan's extensive confession-like remarks about how to become Japanese, but at the same time Hiroda's statement that Taiwanese are not human compels Qingnan to reflect on the gap between Japanese and Taiwanese.

When Qingnan suffers a mental breakdown, Chen Huoquan again arranges a Japanese character to help Qingnan rediscover his Japanese potential. This time, the character introduced is a Japanese woman named Chitsukime, Qingnan's colleague and friend from a Japanese *haiku* society. Through the conversation with Chitsukime, Qingnan's Japan-leaning identity re-emerges. The story ends with Qingnan's self-exalting change from an islander (Taiwanese) to an imperial-subject warrior willing to die for Japan. Qingnan takes an oath of loyalty to Japan, joining the call for volunteer conscripts to "create a history of blood." He demands from Chitsukime a "one-thousand-stitch" belt, an amulet for soldiers worn as part of the Shinto belief, and even asks her to inscribe on his tombstone, should he die, that he was born for, lived for, and died for "supporting the Emperor's holy governance" (*tengyō yokusan*). Interestingly, Chitsukime questions why Qingnan is so determined to join the volunteer soldiers, considering that he will be better off by staying and contributing to Japan as a technician. Qingnan, however, continues to express his willing to die for Japan whereas Chitsukime only smiles or stares at him. Although she remains surprised about Qingnan's loyalty toward Japan, she is almost forced, in the face of his enthusiasm, to confirm that Qingnan is indeed an excellent imperial-subject. By consigning his emotions to Chitsukime, Qingnan seems to find temporary solace and a way forward.

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[37] "The Way": 116 and 117.

[38] Ibid.: 118.

From the analysis above, we can see how Qingnan's Japanese dream waxes and wanes with his various encounters with his Japanese colleagues, who most of the time only "partially" support or "indirectly" encourage it. We can also see how Qingnan's imperial-subject tirade is always prompted, and rarely revealed actively. From the beginning of the story, Qingnan is depicted as a sentimental person who enjoys thinking. He even deliberates whether or not he should visit a wine house. He likes pondering on Matsuo Bashō's poems. Their beauty and wisdom offer Qingnan comfort and a sense of humor in his daily life. They, too, represent the Japanese spirit in the story, as Miyazaki challenges Qingnan by asking whether he understands Matsuo Bashō and the Japanese spirit. Given the fact that 1943 marked the 250th anniversary of Matsuo Bashō's death, Chen's quoting Matsuo Bashō in "The Way" seemed timely. It also invites a possibility for reading it as protest literature as suggested by Hoshina Hironobu.

It is quite ironic that Qingnan's colleague Takeda (a true Japanese) shows little interest and understanding in Matsuo Bashō, whereas Qingnan, a Matsuo Bashō expert and fan and devotee of Japanese spirit, is denied a promotion due to his Taiwanese background. Even his ambition of becoming an exemplary imperial-subject is questioned. On the basis of the plot, it can be said that Qingnan's imperial-subject dream is expressed only when prompted by his Japanese colleagues. Otherwise, it remains within his "poetic" self and self-indulgent state, which are in conflict with the hardship he experiences in his daily life. For instance, he regrets allowing himself to get drunk (and perhaps revealing his Japanese dream) after receiving a letter from his wife informing him of his second son's suffering from measles and a fever.

Chen's placing Qingnan's imperial-subject desire in a dreamy, Matsuo Bashō-inspired world is perhaps well intentioned but little understood; if it were better understood, perhaps Chen would not have needed to keep defending or blaming himself under the KMT government. On more than one occasion, Chen attempted to persuade readers and critics that "The Way" is a work with protest color. He stated:

> That this work becomes so controversial is perhaps because I *hide* the agony and distress of the Taiwanese people between the lines and consequently fail to convey an anti-Japanese consciousness clearly. It is also perhaps because my *reverse realism* is not successful, such that it fails to reach the effect of irony (my emphasis).[39]

Even though Chen did not specify what he meant by "reverse realism," he implied that a work containing anti-Japanese consciousness, directly revealing the spiritual pain of the Taiwanese people is the "right" (not reversed) realist work. By making those comments, Chen had pushed himself into a corner, for if only works written in "right realism" can be spared from the label of imperial-subject works, then his "The Way," written in reverse realism had failed, and remains an imperial-subject text. The more Chen tried to defend himself, the more his efforts were taken as a self-exonerating excuse. The "reverse realism" in the novel is perhaps not obvious as Chen himself admitted, but what is more significant is that realism and anti-Japanese thinking seem to be automatically linked together not only in literary writing under Japanese rule but also in literary valorization in postwar Taiwan. Chen's self-mockery indicates that any nationalist reading would pre-empt the possibility of taking the text's "constructedness" and effect of irony into account. Although Chen tried to avoid tackling his protagonist's attitude toward imperialism directly, how might we read his statements after the war other than as a self-serving excuse?

Not Speaking His Mind?

Encouraged by the positive reviews of "The Way," Chen's attitude toward Japan became more intriguing. Invited to attend a forum on the conscription system on October 17, 1943, Chen, expressed his gratitude for the volunteer conscript system.[40] At the Taiwan Wartime Literature Conference held in November 1943, in Taipei, Chen Huoquan (at that time adopting his Japanese name, Takayama Bonseki), stated that the writers' task was to describe "the moving behavior [of Japanese people when they fight for the Japanese emperor and Japan] and "the psyche, the words, and the behavior of six million Taiwanese in the process of 'Japanese forging' so as to accelerate its process."[41] In 1944, Chen Huoquan, in his article "Taiwan kaigan" (Taiwan, Opening your Eyes), expressed his support of the imperialist's call for "the rising together of Taiwanese writers" (*Taiwan bungakusha sō kekki*). He stated: "Japanese [people] completely embrace Taiwanese [people], and Taiwanese throw themselves in the bosom of the Japanese. This affinity is not a temporary phenomenon, and its permanent meaning is perhaps to create a national character! Right now, Taiwanese must open their eyes ... Taiwanese should become Japanese completely from the depth of their hearts."[42]

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[39] "Beiya linghun de shenghua—wozai Taiwan lunxian shiqi de wenxue jingyan" (The Sublimation of a Suppressed Soul—My Literary Experience during Taiwan's Japanese Period), *Wenxun* (Literary News), 7/8 joint volume (February 1984): 127.

Despite making these pro-Japan statements during wartime, in the 1950s and 1960s Chen published a few "anti-Japanese" stories. His "Wenrou de fankang" (Tender Resistance, 1954)[43] satirizes the arrogant Japanese military officers, "Jiaode gushi" (A Tale of Legs, 1959) depicts the resistance of oppressed Taiwanese, and "Fennu de Danjiang" (The Furious Tamsui River, 1966) accounts Wu Defu's anti-Japanese struggle at the beginning of Japanese rule. Chen remained an active member in Taiwan's literary arena, and "The Way" was received sympathetically. Chen Shaoting, for instance read it as a work describing the "distress, contradictions, and conflicts of Taiwanese caught in the imperial-subject movement,"[44] and Zhong Zhaozheng read it as a protest text recording Japanese tyranny.[45] Ye Shitao even noticed Chen Huoquan's "reverse realism" when he stated: "Chen's tone is full of jokes and irony, and it is hard to conclude that this work is an imperial-subject work."[46]

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[40] See the forum report "Chōheisei o megutte" (On the Conscription System) published in *Bungei Taiwan* 7.1 (December 1943): 3–17 for details.

[41] "Kōmin bungaku ni tsuide" (About Imperial-subject Literature), *Bungei Taiwan* 7.2 (January 1944): 48–49.

[42] *Taiwan bungei* (Literary Art of Taiwan) 1.2 (June 1944): 9–10.

[43] Originally published in 1954 and later circulated in *Wenyou tongxun* (Newsletter of Literary Friends) 5 (July 1957). In Issue 6, published in August 1957, there were positive reviews from Li Rongchun, Shi Cuifeng, and Liao Qingxiu.

[44] Chen Shaoting, *Taiwan xin wenxue yundong jianshi* (A Short History of the Modern Taiwanese Literary Movement) (Taipei: Lianjing, 1977), p. 152.

[45] Zhong Zhaozheng, "Riju shiqi Taiwan wenxue de mangdian—dui 'huangmin wenxue' de yige kaocha" (The Blind Spot of Taiwanese Literature during the Japanese Occupation Period—An Investigation of "Imperial-subject literature") mentioned in fn. 2 of this chapter.

However, when Ye Shitao and Zhong Zhaozheng co-edited the eight-volume *Guangfu qian Taiwan wenxue quanji* (Complete Works of Taiwan Literature before the Retrocession) in 1979, "The Way" was excluded by the editorial team's "silent and tolerant criticism of the Japan-serving works."[47] Given both critics' interpretation of "The Way," this discrepancy could possibly be a result of the editing team's collective decision, or an expediency in consideration of censorship. Despite the diverse interpretations "The Way" had undergone, Chen adapted fairly well with the official literary politics in postwar Taiwan.[48] In 1980, he was awarded praise by the *United Daily News* for his ability "to preserve Chinese culture and bear witness to the era filled with suffering in blood and tears under the poor circumstances of the Japanese occupation period." Later, he also received the special contribution prize for literary writing by the National Foundation for Literature and Art (*Guojia wenyi jijinhui*) in 1982, and won a literary medal for his prose writing by the Association for Chinese Literature and Art (*Zhongguo wenyi xiehui*) in 1990. This government-endorsed recognition suggested Chen had become at least a "partially" legitimized writer.[49]

Still, Chen, on several occasions, strove to justify his pre-1945 works and words. When invited by Zhong Zhaozheng to translate "The Way" into Chinese in 1979, Chen not only made minor changes but also added a passage accounting for the novella.[50] He declared:

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[46] Ye Shitao, *The Sadness of Taiwanese Literature*, p. 126.

[47] *Guangfu qian Taiwan wenxue quanji*, p. 4.

[48] The polarized interpretation of "The Way" continued until the late 1990s and into the 21st Century. A good example is Chen Yingzhen's essays in response to Zhang Liangze and Chen Fangming respectively. See Chen Yingzhen's "Jingshen de huangfei—Zhang Liangze huangmin wenxuelun de piping" (Spiritual Desolution—Criticism of Zhang Liangze's Notion of Imperial-Subject Literature) in *Taiwan xiangtu wenxue, huangmin wenxue de qingli yu pipan* (Clarifications and Criticisms of the Nativist Literature and Imperial-subject Literature of Taiwan) (Taipei: Renjian, 1998), pp. 5–19 and "Yi yishixingtai daiti kexue zhishi de zainan: piping Chen Fangming xiansheng de 'Taiwan xin wenxue shi de jiangou yu fenqi'" (A Disaster of Replacing Scientific Knowledge with Ideology: Criticism of Chen Fangming's "The Establishment and Periodization of a New History of Taiwan Literature"), *Lianhe wenxue* 189 (July 2000): 148.

[49] I use "partially" here because the 1982 recognition was mainly for Chen's three collections of prose—the so-called "Three Books about Life" (*rensheng sanshu*).

[50] According to Zhong Zhaozheng, "The Way" was published in *Minzhong ribao* (The Commons Daily) in 41 installments (from July 7 to August 16, 1979) because it was not

> ... while I was translating, my heart kept bleeding.... Under the strict government of Japanese imperialists and living in a circumstance in which "you have no space to express your pain, and sometimes you must control your tears to cheer with the authorities," you cannot write directly, so you can only hide your sorrow and bitterness between the lines ... May I venture to advise you readers not to appreciate the character or to condemn the character? For I have said the words and conducts are completely forced by the times and the circumstance. I believe: clever readers like you who have finished reading the whole novel, you would not be reserved in showing your sympathetic tears to those Taiwanese who were "maltreated and hurt" at that time![51]

Shortly after this, Chen revealed that after the publication of "The Way," Japanese secret agents often interrogated him as to whether he was in favor of or against the imperialization policy."[52] He further explained that he put lots of thought into the story's ending, and concluded that turning the protagonist into a volunteer soldier not only "stressed the miserable life and pitiful experience of Taiwanese people under foreign rule" but also "made it easier to pass the authorities' strict censorship and get the work published."[53] It is a truism that literary texts are closely related to the social reality in which they are produced, and every work has its own value and meaning in different contexts for different readers. Either under a national apparatus or under a colonial force, literature has the potential to become propaganda catering to certain beliefs and accommodating the interests of only a few people. Although writers are responsible for works they write, they should be endowed with the freedom to describe topics which interest them with different literary devices and using their own styles. There is no need for Chen to feel awkward about his "imperial-subject" past, for any effort attempting to read literary works in a fixed standard will eventually benefit the critics' ideology more than the texts. In the

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selected in the eight-volume *Guangfu qian Taiwan wenxue quanji* edited by Ye Shitao and Zhong Zhaozheng. See Zhong's article "Wenti xiaoshuo 'dao' ji zuozhe Chen Huoquan" (The Controversial Novella "The Way" and its Author Chen Huoquan), *Minzhong ribao fukan* (*The Commons Daily* supplement) (July 1, 1979). The reason, according to the editors, is that "All works with strong imperialized color have not been selected to show our 'silent and tolerant' criticism." See the preface of *Guangfu qian Taiwan wenxue quanji*, p. 4.

[51] Chen Huoquan, "Guanyu 'Dao' zhepian xiaoshuo" (On the Novella "The Way"), *Minzhong ribao fukan* (*The Commons Daily* supplement) (July 7, 1979).

[52] Chen Huoquan, *The Long Road of Life*, p. 216.

[53] Chen Huoquan, "Woneng zuoshenme?" (What Can I Do?), *Rensheng chuan: zuojia riji sanliuwu* (The Boat of Life: Writers' Diary), ed. Xiang Yang (Taipei: Erya, 1985), p. 341.

following, I will use Wang Changxiong's "Honryū" (Torrent) as an example to further highlight the view that contends with the notion that literature should contain moral lessons or promote nationalism, and reclaim an urgency to free imperial-subject texts from such interpretations.

Wang Changxiong's "Torrent"

Born in 1916 in Tamsui, Wang Changxiong went to Japan and studied in the Ikubunkan High School in 1928 and later entered Japan University (*Nihon daigaku*) to study dentistry. During his time as a student in Japan, Wang started to publish literary works, especially poems. He also joined the editing group of *Ao dori* (Blue Bird) and *Bungei sōshi* (Exercise Book of Literature and Art). After graduation, he returned to Taiwan and opened a dentistry clinic in Tamsui in 1942. Alongside his medical career he joined *Taiwan wenxue* led by Zhang Wenhuan, and published stories, poems and critiques. He also wrote for several other magazines and continued this creative writing after the war. In 1943, just one month after "The Way" was published in *Bungei Taiwan*, "Torrent" was published in *Taiwan bungaku*, as if the writers from these two literary camps were competing with each other in expressing their stance vis-à-vis imperialization. That same year, "Torrent" was selected, together with Long Yingzong's "The Unknown Happiness," Yang Kui's "Clay Dolls," Lü Heruo's "Geomancy" and Zhang Wenhuan's "Mi'er" (The Lost Child) and "Xifu" (Daughter-in-law), to form the first series of *Taiwan shōsetsu shū* (A Collection of Taiwanese Fiction) published by Daiboku shobō in 1943.

Like "The Way," "Torrent" tackles the psychological aspects of the Taiwanese during the imperialization movement. Yet unlike "The Way," which inspired varied readings, "Torrent" is generally considered a realist text describing the distress of Taiwanese people in the imperialization movement. For this reason, the Chinese version of "Torrent" was included into the aforementioned *Complete Works of Taiwanese Literature before the Retrocession* in 1979. In 1990, it was selected for inclusion in another series *Taiwan zuojia quanji: Riju shidai* (A Complete Collection of Taiwanese Writers: Japanese Occupation Period).[54] Even though some scholars insisted that it was an imperial-subject work, they seemed to value "Torrent" more than works by Chen Huoquan and Zhou Jinbo, "sanctioning" it as a "readable" imperial-subject work. Such an interpretation facilitated the circulation of "Torrent," making it more widely read and better reviewed than works by Chen Huoquan and Zhou Jinbo. In addition to "Torrent," Wang Changxiong published three other novellas and many short stories.

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[54] *Weng Nao, Wu Yongfu, Wang Changxiong heji*, pp. 325–63. My analysis, however, is based on the version in *Riju shidai Taiwan xiaoshuo xuan* (Selected Taiwanese Fiction from the Japanese Occupation Period), ed. Shi Shu (Taipei: Maitian, 2007), pp. 339–72.

In his literary critiques, Wang stressed the originality of writers and his interest in searching for new techniques. He admired the French naturalist writer Emile Zola, stating that he was inspired by Zola's careful documentation and dispassionate examination of the actions and psychology of men. Wang's "Torrent" can be seen as a practice of this literary notion for it not only describes the cultural difference between Taiwan and Japan but also tackles the ambivalence of Taiwanese intellectuals toward modern culture, often represented by Japanese civilization and national identity.

Dream and Reality

The cultural difference between the two competing identities (Taiwanese and Japanese) is represented respectively by dream and reality in this text. Obsessed with his student life in Tokyo yet asked to return to Taiwan, the protagonist, doctor Hong, faces a dilemma in which the colonial space is often divided: vulgar/cultivated; Taiwan/Japan. The contradiction between his inclination to Japanese culture and his life in Taiwan is presented by the different narrative tones (poetic toward his life in Japan and critical toward his life in Taiwan) in the novel.

"Torrent" starts with the narrator Hong's reminiscence of his student life in Tokyo. He recollects his feelings three years prior when leaving Tokyo:

> ... As the streetlights gradually disappeared, I could hardly control the heat welling up in my heart. It was not all sadness from leaving. Rather, ... I felt unbearable loneliness. This is not simply the *sentiment* of a young person ... my wish to complete my studies and my love for the life in Japan, immediately yielded in front of *reality* (my emphasis).[55]

After returning home and becoming a doctor in the countryside, Hong remains nostalgic for Japan. Whenever Hong reminisces on his sojourn in Tokyo, the narration is poetically presented. For instance, Hong recalls: "this kind of irrelevant thought, often rises and floats around my heart, like smoke, carrying a dejected heart into a limitless distance."[56] Yet when thinking about his life in Taiwan, his mood is clear: "This inescapable boredom, I cannot do anything about it, I would just like to throw it all away. Remembering the sort of spirit that I had in Japan, and then thinking of this boring life, I wonder how I can seek excitement from now on . . ."[57] From these passages, the contrast between Tokyo (dreamy, modern and boundless) and Taiwan (reality, monotonous and limited) is suggested.

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[55] *Selected Taiwanese Fiction from the Japanese Occupation Period*, p. 339.

Doctor Hong's distress caused by the opposition between his dream to remain in Tokyo and his obligation to return home is later soothed by his friendship with one of his patients, Zhu Chunsheng. Hong narrates:

> At that time, I met Itō Haruo (Zhu Chunsheng's Japanese name) . . . while I wallowed in turbulent nostalgic sentiments, the person who quenched my thirst was Itō Haruo. This was the motivation with which I approached him, and the reason why the harmony between us deepened so quickly.[58]

In other words, Itō is a person to whom doctor Hong consigns his dream for Japan. Hong mentions at the beginning of the text that he would love to stay in Japan and only returns to his hometown due to the death of his father. He feels frustrated by life in a small town and is fascinated by how Itō can be so Japanese-like given his biological roots in Taiwan. For Doctor Hong, Itō is almost a Japanese man. He states: "Itō is very much like a Japanese man. I can tell from the tone and accent of his speaking; but the outlines of his face, eyes and nose, for me, are very much of Taiwanese heritage. . . ."[59] As he scrutinizes Itō, Hong reminds himself of his skill and sensitivity at detecting the Taiwanese among Japanese:

> Perhaps it is because of the hyper sensitive keen nerves of one born in a colony, while I was in Japan, I can not only discern whether a person is Japanese, but also distinguish Taiwanese and Mainlander at a glance without making a mistake. . . . I would like to know Itō's real identification as soon as possible, as I have an impulse to talk with him freely. And, if Itō is Taiwanese as I assume, it would further entice my interest and feelings, and ignite my hopes along an even broader spectrum.[60]

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[56] Ibid., p. 340.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid., p. 341.

[60] Ibid.

What interests Hong is obviously not Itō himself but rather how Itō could "Japanize" himself to such an extent that even he [Hong] failed to tell his nationality when they met. For Hong, Itō is not only a reminder of his inspiring life in Japan but also a source of excitement for his monotonous life in Taiwan. After being told by Lin Bonian, Itō's student and cousin, that Itō is indeed Taiwanese, Hong simply replies "no wonder" and feels happy about his skill in spotting it. Yet what makes Hong so happy is not simply that he has not lost his sensitivity to such things, but more the existence of Itō as an incarnation of his dream of Japan. Hong feels that Itō brings "a vague joy as if pursuing a bright idea.... To have such a person in my hometown allows my heart to hope and happiness to emerge from its deepest corner."[61] From Itō, Hong finds a dim hope that after all, returning to Taiwan does not seem to be that bad because there is still a possibility for a Japanese life even in Taiwan. Yet for Hong, Lin Bonian's confirmation that Itō is in fact Taiwanese foreshadows the unbridgeable gap between "being Japanese" and "being like Japanese."

Through the friendship with Itō, Hong seems to temporarily solve his previous impasse between his life in Japan and that in Taiwan. But when finding out that Itō speaks only Japanese to others, Hong becomes disturbed. One evening, while Hong is discussing Taiwan with Itō, Hong's mother enters and tries to join the conversation. Disregarding the fact that Hong's mother knows very little Japanese, Itō insists on greeting her in Japanese. Hong is surprised that even in this circumstance Itō refuses to speak Taiwanese. At that moment, Hong feels "... the philosophy of life which Itō holds is extraordinarily complete."[62] Hong cannot but help translating Itō's words into Taiwanese for his mother. This passage can be seen as a brief awakening for Hong from his dream of being as Japanese as Itō. Yet as their conversation on Japan's spiritual civilization continues, Hong is soon attracted to his poetic side, constructed as it is with his nostalgia for Japan. Hong becomes so attracted and inclined to Itō's Japanese manner that when Itō leaves, Hong feels that "the loneliness which emerged when he returned from Japan has disappeared like a fog."[63]

Hong's peace of mind does not last. A few months later, when visiting Itō's Japanese house for a New Year's dinner, Hong comes to realize Itō's extreme philosophy of life. During the meal, Hong is confused by Itō's cool treatment toward an old lady who calls at the house. When walking back with Lin Bonian, Bonian informs Hong that the lady was Itō's mother, and that in order to cover up his Taiwanese background, Itō has abandoned his parents and lives only with his Japanese wife and mother-in-law. Upon hearing this, Hong is overwhelmed by disappointment and hopes that Itō is not really so selfish as Bonian has described him to be. He further realizes that Itō's embarrassment and fear when his biological mother suddenly appears, arises because his self-fashioned happiness—to live and act as a Japanese person—is challenged by reality. Bert Scruggs considers this passage a turning point that puts an end to Hong's Tokyo-based nostalgia; in my view Hong seems to consign his nostalgia for Tokyo to Itō's Japanese wife because her tenderness reminds him of a girl in Tokyo whom he once loved.[64] For Hong, his love for this girl allowed him to discover the real beauty of Japan and experience the warm hospitality of Japanese people. The girl's devotion to life and her effort to pursue a deeper meaning to life greatly enlightened him. Hong expresses this as follows:

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[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid., p. 343.

[63] Ibid., p. 344.

> …the person who gives my mind limitless enlightenment is she. She is my teacher, friend, and my lover in mind. Whenever her eyes fall on me, I feel an indescribable warm torrent of blood rushing through me, and at that moment, I feel shame about my immaturity, but at the same time, I feel sincere encouragement: to become an accomplished person, much more discipline is required.[65]

Yet without the confidence to ensure her a happy life, Hong eventually suppresses his love for her and returns to Taiwan. As he looks at Itō, Hong feels regretful for his indecisiveness, and envies Itō's courage to marry a Japanese girl and further make a Japanese-style life possible in Taiwan. Hong may not appreciate Itō's attitude toward his own mother, but his admiration for Itō's spirit makes him become rather reserved when commenting on Itō's behavior. Unlike Bonian who emotionally criticizes Itō's selfishness, Hong simply replies: "Your [Bonian's] anger is generally correct, but it is better to think more calmly. Itō has his own philosophy of life. Not many things can be judged by you with your sense of righteousness." Therefore, even though Bonian's anger affects Hong, making his "eyes brighter and nerves extraordinarily sharp,"[66] Hong's recognition at that point is more a sympathetic understanding of Itō's dream and reality instead of a sense of justice implying a negative interpretation of Itō's behavior.

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[64] Scruggs, *Translingual Narration: Colonial and Postcolonial Taiwanese Fiction and Film*, p. 52.

[65] *Selected Taiwanese Fiction from the Japanese Occupation Period*, p. 347.

[66] Ibid., p. 352.

Hong's awakening moment, in my interpretation, comes with the death of Itō's father. Without invitation from Itō, Hong attends the funeral not simply because he considers Itō a good friend, but also to find out whether Itō actually fits Bonian's description. While witnessing Itō's coldness and indifference, Hong is engulfed by feelings of "the deepest reality of this world," an unfelt "pressure that makes him feel like vomiting."[67] At this point, Hong finally reveals his disagreement with Itō's conduct and philosophy of life. Walking along a dark road, Hong begins to cry, as he has nowhere to consign his desolate mood. He recognizes that behind Itō's lifestyle is nothing but a "nervous and shallow person"; from here on he decides to devote himself to his career as a doctor. Simultaneously, Hong comes to realize his inability to judge the state of his patients' feelings even though he can cure their physical illness. Hong mocks himself but does not take any action to confront Itō.

A few months later, Itō calls Hong to his school for a medical emergency. On noticing Itō's sincere care for the student with anemia in his class, Hong seems to discover Itō's good nature hidden behind his extreme philosophy of life. For Hong, Itō's eyes are "...like a window to the heart... it is impossible to find any shadow of the nasty behavior evident when he ignored the old woman [his mother]."[68] Hong remains observant, as he does not want to "unveil" Itō's distorted mind in order to maintain his Japanese dream. When learning that Bonian and his team have won the *kendō* championship, Itō invites Bonian to his house for a celebration, but Bonian declines the offer and rebukes Itō's unfiliality toward his own parents. Wishing to calm the tension between the cousins, Hong intends to visit Itō but feels hesitant. He is afraid that once he becomes involved to clear the gloomy atmosphere then the tragedy of each will merge into a tragedy for all of them. Hong is not able to decipher whether he is afraid of Itō's active power, or is too sympathetic to disturb his false happiness. He further recognizes that if he had been placed in the same position as Itō, then he might have repeated Itō's weakness. Thinking about it, Hong feels he is caught between dream and reality.

At the end of the story, Hong visits Bonian in his hometown of Nantou but discovers that he has left for Japan to study. To Hong's surprise, Itō is Bonian's main financial supporter. Half a month later, Hong receives a letter from Bonian informing him of his study at a martial arts academy in Tokyo. The letter is written with young enthusiasm: Bonian informs Hong that he wishes to be a dignified Taiwanese person who will never feel shameful about his own background. He further declares that familiarizing himself with the Japanese life does not have to come at a cost of despising Taiwan's motherly culture. Unable to find Itō to show him the letter, Hong sits on a hill that overlooks a port and comes to realize that his fond memory of Japan has made him disregard the beauty of Taiwan. He tells himself that he wants to return to the native soil and embrace the agony experienced by his fellow countrymen.

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[67] Ibid., p. 355.

[68] Ibid., p. 357.

Noticing Itō passing by on the footpath below, Hong does not call him, but notes with surprise how haggard Itō has become. Looking at Itō's white hair from a distance, Hong seems to understand how much Itō has suffered in order to uphold his ambition of becoming Japanese. Perhaps it is due to the guilt of having abandoned his parents, or perhaps it is an excessive emotion generated by his frustration with the "vulgarity" of Taiwanese culture, which makes Itō so radical in life. His generosity in providing financial support for Bonian's study in Japan could be understood as him compensating for his radicalism (such as being an unfilial son) in his pursuit of becoming Japanese. It could also be regarded as his sacrifice for the future of Taiwan's younger generation.

Agitated, Hong screams vulgar words ("*kuso*") and runs down the hill, as if to express his anguish toward imperialization. Unlike Itō who dares to sever his connection with his local culture, and unable to be like Bonian who is too young and righteous to be lured completely by Japanese culture, Hong's indeterminacy lies in his longing for the beauty of Japan's cultural essence, and his simultaneous realization of the potential danger and heavy costs of sustaining this dream. Even through Bonian's letter to Hong, in which a dual identity (or multiculturalism in Tarumi Chie's terminology)[69] and an overlap between dream and reality are implied, since Bonian's *kendō* practice does not clash with his Taiwanese identity, the cultural inequality remains unsolved. Thus, the dream is still poetic and sentimental, while the reality vulgar and bland.

From this perspective, Itō and Bonian seem to share more similarities than differences, in contrast to what some scholars, such as Lin Ruiming, have suggested.[70] Both Itō and Bonian, along with Hong, seem to agree that life in Taiwan is gloomy and philistine, and learning from Japan can help transcend it. Hong's wild running at the end does not suggest any direction toward Japanese or Taiwanese culture, but an outcry articulating the psychological distress of Taiwanese people who live in the historical torrent of imperialization.

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[69] Tarumi Chie, "Duo wenhua zhuyi de mengya—Wang Changxiong de lizi" (The Sprouting of Multi-Culturalism—The example of Wang Changxiong), in *Taiwan de ribenyu wenxue*, p. 104.

[70] "Saodong de linghun—juezhan shiqi de Taiwan zuojia yu huangmin wenxue" (The Agitated Souls—Taiwanese Writers and Imperial-subject Literature during 1941–45), *A Historical Investigation of Taiwanese Literature*, p. 305.

Although the work indicates the possibility for a double identity, the difference between Japanese and Taiwanese remains unbridgeable if one takes into account another of Wang's works.

The inter-racial work "Kagami" (Mirror), published in 1944, centers on the love between a Taiwanese youth, Hong Qiuwen, and a Taiwan-born Japanese girl, Ema Tetsuko.[71] Similar to Itō, Qiuwen is a "model" colonized elite intellectual who is knowledgeable about Japanese literature, and speaks Japanese with a perfect Edo accent. He and Tetsuko fall in love with each other in Japan. After both of them return to Taiwan, their love gradually fades due to the increased (racial) difference between them. The story concludes with Qiuwen's heading to Manchuria to assist in the war efforts as a result of encouragement from a former university classmate and from Tetsuko.

The title of this story is highly symbolic. Tetsuko and Qiuwen serve as a mirror for each other, and their relationship helps them to more clearly acknowledge their differences and finally accept the impossibility of their inter-racial marriage.[72] The ending invites a two-fold interpretation. It can be seen as an imperial-subject work corresponding to Japan's Great East Asia War, even though Qiuwen seems less optimistic than his classmate.[73] Yet, having to suppress personal happiness for the "nobler" sake of the nation, and the reinforcement of a racial gap, can be interpreted as a mockery of Japan's assimilation discourse. This thematic equivocality is applicable to "Torrent" too, and is demonstrated through the narrator Dr. Hong's oscillation between Itō's Japan-embracing philosophy of life and Bonian's Taiwan-appreciating stance.

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[71] A collection of short stories by Wang, entitled *Kagami* (Mirror), was scheduled to be published by Shimizu Bookstore as the third book under the series "Compendium of Taiwanese Literature" after Sakaguchi Reiko's family saga *Teiikka* and Lü Heruo's *Clear Autumn*. But the book was not found. Nevertheless, the eponymous story was translated by Chen Zaoxiang and included in *Complete Works of Wang Changxiong*.

[72] In addition to their "mutual reflection," the love between Qiuwen and Tetsuko is also reflected through intertexuality—the Japanese period drama adapted from Edmond Rostand's "Cyrano de Bergerac" that Qiuwen and Tetsuko watch together.

[73] Around the time of writing "Mirror," Wang also published an essay "Ōinaru shinjun" (The Great March) in *Taiwan jihō* in September 1944 to show his support for the conscription policy implemented starting August 20, 1944. It is possible that Wang was too self-conscious about the pro-Japan message in "Mirror" to mention this work in the postwar era.

A Voyage into the Self

"Torrent" can be read as Hong's voyage of self-discovery. To achieve self-identification, there has to be some "other" invented for distinguishing the "self" from "not self." In "Torrent," Itō is endowed with such a function as the "other" for Hong—that means, by realizing the cost of Itō's Japanized life and judging Itō morally, Hong's sense of self is concretized and his sentiments on Taiwan are revealed. In Hong's experience, his self-consciousness is evoked not only by his distinction of the self from what is believed to be others but also by his recognition of the similarities between his "other" (Itō) and himself. Hong's view of Itō changes every time they meet. On more than one occasion, Hong suppresses his disagreement with Itō's conduct and postpones his moralistic judgment. Instead, he tries to persuade himself that Itō is not as selfish as Bonian has described. These are the moments when Hong is able to recognize the similarities shared between Itō and himself, for example in the way both of them yearn for modern Japanese culture. Yet Hong's ego keeps reminding him of Itō's mistakes, as Hong states: "... the confusion in my heart remains, and now the harsh reality darkens it from deep inside."[74] When attempting to question Itō's behavior toward his mother, Hong becomes hesitant. He cannot tell whether he is afraid of Itō's stubbornness, or not cruel enough to disturb Itō's superficial happiness. Moreover, Hong realizes that if he had been placed in the same circumstance as Itō, he would probably "follow the same tracks and have the same mental weakness."[75]

In effect, Hong exemplifies the complexity of human behavior when encountering the colonial situation. He recognizes the similarity between Itō, whom he considers "the other," and himself, but does not wish to admit it. Hence, Hong remains reticent about his own Japan-inclined feelings. After the burial of Itō's father, Hong gradually departs from his Japanese dream, and returns to his ego. Yet the ego from which Hong narrates at the end is not the same as the one with which he started. It has changed from naïve to understanding, and from romantic to practical. Hong no longer only feels sentimental about his life in Tokyo, he is clear about the cost behind the dream and Itō's beliefs. Hong's interest in Itō concerning how he can act so much like a Japanese without being discerned easily is also replaced by his sympathy for, and insight into, the pain that Itō has to bear. Hong becomes more sensitive. With an understanding of Itō's worldliness and Bonian's innocence, Hong is able to reflect upon his sentiments for Japan and Taiwan.

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[74] *Selected Taiwanese Fiction from the Japanese Occupation Period*, p. 353.

[75] Ibid., p. 363.

Written from Hong's point of view, "Torrent" details the psychology of Taiwanese intellectuals under the Japanese assimilation policy. In an interview, Wang Changxiong expounded that the work was entitled "Torrent" chiefly because of his "wish to forge a stronger physique for the Taiwanese people living in the torrent of the times."[76] However, a scrutiny of the text shows Wang was more concerned with the inner struggle instead of the bodily strength of the Taiwanese population. Wang's interest in individuals' reactions to reality is traceable in his first fictional work "Tansui kawa no sazanami" (Ripples of River Tamsui).[77] He explained that ripples are "unpleasant stuff" for him, because "underneath the ripples in a windless condition, there exist countless hidden big waves or crises," and life "is like a repeated alternation between ripples and big waves."[78] In the story, both the male protagonist, Hu Achuan, and the female protagonist, Peng Mingzhu, fail to realize their dreams, and are engulfed by external situations. Wang took pains to quote Kunikida Doppo's 1902 short story "Unmeironsha" (The Fatalist) to highlight Hu Achuan's helplessness in giving up both his painter's ambition as well as love for the privileged Mingzhu, for a mundane boatman's life and a passionless marriage. Likewise, Mingzhu renounces her love for Achuan and agrees to an arranged marriage to please her father.

However, a larger force—Japan's military expansion—seems to have determined Achuan's life such that he eventually abandons his family to fight for Japan. As for Mingzhu, her father unexpectedly dies on her wedding day, making her "sacrifice" hardly worthwhile. The only character that is less fatalistic is Mingzhu's younger brother, whose personality is to some extent akin to Bonian in "Torrent." Compared to "Ripples of River Tamsui," Wang provided a more sophisticated picture of his characters' inner struggle in "Torrent." Rather than bringing in the theme of volunteer soldiers abruptly at the end, as is the case with "Ripples of River Tamsui," Wang in "Torrent" created different archetypal characters so that readers can recognize a spectrum of Taiwanese intellectuals' varied position-takings and compromises. Although Bonian's *kendō* studies, like joining the volunteer soldiers, sits well with the overall colonial ideology, his dual Japan and Taiwan identification seems more sensible than

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[76] "Laobing guohe ji" (A Veteran Soldier's River-Crossing), *Taiwan wenyi* (Taiwan Literature) 76 (May 1982): 322.

[77] Iinitially published in 1939 in *Taiwan New People's News*, the story was translated into Chinese and compiled in *Wang Changxiong quanji* (Complete Works of Wang Changxiong), ed. Xu Junya (Taipei: Cultural Affair Bureau, Taipei County Government, 2002).

[78] Ibid., p. 372.

Hu Achuan's drastic change of belittling private love and becoming a valiant soldier. Hong's constant attempts to reconcile the differences between Itō and Bonian illustrate the intricate psyche generated by imperialization. Interpreting "Torrent" as a work revealing Hong's journey of self-discovery, Itō and Bonian respectively symbolize Hong's Japanese and Taiwanese inclination, and can be read as "others" invented for Hong's self-identification. The work is a process for Hong to distinguish the "self" from the "not-self." It is only through his self-consciousness that Hong is able to witness the whole colonial drama from the beginning until the end.

Hong's self-consciousness is evoked partly by the overlapping of the reality of colonialism and his introspective dream for Japan, and partly by his distinction from Itō and Bonian. From the start of the story, Itō serves as a person onto whom Hong projects his feelings for Japan. After the encounter with Itō, a Taiwanese person disguised with a Japanese spirit, Hong's nostalgia for Japan becomes reinforced. Surprised by how Itō can be so Japanese-like, an ideal that Hong's ego wishes to reach, Hong quickly becomes close to Itō. Hong tells himself: "If Itō is as Taiwanese as I assume, it would further entice my interest and feelings, and ignite my hopes along an even broader spectrum."[79] Hong's interest and hope here can be read as his wish to become as Japanese as possible so that others are unable to discern his background.

When Bonian informs Hong that Itō is Taiwanese, Hong becomes even more impressed by Itō's "Japanese-ness" and aspires to see him again. Hong's quest to become Japanese appears strong at this stage such that he does not appreciate Bonian's attitude toward Itō. When Itō next visits, Hong further reinforces his image of Itō as a "complete Japanese." Hong, enthralled by Itō's "extraordinary outlook on life," imagines Itō's teaching Japanese language to Taiwanese high school students as "something that previous people *would not dare* to expect or touch,"[80] and cannot help but feel "warm around the corner of his eyes" and "touched." From this monologue, Hong seems to fully consign his Japanese dream to Itō so that the sense of solitude he had when he just returned from Japan entirely disappears. However, this also provides a hint foreshadowing the way Hong's dream of becoming Japanese will remain unfulfilled because he is not as extreme as Itō.

Hong's Japan-inclined part continues to grow in the second chapter. With Itō's complete imperialization, Hong's memory about his life in Japan is recalled. His yearning for Japan is remembered as if he suddenly realizes his own inclination for a Japanese spirit. He confesses:

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[79] *Selected Taiwanese Fiction from the Japanese Occupation Period*, p. 341.

[80] Ibid., p. 344.

> I cannot be satisfied as a Japanese person born in the South (i.e. Taiwan). My heart cannot rest if I do not become pure Japanese. Such a wish is not just to be devoted to imperialization actively. Rather, it is a feeling as if *unconsciously*, the blood of Japanese people has been injected into my veins and has been flowing silently (my emphasis).[81]

In this short self-analysis, Hong recognizes that like Itō, he also aspires to become Japanese though until now the wish exists only in his "unconsciousness." If it is really an unconscious wish, then through Itō, Hong reaches a moment when his Japanized unconsciousness comes out and grows stronger than his ego, due to which he keeps reassuring himself that returning to his hometown is not that bad after all.

However, such a self-recognition does not last long. Hong soon notices the difference between Bonian and Itō. At the New Year's dinner, Bonian is quite rebellious in his attitude toward Itō. Owing to Hong's own Japanese sentiment, he does not wish to investigate why Bonian acts in such a hostile way. Hong states: "…as for my trust and quasi reverence for Itō in daily life, I am not willing to see its fragile collapse here."[82] When Bonian tells Hong how Itō selfishly dismisses his own parents, Hong asks him to stop as he can hardly bear to hear it. As Bonian becomes increasingly emotional and finally cries out, Hong finds himself greatly disappointed as if he has "an unknown thing floating in his chest" that his body cannot sustain. If Itō serves the function of incarnating Hong's Japanese dream, then Bonian is the opposite and leads Hong to his superego (such as his concerns about Itō's unfiliality and despising Taiwan). With Bonian's unusual agitation, Hong seems to understand Itō's radicalism even though he tries not to lean toward either side.

The competing identifications between Hong's superego and pro-Japan sentiments become more evident in the third section. The contradiction is presented in a monologue in which Hong examines himself:

> You are really a mean person. That [using a Japanese name and lying to people that he is from Japan's Shikoku or Kyūshū area] is obviously evidence of despising Taiwan. Taiwanese are absolutely not Chinese or Eskimos. There is no difference between Taiwanese people and those

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[81] The paragraph was deleted in the 1991 version edited by Wang Changxiong, but it was kept in the version compiled in *Riju shidai Taiwan xiaoshuo xuan* (Selected Taiwanese Fiction from the Japanese Occupation Period), ed. Shi Shu, p. 347.

[82] Ibid., p. 351.

> born in Japan. You must have a sense of honor! The same sense of honor as Japanese people maintain.[83]

The unconsciousness of wanting to be Japanese seems to be greater than the moralistic superego in this passage. Hong's "Japanification" continues to grow that he comes to realize his similarity with Itō. Therefore, when trying to solve the quarrel between Itō and Bonian, Hong, though he agrees that Bonian's patriotism is valid, feels Itō's philosophy of life transcends common knowledge. It is at this moment when Hong's ego is challenged by the existence of "the other," characterized by both Itō and Bonian, that he encounters his real ego. Hong admits that if he were put in the same circumstance as Itō, then he would have fallen into the same trap. He wonders whether his own psyche has been distorted.

With this introspection, Hong covers his unconscious wish to become Japanese, re-attempting to follow his moralistic and nationalistic superego. Unable to see Bonian before his homeward bound journey after graduation, Hong decides to visit him in his hometown but only finds out that Bonian has left for Japan to study a martial art. Hong's Japan-inclined side re-emerges when he discovers that Itō is Bonian's main financial backer. It is like a bolt from the blue as if he suddenly understands Itō. He comments thus: "When his [Itō's] strong determination reaches me step by step, my breath almost suffocates. If Bonian were aware of Itō's actions, he would probably grind his teeth, and certainly he would resist."[84] However, after learning about Itō's background from Bonian's mother, Hong again becomes uncertain about how to dissect Itō's mentality.

Itō is the person who completely embraces Japanese culture and denies his Taiwanese background. He abandons his Chinese name and Taiwanese background in order to hide his real identity. Itō's cousin Bonian objects to Itō's behavior. For Bonian, being Taiwanese is not incompatible with becoming Japanese. He writes to Hong:

> ... the more I am a dignified Japanese person, the more I must be a dignified Taiwanese person as well. There is no need to despise oneself because one was born in the South. In adapting oneself to the life here [in a Japanese school specializing in martial arts], it is not necessary to disparage the coarseness of my hometown. No matter how indecent my mother is, I am still very affectionate to her. ...[85]

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[83] Ibid., p. 356.

[84] Ibid., p. 366.

[85] Ibid., p. 369.

In other words, Bonian aims to master the *kendō* practice so that he could, as a Taiwanese student, compete with the Japanese. He is not like Hong, who feels nostalgic about his days in Japan. Although Hong is touched by Bonian's ideal, he realizes he shares the Itō-like Japanese dream though to a less extreme extent. While in Japan, Hong strives hard to be as Japanese as possible. Similar to Itō, Hong hides his Taiwanese background, appreciating the "modern" and "vigorous" life represented by Japan and feeling suffocated in Taiwan. Furthermore, Itō's marriage to a Japanese woman seems to offer an ideal image comforting Hong's unsuccessful relationship with a Japanese girl. This makes Hong fairly tolerant when appraising Itō, especially compared to Bonian.

After analyzing the Japanized unconsciousness-ego-superego relationship from Hong's point of view, I will reconsider it with Itō as the pivotal character. To interpret the text from this standpoint, Hong's narrative can be paraphrased into a psychological commentary about the nature of the Japanized people and the assimilation policy in general. The most significant disclosure in "Torrent" is not the psychological disintegration in a colonial assimilation policy, nor repression meeting real ego (in Hong's case), but its representation of the Japanized people's id, an instinct-like desire in which the yearning for Japanese culture should not be condemned completely. The id revealed here is mostly negative in composition. It denies one's original identity and all the other connections relating to it.

In "Torrent," Itō's abandoning his biological parents can be seen as his id, as an uncritical yearning for the Japanese spirit at the cost of rejecting one's aboriginal culture. In Itō, we can also find some characteristics that represent the ego. The most demonstrative one can be called expediency—his passion for teaching and his financial support to Bonian. Evidently, Itō is an ideal and successful case for the imperial-subject movement. He marries a Japanese woman, leads a Japanese life-style, and is willing to make sacrifices in order to live like a Japanese. Itō's aging and being misunderstood by Bonian can be seen as superego, showing that becoming Japanese risks loneliness.

As exemplified by Itō, the id (imperialization) requires being cutoff from one's Taiwanese connection; the superego (the idealized "Japanese" self) leads to solitude; the ego (wishing to become Japanese) is the combination of superficial happiness and fighting for survival. As Hong announces: "the Japanese spirit which those anxious people (such as Itō) embrace as if often having unknown bad dreams, is after all that which cannot cure illness but will not be fatal either."[86] Although Wang Changxiong was adroit in depicting the mechanism of imperialization in "Torrent," he was not exempt from being questioned by critics in postwar Taiwan regarding his characterization of Itō. Wang's response to those appraisals will be analyzed below.

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[86] Ibid., p. 361.

Palimpsestic Writing of "Torrent"

Published in different literary magazines, "Torrent," though often seen as a protest text, suffers from both a moralist perspective and a self-empowered double standard. In the 1970s, with burgeoning concerns for Taiwan's sociopolitical reality and dissatisfaction with KMT rule, literature from the Japanese period was rediscovered as it was considered an important constituent for establishing a Taiwan-centric discourse. The five-volume *Taiwanese New Literature during the Japanese Occupation Period*, edited by Li Nanheng, and the 1979, eight-volume, *Complete Collection of Taiwanese Literature before the Retrocession*, were brought to light. The former did not include works deemed "Japan-leaning," while the latter selected Wang's "Torrent," specifying in the preface: "works used by the emperor with strong imperialization color are excluded to indicate our silent and tolerant criticism."[87]

Like Chen Huoquan who edited his "The Way" in the postwar period, Wang Changxiong also made amendments to "Torrent" when translating it into Chinese himself. The changes made during translation articulate the canonization and marginalization progress of Taiwanese literature under Japanese rule. Zhang Henghao, a literary critic and editor, pointed out the difficulties encountered when inviting scholars to translate works such as "Torrent" into Chinese. He stated:

> I sent Wang Changxiong's "Torrent" to Wei Tingchao for translation, but he sent the work back commenting that he did not want to translate such a Japanized text which reflects imperialization, … later, I sent Lü Heruo's "Rinkyo" (Neighbors) to Zheng Qingwen. He did not criticize the work, but considered that it was inappropriate to translate the text promoting a harmonious relationship between the Japanese and Taiwanese; in the end, I assisted publishing Long Yingzong's "Wuqian de xuanya" (Cliff Before Noon)[88] but was criticized by some friends who asked how I could introduce the imperial-subject literature to the public, and what were my intentions? Even after Yang Kui's death, I sent "The Old Buffoon—The Story Behind Increasing Production" to Zhong Zhaozheng, he called and

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[87] *Guangfu qian Taiwan wenxue quanji*, p. 4.

[88] *Long Yingzong ji* (Collected Works of Long Yingzong), pp. 81–110.

> said to me that it was not good to translate the work for Yang had only just passed away. What would people say about it? Their sensitivity, hesitance and concern at this time, in this place, are not unreasonable. But I have to ask: Is this an honest attitude with which to collect, compile and study a text, a writer, or even the whole literary history?[89]

Although Wang's "Torrent" was fortunate enough to be "approved," translated and compiled into the *Complete Collection of Taiwanese Literature before the Retrocession*, the Chinese version of the text is rather different from its original Japanese version.[90] After the publication of the Chinese version, Zhang Henghao wrote an essay stating that Wang was forced to pretend and use the method of "saying words in a reverse way" (*zhenghua fanshuo*) to "lead to tranquility through curved roads" (*qujing tongyou*), emphasizing how "Torrent" is and should be read as an anti-colonial text.[91] Wang was appreciative of Zhang's understanding.[92]

In the same essay, Wang revealed the difficulty of publishing the text under the strict colonial censorship. He said:

> ... One week after it ["Torrent"] was sent out for censoring, it was approved for publication. At the beginning, I was so excited, for it was a happiness as if having an intimate friend who understands you. Yet when reading my work after its publication, I discovered that several places had been changed without my consent. Editing had led to a sentence or paragraph being deleted and another added.[93]

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[89] Zhang Henghao, "Chaoyue minzu qingjie chonghui wenxue benwei—Yang Kui heshi xiexia 'Shouyang nongyuan'?" (Crossing National Boundaries, Returning to the Text—When Did Yang Kui Write 'Shouyang Farm'?), *Wenxing* (Apollo) 99 (September 1986): 124.

[90] There are three Chinese versions of this text: the 1979 version translated by Lin Zhonglong and compiled in *Guangfu qian Taiwan wenxue quanji* 8, the Qianwei version (translated by Lin Zhonglong) edited by Wang Changxiong and compiled in *Weng Nao, Wu Yongfu, Wang Changxiong heji*, and the version edited by Zhong Zhaozheng and published in *Selected Taiwanese Fiction from the Japanese Occupation Period* edited by Shi Shu.

[91] Zhang Henghao, "Fanzhimin de langhua—Wang Changxiong ji qi daibiaozuo 'benliu'" (An Anti-Colonial Wave—Wang Changxiong and his Representative Work "Torrent"), *A Joint Collection of Works by Weng Nao, Wu Yongfu and Wang Changxiong*, pp. 365–82.

[92] Wang Changxiong, "Record of a Veteran Crossing a River," *Taiwan wenyi* (Taiwan Literature) 76 (May 1982): 324.

[93] Ibid.: 326.

On another occasion, Wang mentioned that in order to make "Torrent" publishable in *Taiwanese Literature*, Zhang Wenhuan had to visit the Public Security Division of the Taiwan Government-General more than ten times, editing after each visit, before it was sanctioned.[94] Due to the unavailability of the original draft, it is impossible to compare it with the edition published in *Taiwanese Literature*. If Wang's assertion is true, then Bonian's complaint about the Japanese salary policy and his platitude "The two leggeds (meaning men, in this case, Taiwanese) are poor, while the four leggeds (dogs, referring to Japanese) are rich," were both deleted. As for Bonian's letter to Hong at the end of the story, it was edited with the inclusion of sentences such as "I [Lin Bonian] realize that in order to be connected with the great Japanese spirit, we must silently use our blood to describe it."[95] Although Wang was unhappy about the editing, he was content that at least the sentence "The more I am a dignified Japanese person, the more I must be a dignified Taiwanese person as well,"[96] found in the same letter, was kept. He further pointed out that the characterization of the fearless Lin Bonian indeed surpassed many other writers at that time. However, although Bonian's sentence "The more I am a dignified Japanese person, the more I must be a dignified Taiwanese person as well" passed Japanese censorship, the first half that praises the Japanese spirit was deleted in the 1991 *Taiwan zuojia quanji* published by Qianwei under the KMT government.

Compared to Lin Zhonglong's Chinese translation, the Qianwei version edited by Wang himself is quite different.[97] A few specific changes introduced by Wang deserve attention. Understandably, Wang "reduced" his work by deleting sentences added by the Japanese censors about connecting with Japanese spirit. But he went further than this, in the 1979 version, the narration tells that during his ten-year stay in Japan, Hong uses the Japanese name Kimura Bunroku, lying to people that he was from Shikoku or Kyūshū. In his monologue, Hong says: "Taiwanese are absolutely not Chinese, nor Eskimos. Taiwanese are no different from Japanese. [We] must have sense of honor! [We] must have the sense of honor of being Japanese like Japanese." This was deleted, however, in the 1991 version.

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[94] See the interview by Zhuan Zirong in *Zili wanbao* (Zili Evening News) (February 17, 2000), p. 17.

[95] *Selected Taiwanese Fiction from the Japanese Occupation Period*, p. 369.

[96] Ibid.

[97] Lü Xingchang, "Wenzhang qiangu shi, deshi cunxin zhi—ping Wang Changxiong 'Benliu' de jiaodingben" (Literature Lasts Forever, Right and Wrong Are Known to the Heart—A Comment on the edited version of Wang Changxiong's 'Torrent'), *Guowen tiandi* (World of Literature) 7.5: 17–22 for a comparison of the two versions. In total, seven Chinese versions of "Torrent" are collected in the 2002 *Complete Works of Wang Changxiong*.

Also deleted was the paragraph in Chapter Two where Hong describes how he yearns for Japanese spirit:

> I cannot be satisfied as a Japanese person born in the South (i.e. Taiwan). My heart cannot rest if I do not become pure Japanese. Such a wish is not just to be devoted to imperialization, actively. Rather, it is a feeling as if, unconsciously, the blood of Japanese people has been injected into my veins and has been flowing silently.[98]

Many other quasi-imperial-subject elements in "Torrent" such as "Taiwanese will become dignified Japanese," "Taiwanese are also dignified Japanese," and "…what matters is not the result of the contest, but to make Japanese blood emerge and grow continuously" were removed in the 1991 version edited by Wang Changxiong.

Looking at the different versions of this work, Zhang Liangze's call for re-evaluating imperial-subject literature offers us a picture about how the nation, as a mechanism, has affected not only the literary production of that time but also the interpretation of these works. In his essay, Zhang confessed: "Based on nationalism, previously I condemned imperial-subject literature."[99] He also described that what he had gone through was actually the journey taken by those writers, and no matter whether one was willing, one must face the writers during the Japanese occupation period and the historical fact that they had inevitably written the so-called "imperial-subject literature." Although after publishing this article, both Chen Yingzhen and Peng Ge expressed their disagreement with Zhang's attempt to defend imperial-subject literature through love and sympathy, at least Zhang showed an effort to abandon the moralistic and patriotic thinking associated with the works.

Compared to Chen Huoquan, who submitted his "The Way" to *Bungei Taiwan*, Wang Changxiong's choice of *Taiwanese Literature* caused him to be less strictly criticized as an imperial-subject writer. But still, Wang tried hard to justify his work after the war. What we must question here is not whether those writers supported the Japanese regime actively or passively, but rather the plausible literary critical standard according to which writers must express love of their own country (But which country? The country where they were born, or that which they chose to identify with through their "free" will?). Without problematicizing such a nationalist literary valorization, all the readings only further reinforce the critics' ideology instead of deepening our understanding of the texts. I would like to extend my discussion on imperial-subject literature below to Zhou Jinbo, examining how cultural and national identities are represented in his works and how his viewpoint toward imperialization differs from, or is similar to, Chen Huoquan and Wang Changxiong.

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[98] See Lin Zhonglong's translation in the 1979 Yuanjing version in fn. 90, p. 268.

[99] See Zhang Liangze's essay "Zhengshi Taiwan wenxueshi shang de nanti—guanyu Taiwan 'huangmin wenxue' zuopin shiyi," fn. 2 of this chapter, p. 41.

Zhou Jinbo's "Shiganhei" (The Volunteer)

Born in 1920 in Keelung and taken to Tokyo by his mother in the following year to live with his father, at that time studying dentistry at Japan University, Zhou Jinbo established a close relationship with Japan from his childhood. He was brought back to Taiwan in 1926 and sent to a public school in Taoyuan where his father established a clinic. In 1928, Zhou moved back to Keelung, but later went to Tokyo for high school, a period when he had his first encounter with literary work. Apart from studying, Zhou attended meetings organized by the YMCA to discuss plays and also took part in many festive theater performances. During his university period, Zhou joined the Seven Day Club (*Nanayō kai*) organized by Sawada Mikiko, and was one of the members of the Club of Theater Literature (*Gekidan bungaku za*). Besides these activities he also helped with the printing of *Gyōshō* (Dawn Bell), a literary magazine of the Dentistry Department of Nihon University, and submitted fictional stories to the magazine. After graduating from Nihon University in 1941, Zhou returned to Taiwan and published "Suigan" (Trench Mouth) in the same year.[100] Also in 1941, he joined Nishikawa Mitsuru's *Bungei Taiwan* and published "The Volunteer" in September, only three months after the formal announcement of the volunteer soldier system in Taiwan.

"The Volunteer" was awarded the *Bungei Taiwan* prize (*Bungei Taiwan shō*) in June 1942. It not only marked Zhou's initial success as a writer, but also qualified him to be one of the selected participants from Taiwan for the second Greater East Asian Writers Assembly held in Tokyo in August 1943. At the meeting, Zhou gave a speech on "establishing imperial-subject literature." In 1944, he attended the Taiwan Wartime Literary Conference, as well as the second Wartime Literary Conference in Tokyo. Though he played an active role in literary circles during the Sino-Japanese War, he stopped writing after 1945. Nevertheless, he was selected as one of the local Keelung delegates to welcome the Nationalist troops when they arrived to take over Taiwan. In the early postwar period, Zhou, like Lü Heruo, joined the Youth Organization of Three People's Principles. In 1947, affected by the February 28th Incident, Zhou was arrested three times. He published little from then until his death in 1998, and what he did publish is almost all in Japanese.[101]

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[100] *Bungei Taiwan* 2.1 (March 1941): 94–101.

Juxtaposing the story with Zhou's talks at various literary conferences organized by the Japanese authorities, some scholars criticized Zhou as being a typical Japan-leaning imperial-subject writer. Others such as Ye Shitao maintained that: "Zhou was brought up as a Japanese person. Therefore, he wrote fiction to wish that other Taiwanese could be imperialized, for in his vision Taiwanese people could come to have a modern and advanced life after imperialization."[102] Although Ye appeared more sympathetic, he "excused" Zhou on the basis that he was Japanese. In my view, a more fruitful discussion is not to determine whether Zhou is an imperial-subject writer, but to problematize this nationalistic reading and to examine how Zhou's writing has been shaped by his own experience and by the Japanese colonial context. A discussion on Zhou's other works in addition to "The Volunteer" will be worthwhile in order to track the change in his thinking and literary styles in relation to the assimilation policy.

Imperialization and Taiwanese Culture

Historical thought cannot be read or written without an individual interpretation constructed by social ideologies and, as a consequence, is biased. Thus when reviewing the Japanese imperial expansion in the first half of the twentieth century we must trace the social ideology behind it—the progressive myth of Japanese modernity. Accompanied by the stronger economic and political development, colonialism inevitably became an institution where the dominating power's "civilizing mission" was justified on the grounds of cultural superiority without interrogation. Under these social circumstances, it was difficult for the colonized intelligentsia to be totally free from political or ideological bias. Many were so eager to elevate Taiwanese culture that they uncritically adopted a Japanese version of modernity. Zhou Jinbo's writing, at least his earlier works, epitomizes this mentality.

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[101] Zhong Zhaozheng reads Zhou's imperial-subject efforts as Zhou's "anti-KMT" stance. See Zhong's *Taiwan wenxue shijiang* (Ten Lectures on Taiwan Literature) (Taipei: Qianwei, 2003), pp. 228–29.

[102] Ye Shitao, "Huangmin wenxue de linglei sikao" (Alternative Considerations about Imperial-subject Literature), *Minzhong ribao fukan* (*The Commons Daily* supplement) (April 15, 1998).

Zhou spent much of his childhood in Japan and studied in the elementary school designed for Japanese children that made his personal experience of growing up quite different from either Chen Huoquan or Wang Changxiong. Chen, for instance, received some classical Chinese training and attended a public school designed for Taiwanese children. He did not study in Japan although he worked for a Japanese company in Taiwan for a long time. As for Wang, he attended a public school for Taiwanese children and did not study in Japan until his senior high period. Among them, Zhou had the longest association with Japanese culture. Owing to this background, Zhou and his work were heavily criticized during his later years.

Like Chen Huoquan and Wang Changxiong, Zhou Jinbo dealt with Taiwanese intellectuals' identity crisis in his works. His debut piece, "Trench Mouth," published in *Bungei Taiwan* in 1941, offers one such example. It is a story narrated by a dentist who yearns for Japanese culture to the extent that he firmly believes that the imperialization movement is the only way out for the Taiwanese. It begins with the dentist on his Japanese bed reminiscing about his student life in Tokyo. Thinking back to his life in Japan, the dentist also feels content about his own "privileged" condition—to lead a life like the "advanced" Japanese. Harboring a sense of superiority and considering Japanese culture modern and thus greater, the dentist expresses his positive attitude toward the imperialization movement in Taiwan. For him, it is "like wild fire which can light up the dried field, can lead to the abandoning of superstition and bad social customs … of course, the wild fire can also bring some variation by lighting up his life, in fact, it is more appropriate to say that he reaches his dream which has occupied his thoughts for several years."[103] Relying upon the imperialization movement, he begins to believe that his fellow countrymen "can be cultivated, and they will be cultivated in an easier and faster way."[104] Thus, he feels extremely hopeful about the future of Taiwan.

His belief that Taiwanese need to be cultivated grows stronger when he meets a "bad-mannered and extravagant" Taiwanese woman, the mother of one of his patients, who seems to care about nothing but gambling. Due to her daughter's suffering from trench mouth, she takes her daughter to see the dentist, the narrator of the story. The dentist advises her to take the girl to a bigger hospital for better treatment, but the woman, with an expensive watch on her arm, starts calculating the expense. The dentist tries to persuade her, but his assistant believes the girl’s mother is too “degenerated” to take her daughter to the hospital. After a few days, the dentist hears of the girl’s death and learns that policemen apprehend the mother.

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[103] *Bungei Taiwan* 2.1 (March 1941): 94–95.

[104] Ibid.: 95.

One morning after the dentist has almost forgotten about the poor girl and her irresponsible mother, the mother returns to the dentist with a boastful manner. She asks him to place a gold filling on one of her healthy teeth. The dentist denies her request and starts to meditate on the comment made by his assistant that “There is still a long way to catch up for Taiwan.” After seeing such an irresponsible mother, the dentist concludes that: “Taiwan is like this now. But it is exactly because of this that I cannot surrender. The blood running in that woman is that running in my body too. I cannot sit and do nothing. My blood also needs to be cleaned. I am not only a dentist. Must I also become the mental doctor of Taiwanese people? How can I give up?”[105] Eventually, the dentist considers himself a modernizer, empowering himself to overthrow the bad social practices of Taiwanese society and to cultivate the “backward” Taiwanese people.

In “Trench Mouth,” Taiwan is represented as either dying (like the girl) or unrefined (like the mother), while Japan encapsulates the glory of modern culture. To lead a Japanese life in Taiwan, as the dentist does, is described as decent and better. The dentist’s self-encouragement at the end of the story may sound like propaganda for the Japanese authorities; it can also be read as a Taiwanese intellectual’s dream for cultural reformation. This is especially evident, for the work serves more as a criticism of the “low-class” Taiwanese culture than an unconditional promotion of imperialization. Indeed, the title revealed Zhou’s concerns regarding the “bad” social practices and “ill” national characters of Taiwanese people, with people in Taiwan being like the girl suffering from infectious trench mouth.

Cultural Identity to Historical Participation under Imperialization

Six months after the publication of “Trench Mouth,” Zhou published “The Volunteer,” which details the process of imperialization. It was published in the same magazine *Bungei Taiwan*. Similar to Wang Changxiong’s “Torrent,” “The Volunteer” begins with the narrator’s recollection of his own life in Tokyo. While waiting for the return of Zhang Minggui (the narrator’s brother in law) from Japan, the narrator reminds himself of the day when he resettled in Taiwan eight years before. In his monologue, (“…[I] hid some sadness when coming here after saying goodbye to that lonely but free life in Tokyo. . . . but now, working and family life have imprisoned me in red bricks"), a sense of frustration is revealed. Immersed in this sentiment, the narrator meets Gao Jinliu, Zhang's ex-classmate, who comes to welcome Zhang on his return. Gao has been working for Japanese people since his graduation from public school and therefore speaks fluent Japanese. Having changed his Chinese name to Takao Shinroku, he has joined an imperialization group for self-training. Shortly after the narrator's encounter with Gao Jinliu, Zhang Minggui appears and a debate between Zhang and Gao on how to make Taiwan starts.

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[105] Ibid.: 101.

After spending three years studying in Japan, Zhang returns to Taiwan, wishing to observe its social situation especially after the imperialization movement where name changing and the volunteer conscript policy have both been promulgated. Like many Taiwanese intellectuals at that time, Zhang harbors a great expectation toward Taiwan. During his stay in Japan, he went to the library weekly to read news related to Taiwan, and so knows about the assimilation policy and how its aim to improve the life of Taiwanese people has caused a wide discussion. When asked by Gao what he thinks about Taiwan, Zhang replies that Taiwan remains the same as it was before and he can hardly see any sign of advancement.

Gao cannot agree with Zhang. For Gao, Taiwan has progressed greatly. It is because Zhang expects so much that he fails to see the improvements happening in Taiwan. Gao's personal history is quite different from Zhang's. After graduating from public school, Gao joined a youth team that aimed to reach the Taiwanese youth in much the same way as Japanese youth self-training had done. Gao learned a lot from the experience, and therefore insisted on Taiwan's advancement. To persuade Zhang of his view, Gao tells him how he practices the Japanese way of worship through clapping his hands (*kashiwade*) and experiences a Japanese mentality in the team. Yet for Zhang, Gao's experience seems superstitious and his ideas, in which human beings are equal to God, seem narrow. Zhang refutes:

> We are the inferior human race at the moment, with a very low cultural standard, there is not much we can do for there is no cultivation or training being given. If imperialization is the task of greatest urgency at the present time, then, is it not enough to just give people the cultivation and training that they lack? Does not the utmost importance lie in elevating the standard of Taiwanese people to that of the Japanese? There is no need to clap hands.[106]

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[106] *Bungei Taiwan* 2.6 (September 1941): 18.

For Gao, what Zhang talks about is only a cultural question, not a spiritual question (the installation of Japanese spirit) as he is considering. Although they share very different viewpoints regarding how to become Japanese, they seem to agree on the premise that Taiwanese culture is inferior and consequently must be elevated. Yet when reading an essay written by Gao expressing his determination to join the volunteer conscripts, Zhang admits that after all, the person who really cares for Taiwan and who will actually do something about Taiwan actively is Gao. Zhang says to the narrator: “[Gao] Jinliu is the person who is most concerned about Taiwan and who wants to change Taiwan. I cannot really help or contribute to Taiwan . . . from now on, I shall examine myself.”

Compared to “Trench Mouth,” “The Volunteer” treats the issue of imperialization more straightforwardly. The letter written by Gao is like a vow articulating a Taiwanese determination to support imperialization. Even Gao Jinliu’s experience, considered superstitious before, is sanctioned and highly approved of at the end of the story. “The Volunteer” was written after Zhou returned to Taiwan. But judging from the story, Zhou’s previous active ambition—to forge a good national character of Taiwanese people through the procedure of imperialization—not only remained but also grew firmer. In “Trench Mouth,” Zhou used a degenerated and irresponsible mother to represent the corrupted habits of Taiwanese people, suggesting that importing Japanese culture was the way to renovate the inferior quality of Taiwanese culture. However, in “The Volunteer,” through Zhang’s praise for Gao’s choice, Zhou, though he insisted on spiritual reformation, shifted his concerns from “what to” to “how to.” If “Trench Mouth” focuses on the description of the common Taiwanese people’s degeneration from the eyes of a Japan-inclined Taiwanese elite, then “The Volunteer” concentrates on the superiority of Japanese culture and the taking of action by Taiwanese intellectuals. With the debate between Zhang and Gao and the mediation of the narrator, the pure passion revealed at the end of “Trench Mouth” is complicated and suggests uneasiness, a feeling also present in “The Volunteer.”

Another change worth noting is Zhou’s inclination to move closer to the common people in the imperialization project. In “Trench Mouth,” the Taiwanese masses are described as rude and tasteless (the mother) and the culture ill and dying (the daughter). Although the doctor devotes himself to elevating the low cultural and spiritual standard of the Taiwanese masses, he acts as if he is a rescuer coming from the elite class; for he is so proud of the Japanese—read advanced and cultivated—life style that he leads. Yet in “The Volunteer,” Gao Jinliu, an ordinary Taiwanese youth who chooses to join the call for volunteer soldiers as his positive response to Japan’s imperialization campaign, is valued more highly than Zhang Minggui, whose notions of imperialization are full of empty talk. Zhou once stated:

> In my work "The Volunteer" two different ways of thinking of the same generation were revealed. One is a calculative idea, which requires us to be particular about every point; the other is an idea without any excuses but believing oneself to be already Japanese. The two Taiwanese youths represent the different perspectives at that time, addressing which is the most correct and which can survive is the theme of "The Volunteer." I believe the latter, the one without excuses in which a person considers himself Japanese, is the one carrying the future of Taiwan.[107]

In "The Volunteer," Zhang Minggui represents the former, Gao Jinliu the latter. To support this I cite Zhang talking to the narrator: "We Taiwanese must become Japanese. But I do not wish to be like him [Gao Jinliu] as a horse pulling a carriage. Why must we become Japanese? This is the first thing that I think of. I was born in Japan. I can only speak Japanese and write letters in Japanese. Therefore, without being Japanese, I cannot survive."[108] Zhang's case indicates that being Japanese is similar to becoming Japanese, yet Gao's case articulates that becoming Japanese is not something granted naturally but something that one needs to take action for and apply effort to achieve.

According to Zhou's reminiscence, the Japanese bias against the Taiwanese stems from the fact that Taiwanese people are never prepared to fight for Japan. If there was a need for bloody sacrifice, then Taiwanese people would boast about and demand their rights as if they were Japanese.[109] After the promulgation of the conscription system, Zhou came to believe that only by joining the volunteer conscripts could Taiwanese get out of their isolated shells and become connected with the Japanese.[110] With such a belief in mind, it is not surprising that Zhou Jinbo would value Gao's activist philosophy more than Zhang's opportunist attitude. In other words, the dentist's passionate dream to raise the Taiwanese cultural standard is inherited by Gao's (a local Taiwanese youth who only received an elementary school education) determination for action. Yet the dentist's superior attitude in which he looks down on the common Taiwanese "others" is no longer seen in "The Volunteer" for both Zhang Minggui and the narrator, who returns from Japan, become too calculative or too reality-abiding to act.

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[107] See the record of the symposium "Chōheisei o megutte" (On Conscription System), *Bungei Taiwan* 7.1 (December 1943): 7.

[108] *Bungei Taiwan* 2.6 (September 1941): 20.

[109] "Zhou Jinbo teji: Wo zouguo de daolu—wenxue, xiju, dianying" (Special Issue on Zhou Jinbo: The Roads which I have Walked—Literature, Drama, Films). Narrated by Zhou in Japanese and translated into Chinese by Qiu Zhenrui. *Wenxue Taiwan* 23 (July 1997): 229.

[110] Ibid.: 201.

From Optimism, through Hesitation, to Disillusionment

After Zhou Jinbo gained literary fame with the publication of "Trench Mouth" and "The Volunteer," he published another work "'Monosashi' no tanjō" (The Birth of a 'Ruler') in *Bungei Taiwan* soon after the Great East Asian War broke out.[111] Focusing on the psyche of the child protagonist, Wu Wenxiong, the story deals with his identity change when he transfers from a public school to an elementary school established exclusively for Japanese children. Born to a well-respected politician father, Wu has a happy childhood in a public school where he spends most of his time playing war games with his friends. However, he soon feels bored with his life there and begins to think that he will be better off in an elementary school. One day, when his teacher calls him Fumio, the Japanese pronunciation of his Chinese name Wenxiong, he feels astounded but touched as if there is a warm wave flowing through his body so that even his blood begins to flow backward. While going to view some military ships by the coast, Wu meets some Japanese children and he enjoys playing with them, for he thinks that without their uniforms, it is impossible to discern who is Japanese and who is Taiwanese. Even if it is discernable, it does not matter for everybody is the same—naked.

However, when they start to play at wrestling, Wu and his gang become stuck for they have no idea how to do it. They bore the people who come to watch, and Wu feels so embarrassed that he wishes to run into the sea. Eventually, Wu is told that he will be transferred to the opposite elementary school where, normally, only Japanese children are allowed to attend. At first, upon hearing this, Wu feels excited and hopeful, but soon he feels uneasy and is sentimental about his time in public school. After visiting the elementary school where he will soon be sent, Wu returns to the public school. Witnessing his old playmates playing the war game in which he used to play a General's role, he suddenly feels ashamed, as if someone is laughing: "What kind of General are you? There is no army with bare feet!" From that moment, he realizes that he no longer has the courage to play the General with his old friends. Gradually he gets used to looking through the fence with caution, only viewing the war game from a safe distance. Compared to the optimism and confidence revealed by the doctor in "Trench Mouth" and the passion and activeness of Gao Jinliu in "The Volunteer," Wu, in this text, appears much more reserved and hesitant about imperialization. He seems to foresee the difficulty, if not impossibility, of becoming Japanese.

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[111] *Bungei Taiwan* 3.4 (January 1942): 31–39.

Such uneasiness can also be found in "Kyōshū" (Nostalgia), published in *Bungei Taiwan* in 1943.[112] The protagonist, similar to the doctor in "Trench Mouth" and Zhang Minggui in "The Volunteer," is an intellectual returning from Japan. Like Wu in "The Birth of a 'Ruler,'" the protagonist encounters a sense of loneliness and discontent and is troubled by the impasse as to whether he is Japanese or Taiwanese. Yet Taiwanese society makes him experience "a purposeless fear, not the pain as in being beaten or kicked, but a sense of coldness, of not being understood, and unfriendliness. This irreparable and aimless fear is encroaching upon me … A counter effect makes me think of the sky of Tokyo, with which I was familiar. My yearning for it is quite natural and comprehensible."[113]

After revealing the protagonist's anxiety, the story turns to the protagonist's mysterious encounter, on his way to a spa resort, with a group of hooligans who are about to disband. The protagonist is invited to be the witness of the disbanding ceremony. Yet the novel does not finish here. It ends in the protagonist's realization that he is in a strange place, and can only return to the place where he was last alone. As he begins to head back, he staggers and finds himself lost on the dark road.

Both Nishikawa Mitsuru and Hoshina Hironobu wrote reviews of Zhou's work. Hoshina pointed out that Nishikawa's review only focused on the hooligans' disbanding ceremony (as an ending of the old Taiwanese customs and beginning of a new establishment due to the change of the times) and the protagonist's nostalgia for Japan, without paying attention to the work's (faulty) structure.[114] Nevertheless, he agreed with Nishikawa that the protagonist's journey to the spa resort indicates Zhou Jinbo's search for and trajectory toward the way of imperialization. For Hoshina, "The Birth of a 'Ruler'" illustrates Zhou's uncertainty about whether he should identify with Taiwanese society when the possibility of becoming Japanese seemed unlikely, and "Nostalgia" is about the isolation encountered by those who fail to become Japanese as they have wished, and who are not accepted by the Taiwanese community either.[115] Reading Zhou's works within the framework of his consistent imperial-subject pursuit, Hoshina regards the ending of "Nostalgia" not just as redundant but as, in fact, damaging to the story's overall plotline. In other words, the protagonist's uncertainty implies a rather bleak future for those following imperialization. Indeed, in "The Birth of a 'Ruler,'" the child protagonist, Wu Wenxiong, already shows hesitation about imperialization. By the end he returns to public school and becomes accustomed to looking at the Japanese elementary school in the distance through a fence. In "Nostalgia," the narrator's unstable walk further suggests the difficulty in clinging to imperialization, as it is poignantly challenged by (dark) Taiwanese indigenous force.

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[112] "Kyōshū" (Nostalgia), *Bungei Taiwan* 5.6: 23–38.

[113] Ibid.: 27.

[114] Hoshina Hironobu, "'Dadongya gongrongquan' de Taiwan zuojia (er)" (The Taiwanese Writers of 'The Greater East Asian Co-prosperity' (Two)), in *Taiwan wenxue yanjiu zai riben*, pp. 80–81. In my view, whether or not the protagonist's nostalgia is truly for Japan, as suggested by Nishikawa Mitsuru, is debatable. For instance, it is also possible to interpret that his nostalgia is for Taiwan, causing him to return. Nishikawa's reading makes Zhou's imperial-subject pursuit more consistent, even though it seems precarious in "Nostalgia". Yet it cannot account for why, only after the narrator experiences an unfriendly atmosphere in Taiwan, do his feelings revert, impelling him to think of his time

The intellectual narrator's sense of superiority, revealed by his contempt of other Taiwanese passengers on the same train journey, can certainly be interpreted as something caused by not being able to become an imperial-subject, as suggested by Hoshina Hironobu, but such a reading, based largely on the difference between Taiwanese (the colonized) and Japanese (the colonizer), risks going around in circles regarding the conundrum of identity. Although the reappraisals of Zhou Jinbo by Hoshina and others, such as Tarumi Chie and Nakajima Toshio,[116] effectively redress the one-dimensional image of Zhou as an exemplary imperial-subject writer, Zhou was not fully immune from a nationalist and moralistic assessment. Even though he may be off the hook as an imperial-subject author, he was hastily pushed to the other pole as

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in Tokyo. Neither does it make sense as to why the narrator is invited and becomes the witness of the hooligan dismissing ceremony.

[115] Ibid., p. 81.

[116] Tarumi Chie posits that what Zhou identified with was modernization, not imperialization. See her "Taiwan zuojia de rentong yishi he riben: Zhou Jinbo de jindai guandian" (Taiwanese Writers' Identity Consciousness and Japan: Zhou Jinbo's Modern Viewpoint), in *Taiwan de ribenyu wenxue*, pp. 47–66. Nakajima Toshio concludes that Zhou was a Taiwan-loving writer, not an imperial-subject writer. See his "Zhou Jinbo xinlun" (A New Interpretation of Zhou Jinbo) and "'Huangmin zuojia' de xingcheng—Zhou Jinbo" (The Formation of an "Imperial-subject Writer"—Zhou Jinbo). Both essays are collected in *Zhou Jinbo ji*, pp. 1–23 and 317–41.

"undoubtedly a 'native-soil-loving' and 'Taiwan-loving writer.'"[117] As a result, national identification and racial boundaries are reinforced.

Regarding this pitfall of imperial-subject v.s. Taiwanese dichotomy, Mo Suwei's reading is illuminating. She compares Zhou's "Nostalgia" with Satō Haruo's Taiwan travelogues, arguing that both writers perceived Taiwan through the lens of (Japanese) colonizers.[118] This interpretation solves the tricky imperial-subject/non imperial-subject question often associated with Zhou and his works. But ironically, the resolution is through a further elevation of Zhou's Japanese identification to the height equal to the Japanese writers from Japan. If there is truly no major difference between Zhou's imperialist eyes and Satō Haruo's, then "Nostalgia" can be seen as a work transgressing the Japanese/Taiwanese racial boundaries. In this regard, it is no longer a text about a Taiwanese elite's identity struggles on the road of imperialization, but a tale about a colonizer's journey into the colony's "heart of darkness." This interpretation is provocative, for it raises a fundamental question about whether or not Taiwanese are, or can truly be, Japanese. It is particularly interesting that the local Taiwanese people in the story perceive the protagonist in two different ways—as a person with "no difference" from the hooligans, and at the same time as a quasi Japanese person addressed politely as "*taijin san*" (sir, a term of respect or indicating someone of higher status). Mo Suwei maintains the hooligans' violent nature is appropriated by Zhou Jinbo so as to connect the two identities. In other words, the primitive power held by the Taiwanese hooligans can, through the imperial institution, transform ordinary Taiwanese to more venerable "special Japanese" and become part of the empire.[119]

Although whether Zhou did *attempt* to use violence, as an interface, to link the two identities is debatable, the overlay of the two identities—as a Taiwanese hooligan and simultaneously a member of the Japanese empire—is helpful when analyzing Zhou's writing as a whole, and effective in eschewing the Taiwan-Japan dichotomy. The view that the narrator's dual status as *both* an insider and an (esteemable) outsider implies his imperial-subject superiority is not only artificial, but also precarious and easily puncturable. From "Trench Mouth" to "Nostalgia," Zhou continued to show the dialectic of Taiwan-Japan

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[117] See Hoshina Hironobu's "Zhou Jinbo xinlun," in *Zhou Jinbo ji*, p. 21 .

[118] Mo Suwei, "Xiangguan hechu—Zhou Jinbo de zhimindi zhi lü" (Where is Home—Zhou Jinbo's Travel to the Colony), *Taiwan wenxue xuebao* 5 (June 2004): 225–48.

[119] Ibid.: 244.

"dual identity," although Taiwan usually appears in a lesser form in his works.[120] I would further extend this Taiwan-Japan dual identity to the elite-masses dual identification in "Nostalgia."

In this work, the narrator's "feeling of entrapment" (*heisokukan*), a term used by Hoshina Hironobu, can in my view be read as a returning intellectual's mixed feelings toward his hometown and indecisiveness about whether he should uphold his elitist outsider perspective, or move closer toward Taiwan's indigenous (hooligan) culture. His involvement with the hooligans, though unexpected, opens up the possibility of an overlooked class-centric interpretation. The tendency of shifting closer to the masses in "Nostalgia" can in fact be seen as a continuation of Zhou's praise for normal Taiwanese youth, like Gao Jinliu, instead of the educated elite, represented by Zhang Minggui in "Trench Mouth." Starting from an intellectual's scornful and satiric comments about common Taiwanese people in "Trench Mouth," through Gao Jinliu's activism, to interacting with the hooligans in "Nostalgia," Zhou seemed to gradually let go of his elitist superiority and increasingly identify with ordinary people. Their more frequent appearance in his works corroborates this.

Such a subtle change can perhaps help explain why Zhou was enthusiastic in describing local Taiwanese customs and practices, a point little mentioned in existing scholarship on Zhou. Long Yingzong is one of the few people who seemed to have wider insights into Zhou's works, for he was able to sense Zhou's anxiety long before the publication of "Nostalgia."[121] The anxiety that troubled many other writers in colonial Taiwan comes not only from the difficulty in finding a place where the issues about national longing and individual craving are no longer mutually qualifying, but also where the denial of a double identity in which national consciousness (anti-colonial) and artistic temperament for "modern" colonial culture are not necessarily contradictory to each other as assumed in present day canonical readings.

Though Zhou is often blamed as an imperial-subject writer supporting Japan during the wartime, few scholars have noted the fact that both "Trench Mouth" and "The Volunteer" were written before the outbreak of the Greater East Asian War in December 1941. Therefore, they might be read as Zhou's general response to the times instead of evidence of his rendering assistance to the war. It is also unfounded to use Zhou's speeches at the wartime literary conferences or a few lines abstracted from his earlier works to reinforce his "already-sanctioned" pro-imperialization status or label him as a traitor due to his inferred wartime stance. Similar to this, Chen Yingzhen's criticism of Zhou's stubbornness and lack of repentance simply because he "gave a speech in Japanese in front of Japanese scholars and the content was no different from his previous imperial-subject thinking" (at the International Conference on "Taiwanese Literature during the Japanese Occupation Period: Lai He and his Contemporaneous Writers" held by Qinghua University in 1994) is not convincing.[122]

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[120] It is worth noting that this "dual identity" of Zhou came to a halt in his later works such as the commissioned one entitled "Zhujiao" (Teaching Assistant, 1944) about the Japan-Taiwan as one, and "Emo de shitu" (A Devil's Messenger, 1945), which describes a Canadian-born British priest's land grab in Taiwan prior to the Japanese colonialism. Both stories are collected in *Zhou Jinbo ji*, pp. 117–51 and pp. 171–85.

[121] For Long's comments on Zhou's works, see Hoshina Hironobu's essay in fn. 114.

For scholars sharing the same nationalistic ideology and literary standard as Chen Yingzhen, imperial-subject literature will almost be denied completely. If Chen Huoquan's reverse realism was merely an attempt at self-defense, Wang Changxiong's deletion of some sensitive passages was inappropriate, and Zhou Jinbo's consistency was shameless, then little option was left for those writers. I am not invalidating the relevance of a nationalist reading, such as that offered by Chen Yingzhen, but I wish to reiterate that the attempt to read imperial-subject literature into a nationalistic literature serves the critic's interest more than the work itself. In a multi-cultural Taiwanese society, with the shift of political paradigm, it is urgent to reappraise imperial-subject literature beyond the conceptually naïve resistance/collaboration binary. It is also essential to allow freedom for the writers to take their own position in the discursive territory of cultural or national identity.

Zhou Jinbo's statement that "being an imperial-subject writer is the honor of my life. No one needs to redress this on my behalf" not only powerfully reassures his free will,[123] but also forms an interesting contrast to several post-1990s efforts of re-categorizing Zhou Jinbo, as being "not so much" or "not at all" an imperial-subject writer, as per claims made by Taiwanese and Japanese critics respectively. Imperial-subject literature, indeed, does not need to be rescued. What's needed, instead, is to understand the rationale and impact of the imperialization movement, and to question the constructed unambiguous opposition between (supposedly ethical) "non-imperial-subject" and (supposedly condemnable) "imperial-subject" categories. Imperial-subject literature can be considered a point of rupture challenging the assumed genealogy of resistance literature, calling us to take into consideration the environment in which the dichotomy between imperial-subject literature and resistance literature was historically constructed.

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[122] "Jingshen de huangfei—Zhang Liangze huangmin wenxue lun de piping" (Spiritual Desolation—Criticism of Zhang Liangze's Points Concerning Imperial-subject Literature) in *Taiwan xiangtu wenxue, huangmin wenxue* de *qingli yu pipan* (Clarifications and Criticisms of the Nativist Literature and Imperial-subject Literature of Taiwan), ed. Zeng Jianmin, p. 16.

[123] Ying Dawei, "Yongyuan de huangmin wenxuejia—Zhou Jinbo" (An Imperial-subject Writer Forever—Zhou Jinbo), in *Taiwanren dang'an* (*zhiyi*)*: fuchen banshi de yingxiang yu huiyi* ((One of the) Taiwanese Files: Images and Memories of Half a Century) (Taipei: Chuangyili wenhua, 1995), p. 52.

Following the generally negative cultural associations imperial-subject literature conjures up in the majority of cases, I shall turn to Zhong Lihe and Wu Zhuoliu. Quite different from the aforementioned writers who were caught between Japanese and Taiwanese identity, both Zhong and Wu showed a move from nostalgia for China to love for Taiwan. The following chapter examines how the issues surrounding (Taiwanese) identity are mediated and represented in their works, with China serving as a major reference point.

CHAPTER 6

The Lure of China: Zhong Lihe and Wu Zhuoliu

Concurrent with most of the writers discussed above, Zhong Lihe and Wu Zhuoliu were relatively marginalized in Taiwan's literary history prior to 1945. Zhong published very little during his lifetime, while Wu was more often seen as the first-generation of postwar native Taiwanese writers. Nevertheless, both writers' Chinese experience provided a valuable angle to discuss the production of Taiwan's colonial subjectivity in the late years of Japanese rule and under KMT governance. Their works show an alternative vision different from that offered by those writers who had Japanese experience or those who simply remained in Taiwan.

Born in 1915 to a land-owning family in a Hakka village of South Taiwan, Zhong Lihe grew up with less direct impact from Japanese colonial rule. While attending the Japanese-language primary school, Zhong learned Chinese in a private school during the summertime. He was not qualified to take the entrance examination for the Kaohsiung High School due to a poor result from the physical examination, hence he enrolled in the equivalent advanced degree at Nagaji Public School in 1928, and spent his leisure time reading Chinese classical novels such as the ancient story entitled *Yang Wenguang pingman shibadong* (Yang Wenguang's Pacification of the Eighteen Grottoes). Upon graduation in 1930, Zhong entered the village private school to study Chinese for one and a half years. Inspired by his teacher, a *xiucai* (flowering talent, the lowest degree one could receive in imperial China by passing the district examination) scholar named Guang Daxing, Zhong started to compose some folk stories and a novel entitled *Yuyehua* (Flowers on a Rainy Night) while continuing to read classical and modern Chinese fiction.[1] In his "Lüli" (Resumé), Zhong expressed his fondness for the works of Lu Xun, Lao She, Mao Dun, and Yu Dafu. In 1932, Zhong and his family moved to Qishan to assist in the cultivation of the local mountains for farming, here he met and later fell in love with Zhong Taimei, a laborer four years his senior. Due to the fact that marriage within the same surname was forbidden at that time, they eventually eloped.

With encouragement from his half brother, Zhong began to experiment with Chinese creative writing. In 1937, he wrote "Lifajiang de lianai" (Love of a Barber), his earliest existing, though unpublished, work. Zhong left Taiwan

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[1] Unfortunately, drafts of Zhong's early works have been lost. It is said that *Flowers on a Rainy Night* was unfinished.

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in June 1938, arriving in Manchuria via Japan. He enrolled in the Manchuria Automobile School, where he received a professional driving license, and worked as a driver. He then returned to Taiwan in July 1940 to fetch Taimei. The couple set off from Taiwan on August 3, 1940. They traveled by boat from Taiwan to Moji, a port in Southern Japan, got on another boat from Shimonoseki to Busan, Korea, and finally arrived in Fengtian (today's Shenyang). These experiences later became the background for several of his works such as "Bentao" (Running Away), "Tongxing zhi hun" (Marriage of the Same Surname), "Liuyin" (In the Willow Shade), "Taidong lüguan" (Taidong Hotel), and "Men" (The Door). Zhong and Taimei settled in Beiping in 1941. Though Zhong came to earn his living as a coal merchant, he spent most of his time writing and published *Jiazhutao* (*Oleander*), a dystopian novella depicting the Chinese people's life and character, in Beiping in 1945.[2]

Zhong resettled in Taiwan one year later, working briefly as a junior high school teacher. He suffered from tuberculosis from 1947 onward and was hospitalized accordingly. After his discharge from the hospital in 1950, he remained productive until his premature death in 1960. Zhong's first book in Taiwan, *Yu* (Rain), was published with the assistance of some literary friends (especially Lin Haiyin) who raised the funds to cover the publication costs. Although his *Lishan nongchang* (Lishan Farm) won the second award of the Chinese Literature and Art Funding Committee in 1956,[3] Zhong's works attracted limited attention in the fifties. It was in the seventies that Zhong became recognized more widely as a writer skilled at capturing the life of Taiwanese farmers in depth. In 2014, an English version of Zhong's several literary sketches of China and Taiwan was published.[4]

Existing scholarship on Zhong which concentrates primarily on his humanitarian social consciousness can be seen in Zhang Liangze's essay,[5] Peng

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[2] Zhong considered the four stories compiled in *Jiazhutao* (*Oleander*) a "failure" mainly because of the linguistic barrier. He explained that he had to teach himself Chinese (through the Romanization of the Hakka language). Hence his Chinese was "stiff and messy." See "Zhong Lihe ziwo jieshao" (Zhong Lihe's Self-Introduction), *Zhong Lihe quanji* (Complete Works of Zhong Lihe) 6 (Kaohsiung: Kaohsiung County Cultural Center, 1997) edited by Zhong Tiemin, p. 219.

[3] There was no first prize that year. Despite this official recognition, the work never got published during Zhong's lifetime.

[4] See Zhong Lihe's *From the Old Country: Stories and Sketches of China and Taiwan*, edited and translated by T. M. McClellan (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014).

[5] Zhang Liangze, "Zhong Lihe zuopin lun" (On Zhong Lihe's Works), *Zhonghua ribao* (Chinese Daily News) (December 13–16, 1973).

Ruijin's analysis on Zhong's "farmer's literature,"[6] and Ye Shitao's reading of Zhong's "Lishan Farm"[7] while Chen Yingzhen, Xu Sulan and Sawai Noriyuki's commentaries on Zhong epitomize national identity. Harboring a China-centric identity, Chen considered Zhong's *Oleander* evidence of Zhong's loss of national identity.[8] With a pro-Taiwan tendency, Xu argued that Zhong was a writer who inclined more to Taiwanese soil than the Chinese motherland.[9] Sawai's essay regards Zhong as a Taiwanese writer whose thinking and writing were intimately shaped by modern Chinese literature.[10]

Other scholarly viewpoints are also worthy of note. Ying Fenghuang discussed Zhong's oeuvre from a postcolonial perspective,[11] whereas Gu Tianhong adopted notions of alienation and community in his analysis of Zhong's *Oleander*.[12] In what follows, I view Zhong Lihe as an intellectual yearning for modernity and pursuing individuality. Through comparing Zhong's Chinese and Taiwanese experiences, I argue that it is more his continuous pursuit for a modern and liberated society than his nationalist thinking that marked the trajectory of his life. I also contend that his often personal and trivial subject matters can be seen as a means to enriching the grand narrative such as social reform and national revolution.

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[6] Peng Ruijin, "Zhong Lihe de nongmin wenxue" (Farmer's Literature by Zhong Lihe), published in *Minzhong ribao* (December 7–9, 1990).

[7] Ye Shitao, "Xin wenxue chuantong de jicheng zhe—Zhong Lihe: "Lishan nongchang" li de shehui xing maodun" (An Heir of the Tradition of New Literature—Zhong Lihe: the Social Conflict in "Lishan Farm") in his *Zhanwang Taiwan wenxue* (An Outlook for Taiwanese Literature) (Taipei: Jiuge, 1994), pp. 57–78.

[8] Xu Nancun [Chen Yingzhen], "Yuanxiang de shiluo—Shiping 'Jiazhutao'" (The Loss of an Original Hometown—An Experimental Critique of *Oleander*), *Xiandai wenxue* (Modern Literature) 1, second part of the reissuing version (July 1977): 83–93.

[9] Xu Sulan, "Lengyan yu rechang—Cong 'Jiazhutao,' 'Guxiang' zhi bijiao kan Zhong Lihe de yuanxiang qing yu Taiwan ai" (Cold Eyes and Warm Heart—Examining Zhong Lihe's Feelings for His Original Hometown and Love for Taiwan from the Comparison between *Oleander* and *Hometown*), *Zhong Lihe shishi sanshi'er zhounian jinian ji Taiwan wenxue xueshu yantaohui lunwen jiyao* (Collected Essays of the Conference on Taiwanese Literature and in Commemoration of the 32nd Anniversary of the Death of Zhong Lihe), ed. Jian Jiongren (Kaohsiung: Kaohsiung County Government, 1992), pp. 29–45.

[10] Sawai Noriyuki, "Taiwan zuojia Zhong Lihe de minzhu yishi" (The National Consciousness of a Taiwanese Writer Zhong Lihe), *Taiwan wenxue yanjiu zai riben*, pp. 134–64.

[11] Ying Fenghuang, "The Literary Development of Zhong Lihe and Postcolonial Discourse in Taiwan," *Writing Taiwan: A New Literary History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), eds. David Der-wei Wang and Carlos Rojas, pp. 140–55. For its Chinese version, see Ying's "Zhong Lihe wenxue fazhan shi ji qi houzhimin lunshu," (Literary Development History and Postcolonial Discourse of Zhong Lihe) in *Shuxie Taiwan—Wenxue shi, houzhimin yu hou xiandai* (Writing Taiwan: Strategies of Representation), eds. Zhou Yingxiong [Chou Ying-hsiung] and Liu Jihui [Joyce Chi-hui Liu], pp. 169–95. Ying's edited volume *Zhong Lihe lunshu 1960–2000* (Discourses on Zhong Lihe 1960–2000) (Kaohsiung: Chunhui, 2004) is also a handy reference.

[12] Gu Tianhong, "Guanhuai xiaoshuo: Yang Kui yu Zhong Lihe—Ai benneng yu yihua de jiji yangqi" (Fiction with Concern: Yang Kui and Zhong Lihe—The Active Abandonment

Unlike many of his contemporaries who yearned for modern Japanese culture, Zhong left Taiwan at a time when the Japanese authorities had intensified their control over the colony. His absence during the peak of imperialization and his Chinese experience allowed him to gain a different outlook on life from the writers discussed in previous chapters. Zhong's leaving Taiwan, though a protest gesture against the feudalistic thinking in Taiwanese society, was also related to his Chinese sentiments emerging from his longing for an original homeland (*yuanxiang*). In a 1957 letter to his literary friend Liao Qingxiu, Zhong stated that the motivations for his leaving Taiwan were not only for freedom to marry, but also due to his longing for China.

In "Yuanxiangren" (Mainlanders, or People from the Old Country), Zhong elaborated his Chinese sentiments and nostalgia. The work starts with a quasi-scientific anthropological discussion on the differences and similarities between the Hoklo people,[13] the Japanese, and the mainlanders, but ends with the urge to leaving Taiwan for China. For Zhong, at least two sources—Chinese culture and his second brother—have contributed to his feelings for China. The melodies of Cantonese songs and Suzhou chantefables (*tanci*), together with scenic postcards of China, inspired Zhong's imagination of China. His second brother (in fact his half-brother of the same age) Zhong Heming, a Chinese patriot and anti-Japanese activist in China, was sentenced to death in 1950 for his involvement in underground Communist movements.[14] Regarding this, Zhong commented: "I am not a patriot. But the blood of mainlanders must flow back to the mainland so it will stop boiling. My second brother is like this. I am no exception."[15]

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of Love Instinct and Alienation), in *Rentong, qingyu yu yuyan* (Identity, Desire and Language), ed. Peng Hsiao-yen. pp. 47–83.

[13] The Hoklos are Han Chinese people whose ancestral homes are in southern Fujian. They are one of the four major ethnic groups in Taiwan.

[14] The life of Zhong Heming (aka Zhong Haodong) inspired Lan Bozhou's novella *Huangmache zhi ge* (Song of the Covered Wagon), and Hou Xiaoxian's film "Good Man Good Woman." For an analysis on Lan's story, see Sylvia Li-chun Lin, *Representing Atrocity in Taiwan: The 2/28 Incident and White Terror in Fiction and Film* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), ch. 2.

[15] *Complete Works of Zhong Lihe* 2, p. 14.

This sentence was quoted by China's Premier Wen Jiabao on March 14, 2004, in response to a Taiwanese journalist's question about his view on Taiwan's upcoming presidential election. Although Wen meant to evoke Taiwanese people's Chinese nostalgia, Zhong's eldest son Zhong Tiemin criticized Wen for "quoting out of context" and argued that Zhong's *yuanxiang* was Taiwan especially because he grew rather disillusioned with China.[16] Zhong Tiemin's remark resonated with Sawai Noriyuki's view in which Zhong Lihe's eight-year stay in Mainland China was seen as his "recognition of his Taiwanese stance."[17] In actuality, even without taking into account Zhong's sense of disillusionment with China, the "Mainlanders" evokes several questions about the pursuit of a homeland and is far from a text attesting to Zhong's Chinese yearning.

First of all, Zhong's *yuanxiang* complex was an imaginary nostalgia built upon the various soft cultural products such as songs, not so much on the primordial sentiments. Secondly, the Mainlander identity evolves when the narrator's family moves and in conjunction with generational change. For instance, the grandmother tells the boy narrator that they were originally from the Mainland, but they are not the same as those coming from China that they encountered. Thirdly, the portrayal of the Chinese people, though diverse, in the short story is largely negative (such as their spitting everywhere and "un-presentable" appearances). Lastly, Zhong's proclamation that he is not a (Chinese) patriot makes the last few lines of the work even more dubious. In the text, the I-narrator left Taiwan without a concrete plan, and did not travel to Chongqing to visit his brother.

In real life, both Zhong and his brother embarked on the journey to China. However, Zhong's leaving Taiwan was for his personal sake, whereas his brother made his way to China due to his political activism. One may argue that passion can be evoked from romantic love just as much as from political idealism, but the very different causes attracting the Zhong brothers to China illustrate the intricate tension between the individual (emotional arousal) and the collective (political impulse). In the following sections, I posit that it is the non-national, and relatively private quality of Zhong's writing that has set him apart from his contemporaries.

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[16] Wen indeed "mis-quoted" Zhong Lihe, as he referred to "yuanxiangren" (Mainlanders) as "yuanyeren" (country dwellers). Zhong's Hakka background makes the sentence even more dubious, as there is still much speculation concerning the origins of the Hakka.

[17] Sawai Noriyuki, "Hokukyō jidai no Shō Riwa" (Zhong Lihe in His Beijing Period), in *Yomigaeru Taiwan bungaku: Nihon tōjiki no sakka to sakuhin*, p. 468.

Dream, Pursuit, and Disillusionment in "China"

The works produced during Zhong's stay in "China" (actually Manchuria under Japanese dominion) reveal the two different sides of Zhong's thinking—the critical tone condemning the unreasonable social system and the humanistic one calling for universal love, sympathy and mutual understanding. As early as in "Dushi de huanghun" (Dusk of a City), a work he composed in 1939 during his sojourn in Shenyang and later published under the name "In the Willow Shade" in 1959, Zhong revealed his yearning for a love-based marriage.

Narrated in the first person, "In the Willow Shade" describes the effect of arranged marriages on two young Korean trainee drivers, Piao Xinjun and Jin Taiqi. Although in love with another woman, Piao goes along with the arranged marriage planned by his parents. The woman whom Piao is in love with later leaves home to escape from her own arranged marriage, but ends up becoming a prostitute in order to make a living. A few years later, after Piao is reunited with his lover, he decides to abandon everything to be with her. Jin is another victim of an arranged marriage. By age fifteen he is already a father, and has to work hard to support his family. Soon after Piao's leaving, Jin also withdraws from the driving school and eventually loses contact with the narrator.

The story ends with the narrator's contemplation of Piao's words: "For women, and for unreasonable marriages, we have to accept so much suffering."[18] This concluding sentence shows Zhong's loathing of the system of arranged marriages and his emphasis on individual freedom and the dignity of human beings. These ideas reappear in many of his later works. Zhong's *Oleander*, a collection of four stories published in 1945 in Beiping (Beijing) under the pen-name Jiangliu, provides some of the best examples.

Written in August 1943, "Yousi" (Gossamer), the first story in *Oleander*, describes the character Zhu Jinzhi's pursuit of a free marriage. In order to help Jinzhi marry the person her father prefers, he asks his friend, Mr. Cao, to persuade her of the idea. But Jinzhi is in love with a married man, Mr. Zhang. Although she agrees to go along with her father's decision, Jinzhi later changes her mind, deciding to pursue her own happiness. She writes to Mr. Cao, stating that she will follow her own heart. The story ends with Jinzhi happily introducing Zhang to Cao, and with this, Cao finally understands the importance and meaning of love. Jinzhi's courage to break with convention and choose her own future is quite commendable.

In the whole story, only Jinzhi is endowed with an insight into the truth, to break from her fate and decide her own future, while the other (male) characters all seem to be fairly conservative. For example, Jinzhi's father is an authoritative figure who never understands his daughter. Jinzhi's lover, Zhang, is indecisive and too cowardly to break off his unhappy marriage. As for the "matchmaker," Cao, he fails to appreciate the power of love. Although in the beginning of the story, Cao appears to be eloquent and Jinzhi powerless in their feudal society, their roles reverse at the close of the story. In a note to Cao, Jinzhi says:

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[18] *Complete Works of Zhong Lihe* 2, p. 32.

> I know my father has never understood me, just as you have never understood me. If changing fate is possible, then happiness does not necessarily mean to obey what my father arranges for me. I believe in my own love, and I will rely on it as a guide to brightness.[19]

It is only after reading the letter that Cao becomes "enlightened," believing that one can have the will to create and fulfill one's own dreams. The story ends in Cao's self-mockery for agreeing to be an agent of persuasion, indicating that if one is determined to break the feudalistic social system, then individuality could be possible.

The second story in *Oleander*, "Xinsheng," (New Birth) published in March 1944, shows Zhong Lihe's continuous concern for individualism. Narrated in the first person, the story describes how the protagonist, Cunzhi, decides to leave his family to pursue an individual life. It begins with Cunzhi's train journey away from his family to take up a new job in Taiyuan. Cunzhi used to have a happy family life, however, upon being fired by his company, he is no longer a welcome member of his family due to his inability to support them financially. After two years of such cold treatment by his family, Cunzhi finds a new job in Taiyuan with the assistance of an old friend. He immediately decides to leave his family as he realizes that "I, myself, have to survive!"[20] The story ends on a positive note, with Cunzhi on his way to his new life in Taiyuan as an individualist fully aware of his own will. Cunzhi's yearning for a free and independent life, symbolizing a hope for breaking from the old and fulfilling the new, resonates with Jinzhi's pursuit of her own happiness in "Gossamer." In both stories, Zhong possessed some degree of reformist hope for a new social order and a more progressed society. Yet such optimism does not continue, instead it "progresses" backward to the traditional social structure in "Bomang" (Thin Grass).

Published in May 1944, "Thin Grass" tells of the love between the protagonist Yingmei and her cousin Along. Contrary to the image of a peaceful rural village,

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[19] *Complete Works of Zhong Lihe* 2, pp. 157–58.

[20] Ibid., p. 169.

Along's love for Yingmei is unfulfilled because Yingmei's father refuses Along's proposal so as to retain his daughter's to help with the household. Unable to get married and later asked not to pursue the relationship, Yingmei remains an obedient and domestic daughter, while Along's health deteriorates and he goes insane. Different from the optimism shown in "Gossamer" and "New Birth," "Thin Grass" is lyrical and sentimental; a story in which Yingmei's yearning for love and sexual awakening as a young woman are portrayed meticulously. From the beginning, the story is narrated with sensuous descriptions focusing on Yingmei. In the first few paragraphs, we are given a vivid depiction of how Yingmei picks up the rattan baskets of sweet potatoes. Although focusing on the female protagonist is not peculiar for Zhong, the sensuous articulation of Yingmei in this story deserves close analysis, as it points to the fragmented and suppressive approach Zhong takes toward history and reality.

As Yingmei is transfixed by the beauty and tranquility of the rural scene, Ajin Sao, a woman living nearby, walks toward her causing her "private" dream to be interrupted. Ajin Sao mentions that she was told that Along's tuberculosis has relapsed. Yingmei remains silent with her head facing down as if she has some regrets. Ajin Sao continues without noticing Yingmei's sadness. Upon discovering Yingmei's emotions, Ajin Sao urges Yingmei to go home and she herself leaves hurriedly. The narration does not follow with Yingmei's regret about her relationship with Along. Instead, it turns into a flashback about how the unfulfilled love began. Yingmei's being left in the field by Ajin Sao is comparable to her desire for love being suppressed, textually, and always being mediated by the narrator.

"Thin Grass" continues with how Along and Yingmei fall in love with each other: One night, when Along accompanies Yingmei to keep the night watch at the village temple, he tells Yingmei how much he has suffered from his illness. When Along suddenly stops and intends to reveal his true feeling toward Yingmei, the quiet between them is interrupted by the boisterous noise from some nearby toads. Although Along continues telling his story to Yingmei afterward, he fails to confess his love for her before they head for home. Since that encounter, however, Yingmei often daydreams about her vague desire for love. When she retires to her room after a morning's hard work, we are shown glimpses of her mind beginning to think of love: "... It is like a small worm eating the leaf of her heart all the time, making her uneasy and infatuated...."[21] When Yingmei discovers that Along has been observing her from outside the window, she feels extremely embarrassed, as if Along has noticed her love for him. Rather than facing her true feelings, Yingmei suppresses them by blaming

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[21] Ibid., p. 199.

Along for coming in unexpectedly. Her desire for Along is once again left unfulfilled.

Yingmei's inner world is further assimilated into the narrator's conclusive pronouncement on the unreasonable elements of an inflexible society when Yingmei's father declines Along's proposal on behalf of his daughter. After this disappointing decision, Yingmei is endowed with a viewpoint as if she were "suddenly" enlightened to follow her desire for love. She understands that her family members are "... spiders using cruel silk to make a fine net to catch her, as if catching a fly. They use the nutrition of her life to maintain and continue their life."[22] She is aware of how inhuman the thinking is, and feels pity for those caught in the social structure. Yet this passage does not make Yingmei a heroine fighting against the system, but only shows that her mentality is appropriated into the narrator's authoritative and impassionate exploration of traditional filial piety. With time passing by, Along's condition relapses. To compensate for his selfish decision, Yingmei's father invites Along to stay with them again. However, Yingmei's ignoring him makes Along's condition worse and he finally breaks down. The story ends with the narrator's satiric conclusion in which Yingmei remains an obedient daughter, voiceless and senseless about her happiness.

Relying on this narrative mode, Zhong Lihe's narrator is able to probe into the helplessness of a young woman, like Yingmei, living in a patriarchal social system. Many scholars have discussed Zhong Lihe's humanitarian concerns for individualism in a society, while the formal elements such as the narrative technique in Zhong's works have been less scrutinized. Unlike "Gossamer" and "New Birth," in which the protagonists are endowed with an ability to pursue their own happiness, "Thin Grass" registers an inconsistency between the protagonist's self-narration, already mediated through the narrator's psycho-narration, and the narrator's indifferent third-person point of view. If Yingmei's self-narration implies a drive to social reform, individualism and modernity, then the narrator's omniscience shows how weak Yingmei and Along's efforts are.

Although in the narration Yingmei is not portrayed as a completely inarticulate protagonist, her limited inner world is only knowable through the interpretation of the narrator. The narrator sees Yingmei as an individualist who yearns for free love, free marriage, and a life of her own, but as soon as she abandons the hope of marrying Along, she returns to the ordinary, following the rules of filial piety and the social order. Such a discrepancy between what the narrator sees (Yingmei's love for Along and her desire for marriage) and the interpretation of what he sees (Yingmei's docility which makes her return to the conventional domesticity as an obedient daughter) creates an interpretative trap set by the story. In this trap, Yingmei's voice and inner world are not revealed through the narrator's meditation since he is the one who commands the whole fictional space. Along's loss of sanity at the end of the story is subversive, for he seems to be the only character who strives to pursue happiness. The reader is therefore invited to decide who is truly insane: those reinforcing the social order (such as Yingmei's father) or those trying to break it. Unlike the previous two stories in which the protagonists take action to improve their lives, "Thin Grass" shows a hesitance, helplessness and a less passionate approach.

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[22] Ibid., p. 217.

If Zhong Lihe "progressed" back to the rigid and old-fashioned social structure from "Thin Grass," then in the story "Oleander" he criticized his fictional characters' submission to their fate and lack of order and virtue. It begins with a satiric narratorial commentary of a big house in Beiping: "Generally people assume that a place with flowers will have a brightness like spring, healthy life, the dignity of human beings, and the warmth of human nature. Yet God knows what there is in the yard. It is full of sin and tragedy, which can be expressed in all the ugly and sad words of a human society."[23] As the work unfolds, the characters living about the yard are introduced in turn. They include a family who often argue over food, a kind-looking but actually greedy landlord, a lonely old lady who likes to take other people's things, nosy and talkative women who do not utilize birth control, bearing babies like machines, an unfriendly stepmother who entertains herself by reproaching her step-children. The only person who feels uncomfortable about such a repetitive mode of life is a sentimental student of philosophy Li Jirong. He does not understand why people can be content with such a low quality of life and take no action to change it.

Yet Li's wondering about why these people can be so submissive in their lives is soon teased by the interference of the narration in which Li, and other humanistic intellectuals like him, are mocked for not recognizing that morality and law, though important for them, are irrelevant to the poor. Compared to Li, Zeng Simian, Li's friend and another intellectual character in the work, seems more realistic. He jokes with Li that Li would get a better sense of how to survive should he experience the same hunger as his neighbors. Zeng Simian is a youth from South Taiwan where people are often friendly, willing to help each other, and full of a strong love for the land, life and society. Hence, he is surprised by the coldness, selfishness, and mutual distrust of people whom he encounters in Beiping. The work is filled with negative comments of the inhabitants in the big house there. Facing such a society, Zeng increasingly feels indifferent about the place and its people. He questions:

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[23] *Complete Works of Zhong Lihe* 2, pp. 100–01.

> ... whether they are really from the Weishui Basin, that is, whether they are human beings with the same blood flowing in them, same living habits, cultural tradition, history and fate as himself. Since he discovers that they have such drastically different ways of thinking and concepts of life, and they have almost lost their moral judgment and the beauty and brightness of humanity, he feels deep hatred toward them.[24]

The work ends with Zeng's feelings of quasi-hatred and sadness toward the gradual degeneration of Chinese people. He maintains: "they are exactly like domestic animals tolerating epidemic bacteria, unless there is a miracle ... their species would perish from the world."[25]

The negative descriptions of the mainlanders in the story "Oleander" became controversial in the seventies when many of Zhong's works were rediscovered. Chen Yingzhen read it as "intellectuals from the colony who lose self-confidence and cannot see their own national stance."[26] In brief, he attributed Zhong's detachment from China and contempt for Chinese people to the fact that Zhong was mentally "poisoned" by the Japanese. Obviously, Chen's interpretation pre-supposed that Zhong should be a writer with Chinese consciousness like himself. In the nineties, Xu Sulan praised Zhong for his greater identification with his local Hakka community than with his "motherland" (China). Xu's conclusion, though rescuing Zhong from the colonizer's ideological contamination, pushed Zhong into another extreme as a Taiwanese nativist.

Both Chen and Xu assumed the opposition of Chinese nationalism and Taiwanese sentiment and were eager to put Zhong in one of the two categories. To avoid the dichotomy myself, I will look at the humanism in Zhong's works, and trace the relationship between Zhong's Chinese experience and his later writing. Behind Zeng's criticism of the Chinese people in Beiping, there is a wish for social reform. For Zeng, the main problem of these people is poverty (which leads to ignorance and conservatism), and he believes the Chinese people lack determination. Through Zeng's point of view, the reader encounters a conflict between a lonely member of the intellectual class and the downtrodden "other." The conflict comes exactly from the effect of representation as distancing, yet just because the "backward" Chinese people are an object on which the narrative does not bestow the qualities of a reflexive mind, they remain unabsorbed by the narrative action, creating a surplus of humanism. The more Zeng attempts to act as a surgeon dissecting the diseased body of Chinese society, the more useless and hopeless is the existence he portrays of his neighbors. Disenchantment and alienation, inseparable from a relentless criticism of the Chinese people, thus become inevitable.

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[24] Ibid., pp. 108–09.

[25] Ibid., p. 109.

[26] Same as fn. 8, p. 85.

The critical tone and the outsider's stance in "Oleander" are also related to Zhong's background—an intellectual from a colony who wished to embrace other people who suffer from the same historical condition. The importance here lies not in whether Zhong harbored a Chinese national consciousness, but instead in the fabricated, imagined elements of his national identity. As mentioned, Zhong's formation of Chinese identity drew much from his childhood imagination. He had no direct knowledge about China until he left for Manchuria in 1938. His Chinese identity however was ripening in him for a long time and so he was inevitably frustrated by the stagnant social reality in China. With a humanistic concern, Zhong wished that all colonized people could help each other and develop a genuine relationship. For example, in "Dusk in a City," Zhong described a harmonious friendship between his Taiwanese and Korean (both colonized) characters. In "Taidong Hotel," a story about a place where no Japanese live, the narrator states: "Because we also bear the same curseable and sad fate as people from colonies, we become close to the mainlanders. Because of this, we have sympathetic, sentimental, and subtle feelings of quasi-friendship toward them."

However, the reality that Zhong encountered was not so ideal. In "Baishu de beiai" (The Sadness of White Potatoes), his last work written during his residence in China, Zhong recorded how Taiwanese had to hide their background in order to avoid hostility from the Mainlanders. He wrote:

> Beiping is very big. With its humbleness and greatness, it can embrace everything. But if you are discerned as Taiwanese, it is very bad. It is unfortunate, as if you are sentenced to death. At that time, you will feel Beiping is so narrow that you have nowhere to hide.[27]

He also wrote: "There are no Taiwanese to be seen in Beiping because they have all hidden." Another example; when one of the Taiwanese children wanted to buy a national flag, a Chinese man asked: "Which national flag do you want? It might be difficult to get a Japanese one."[28]

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[27] *Complete Works of Zhong Lihe* 3, p. 3.

For Zhong, all the contempt came from being Taiwanese. He stated: "Because you are Taiwanese, being sad is useless. Anger and hatred are especially not suitable for you. Remember, you are white potatoes."[29] "Taiwanese, as we are called by the people of mainland China.… Can we discern a little friendliness from it? Before, our dominator called us the same—Taiwanese! Here, we find a lot of meanings: discrimination, contempt, insult and so on."[30] From these passages, it is not difficult to understand the disillusionment and self-alienation that Zhong suffered during his stay in China. Such feelings turned to sentimentality and self-mockery in Zhong's many short stories composed after "Oleander."

In "Sheng yu si" (Life and Death),[31] written at the end of 1944, the narrator mocks his own idealism that had him equipping himself with notions of sincerity, justice and honesty. He highlights a humanistic heart, but is only pushed far away by life. In "Shi" (Passing Away),[32] a lowly trainee is seriously beaten during a quarrel with his boss and later dies, and nobody feels sad over his death. In the 1945 work, "Doors," set during a severe winter in North China, the narrator consigns his dream to his friend Kang Xiaoxian, who leaves Shenyang for Beiping, but later is informed that Kang has died. As the original title "Juewang" (Desperation) suggests, the work ends in deep hopelessness with these lines: "Night, dark night. The door of the yard is shut again. The sound of feet disappears, and is followed by solitude and a long dark night with hardly any hope for brightness. Please shut the door, for there is no hope left for tomorrow. Just pain, disillusionment, a continuity of grey days without brightness and warmth!"[33] Under Japanese colonialism, for freedom of love and his imagined nostalgia for China, Zhong traveled to Manchuria, the "new world" (*xintiandi*) in his own terms, to search for his dreams. However, his experience ended in loneliness and disillusionment, which is quite different from the Japanese people's experience of Fengtian.[34] He resettled in his hometown,

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[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid., p. 7.

[31] Ibid., p. 147–55.

[32] *Complete Works of Zhong Lihe* 2, pp. 73–80.

[33] *Complete Works of Zhong Lihe* 2, p. 310.

[34] Fengtian, as described in Zhong's unfinished works "Diqiu zhi mei" (Fungus of the Earth) and "Shenye de xiju" (Comedy at Midnight), is a pleasure paradise for the Japanese. For a discussion on how Manchuria is represented in Taiwanese literature, see Lin Peijie, *Taiwan wenxue zhong de "manzhou" xiangxiang ji zaixian 1931–1945* (The Imaginations

Meinong, in April 1946. His humanitarian concerns remained, but the object of his examination became the Taiwanese population and the harsh reality in which they lived during the years immediately after 1945.

Postwar Hometown Construction

The early years of Zhong's resettlement in Taiwan were marred by drastic political change and linguistic switching, the split between the KMT and the Communist governments and the February 28th Incident. Consequently, Taiwanese suffered from both political disorder and economic decay. Taiwanese writers chose different routes to express their personal cultural and ideological pursuits and produced various styles of literature to convey the spirit of the times. For instance, Yang Kui devoted himself to the peace between the two sides of the Strait; Lü Heruo inclined to the leftwing movements. Zhong Lihe continued to write but most of the works were left unfinished. In January 1949, while being treated for tuberculosis at the National Taiwan University Hospital, Zhong recorded his experience of the February 28th Incident in his diary. He later wrote in his diary almost everyday. In his diary entries, he recorded his concerns about his family, his contemplation upon life and many other details such as the weather changes, the books he read, his health condition, and the conversations between his friends and himself. It was also during this period that he began to draft the stories surrounding his hometown, known later as the "Guxiang" (Hometown) series, in which he captured the social decay of early postwar Taiwan. Dissimilar to the detached third person point of view in "Oleander," Zhong used the first person narrative voice in "Zhutouzhuang" (Zhutou Village). As a train approaches his hometown, the narrator in "Zhutou Village" is overwhelmed with joy. He states: "Raising my head, at the north-east corner, very dense bamboo forest surrounds the lovely village. It is covered by light fog as if it is burning. I gaze eagerly and passionately, hot blood rushing through my veins."[35]

In "Oleander," Zeng Simian remains an outsider observing slices of his neighbors lives, while in the "Hometown" series the I-narrator has a closer relationship with the land and shares the same life experience as the people whom he describes. Like those in "Oleander," people in "Zhutou Village" also suffer from poverty, however, unlike the mother and son in "Oleander" who quarrel over

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and Representations of "Manchuria" in Taiwanese Literature 1931–1945) (Taipei: Showwe, 2015).

[35] *Complete Works of Zhong Lihe* 3, p. 32.

food, villagers in "Zhutou Village" help each other survive through a tough reality. One woman gives a bigger portion of rice to her mother-in-law, and other adults leave the better food for the children. But, when dealing with the externally withered condition of a Taiwanese farming village, Zhong introduced a character Bingwen to show the Taiwanese farmers' helplessness toward their fate. Bingwen was once a diligent, contented and optimistic young man, but after losing his job following the war, he becomes a swindler.

The second story "Shanhuo" (Forest Fire) depicts the practice of setting fires in the mountains promulgated by hopeless villagers in order to fight against the legendary Fire of Heaven (*tianhuo*) and to pray for the coming year's harvest. The third story focuses on the character Uncle Ahuang. Like Bingwen in "Zhutou Village," Ahuang becomes unemployed after the war and loses his passion for life. He refuses to work because he believes that people will become even poorer by working. Through the mountain-burning villagers as well as Bingwen and Ahuang's silent protest against life, Zhong painted a dark picture of Taiwanese society. Though the first three stories are all entwined with sentimental and gloomy feelings, the last one "Qingjia yu shange" (My "Out-law" and the Hill Songs) turns to optimism and a reconfirmation of the meaning of life and labor.[36] The story describes a hard-working man called Tu Yuxiang who encourages himself to live with dignity even though the conditions of life are very poor.

Singing was a precious cultural heritage for the Hakka people. Zhong's inclusion of singing, at the end of his homebound experience series, indicated his love for his local community in Taiwan in the stressful 1950s. In one of Zhong Lihe's letters to Zhong Zhaozheng, he confessed: "I thought if all the four stories in *Hometown* were sad ones, the readers might be depressed. Yet my intention is not this. Therefore, I would like to give a bright hope at the end."[37] It is unclear whether Zhong did feel some hope toward the rebirth of Taiwanese farming villages, or whether he just could not afford to become completely desperate and so reserved a space for hope in his work. Although Zhong concluded his *Hometown* series with a positive hue, his disappointment remained noticeable.

At a time when the government called for a bright and optimistic literature to assist in economic reform in postwar Taiwan, Zhong's generally dreary portrayal of Taiwanese farming villages was predictably unwelcome. He submitted the four stories to different journals, but the work was rejected and never published during his lifetime. Though Zhong made some changes, declaring that all he had written were the scenes just after 1945, and that with the reform of the KMT government, life in the farming villages had improved greatly, his works, full of love for the land of Taiwan, were still not appreciated by the editors. In letters to his literary friends, Zhong Zhaozheng and Chen Huoquan, Zhong Lihe wrote that it was expected that his stories would not be popular at a time when anti-Communist and combat literature were the mainstream. Having this realization about the direction of the mainstream literature of the time, Zhong was not particularly upset by the numerous rejections. On the contrary, he insisted on writing about the subject that interested him and which he really wanted to write about rather than confine himself to what people wanted to read. Encountering difficulty publishing his works, Zhong turned inward and distanced himself from the national narrative.

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[36] The English title of the story follows T. M. McClellan's translation mentioned in fn. 4.

[37] *Complete Works of Zhong Lihe* 6, p. 30.

From 1950 to 1960, Zhong wrote several works describing his daily life and farming. Though he led a very basic life and was not in very good health, he tried hard to construct a positive perspective on life to face the tough reality. In "Xiaozhang" (The Schoolmaster), "Ayuan" (Ayuan), and "Lao qiaofu" (The Old Farmer), the characters are all sanguine and industrious. "The Schoolmaster" describes how a principal, relying on his idealism and devotion to education, tries to improve the system in his schools. He joins the students to learn Chinese, teaching them with encouragement and an emphasis on self-motivated learning. He studies the method of teaching at Eton College and Harrow School in England, wishing to learn from these two schools and surpass them. His passion for education and willingness to adopt Western educational modes symbolize a yearning for a reformed and modernized future. The story ends with the principal taking a walk in the school field with the narrator (a schoolteacher) and enjoying its tranquility. The closing of the story, in which the principal expresses to the narrator his consideration of moving from the city center to a quiet place near the school, suggests that to retreat from the complicated national affairs and to motivate oneself are strategies for dealing with reality.

Similar to the determined principal, the farmers in Zhong's later works also show an endurance to fight against the harsh reality in which they live. The female character Ayuan is a powerful example. Ayuan is not good-looking. She has thick bones, dense eyebrows, and a flat nose. She is tough and often dresses like a man. She is frequently the target of the villagers' jokes. People consider her a "useful laborer," but nobody treats her as a human being. Though she is the main subject of the story, she is almost superfluous in the text for she is not endowed with any independent thinking. As a person, she is opaque for her desires. Her needs are never articulated by her, but only represented. The story therefore becomes more an ideological magnification of a philosophy of laboring than a portrait of a character. "The Old Farmer" can also be read from the same perspective. Qiu Ajin, an aging farmer, leads a humble working life. "Since he was about ten, he had never stopped using his blood and sweat to fertilize the fields of his village."[38] When he feels that he is about to die, he dresses himself up and lies in a coffin that he has prepared for himself, in this way he feels he will not need to bother his friends as much as he might otherwise.

The first three stories in *Hometown* and the last one, together with Zhong's other short stories focusing on his village's farmers, offer in many ways a remarkable contrast. In the first three stories, Zhong was keen on recording the decay of a Taiwanese farming village in the fifties, yet in the last one and stories like "The Schoolmaster," "Ayuan," and "The Old Farmer," Zhong portrayed a positive and hopeful picture of Taiwanese society. In the first three stories, the protagonists are often idle and passive as if it is their way of contesting their ill fate, and it can be noted that Zhong was more concerned with the effect of social forces on people. Yet in the last one and in Zhong's other stories, the protagonists are diligent and self-reliant and Zhong placed a greater emphasis on individual efforts and self-improvement. From *Oleander*, in which a progressive orientation toward anti-feudalism and individualism is suggested, through a record of a stagnant and superstitious society in *Hometown*, to a reconstruction of a positive selfhood in "The Schoolmaster," "Ayuan," and "The Old Farmer," Zhong's humanistic concerns continued, and he seemed to be more and more concerned with individual destinies rather than social problems. This change is obvious, yet although Zhong pinpointed the root cause, the illness of the Chinese people, in "Oleander," he did not offer an account for Bingwen's loss of passion for life and Ahuang's turning into an idler in *Hometown*. In the description of the buoyant natural disposition of his characters such as the schoolmaster, Ayuan and the farmer, there is considerable romanticism. From *Oleander* to *Hometown*, Zhong's attention shifted from social forces to individual ones.

His other stories, written around a similar period as *Hometown*, draw primarily on his personal experiences and feelings. They either record a certain phase of his life or events affecting him personally with a complex gradation of various levels of time and emotion. The most striking examples are "Yemangmang" (Wildness) and "Xiaogang" (Small Hill), whereby both tell of the death of his second son, Li'er. In both works, Zhong recorded his emotional outbursts, recollections, thoughts and dreams. In particular in "Wildness," we can find reference to several of Zhong's emotional levels following a monologue addressed to his dead son upon visiting his tomb. This event subsequently leads the narrator to recollections of his son's illness, his family life with wife and son, and recollections of his son again, projected into his present sorrow. The story then returns to the sequence of the time before the boy fell ill, and his family life. After a passage of murmuring, the sequence of the time before the boy fell ill reappears. Then the narrative returns to the boy's death and ends in a monologue in a weeping tone after visiting Li'er's tomb, wishing his son could still be alive and follow him home.

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[38] *Complete Works of Zhong Lihe* 3, p. 160.

Superficially, these different levels of grief seem to be loose and fragmented, yet on the contrary, these details show that Zhong was able to unite various time-streams and motifs to a whole piece. By continuously going back to the recording of personal experiences, Zhong not only evoked a lyrical picture of reality but also demonstrated that life is made up of experiences which one has passed through. Such writing, concentrating on personal experiences and feelings, is not only innovative and significant in the fifties when anti-Communist writing was the mainstream, but also resonates with Zhong's lifelong concerns—the emancipation of the individual from outmoded traditions, with artistic production providing the means for expressing and understanding the often hidden or somehow suppressed side of the artist's personality. Zhong's succeeding works—*Lishan Farm*, "Marriage of the Same Surname," "Running Away" and "Rain"—can also be seen from this perspective.

Social and Private Details

During Taiwan's White Terror era and at a time when anti-Communist writing reached its peak,[39] Zhong finished *Lishan Farm*, his favorite novel. Set in a remote Hakka village in South Taiwan around 1938, the work describes how a couple, sharing the same surname, attempt to fight against conservative thinking and pursue their future together. To many readers' and critics' surprise, this work does not tackle the national conflict of anti-colonial resistance but reveals a harmonious world with pastoral love. Apart from the Japanese seller of coffee tree sprouts (Mr. Takazaki), no other Japanese are mentioned in this work. Judging by the social circumstance in which the work was written, the absence of Japanese colonialism should not be seen as a coincidence but an authorial choice to avoid a nation-related theme in his writing.

Lishan Farm should not be read as a purely pastoral and utopian novel, for the social and class problems within Taiwanese society are suggested and many characters are created with a basis in Zhong's personal experience. Also, the work carries a clear anti-feudalistic theme and an emphasis on individualism. It is fair to say that Zhong prioritized the social contradictions in a Taiwanese farming village instead of the national conflict. The farm owner, Liu Shaoxing, is a hardworking and practical gentry businessman. He does not much like Japanese people, but is willing to make concessions to them when it comes to business and profits. In order to manage Lishan Farm, Liu takes his second son, Zhiyuan, and third son, Zhiping (the main character), to help. Zhiyuan is a rigid person who does not compromise whenever he feels he is right. Compared to Zhiyuan, Zhiping is much milder and has more humanistic concerns. Since he believes that people are born equal, he becomes confused when trying to solve the conflict between his farm helpers and himself. He is not aware of his privileged social status. Though he has an open-minded and un-biased critical spirit, he still harbors the bias of his class, that is, to interact with the workers is considered boring, bland and useless. Yet after his own direct contact with them, Zhiping discovers their great vitality.

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[39] The White Terror in Taiwan refers to the suppression of political dissidents following the February 28th Incident. It ended in 1987, when the martial law, promulgated in 1949, was lifted.

The most subversive theme in the work is not the class differences but the love between Zhiping and Shuhua, for they have the same surname and to marry a person with the same surname was inadmissible at that time. Receiving a modern education, Zhiping considers such thinking old-fashioned and foolish, and is amused that Shuhua often calls him uncle. His "unapproved" love with Shuhua leads him to re-examine the society in which he has grown up. For him, the world in which he lives is:

> ... tightly covered by a net with strict structure. This net is connected through a small knot with numerous vertical lines going through the same numerous horizontal ones ... because these numerous vertical and horizontal lines are closely fixed there, you cannot change your position, nor can you abandon your identity, no matter whether you are willing.[40]

Zhiping's way to deal with it is not to escape from it, but to face it with a more positive and determined attitude. Although Zhiping's parents and friends are all aware of the unreasonable side of the belief that a couple having the same surname cannot get married, none of them dares to challenge the fixed idea at the cost of their social status and reputation. Paradoxically, Shuhua's mother is very supportive even though she realizes that by doing so she will have to face great pressure and blame. The story ends with Zhiping and Shuhua's elopement, leaving Taiwan to go in search of freedom for their marriage.

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[40] *Complete Works of Zhong Lihe* 4, p. 81.

Zhong's last work "Rain," written in 1960 shortly before his death, is another love story with similar pastoral color. Living in a farming village where the society is run according to the patriarchal order, young couples, like Huosheng and Yunying in this story, cannot decide their own marriage. Although not having the same surname, the love between them is still not permitted due to some quarrel over the farms between the two families. In addition, Yunying's parents wish for their daughter to marry Zhengang, a son of the local gentry who loves Yunying, for better financial security. After learning that Yunying will probably marry Zhengang and after a long period of debating with himself, Huosheng decides to leave his hometown. To show her love for Huosheng, Yunying commits suicide by taking poison.

Critics have pointed out that Zhong tended to record the social reality of the Taiwanese farming villages (such as the Taiwanese who are drafted to fight for Japan, the rain worshipping ceremony of the farmers and the conflict between different classes in the village) in his works. Peng Ruijin demonstrated that *Lishan Farm* was not simply a love story. Rather, it aimed to "depict an extremely serious theme about the land and the people [of Taiwan] … it symbolizes an old farming kingdom, showing its establishment, decay, and failure, and it is a miniature of the farming village in the thirties in Taiwan … marriage with someone bearing the same surname is only something which Zhong put in to dazzle the readers, and careful readers will find that the structure of the novel is based on the management of the farm."[41]

However, Ye Shitao declared that apart from delicately capturing the various types of Hakka people in a remote village in the late thirties of Taiwan, the main theme of *Lishan Farm* is an anti-feudalistic love story.[42] Here, I am less interested in debating over the subject of Zhong's writing. Instead, I consider the relation between the canon (such as works containing national consciousness or exploring social problems) and the "private details" (such as works describing personal love) in Zhong's novels the most thought-provoking. By spanning several pages describing the love between his characters, Zhong offers a poetic approach to history in which social conflicts are aesthetically treated. For instance, the farmers in *Lishan Farm* are not necessarily tenants without their own land, so the opposition between the landlord Liu Shaoxing and his helpers is not obvious.

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[41] Peng, "Tudi de ge, shenghuo de shi" (The Song of Lands, the Poem of Life), *Complete Works of Zhong Lihe* 4, pp. 293–302.

[42] Ye Shitao, "Xin wenxue chuantong de chengji zhe—Zhong Lihe" (The Heir of the Tradition of New Literature—Zhong Lihe), *Zhong Lihe shishi sanshi'er zhounian jinian ji Taiwan wenxue xueshu yantaohui lunwen jiyao*, pp. 58–59.

There are other examples of Zhong's lyrical take on history. In "Rain," Yunying on more than one occasion mentions the story of Qiuju, one of the female dressmakers working in the same shop as herself. Her unsuccessful love story in the first instance is somehow unrelated to the main plot, but at the end, Yunying commits suicide by taking the same poison as Qiuju, turning Qiuju's tragic death into a foreshadowing of her own. As for the rain worshipping ritual, it is first mentioned in Chapter 2 and not mentioned again until Chapter 7, the middle chapter. This time the rain worshipping ritual links up with the love story between Huosheng and Yunying, for the young couple have a date at the temple while the ritual is in progress. The last time the rain worshipping is mentioned is in the final chapter after Yunying's suicide. After a long time of worshipping, the rain finally arrives. It not only echoes the first chapter but also suggests a romanticism in which there is a connection between individual suffering (Yunying's sacrifice) and natural benignancy (seasonable rain). By weaving many motifs and situations into a unified texture, Zhong's works show a picture rather than a historical series. The seemingly superfluous elements exist in a mutually enriching relationship with the grand narrative of critical realist writing with national resistance themes.

From *Hometown* to "Rain," Zhong continuously reshaped his personal experiences, adjusting his method through an understanding of social reality. Not directly articulating why Bingwen becomes lifeless and Ahuang indolent nor criticizing his characters' superstitious mountain burning behavior, Zhong's *Hometown* is relatively lyrical. The four independent yet related stories vividly capture the life in farming villages in postwar Taiwan. The lyrical mode Zhong employed was quite refreshing and evocative of Taiwanese literature in the fifties. It can be regarded as what David Der-wei Wang has termed the "history with feeling," which intertwines with the "epic" decade in which many mainstream creative works were inevitably tinted with an anti-Communist ideology.[43]

"My 'Out-law' and the Hill Songs," the last story in *Hometown*, offers a great example of Zhong's lyricism in which Taiwan's postwar suffering and despair are transformed into a sublime vision full of happiness and hope. The tone of the story is almost romantic, resembling that in Zhong's portrayal of the schoolmaster, Ayuan, and the vigorous old farmer. In his *Lishan Farm* and "Rain," such romanticism is revealed by a need to escape and the contrast between the magnificent and benevolent nature (rain) and miserable individuals. In the former, Zhiping and Shuhua's elopement suggests a dream of escape in order to get rid of the shackles of feudalistic morality, while in the latter, Yunying's tragic suicide epitomizes the indifferent nature, for the rain brings gaiety instead of condolence. Many of Zhong's works are subjective and romantic in character. Such characters enable him to grasp the most familiar reality limited to the circle of his own experiences and to offer an alternative approach to reality different from the "more canonical" critical realist writing. Yet it is also because of these characters that Zhong's works have often been criticized.

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[43] David Der-wei Wang, *The Lyrical in Epic Time: Modern Chinese Intellectuals and Artists through the 1949 Crisis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), p. 369.

Zhong Lihe in Taiwanese Literary History

In order to stress the social function of literature, Tang Wenbiao used Zhong Lihe as an example to denounce the art for art's sake notion shared by many writers of modern poetry, ushering in Zhong's rediscovery in postwar Taiwan. In the article, Tang stated: "... Literature has always been the specialty of the officials or 'urban intellectuals.' The literary inclination has become extremely serious, so Zhong Lihe's 'farmer literature' becomes especially precious."[44] He praised the social consciousness in Zhong's works to condemn the "westernized" and the "decayed" notions proposed by modern poetry in the sixties. Yet soon after this praise, Tang faulted Zhong's worldview for being "too narrow" and merely "turning around in the maze of his personal love life." Tang's claim was plausible, especially since Zhong rarely mentioned Japanese oppression in his works and did not take an active stance in anti-Japanese movements.[45] In brief, Zhong was cited because his description of Taiwanese farmers echoed with leftist theorists' calling for a social consciousness in literature, not because of the literary value of the works.

Another debate surrounding Zhong was his national identity exemplified by the aforementioned disparity between Chen Yingzhen who blamed Zhong for being mentally colonized and Xu Sulan who championed Zhong for his Taiwanese inclination. To label Zhong as a follower of great China-ism from his oft-quoted sentence that the blood of the mainlanders must flow back to the mainland so that it will stop boiling, or to categorize him as a writer with Taiwanese consciousness by way of his affectionate tone for the Taiwanese land

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[44] Originally published in *Wenji* (Literary Season) 2 (November 1973) and later collected in *Zhong Lihe canji* (A Remnant Collection of Zhong Lihe's Works), p. 260.

[45] Ibid., p. 281.

and its people, leads to a partial understanding of Zhong's works. Interestingly, even though Zhong's "obsession with China" was not appreciated by Chen Yingzhen, it was moderately accepted by the KMT government in the eighties, during which Zhong's life was adapted into a 1980 film *Yuanxiangren* (China: My Native Land), sponsored by the KMT's Central Pictures Corporation.

Irrespective of whether Zhong was more China-leaning or Taiwan-loving, Zhong's oeuvre was precious because of its private and subjective characteristics. Rather than considering them a technical failure in artistic production, they serve as a window to a lyrical reality. Many of Zhong's works were composed in the 1950s. In that decade dominated by anti-Communist literature, Zhong's focus on personal details was relatively unconventional and potentially subversive, as it offered an alternative dissimilar to the standard socially engaged realist writing. There is little social criticism and few national issues in Zhong's works other than "Oleander." Still, his works are not devoid of social reality as some critics have thought.[46] Behind his personal narration, there is an exposure of the traditional mode of thinking and interrogation of the traditional image of family relationships as well as a vivid picture of Taiwanese farming villages during the postwar period.

While it is true that he mostly wrote about internal social contradiction and individual experience instead of external national resistance, what more strikingly differentiates him from his contemporaries is Zhong's weaving of social reality into a lyrical and picturesque portrayal of individual affairs. This brings about a different way to enact and cope with the transition from colonial to postcolonial Taiwan. Concerning Taiwanese authors' relentless pursuit of identity, author Wu Zhuoliu's opting for an epic and historical approach when narrating colonial and early postcolonial Taiwan offers yet another choice.

Writing as a Means for Exposing and Reproaching Social Evil: Wu Zhuoliu

Born in 1900 to an affluent Hakka family in Xinpu, North Taiwan, Wu Zhuoliu learned Chinese at a private school and later received Japanese-language education. In 1916, he entered Taipei Normal School where he was trained to be a schoolteacher. Upon graduation in 1920, Wu pursued a teaching career until 1940 when he resigned due to his dissatisfaction with the discriminative attitude of a local Japanese educational inspector. With the encouragement of Miss Sodekawa, one of his Japanese literary friends, Wu began his first literary work. He published his début work "Kurage" (Jellyfish) in *Xin wenxue yuebao* (New Literature Monthly) in 1936.[47] Later in the year, his "Dobu no higoi" (The Golden Carp in the Mud) was short-listed for the composition contest of *Taiwan New Literature*.[48] After his resignation, Wu went to Nanjing in 1941 to work as a journalist for *Dalu xinbao* (New Mainland News), through which he had the opportunity to further learn Chinese, and even to meet Wang Jingwei.[49] It was also during his sojourn in Nanjing that Wu experienced the awkwardness of being Taiwanese.[50]

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[46] For instance, Sawai Noriyuki once commented that the themes of the first three stories in *Oleander* are not deep enough and these works lack a sense of reality, especially because Zhong wrote them in the forties, a time when imperialization became prevalent. See Sawai Noriyuki, "Taiwan zuojia Zhong Lihe de minzu yishi" (The National Consciousness of the Taiwanese Writer Zhong Lihe) in fn. 10, p. 146.

He resettled in Taiwan and began working for *Taiwan nichi nichi shimpō* in March 1942. Also in 1942, he began to serialize his travelogue "Nankin zakkan" (Mixed Feelings about Nanjing) in *Taiwan geijutsu* (Taiwan Art).[51] One year later, Wu began to draft *Hu Taiming* (Hu Taiming), later renamed *Yaxiya de gu'er* (The Orphan of Asia). The novel was completed in 1945 and published in 1946. After the Japanese surrender, Wu worked as a journalist, editor, civil servant and high school teacher. He launched *Taiwan wenyi* (Taiwan Literature) in 1964 and established the Taiwanese Literature Prize (*Taiwan wenxue jiang*) in 1965, endeavoring to promote young Taiwanese writers. He continued to publish works in various genres until his death in 1976.

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[47] "Kurage" (Jellyfish), *Xin wenxue yuebao* (New Literature Monthly) 2 (March 1936): 14–16. The title of its Chinese translation is "Shuiyue" (Moon in the Water). Li Kuixian has commented on the difference between the Japanese and Chinese titles. See Li's "Shuiyue, shuimu ji qita" (Moon in the Water, Jellyfish and Others), *wenxue Taiwan* 21 (January 1997): 14–17.

[48] "Dobu no higoi" (The Golden Carp in the Mud), *Taiwan xin wenxue* (Taiwan New Literature) 1.5 (June 1936): 6–15.

[49] Wu commented that Wang was quite friendly, and people around Wang were not very talented. See Wu Zhuoliu, *Taiwan lianqiao* (Taipei: Qianwei, 1995), p. 110.

[50] Wu stayed with his friend surnamed Zhang, who advised Wu to hide his Taiwanese background and to tell people that he came from Meixian of Guangdong province. See Wu Zhuoliu, *Wuhuaguo* (The Fig Tree) (Taipei: Qianwei, 1995), p. 99.

[51] The Chinese version was published in *Wu Zhuoliu zuopin ji* (*si*) *Nanjing zagan* (A Collection of Wu Zhuoliu's Works (Four) Mixed Feelings about Nanjing) (Taipei: Yuanxing, 1977). For Wu's vision of modernity, see Liao Ping-hui's "Lüxing yu yiyang xiandaixing: shitan Wu Zhuoliu de *Nanjing zagan*" (Travel and Alternative Moderntiy), *Chung-wai Literary Quarterly* 29.2 (July 2000): 288–312.

A plethora of essays have been written on the essence of Wu's national identity. Some labeled Wu as a follower of a great China-ism.[52] Some considered him a foreseer inclining to Taiwan's independence.[53] Others credited Wu for his meditation on Taiwan's alternative modernity or "triple consciousness."[54] Rather than pinning down Wu as a Taiwanese nationalist or China-leaning patriot, I wish to trace the relationship and differences between Wu's early and later works, and explore how his autobiographical writings can be read as an attempt to fill in the missing pieces of the official historical narrative.

Despite Wu's extensive writing career, the themes in his writing consist primarily of three types—satire of the local Taiwanese gentry enslaved by the Japanese during the colonial era, unveiling the detestable conduct of corrupt officials, and the identity searching and historical sentiment of Taiwanese intellectuals. The first type includes works such as "Gonggou" (The Service Dog) and "Xiansheng ma" (The Doctor's Mother). The second type is comprised of works like “Bocitan kezhang” (Director Potsdam), “Jiaoyuan” (The Cunning Monkey) and “Tongchou” (The Foul Smell of Money). “Moon in the Water” and Wu’s autobiographical works such as *The Orphan of Asia*, *Wuhuaguo* (The Fig Tree), and *Taiwan lianqiao* (Golden Dewdrop) represent the third type.

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[52] Chen Yingzhen, Chen Zhaoying and Gu Jitang all stressed Wu's Chinese sentiment. See Chen Yingzhen, "Shiping 'yaxiya de gu'er'," (On 'The Orphan of Asia'), *Yaxiya de gu'er* (The Orphan of Asia) (Taipei: Yuanxing, 1977), pp. 45–60. Chen was reluctant to consider the sense of orphanhood revealed in Wu's works as a historical product, claiming that Taiming's identity crisis was rather atypical. Chen Zhaoying noted Wu's Taiwanese consciousness, but stressed that such a love for Taiwan was intertwined with that for China. See her *Taiwan wenxue yu bentuhua yundong* (Taiwanese Literature and its Localization Movement), p. 110. See also Gu Jitang, "Yi aiguo qinggan biaoxian 'gu'er yishi' de Wu Zhuoliu" (Wu Zhuoliu—Patriotism as an Expression of 'Orphan's Consciousness'), *Taiwan xiaoshuo fazhan shi* (A History of the Development of Taiwanese Fiction), pp. 120–30.

[53] Zhang Liangze, Peng Ruijin and Song Dongyang [Chen Fangming] regarded Wu's autobiographical novels as a magnification of the corruption of Taiwanese people's nostalgia for China. See Zhang Liangze, "'Wuhuaguo' jiexi—cong 'wuhuaguo' kan Wu Zhuoliu de Taiwanren yishi," (Analysis of *The Fig Tree*—Examining Wu Zhuoliu's Taiwanese Sentiment from *The Fig Tree*) *The Fig Tree* (Irvine, California: Taiwan chubanshe, 1987), pp. 1–26; Peng Ruijin, "Wu Zhuoliu, Chen Ruoxi, yaxiya de gu'er" (Wu Zhuoliu, Chen Ruoxi, The Orphan of Asia), *Taiwan wenxue tansuo* (Investigation of Taiwanese Literature), pp. 203–18; Song Dongyang, "Chaoxiang xuyuan zhong de liming—shilun Wu Zhuoliu zuopin zhong de 'zhongguo jingyan" (Toward a Dawn with Hope—On the "Chinese Experience" in Wu Zhuoliu's Works), Chen Yongxing, ed. *Taiwan wenxue de guoqu yu weilai* (The Past and Future of Taiwanese Literature), pp. 79–100. Ye Shitao pointed out that Hu Taiming's insanity lay in the fact that he is caught between the competing Chinese and Taiwanese consciousness. See Ye's *Zouxiang Taiwan wenxue* (Toward Taiwanese Literature), p. 9.

[54] See Liao Ping-hui's essay in fn. 51; Leo Ching, *Becoming "Japanese": Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*, ch. 5 "Into the Muddy Stream," pp. 174–210; Xiaojue Wang, *Modernity with a Cold War Face: Reimagining the Nation in Chinese Literature across the 1949 Divide*, ch. 4, especially pp. 179–95.

“The Service Dog” describes a diligent Taiwanese schoolteacher Hong Hongdong’s adherence to Japanese colonial policies, such as promoting utilitarian and social education, at the cost of his own health. He is still concerned about his teaching during his illness, but is forced to resign after a long-term sickness. Due to his Taiwanese background, he is not entitled to receive a retirement bonus and his junior position has a meager salary which limits his ability to save money. Hong’s neighbors exacerbate his situation by their demands on him to repay his debts. He is left alone with all the “precious” citations of his services. “The Doctor’s Mother,” too, satirizes the snobbishness of certain Taiwanese people in the Japan-run period. After marrying a woman from an affluent family, Qian Xinfa manages to establish his own clinic.[55] Though he gradually amasses wealth, he remains stingy toward the poor, but generously donates when the opportunity brings him publicity and fame. Similar to Itō in Wang Changxiong’s “Torrent,” Qian leads a highly imperialized daily life, including using a Japanese name, and is upset by the behavior of his mother, who insists on dressing in Taiwanese costume and speaking only Taiwanese. He is hypocritical at his mother’s funeral, adopting the Japanese style abhorred by his mother and using the occasion as a chance to show off. No one sincerely weeps for Qian’s mother, except an elderly beggar whom Qian’s mother has previously helped. These stories not only divulge Wu’s moral indignation at the local gentry class, but also highlight the tension between the indigenous Taiwanese value system and the coercive imperialization.

Wu’s concern for the character Hong Hongdong and his mockery of Qian Xinfa turned into his exposure of the KMT officials’ opportunism and corruption in his post-1945 works. “Director Potsdam” describes how an opportunist, Fan Hanzhi, tries to gain as much money as he can during the years between 1945–49. On learning that Japan had surrendered, Fan flees with gold and his company’s cash to Shanghai and finally arrives in Taiwan, where he marries a local girl, Yulan. He lives his life confiscating properties left by the Japanese, and also smuggling sugar from China. He further bribes local government officials and obtains their permission to cut down trees in the forest, the land reclaimed from which he plans to sell for a high price in the future. Yet, the authorities apprehend Fan before this dream comes true.

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[55] The name, which implies the protagonist is a money-grabbing *nouveau riche*, is highly symbolic.

Wu in the story uses Yulan's longing for love as an analogy for the Taiwanese people's over-enthusiasm toward the mainlanders around 1945. At her first encounter with Fan Hanzhi, Yulan is attracted by his fluent Chinese and gentle manner. Her feelings for Fan are described as a profound China yearning, a kind of affection incomprehensible for her. Only after marrying him does Yulan discover Fan's unpleasant manner is unbearable. Her disappointment with her marriage signifies Taiwanese people's uneasiness as well as "antipathy or discontent within less than half a year" after the KMT's takeover.[56] During their honeymoon trip, someone steps on Yulan's foot and makes her Shanghai shoes dirty, suggesting once again the disillusionment of the Taiwanese population's "retrocession" dreams. By making Fan Hanzhi a shameless opportunist—a Japanese lackey in China before 1945 and self-interested parvenu in Taiwan during the KMT takeover, Wu depicted the rapacity of the group of takeover henchmen. When the leader of the spy-arresting team finally catches Fan and is writing an investigation report, he is confused as to why people with outstanding records during the wartime (such as Fan) would turn to corruption. The ending invites readers to mull over the spy-arresting team leader's question. By suggesting that all the spies and corrupt officials are alike, Wu poked fun at the Fan Hanzhi's behavior as a historical product.

In addition to the corrupt officials, Wu's derision also includes local opportunists who used the period's "power vacuum," a time when the ex-Japanese lackeys lost their power and the remaining respectable gentry became reclusive, to seize power for themselves. In "The Cunning Monkey," Jiang Datou (lit. big head), as his name suggests, is one of those who changes from being an anonymous man to a member of the new postwar gentry. Taking place before Taiwan's retrocession, Jiang is a swindler who sells fake medicine to get money. He enjoys seeking publicity and is good at playing tricks to improve his reputation. For example, using a tricycle as transportation, not for convenience, but for showing off. The story uncovers his evil behavior such as bribing villagers in order to win a local election, attaining private ends in the name of public affairs, using money and forcibly marrying a girl. When Jiang becomes a provincial assemblyman, his evil deeds are disclosed and he is imprisoned. At the end, Jiang is said to have escaped and is repeating his evil in Japan. This closing is indicative of Wu's reservations about the possibility for the social evils to be recompensed through justice, and for people like Director Potsdam and Jiang to be extirpated.

"The Foul Smell of Money" is another story that unveils social evils. The protagonist, Delegate Shen, is a corrupt, money-mad, official from the mainland.

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[56] *Wu Zhuoliu ji* (Collected Works of Wu Zhuoliu), p. 167.

Like the cunning Jiang, Shen also makes a fortune during the taking-over period. Because most villagers are poorly educated, Delegate Shen boasts of his (superficial) knowledge of the Three People's Principles; acting as though "enlightening" local Taiwanese is his duty. Yet when the villagers become fed up with him, giving him the nickname of Mr. Three Sleep-ism (*sanmian zhuyi*) due to his sleeping habit, he begins to make up his heroic anti-Japanese experiences. Once he has managed to make himself famous, he continues to fool the gullible Taiwanese villagers. He takes advantage of their superstitions, pretending he is a messenger of Buddha, asking people to donate money to the Buddhist sanctuary set up by him. He is so addicted to gathering more money that he is cynical toward his friend Guo and ignores his remonstration. As he is ready to emigrate abroad, he becomes too ill to travel, and later dies. His body, buried without lime, soon decays. With the villagers' destroying the sanctuary, Shen's evil behavior is finally exposed when the villagers find the illegal money Shen gathered under the sanctuary. The title is symbolic, for money is not necessarily putrid. What is really rancid is the selfish, money-mad heart of corrupt officials.

By "sentencing" all his depraved protagonists in his fictional world, Wu offered a vision of an ideal society where righteousness resides. The illusion of the spy-hunting leader, the stranger's message about Jiang as a jail breaker, and the bystander's satiric comments about Delegate Shen's conduct are all like a warning prognosticating that there will be a retribution. The endings in these stories epitomize Wu's literary notions—a writer's works must be able to "survive through the historical criticism," and only when an author "feels shame-free when facing his offspring" can his works be seen as "containing literary value."[57] When referring to traditional Han poems, Wu reiterated the utilitarian function of literature. He proclaimed that literature should "reflect the background of the times, the advantages and disadvantages of the politics, the rise and fall of culture, the condition of the people and their customs, the social trend, and [should] contain historical value."[58] Preoccupied with such a literary standard, Wu's works are naturally full of social consciousness and historical sentiment. His concerns about individual destiny within the wider historical circumstances can not only be traced to his début Japanese-language work "Moon in the Water," but to his later autobiographical works too, and in these later works the concerns are ever more evident.

"Moon in the Water" narrates a Taiwanese intellectual's disillusionment under Japanese rule. Its protagonist, Renji, is an archetype of the pale intellectual, akin to Chen Yousan in Long Yingzong's "A Small Town with Papaya Trees" published only slightly later. The story starts with Renji blaming himself for failing to offer his family a better life. Looking at the tired and thin face of his sleeping wife, Lanying, Renji recollects his youthful ideals and how he has become a dejected man burdened with family care. Upon realizing that his poor condition is a product of the Japanese-Taiwanese inequality following from colonization, Renji becomes so furious that his previous ambitions are once again ignited. He shouts out his dream of studying in Tokyo, yet his wife immediately challenges his dream when she points out his deprived situation. The story ends in Renji's long sigh lamenting over his impossible dream, which is like "the moon in the water [the title], sometimes it is a full moon but sometimes it is not."[59] Compared to Lanying, a practical, hard-working woman with fortitude,[60] Renji is at best a feeble idealist vacillating constantly between a dream and reality. His indecisiveness and cowardice denote the intellectuals' helplessness in colonial Taiwan, foreshadowing their identity searching and national longing as exemplified by Hu Taiming in *The Orphan of Asia*.

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[57] Quoted in Lü Xingchang's *Tiexie shiren Wu Zhuoliu*, p. 187.

[58] Ibid., p. 186.

Writing Taiwan: The Historical Orphan

Written in the most strenuous years of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1943–45), *The Orphan of Asia* is a work tackling the spiritual distress of Taiwanese intellectuals under the Japanese occupation. The original title, *Hu Zhiming*, suggests a strong Han consciousness opposed to the Qing regime and a yearning for a motherland, for *zhi* means "determined" and *ming* refers to the Ming dynasty. As the title was the same as the name of the Vietnamese Communist leader, Wu changed it to *The Orphan of Asia* and the protagonist's name to Hu Taiming when publishing the work in Japan in 1956.[61] The protagonist, Taiming, is born to an old landlord class family. Even his grandfather is nostalgic for the pre-Japanese occupation period and firmly believes in the Confucian way of thinking.

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[59] *Collected Works of Wu Zhuoliu*, p. 19.

[60] Similar positive representation of women can also be found in Yuegui, the protagonist in Wu's "The Golden Carp in the Mud," published in the same year as "Moon in the Water."

[61] The 1956 version was published by Ichinisan Shohō. After the death of the director Nakazawa Fumi, the publishing house Hiroba Shohō reprinted it under the title *Ugamerareta shima* (The Crooked Island). With the preface written by renowned Sinologist Muraue Shiokonau and Professor Nakamura Tetsu, it drew great attention from the literary and cultural circle in Japan. According to the 1956 version, the first Chinese edition was translated by Yang Zhaoqi and published under the name *Gufan* (Lonely Sailboat) in 1959.

In his attitude toward the changing times in which a new social system is accompanied by the Japanese occupation, Taiming's grandfather is more like a recluse who escapes from reality. For him, the scholar Peng who sticks to the old-fashioned private school (*shuyuan*) is unwise. He asks Taiming to accept both the positive and negative effects brought by the Japanese colonialism.

According to Wu's brief introduction to *The Orphan of Asia*, the resistant thinking of Taiwanese people is split between three different camps—the absolutists, the detached, and the compromisers.[62] People in the first group endeavor to establish anti-imperial thinking to replace armed anti-Japanese movements, people in the second group are completely disappointed with politics, and have no interest in cooperating with the new regime and seek only individual enjoyment. People belonging to the third group interact with the reality by welcoming the new regime and are concerned about their own profit. Taiming's grandfather belongs to the second group, his father to the third group and his teacher at the private school belongs in the first group.

Although Taiming grows up surrounded by the three different attitudes, he does not favor any of them. On the contrary, he represents the intellectuals of the new generation who receive a modern education and who find their own way of dealing with the colonial reality. After having to leave private school, since it was shut down, Taiming enters a public school, and later a teacher's training college. As he benefits from the modern educational system set up by the Japanese, he is less sensitive to the inequality between the colonizer and the colonized. Even when some of his colleagues express their dissatisfaction toward the Japanese, Taiming feels that these Taiwanese schoolteachers simply lack the proper manner that an educator should have. Yet when he falls in love with Hisako, one of the Japanese teachers at his school, he begins to feel the difference between Taiwanese and Japanese. His identity conflict begins to emerge.

When watching Hisako dancing, Taiming feels "... looking at her is a painful thing."[63] The more affection Taiming feels for Hisako, the more he is aware of the gap between them. This makes him feel "extraordinarily empty."[64] For Taiming, Hisako is "an absolutely ideal woman, almost comparable to an angel in heaven,"[65] yet for Hisako, Taiming, like all Taiwanese people, is dirty, smelly, and uncivilized. Despite knowing that Hisako's comments about Taiwanese people come from her ignorant and proud background, Taiming's love for her does not diminish, in fact it keeps growing. However, Taiming is deeply troubled by a sense of inferiority and he feels that "his own blood is muddy, in his body, there circulates the filthy blood of his father, who married an ignorant and lewd woman as a concubine, and he must try to vindicate such a sin by himself…"[66]

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[62] *The Orphan of Asia*, p. 7.

[63] Ibid., p. 47.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid.

Taiming's relationship with Hisako attracts the schoolmaster's attention. He volunteers to help, but later Taiming realizes that the schoolmaster was merely teasing him, after learning of Hisako's planned transfer to another school. Taiming rouses his courage to express his love for Hisako, but Hisako politely declines on the basis of their "difference," an indication of the inequality behind the Japanese colonizers' "non-discriminatory" (*isshidōjin*) policy. Taiming then leaves for Japan, where his identity is once again challenged. He is warned to cover his Taiwanese background. Even though his Taiwanese background does not affect his interactions with his Japanese landlady and her daughter Tsuruko, Taiming is unsure if he can be involved with Tsuruko. Later he is considered a spy and treated with contempt when "revealing" his Taiwanese background to his Mainlander friends.

Upon finishing his studies, Taiming returns to Taiwan, where he is shattered by his grandfather's death and due to that and the difficulty of finding a job is unable to find meaning in life. Not until he starts to work on a farm does he regain his vitality. One day, after being told that some nationalist-thinking promoters had a confrontation with Japanese policemen, Taiming becomes aware of his cowardice compared to his activist friends. Later he resigns from his job and once again buries himself in Taoist thinking. Only after Japanese residents illegally dig up the ancestral tomb of his family does he believe Taoist thinking won't bring him peace.

Invited by his friend, Zeng, Taiming leaves for Nanjing. While improving his Chinese in order to teach there, he feels his passion for China diminish day by day. His feelings for China are mixed. He is impressed by Shanghai, particularly its elegant women who absorb Western culture without losing Chinese virtues. At the same time, he is aware that his knowledge of China is limited, and that those Shanghai ladies belong to a social class distant from his own. Nevertheless, he gradually settles into his life in Nanjing. Later on, he marries a Chinese woman, Shuchun, but soon becomes disappointed with her addictions to card playing and dancing. The final blow of Taiming's Chinese dream takes place when the Chinese security police apprehend him due to his Taiwanese background. Even though he manages to escape from prison, he no longer knows who the real enemy is, nor whether he should identify himself as Chinese, Japanese, or Taiwanese. He heads back to Taiwan.

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[66] Ibid., p. 49.

With the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, Taiming is drafted to Guangzhou and becomes ill after viewing a decapitation. He is later sent back to Taiwan for recuperation, during which time his escapist tendency strengthens. Yet, his re-encounter with Lan, a friend from Taiming's Tokyo years, makes him recognize that only a few Taiwanese opportunists closely conform to the Japanese assimilation policy, while the national spirit of the majority of farmers remains unaffected. He becomes hopeful again and considers going to the Mainland to "search for a life without contradiction."[67] This plan, however, is not realized. At the end of the story, after his brother is tortured to death by the Japanese, Taiming blames himself for living an "incomplete" life, and is overwhelmed by solitude, guilt, and the sense of being an orphan without having an origin or knowing where to go. Taiming writes anti-Japanese poems on the walls and in his dreams, reproaches the colonizers and the enslaved Taiwanese. The impossibility for ensuring an unfettered existence eventually pushes him into insanity.

Although *The Orphan of Asia* is autobiographic, it is inappropriate to consider Hu Taiming to be Wu Zhuoliu's incarnation. An obvious fictional aspect of this work is Taiming's serving in the army in Guangdong. Wu's adding this chapter can be read as his wish to differentiate himself from his fictional protagonist, but it can also be read as his attempt to stress Taiming's outsider's stance and how such a stance strikes against the dynamics of history. The character Zeng should be taken into consideration in order to capture a more complete picture of Wu's thinking. On the one hand, Zeng's activism is a device used to contrast with Taiming's passivity. On the other hand, Zeng's behavior suggests an alternative level to Wu's ideas. For instance, while Taiming is still teaching in the local public school where the Japanese teachers often disdain their Taiwanese colleagues, Zeng bravely stands out to reveal the falsity of the principal's slogan "Japanese and Taiwanese are equal" (*ritai pingdeng*) and later resigns.

For readers familiar with Wu's biography, it is quite natural to connect this with Wu's quitting his two-decade-long teaching career in response to a Japanese school inspector's insulting the Taiwanese teachers in public in 1940, as mentioned above. Concerning this, Zeng in *The Orphan of Asia* functions not only as a mediating character through whom Taiming's different experiences are connected with each other, but also a character supplementing Taiming's characteristics. On several occasions when Taiming is lost, Zeng acts as his mentor guiding him in the right direction. In one situation, Zeng leaves Taiming a letter after he decides to resign his teaching position. It says:

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[67] *The Orphan of Asia*, p. 273.

> Taiming: Do you know the world is looking at the isolated island of Taiwan with eagerness, and the situation is becoming more tense? The year of the ivory tower has gone. We should study more advanced knowledge.… You have your own temperament. I hope you will devote yourself to education, so that I have no worries to leave behind.[68]

Zeng's encouraging words later indirectly provoked Taiming to study in Japan. Later, when Taiming arrives in Nanjing, Zeng patiently explains the complicated situation to him, encouraging him to join the project of advancing China to prove that Taiwanese are not any less than their "compatriots." He finds Taiming a job, which later leads him to meet his future wife. Before escaping to Shanghai to avoid the war, Zeng once again reminds Taiming that empty theory is no longer practical, and Taiming should choose his own way.[69]

Toward the end of the novel, Zeng's activist ideas are shared and revealed by other people around Taiming, such as Zhang (one of Taiming's politically active Taiwanese friends in Japan), Mr. Li (the brother-in-law of Youxiang, one of the girls who helps Taiming escape from the prison), and his Japanese friend Satō. Zhang tells Taiming that only the blood and life-risking passion of youth can produce the strength to rescue China.[70] Zhang also warns Taiming that: "Once one is not careful, perhaps it will lead to a tragic historical destiny unavoidable by human power."[71] Mr. Li, a political activist, also mentions Zhang's view of historical dynamics. He states jokingly:

> Historical dynamics will roll everything into its whirlpool. Isn't it boring that you simply watch it so indifferently? I have great sympathy for you, for you cannot do anything in any aspect about the dynamics of history. Even if you hold some belief, and are willing to do something in some aspect, others might not believe in you. They might even suspect you are a spy. Judging from this, you are indeed an orphan.[72]

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[68] Ibid., pp. 66–67.

[69] Ibid., pp. 196–97.

[70] Ibid., p. 187.

[71] Ibid., p. 188.

[72] Ibid., pp. 211–12.

The other person who gives Taiming advice about his personality is Satō, one of Taiming's old acquaintances. He points out to Taiming: "… You seem to be too pure and have too much of the temperament of a poet. These characteristics are not suitable for today's society… Theories which cannot match with practice are only empty illusions!"[73] After all these acute and sincere observations, Taiming undergoes a psychological transition. He no longer shields himself from reality. When learning that his nephew, Daxiong, is going to join the Japanese army as a volunteer, Taiming feels the urgency to dissuade him. It is the first and only time that Taiming strongly criticizes the deceitfulness of the colonizer's assimilation policy. However, the lamentation over the unexpected death of Zhinan, Taiming's half-brother, makes Taiming completely break down. The open ending leaves the story with many ambiguities. Taiming's craziness can be considered the ultimate liberation from the sense of being an orphan, for the work suggests that Taiming might finally choose his own direction by fighting against the Japanese in Kunming.

Taiming's story is an account of the painful process of Taiwanese intellectuals on the road of self-searching and national longing. Caught between two contesting cultural authorities—China and Japan—the origin of Taiwanese people's identity is split. Owing to the blood relationship, Taiming harbors a Han consciousness, which makes him differentiate himself from the colonialists, but simultaneously realize the unequal power structure in colonial Taiwan. He is not able to identify himself as Japanese, nor is he able to conquer his inferiority complex. Self-examination and escapism may safeguard Taiming's personal security, but they are not at all beneficial to his identity crisis. Following his nostalgia for the homeland, Taiming visits China but returns in disappointment.

After his second visit to China, Taiming is aware that his attachment with China has been outgrown. His incapability of identifying himself as either Japanese or Chinese suggests that Taiwanese have to seek their own way out and create their own identity. Taiming draws this conclusion after gazing at the fruits on the fig trees in his garden. He considers: "All living things have two forms of life—either like Fusan flowers, which are beautiful but produce no seeds after blooming, or like fig trees, which do not have beautiful flowers but without people's notice, silently bear fruit."[74] Feeling deeply touched by the life form of fig trees, Taiming strolls to the fence to appreciate the newly sprouted young leaves of the golden dewdrop trees. He is impressed by the trees' strong branches that stretch outside comfortably through the gap of the fence. This scene arouses a positive sense for Taiming and he decides to lead an active life, like the exuberant golden dewdrop trees, as long as the circumstances allow him to do so. Although from this symbolic passage, a Taiwan-centered enlightenment is revealed, Wu did not point out how to achieve such a new identity. This identity is enriched in his later autobiographical writings *The Fig Tree* and *Golden Dewdrop*.

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[73] Ibid., p. 311.

[74] Ibid., pp. 211–12.

Growing into History

Completed in 1967, *The Fig Tree* records the February 28th Incident, at that time an un-discussable taboo since Taiwan was still under the control of martial law. In the first chapter, Wu stated that he composed the work with an intention of fighting "against oblivion." He wrote:

> ... Twenty years after the February 28th Incident, many things are indeed forgotten. However, there is also something that can never be forgotten, which still resides in my memory. I recollect these unforgettable shadows of my heart, describing candidly the truth of the February 28th Incident which I saw and heard ... But, to understand the truth of the incident, one by no means has to trace its remote causes ... to know the root of the incident, it is necessary to examine the condition of Taiwanese people under Japanese rule. After all, what is it to be Taiwanese?[75]

Clearly, Wu did not merely wish to recollect his life, but hoped to contemplate the historical fate of Taiwanese people through his retrospection. In view of the sensitiveness of the topic, Wu chose to tackle the incident as little as possible and write more about its remote and immediate causes.[76] As a result, the book is more his recollection than a description of the incident, which occupies only about one tenth of the whole book.

However, the narrator offers a simple answer regarding "what it is to be Taiwanese." For him, the ancestors of the Taiwanese are to be found in the Han and Ming Empires, and therefore Taiwanese do not accept that the Qing government ceded Taiwan to Japan. The narrator explains that his love for his fatherland is like "gravity" and an "orphans' instinct-like adoration for their parents" despite his Japanese education and the fact that he has never encountered the culture of his fatherland. He feels this emotion is "perhaps the so-called national consciousness!" though he is unsure whether it "comes from outside, or already exists in one's body? Or whether it is because of the colony status, which encourages it to emerge spontaneously."[77]

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[75] *The Fig Tree*, p. 2.

[76] See Zhong Zhaozheng, "Pinming wenzhang buzu kua" (Life-risking Articles Are Not Worth Praising), *Tiexie shiren Wu Zhuoliu*, pp. 256–57.

The narrator shows a self-understanding about his "colonial disposition"—a person in the middle who impartially hides in the shadows, and who is always uneasy and dissatisfied but never acts on his discontent.[78] The presentation of the work is in the form of a remembrance, beginning with his childhood experiences, through his teaching period and journalist life in Nanjing, to his mixed feelings toward the national affairs of Taiwan after returning to Taipei. Throughout the chapters depicting his story, the narrator continues to dissect the effect colonization has had on him, scrutinizing how his yearning for liberation and equality never leads him to become a self-motivated activist but makes him more and more introspective. Apart from the two later emotional events—the resignation of the teaching position and the excitement before departing for China—the first two thirds of his work is written more as narration than description. However, from the ninth chapter, Wu appears to try to increase the "objectivity" of the work as if to pave a way to the climax of his retrospection—the February 28th Incident.

One short paragraph in this chapter warrants attention. When exchanging ideas about imperial-subject writers with Professor Kudō, the narrator suggests that literary writing has to be amateur, as that is more likely to reach art for art's sake. Yet when referring to Professor Kudō's response, the narrator is no longer the "I-narrator," Mr. Gu, as in the previous chapters. Instead, Professor Kudō's comments are written in the third person, an omniscient point of view. The sentence is as follows: "Professor Kudō is indeed a person knowing literature. He seems to feel something, saying Mr. Gu is an outsider who still cannot be counted as an amateur writer. Mr. Gu's literature therefore has an outsider's merits—full of realness, the words are indeed consigning praise in disparagement (*yubao yubian*)."[79] If Wu had wished to remain consistent regarding the point of view used in this work, then he would have either replaced "Mr. Gu" with "I" or included quotation marks indicating the Professor's comments on Gu's writing. However, Wu chose neither. One can consider it an ignorable mistake, yet I consider it a hint, either deliberately or accidentally, which foretells that Wu would include some news reports in later chapters to increase the reliability of his interpretation of the 1947 massacre.

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[77] *The Fig Tree*, p. 8.

[78] Ibid., p. 9.

[79] Ibid., p. 126.

As the work continues, the tendency toward increasing objectivity becomes more and more obvious. In Chapter Ten, long passages are dedicated to introducing the leading anti-Japanese political figure Lin Xiantang's reaction at that time and describing the sense of freedom during the transition period as well as the retrocession ceremony.[80] In Chapter Eleven, when talking about the food collecting system in 1946, Wu utilized four pages (pp. 157–60) to quote Ye Rongzhong's *Xiaowu dache ji* (Collection of Small Houses and Big Cars). In addition, the work is supported with a great number of historical facts, documents, eyewitness accounts and radio station broadcasts in the last two chapters, marking an evident difference from the traditional belletristic forms. The quotations include Wu's earlier works *Taiwan before Dawn* and Qiu Niantai's *Linghai weibiao* (Seaside Gale). When finally writing on the February 28th Incident, Wu declared that people's opinions differed, quoting the editorial of the government-run newspaper *Xinsheng bao* (Newborn News) as a reference, for it gave a "relatively fairer representation of popular opinion at that time."[81] Once again, Wu displayed his skill at capturing the "truth" of the historical event. In Taiwanese society in the sixties, Wu's repetitive examination of the 1947 massacre is not an individual effort of historical reconstruction per se, but an ambitious accomplishment instigated from a desire to challenge the univocal "official" historical interpretation through vernacular reminiscences.

Wu's last autobiographical work *Golden Dewdrop* offers conclusive remarks on his historical sentiment about Taiwan. Written in Japanese with the intention to publish it later in Chinese when the environment became more conducive, the novel was translated into Chinese by Zhong Zhaozheng, who later published the Chinese version in installments in *Taiwan wenyi* (Taiwan Literature). It begins from where *The Fig Tree* ends. In *The Fig Tree*, the narrator points out that people often reproach the Taiwanese spy (*hanjian*), who worked for the Japanese puppet government in Nanjing under the charge of Wang Jingwei in the 1940s and returned after Taiwan's retrocession, but they seldom examine the role of those China-based Taiwanese expatriates, the so-called *banshan*.[82] However, in *Golden Dewdrop*, the narrator shows his loathing toward the *banshan*, who not only fawn over Taiwan's KMT rulers for their own interests but also betray the Taiwanese people by supplying a list of names on which the arrests made by the KMT were based during and after the 1947 massacre. It is exactly because the narrator unveils the selfishness of the *banshan* that this text was so sensitive that it could only be published in a fictional account after the lifting of martial law in 1987. In fact, even in 1993, the description of the *banshan* behavior in this work was deemed controversial. In order to defend the *banshan*, a group to which his father belonged, Lian Zhan, then prime minister, became abusive toward Wu's works. The dispute was so serious that the Taiwanese P.E.N. (*Taiwan bihui*) felt it was necessary to defend Wu from the leading politicians' accusations.[83] Such a reaction from politicians in 1993 ironically reinforced Wu's worries when composing *Golden Dewdrop*. In chapter fourteen, the last chapter, the narrator, palpably Wu's voice, states:

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[80] Although Lin Xiantang was involved in the activities welcoming the Nationalist government's arrival in Taiwan, he was considered a "traitor" after 1945 and was on the list of "traitors" that the Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office wanted to apprehend. With the help of Qiu Niantai, a prominent Taiwanese who returned from China to Taiwan after 1945 and later became a Nationalist official, Lin managed to remain safe. Although Lin also escaped the Nationalist government's political purge following the February 28th Incident, he felt disappointed with the Nationalist rule and left for Japan in September 1949 and passed away in Tokyo in 1956.

[81] Ibid., p. 205.

> I only wrote up to the February 28th Incident in *The Fig Tree*, and have no courage to continue writing things afterward in detail. Even if I do have the courage, I will have no courage for publishing. It is because if I honestly depict the behavior of the *banshan*, who betrayed the local intellectuals during the February 28th Incident, then I will not only be abhorred by them, but also suffer a high possibility of being assassinated by them. . . . To be fair, the period from the February 28th Incident in 1947 to the beginning of 1950, was the most turbulent period of Taiwanese society, and it contains the most grotesque events. If I don't write it, then it is failure to achieve perfection by a very narrow margin. Because of it, I write *Golden Dewdrop*, the sister work of *The Fig Tree*, as a continuation of *The Fig Tree* to fill the *blankness* of this period (my emphasis).[84]

Starting with an orphan's outcry and hesitation, through the fig trees' silently bearing fruits and ending with the golden dewdrop trees' sheer desire for survival so that it simply grows in any direction not opposed to their will, Wu used different analogies, step by step developing a Taiwanese national sentiment (*Taiwan yishi*).

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[82] The term refers to those Taiwanese who lived in China for some time and who, upon returning to Taiwan after 1945, worked for the Nationalist government. They, in theory, would make ideal mediators between the nationalist government and the Taiwanese people. Some of them, however, took advantage of their posts and personally benefitted from the process of the Nationalist government's "take-over" of Taiwan.

[83] Quoted in Helmut Martin's "Wu Zhuoliu's Autobiographies: Acts of Resistance against Repression and Oblivion," p. 8.

[84] *Taiwan lianqiao*, p. 241.

Judging by the ending of Wu's *The Fig Tree*, the ideal world that Wu, like the foolish old man moving the mountain, devoted himself to pursue, is a vision of a culturally more cultivated, physically and mentally more fulfilled and liberated Taiwan. Wu continued to reveal such an ideal in *Golden Dewdrop*. At the end of the novel, Wu prophesied that if the new rulers of Taiwan continued with the same policy as in China, then after all they would only prove the notion "no efficiency by dictatorship, no possibility for democracy" (*ducai wuneng, minzhu wuwang*). He then concluded with a positive call for younger writers to carry on his ambition. Wu's works showcase a forming of Taiwanese national consciousness, but it remains unclear whether this national sentiment was constructed as opposed to a Chinese national sentiment as Chen Fangming has argued,[85] or upon its connection with Chinese awareness (to consider China as the fatherland) as suggested by Chen Zhaoying.[86] Rather than politicizing Wu's *Taiwan yishi*, I view his trilogy as an effort toward pursuing the truth of Taiwan's different historical conditions, and a way of reflecting the ongoing process of the identity adjustment and (re)-construction of Taiwanese people.

Like most writers discussed earlier, many difficulties were encountered on the path toward writing and publishing Wu's works. In the last few years of Japanese colonialism in Taiwan, Wu risked his life to write *Hu Zhiming* without any assurance that it would ever get published. In the 1993 version of *The Orphan of Asia*, the confinement section is from pages 169 to 176, yet in the 1977 version, the beginning of "Confinement" starting from the "Sino-Japanese War, Co-operation with China ..." till "the night will begin again, and the whole prison will be surrounded in a dead and lonely atmosphere" was deleted, together with the chapter title "Confinement." This indicates the post-1987 KMT government's belated generosity to permit the "rediscovery" of history about its political purge of "Taiwanese spies" in China in the early 1940s on which the chapter of Confinement is based.

With the gradual localization of the KMT government, the great China-ism held by Chen Yingzhen grew increasingly "outdated." Numerous Taiwan-centric intellectuals considered Taiwanese literature under Japanese rule handy storage for their surplus national sentiment, so the deletion of Chen Yingzhen's preface in the 1993 version by Qianwei Publications when it republished *The Orphan of Asia* in 1995 under its subsidiary company Caogen, seemed inevitable. As for *The Fig Tree*, thanks to the limited circulation of *Taiwan Literature*, the last chapter, on the February 28th Incident, was published in the magazine in 1968.

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[85] Chen Fangming, "Wu Zhuoliu yu 'Taiwan lianqiao'" (Wu Zhuoliu and *Taiwan lianqiao*), *Taiwan lianqiao*, p. 262.

[86] Chen Zhaoying, *Taiwan wenxue yu bentuhua yundong* (Taiwanese Literature and its Localization Movement), p. 110.

Yet two years later, when Linbai Publications attempted to publish it in a book form, it was banned. In 1983, a Taiwanese publisher in the U.S. published it in America, and it was widely circulated among the "in-exile" Taiwanese elite whose names were on the KMT blacklist. In 1984, *The Fig Tree* began to circulate underground in Taiwan. It was not until 1988, one year after the abolition of martial law, that the book was finally "formally" available. Though the first eight chapters of *Golden Dewdrop* were published in *Taiwan Literature*, the remaining six chapters were banned soon after they were published in *Taiwan xin wenhua* (Taiwan New Culture) in 1986.

Scholars have put forward various readings of Wu's works, in particular *The Orphan of Asia*.[87] Yet perhaps they read too much into the novel and almost forget to take Wu's initial intention into consideration. For Wu, the potential audience for *The Orphan of Asia* was a few anti-imperial Japanese who were sympathetic to Taiwan's condition and the future generation of Taiwanese people. Wu's motivation was to show the "spiritual pain" of the local intellectual class in colonial Taiwan.[88] For Wu, literature "cannot be taken as a tool, no matter commercially, politically, or in other aspects."[89] He also stated: "Anything obsequious or slogan-like is not literature."[90] Most of the criticisms about Wu or his works were written out of context, when reclaiming a collective history became urgent and Taiwan's status controversial. However, an accurate study of a writer and his works should be undertaken by situating him in the historical moment when he lived and in which the works were produced. The ambiguity of the ending of *The Orphan of Asia* indicates that Wu only wished to offer a prelude of the ongoing progress of Taiwan's writing itself, for the future direction is never settled nor foreseeable though it was predictable that the readings surrounding Wu's national identity will remain debatable as long as Taiwanese people's Odyssean quest for an identity persists.

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[87] See fn. 52 and fn. 53 of this chapter for details.

[88] *The Orphan of Asia*, p. 111.

[89] Wu Zhuoliu, "Wenxue jiushi wenxue, bushi gongju" (Literature is Literature, not a Tool), *Wu Zhuoliu zuopinji liu taiwan wenyi yu wo* (A Collection of Wu Zhuoliu's Works Six Taiwan Literature and I), edited by Zhang Liangze (Taipei: Yuanxing, 1977), p. 43.

[90] Ibid., p. 50.

Throughout his life, Wu struggled to discover a realm of freedom from literary censorship and to capture the historical facts. His ambition was discernable from his "Lishi henduo loudong" (There Are Many Loopholes in History), in which Wu expressed his concerns about people's "counterfeiting history" and the need to "investigate the historical truth for social fairness and justice."[91] Therefore, even the attempt to ponder the fate of the Taiwanese people is enveloped by the narrator's personal reminiscences; one cannot disregard the historical sentiments revealed in Wu's works. Through reexamining his passive and escapist character, the narrator accounts for the confusion, hesitation and frustration of Taiwanese people on their way toward liberation, longing and identity recreation. From these works, Wu presented a historical sentiment, and also posed questions such as "what is history?" and even "how can it be articulated, written and used?" The openness of his works encourages the unfolding of other historical narratives, compelling us to think in new ways about ourselves as historical agents. By opening up different historical possibilities, it indicates new ways of enacting, writing, and shaping the history of the future.

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[91] *Taiwan wenyi* (Taiwan Literature) 2 (May 1964): 25.

Epilogue: Toward a Multifaceted Literary Commonwealth

Inspired by the May Fourth movement and stemming from the local intellectuals' call for cultural enlightenment and anti-colonial consciousness, Taiwanese literature under Japanese rule developed its own characteristics and history. Its intricacy cannot be fully explicated within a monolingual tradition, or a simple bilingual one. Nor can it be reduced to a monolithic anti-imperial discourse or a monophonic elitist voice. Quite to the contrary, the route it travelled witnessed the coexistence, as well as the ebb and flow, of several varied, and sometimes competing, styles and linguistic experiments. Writers in this dynamic literary field have constantly striven to negotiate with the changing external conditions, adjusting their styles. Their diverse position-takings, be they radical or pragmatic, and stylistic reorientations, be they subtle or drastic, were subject to a variety of factors, including their linguistic capital, literary notions, ideological inclinations, colonial governmentality, and commercial sensitivities. From Lai He's nationalist thinking and Yang Kui's humanistic socialism, it gradually turned inward with increasing pressure from the Japanese authorities. Writers' concerns also shifted from the tyranny of the colonialists to how to cope with the colonial reality. Lü Heruo's moving from theory to action and Long Yingzong's escapist outlook on life show varied paths.

Concurrent with their thematic and stylistic reorientations were Weng Nao's highly individualistic writing and "vagabond aesthetics" as well as the reader-oriented, entertaining, yet moralistic vernacular romances produced by Xu Kunquan and Wu Mansha. Weng's representations of the imperial capital Tokyo may be seen as a practice of a broader modernist literature, whereas Xu's and Wu's portrayals of the island capital Taipei and other locales were tinted with moral instructions. Nevertheless, authors discussed in the third and fourth chapters exhibited not only common concerns about modernity, but also gendered visions of modernity. After the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1941, literature inevitably became an integral part of wartime mobilization. Taiwanese writers were requested to promote the war and adhere to the imperialization policy through their writing. Those who remained active in the first half of the 1940s further readjusted their styles in order to meet the colonizers' strategic demands and secure channels of publication. This particular socio-historical context also generated creative works that tackled the psychological pain from which many Taiwanese intellectuals suffered in the process

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of imperialization. The pursuit of cultural modernity, represented usually by becoming Japanese as fully as possible, and that of an indigenous Taiwanese identity were sometimes at odds and sometimes seemingly compatible.

While writers tackling the theme of imperialization exemplified the strong force of Japanese colonialism, authors such as Zhong Lihe and Wu Zhuoliu offered another possible route of carving out a distinct Taiwanese identity via the war-trodden China. This path was in no way easy, and likely to be even more complex. On top of the psychological disruption and distress caused by colonialism, the Taiwanese writers in China at that time had to face the Chinese people's distrust. Through delineating personal stories, both Zhong and Wu presented their readers with different pictures of a social reality and accompanying historical narratives. Despite their diverse trajectories in self-searching and identity-longing, their writings reflect Taiwan's socio-historical circumstance in her most turbulent transitional period, inviting us to shape Taiwan's future together. Wu Zhuoliu's trilogy acted as a primer for the later works by Zhong Zhaozheng and Li Qiao, articulating Taiwanese writers' attempts not only to diagnose social illness but also to narrate Taiwanese history.

Many works produced in Taiwan's Japanese period and discussed in this book contain anti-colonial (though not necessarily anti-Japanese) sentiments, although there existed alternative voices. For example, Lai He reproached the bullying behavior of the Japanese policemen, and both Yang Kui and Lü Heruo applied socialist ideas in their earlier writing, pointing out exploitation by the Japanese colonizers and capitalists. As for Long Yingzong, he did not directly depict colonial oppression, but focused more on the disillusionment of Taiwanese intellectuals living under Japanese rule. Compared to those writers, Weng Nao, Xu Kunquan and Wu Mansha were keener to capture either individual (modern) psyche or cater to the general readers' tastes.

With Japanese military expansion, the anti-colonial hue became lighter and was expressed differently. Frustrated by the series of failed petition movements of the Taiwan Parliament, Lai He's later works are filled with idealism. The ending of both "A Rich Harvest" and "The Advocate" are idealistic as if only in fictional writing could a utopian world without oppression be possible. Yang Kui lived in seclusion in his Shouyang Garden, endeavoring to maintain a positive self. Lü Heruo turned to condemn the feudalistic thinking of Taiwanese society, whereas Long Yingzong expressed skepticism toward the times. During the height of the imperialization campaign, Lü Heruo maintained a subtle balance between his tendency toward collectivism and the Japanese call for increasing production, while Long Yingzong characterized lively and optimistic women in response to the Japanese authorities' call for a healthy, bright and constructive literature.

These writers altogether effectively illustrate the power of literature not only to be aesthetically engaging in a time marred by war and imperialism, but also in rejuvenating selfhood in the midst of bleak reality. This capacity of literature was already spelled out in Lü Heruo's diary in which he urged himself to "discover beautiful things," although he did not define what beauty was for him. Although the more "highbrow" authors seemed to find ways of producing "centrifugal" works, authors of popular romances were not less creative. Wu Mansha tweaked the militarist Greater East Asia Co-prosperity discourse into a forward-looking pacifism, and "grafted" the war elements directly to his melodramatic romances.

With reference to cultural, national and self-identity, the texts discussed above repeatedly remind us of the complexity of identity construction. Often it is not as simple as either adopting the colonizer's cultural hegemony or wholly rejecting it, but an "in-betweenness" which demands personal or political struggle before new identities can be created. In order to resolve the precarious and indeterminate state, writers from colonial Taiwan took different paths and employed varied languages and styles. Lai He wished to construct a local identity through his experimental works in Taiwanese and his classical poems. His efforts converged with Huang Shihui's promotion of a nativist literature and can be considered a strategy to counterbalance Japanese cultural supremacy.

Once direct confrontation with the colonial authority became impossible, writers like Yang Kui retreated to their own entrenchments as an alternative to achieve personal integrity. Lü Heruo's work articulates the dilemma of Taiwanese intellectuals caught between their pursuit of modernity and quest for a national identity, whereas Long Yingzong's work tackles the Taiwanese intellectuals' angst when facing the cruel colonial reality. Chen Huoquan chose a devious way, termed "reverse realism" by him, to depict the process of colonial mimicry. Wang Changxiong used dream and reality alternately to capture the psychological torment encountered by Taiwanese intellectuals. Zhou Jinbo showed a yearning for modernity, reachable through imperialization, as well as the alienation and hesitance stemming from such a pursuit. The works urge us to rethink to what extent patriotism can be internalized as an unquestioned premise of one's essence and as an unavoidable condition of the construction of literary canon.

In the case of Zhong Lihe, the disillusionment he encountered in China reignited a new regional identity with the Hakka community in Taiwan. His focus on his personal life provided a bridge for his works to shy away from the grand nationalist discourse. Somewhat different from Zhong, Wu Zhuoliu attempted to fill in the missing pieces of official history and recreate a flexible identity suitable for postwar Taiwanese through autobiographic writing. Hu Taiming's life represents the sensitive but indecisive Taiwanese intellectuals who were caught in the neither/nor (neither Japanese nor Chinese) dilemma. Both Zhong's and Wu's Hakka background reminds us of the constantly shifting boundaries and identities, as the Hakka are a diasporic ethnic group scattered throughout the world. It also prompts us to be continuously watchful about the potential pitfalls of Hoklo-centric Taiwanese cultural nationalism.

Literature produced during Taiwan's Japanese period offers a rich resource for a literary, sociological, and historical study of Taiwanese society of that time. The identity question that the literature examines, and the agony of being caught in competing cultural authorities as experienced by many writers propel us to re-think the complexity involved in one's identity formation. Far from being a homogeneous anti-colonial manifestation, literature from colonial Taiwan illustrated a Bakhtinian heteroglossia comprising literary opuses written in different languages and styles, and with writers' varied ideological convictions. The multilingual nature of Taiwanese literature automatically challenges the paradigm of a monolingual national literature, not to mention the fact that the Chinese language and the Japanese language were not mutually exclusive in colonial Taiwan.

Amid historical contingencies, the colonizers re-appropriated the Chinese language to support the war effort, whereas Taiwanese writers would continue to compose in the Japanese language after the Japanese surrendered. These two cultural legacies continued to serve as major references in the making of Taiwanese identity even today. The former Taiwanese president Li Denghui and the former KMT chairman Lian Zhan were both charged with "betraying Taiwan" in 2015—the former for his Japan-leaning speech in Japan, and the latter for his attendance at China's military parade—validated the relevance of the Japanese and Chinese elements in shaping the national imagination of Taiwanese people.

The artificially created dichotomy between resistant literature and traitor's literature urges us to take into account the historical trajectory in which the categorization was constructed. In terms of literary form, owing to the efforts of many writers, fiction became endowed with a privileged status far surpassing traditional poetry. The classical serial novels were replaced by writings in the vernacular language. The diversities in the choice of language provide one of the most interesting pages in modern Taiwanese literary history. With regard to style, literature under Japanese rule lay the foundation for a socially engaged tendency in Taiwanese literature, and can be considered the first wave of nativization that reappeared later in the seventies. Indeed, some nativist writers in the seventies attempted to search for inspiration in works by their seniors. Literary theorists also re-examined the theories of the twenties and thirties, contemplating a direction for Taiwanese literature.

Writers discussed in the preceding chapters have demonstrated fascinating imagination, courage, flexibility, and devotion to literary writing under the extremely high-handed colonial control. They illustrated that stylistic changes, thematic differences, and identity preferences are closely related to each writer's disposition and literary/aesthetic pursuit, in addition to the changes in external social condition. Rather than being repressed and constrained in the style of a totalitarian dictatorship, Taiwanese writers were coopted and given a stake in the prevailing Japanese colonial project. Even though they had to work around colonial censorship and produce ideologically correct literature, their works were not necessarily devoid of literary merit. Again and again, they demonstrated that literature is elastic enough to accommodate the different highly volatile historical forces that had shaped their personal choices. Their agency thus must not be undervalued.

Through pointing out how literary works have been ideologically manipulated and politically appropriated by the leading regimes and critics from different camps, I would like to reiterate the necessity of a contextual reading and of "rescuing" literature from politics, the nation, and any fixed single-layered identity. Although scholars over the past two decades have gradually been challenging a moralistic and nationalist reading in the valorization of literature from Taiwan's Japanese period, some authors remain relatively overlooked and marginalized.

The polemic reception of imperial-subject literature and the call for literature in resonance with the national policy by the Japanese colonizers and the post-1945 KMT government demonstrate that the colonialist and nationalist essentializations of Taiwanese culture and literature are still at work. Because of this, researchers of Taiwan's, or any other, literature ought to remain self-reflexive, and be vigilant about all the tendentious interpretations which make use of certain texts to promote the critics' own interests. I started this book project with an initial wish to offer a postcolonial account of Taiwanese writers' search for literary subjectivity under Japanese rule. I expected a fairly consistent practice of anticolonial "writing back." However, the diverse life paths travelled by the figures and the imbricated complexities of their creative works studied in this book have challenged my early *raison d'être.* In particular, they have reminded me not to privilege any literary paradigm, but to rethink the opulent literary heritage left by those writers as an organic field in which numerous linguistic traditions, aesthetic styles, and political agendas interacted and competed with each other. Either in resonance or antagonism, and either in convergence or divergence, they charted many possible contingencies.

Pre-1945 Taiwan literature has continued to be seen as the repository of Taiwanese cultural identity against the unification-inclined or less nativist tendency over the past few decades. Although nativization remains a strong cultural discourse in contemporary Taiwan and issues surrounding identity becomes an almost unavoidable analytical framework for Taiwanese literature in general, they are likely to become chauvinistic paradigms repressing alternative interpretations of certain texts or authors. When reviewing Taiwanese literary history, we should be vigilant about how different politics have been operating in the literary field, taking canonization as the beginning of inquiry and contestation.

Any moralistic or politicized reading has its value. But if an absolutely objective interpretation has become almost impossible, the important issue is not whether one is ideological but how one appropriates the texts. It is precisely because identity (cultural, national or ethnic) is itself a cultural construction that it is difficult to characterize. We should instead search for a language of identity that allows for difference and diversity and prevents us from abusing historical relativism. We will then free ourselves from the dichotomy of resistant/imperial-subject literature and the cul-de-sac of a monolithic identity, literary standard or single form of nationalism. We can then gain a deeper insight into the tension, contradiction and schizophrenic anguish inherent in the formations of colonial identities. A re-consideration of the relationship between power and knowledge, a critical stance toward the objectivity of academic research, and generosity toward Taiwan's traumatic past are essential for writing a post-Orientalist and post-national historiography in and of Taiwan.

Taiwanese literature under Japanese rule displays a continued negotiation with colonialism, nationalism, and modernity, and constant pursuit of a reliable identity. This quest is agonizing as long as Taiwan's political status remains ambiguous. After the lifting of martial law in 1987, many topics such as minority discourse, cultural studies, and postcolonial theory have deepened our comprehension of the issues surrounding colonialism and identity. This brings a new dynamic and vitality to Taiwanese literature with a greater degree of tolerance. The construction of a historical interpretation or literary theory individually tailored for Taiwan's previous and current condition—well under way now by a number of scholars—helps us gain more sophisticated insights into the multifaceted development of Taiwanese literature.

Taiwan is a small island easily underrated compared to her "big" neighbors such as China and Japan, but its marginality can be an asset, a vantage point, or "a space of power" in Stuart Hall's term,[1] that enables its literature, enriched profoundly by a myriad of sources including the Chinese and Japanese ones, to add an East Asian dimension to the issues and implications of postcolonial studies and world literature. Although the Taiwanese literate public's major medium of learning at that time were Japanese and/or Chinese, the capacity of knowledge they absorbed was far greater than the two languages/cultures could sufficiently encompass. Rather than viewing Taiwanese literature in a double negative light—"neither (Japanese)/nor (Chinese)"—I propose to approach it from a synchronic and hybrid "both/and" angle, and to examine the tensions and interactions between its various extrinsic and intrinsic linguistic, cultural and ethnic sources. It is by acknowledging all the external resources (not merely the major Japanese and Chinese ones) and Taiwan's own self-made legacy that Taiwanese literature can be assessed with an accurate balance.

To conclude, I would like to turn to Lai He, the figure discussed at the beginning of my survey. Almost a century has passed since he professed that the world of Taiwan's new literature is "open to all who are capable to cultivate freely," and "lends itself to universalism (*shijie zhuyi*). Such is the great commonwealth (*datong*)." He further reminded us that literature has its own value, and is beyond the limit of moral principles and not for carrying doctrines (*zaidao*).[2] Lai He's open-mindedness and emphasis on literary aesthetics still deliver penetrating insight even now. They help us more profoundly appreciate the complex negotiations Taiwanese writers underwent in the intricate crossover of aesthetics and politics under Japanese rule. While the true revolutionary is not always a writer, literature provides one of the most creative and provocative means to engage with the social, political, and cultural situations in which we live.

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[1] Stuart Hall, "The Local and the Global: Globalization and Ethnicity," in *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation, and Post-colonial Perspectives*. Eds. Anne McClintock, Aamir Mufti and Ella Shohat (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), p. 183.

[2] Lan Yun's [Lai He's], "Du 'Tairizhi de xinjiu wenxue zhi bijiao'" (On Reading "A Comparison of Old and New Literature" in the *Taiwan Daily News*), in *Taiwan minbao* (Taiwan People's News) 89 (January 24, 1926): 11.

A project on colonial Taiwan's literature can, and has to, be written in different ways and from various perspectives. A few aspects, such as the pre-1920s literature, literary societies and journals, classical poetry and new drama, and visual culture such as films and paintings, which are not covered or tackled fully in this study, hold ample possibilities for literary and cultural analysis. This study wishes to pave the way for future academic investigation in these areas.

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Glossary

Journals and Newspapers

Ao dori	青鳥
Bungei sōshi	文芸草紙
Bungaku hyōron	文学評論
Bungei shuto	文芸首都
Bungei Taiwan	文藝臺灣
Chidao	赤道
Dalu xin bao	大陸新報
Fengyue	風月
Fengyuebao	風月報
Gōgai	号外
Gyōshō	曉鐘
Hongshuibao	洪水報
Ia	咿啞
Kingu	国王
Lianhe wenxue	聯合文學
Kaizō	改造
Kōnan shimbun	興南新聞
Konnichi no chūkoku	今日の中国
Minzoku Taiwan	民俗臺灣
Nanfang	南方
Nanyin	南音
Nanyin she	南音社
Nihon gakugei shimbun	日本学芸新聞
Renmin daobao	人民導報
Riri xin bao	日日新報
Sanliujiu xiaobao	三六九小報
Seiza	星座
Senki	戦旗
Shibao	詩報
Taiwan	臺灣
Taiwan bungei	臺灣文藝
Taiwan dazhong shibao	臺灣大眾時報
Taiwan geijutsu	台灣藝術
Taiwan kin gendai shi kenkyū	台湾近現代史研究
Taiwan minbao	臺灣民報

Taiwan nichinichi shimpō	臺灣日日新報
Taiwan nippō	臺灣日報
Taiwan qingnian	臺灣青年
Taisei shimbun	大勢新聞
Taiwan wenxue	臺灣文學
Taiwan wenyi	台灣文藝
Taiwan xin wenxue	台灣新文學
Taiwan xinmin bao	臺灣新民報
Taiwan xin wenhua	台灣新文化
Taiwan zhanxian	臺灣戰線
Tanemaku hito	種蒔く人
Wenji	文季
Xiachao	夏潮
Xinsheng bao	新生報
Yiyang zhoubao	一陽週報
Zhonghua ribao	中華日報
Zhongwai wenxue	中外文學

Associations, Societies and Conferences

Chise jiuyuan hui	赤色救援會
Chunying yinshe	春鶯吟社
Fengche shishe	風車詩社
Fuyuan hui	復元會
Gekidan bungaku za	劇団文学座
Guojia wenyi jijinhui	國家文藝基金會
Heise qingnian lianmeng	黑色青年聯盟
Kōmin bungaku juku	皇民文学塾
Kōmin hōkōkai	皇民奉公会
Kōsei engeki kenkyū kai	厚生演劇研究会
Nanayō kai	七曜會
Qicheng tongmenghui	期成同盟會
Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan	三民主義青年團
Taisei yokusankai	大政翼賛会
Taiwan bihui	台灣筆會
Taiwan bungaku hōkōkai	台湾文学奉公会
Taiwan bungaku kenkyūkai	台湾文学研究会
Taiwan bungeika kyōkai	台湾文芸家協会
Taiwan kessen bungaku kaigi	台湾決戦文学会議

Taiwan kin gendai shi kenkyūkai	台湾近現代史研究会
Taiwan minzhongdang	台灣民眾黨
Taiwan qingnianhui	台灣青年會
Taiwan shōnō kabushiki kaisha	台湾樟脳株式会社
Taiwansheng gongzuo weiyuanhui	台灣省工作委員會
Taiwan shijin kyōkai	台湾詩人協会
Taiwan xin wenxue she	台灣新文學社
Taiwan wenhua xiehui	臺灣文化協會
Taiwan wenyi lianmeng	台灣文藝聯盟
Taiwan yihui	台灣議會
Taiwan yishu yanjiuhui	台灣藝術研究會
Tongmenghui	同盟會
Xinminhui	新民會
Yanfen didai shirenqun	鹽分地帶詩人群
Ying she	應社
Zhongguo wenyi xiehui	中國文藝協會

Names

Aguo	阿國
Akutagawa Ryūnosuke	芥川龍之介
Ajin Sao	阿金嫂
A-lan	阿蘭
Along	阿龍
Amei	阿梅
Awan	阿萬
Ayan	阿燕
Ayuan	阿遠
Bai Shaofan	白少帆
Bao Hengxin	包恆新
Baocai	寶財
Baolian	寶蓮
Baoluo/Paul	保羅
Bing Xin	冰心
Bingwen	炳文
Cai Peihuo	蔡培火
Cai Qiutong	蔡秋桐
Cai Wanqin	蔡萬欽
Caifeng	彩鳳

Cao (Mr.)	曹(先生)
Cao Zhi	曹植
Chang Hyŏkchu	張赫宙
Chang Sung-sheng Yvonne	張誦聖
Chen Duanming	陳端明
Chen Duxiu	陳獨秀
Chen Fangming	陳芳明
Chen Huoquan	陳火泉
Chen Lizhen	陳黎真
Chen Peifeng	陳培豐
Chen Shaoting	陳少廷
Chen Wanyi	陳萬益
Chen Weizhi	陳偉智
Chen Wensong	陳文松
Chen Wenzhi	陳文治
Chen Xin	陳炘
Chen Xugu	陳虛谷
Chen Yingzhen	陳映真
Chen Yousan	陳有三
Chen Zhaoying	陳昭瑛
Chiang Kai-shek	蔣介石
Chitsukime	稚月女
Chunmu	春木
Cuie	翠娥
Cuizhu	翠竹
Cunzhi	存直
Dai Guohui	戴國煇
Dai Wansheng	戴萬生
Daxiong	達雄
Delegate Shen	沈國代
Dongfang Shuo	東方朔
Doyōjin	土曜人
Du Fu	杜甫
Du Nanyuan	杜南遠
Duanmei	端美
Ema Tetsuko	江馬哲子
Fan Hanzhi	范漢智
Fan Qingxing	范慶星
Fujii Shōzō	藤井省三
Fujisaki	藤崎

Gan Wenfang	甘文芳
Gao Jinliu	高進六
Gouchun	狗春
Gu	古
Gu Jitang	古繼堂
Gu Tianhong	古添洪
Guan Gong	關公
Guo	郭
Guohun	國魂
Guo Moruo	郭沫若
Guo Qinming	郭欽明
Guo Qiusheng	郭秋生
Guo Shuitan	郭水潭
Kitahara Hakushū	北原白秋
Haiwen	海文
Hamada Hayao	濱田隼雄
Hiroda	廣田
Hodaka Tokuzō	保高德藏
Hong (Dr.)	洪
Hong Hongdong	洪宏東
Hong Qiuwen	洪秋文
Hong Tianfu	洪添福
Hong Tiansong	洪天送
Hoshina Hironobu	星名宏修
Hufang	虎坊
Hu Achuan	胡阿川
Hu Feng	胡風
Hu Shi	胡適
Hu Taiming	胡太明
Huang Chaoqin	黃朝琴
Huang Chongtian	黃重天
Huang Chengcong	黃呈聰
Huang Mei’e	黃美娥
Huang Mingjin	黃明金
Huang Qizhuo	黃其倬
Huang Ruoli	黃若麗
Huang Shihui	黃石輝
Huang Zhou	黃周
Huosheng	火生
Ide Isamu	井手勇

Ishikawa Tatsuzō	石川達三
Itō Haruo	伊東春生
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Jiang Dachuan	姜大川
Jiang Datou	江大頭
Jiang Weishui	蔣渭水
Jiang Youhai (Dr.)	江有海
Jiangliu	江流
Jin Taiqi	金泰祺
Jinlan	金蘭
Jinsheng	金生
Juemin	覺民
Kawahara Isao	河原功
Kanaseki Takeo	金関丈夫
Kang Xiaoxian	康孝先
Kensaku	健作
Kigawa	木河
Kikuchi Kan	菊池寛
Kimura Bunroku	木村文六
Kitagawa Fuyuhiko	北川冬彦
Komagome Takeshi	駒込武
Komaki Ōmi	小牧近江
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Kudō Yoshimi	工藤好美
Kume Masao	久米正雄
Kunikida Doppo	国木田独歩
Lai He	賴和
Lan	藍
Lan Honglü	藍紅綠
Lanying	蘭英
Lao Laizi	老萊子
Lao She	老舍
Lao Song	老松
Lao Zhang	老張
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Li Dongming	李東明
Li Jirong	李繼榮
Li Kui	李逵
Li Minghe	李明和
Li Nanheng	李南衡

Li Xianzhang	李獻璋
Lian Heng	連橫
Lian Wenqing	連溫卿
Lian Zhan	連戰
Liang Demin	梁德民
Liang Jingfeng	梁景峰
Liang Shanbo	梁山伯
Liao Hanchen	廖漢臣
Liao Qingxiu	廖清秀
Liao Qingyan	廖清炎
Li’er	立兒
Liru	麗茹
Lin (Mr.)	林
Lin Bonian	林伯年
Lin Haiyin	林海音
Lin Huikun	林煇焜
Lin Kefu	林克夫
Lin Ruiming	林瑞明
Lin Xiantang	林獻堂
Lin Wenqin	林文欽
Lin Yuefeng	林越峰
Lin Zhijie	林至潔
Lin Zhonglong	林鍾隆
Lin Zijin	林子瑾
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Liu Denghan	劉登翰
Liu Jie	劉捷
Liu Na’ou	劉吶鷗
Liu Shaoxing	劉少興
Liu Shuqin	柳書琴
Liu Xiaochun	劉孝春
Long Yingzong	龍瑛宗
Lu Xun	魯迅
Lü Heruo	呂赫若
Lü Xingchang	呂興昌
Lü Zhenghui	呂正惠
Luo Chengchun	羅成純
Mao Dun	茅盾
Mao Wenfang	毛文芳
Matsuo Bashō	松尾芭蕉

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Miaoli	妙麗
Mikako	美加子
Misawa	三澤
Miyazaki Takeo	宮崎武夫
Miyoshi Tatsuji	三好達治
Muhuo	木火
Nakajima Toshio	中島利郎
Nakamura Akira	中村哲
Nakayama Susumu	中山侑
Natsume Sōseki	夏目漱石
Nishikawa Mitsuru	西川滿
Noma Nobuyuki	野間信幸
Numagawa Sadao	沼川定雄
Odagiri Hideo	小田切秀雄
Okazaki Ikuko	岡崎郁子
Ou	鷗
Ozaki Hotsuki	尾崎秀樹
Ozaki Kōyō	尾崎紅葉
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Ōuchi Takao	大內隆雄
Pan Fengsheng	潘風聲
Pan Shengdi	潘生地
Piao Xinjun	朴信駿
Ping'er	萍兒
Peng Mingzhu	彭明珠
Peng Ruijin	彭瑞金
Qian Xinfa	錢新發
Qianwei (Publisher)	前衛
Qin Decan (Tsîn Tik-tsham)	秦得參
Qinqin	琴琴
Qingnan	青楠
Qiong Yao	瓊瑤
Qiu Ajin	邱阿金
Qiu Niantai	邱念臺
Qiuju	秋菊
Qiuqin	秋琴
Renji	仁吉
Runtu	閏土
Ruan Lingyu	阮玲玉

Ruan Xinmin	阮新民
San Mao	三毛
Sasaki Takamaru	佐佐木孝丸
Satō	佐藤
Sawada Mikiko	澤田美喜子
Sawai Noriyuki	澤井律之
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Shirohama	白濱
Shōji Sōichi	庄司総一
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Shuhua	淑華
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Takazaki	高崎
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Tanaka	田中
Taniko	谷子
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Tao Yuanming	陶淵明
Tarumi Chie	垂水千惠
Tianchun	天春
Tianfu	添福
Tsukamoto Terukazu	塚本照和
Tsuruko	鶴子
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Ueda Kazutoshi	上田萬年
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Wang Changxiong	王昶雄
Wang Jingwei	汪精衛
Wang Jinmin	王晉民
Wang Minchuan	王敏川

Wang Shilang	王詩琅
Wang Shoulu	王受禄
Wang Zhaopei	王兆培
Wang Zhu	汪洙
Wangshi	罔市
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Wen Jiabao	溫家寶
Weng Junming	翁俊明
Weng Nao	翁鬧
Wu Defu	吳得福
Wu Hongyi	吳宏一
Wu Mansha	吳漫沙
Wu Sheng	吳晟
Wu Xinrong	吳新榮
Wu Yongfu	巫永福
Wu Wenxiong	吳文雄
Wu Zhuoliu	吳濁流
Xie Chunmu	謝春木
Xu Naichang	許乃昌
Xu Hua	徐華
Xu Kunquan	徐坤泉
Xu Sulan	許素蘭
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Yang Qingchi	楊清池
Yang Shouyu	楊守愚
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Yang Yunping	楊雲萍
Yaodong	耀東
Yaoxun	耀勳
Yasutaka Tokuzō	保高德藏
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Ye Shitao	葉石濤
Ye Tao	葉陶
yi	伊
Yin Xueman	尹雪曼
Ying Fenghuang	應鳳凰

Yingmei	英妹
Youxiang	幽香
Yu Dafu	郁達夫
Yulan	玉蘭
Yuehan	約翰
Yunying	雲英
Yvonne Sung-sheng Chang	張誦聖
Zeng Jianmin	曾健民
Zeng Jinglai	曾景來
Zeng Simian	曾思勉
Zhan	詹
Zhang (Mr.)	張
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Zhang Henghao	張恆豪
Zhang Liangze	張良澤
Zhang Minggui	張明貴
Zhang Qingtang	張慶堂
Zhang Shenqie	張深切
Zhang Wenhuan	張文環
Zhang Wojun	張我軍
Zhang Yuqi	張郁琦
Zheng Kunwu	鄭坤五
Zheng Qingwen	鄭清文
Zhengang	振剛
Zhiming	智明
Zhiping	志平
Zhiyuan	志遠
Zhizhong	志中
Zhong Heming	鍾和鳴
Zhong Lihe	鍾理和
Zhong Meifang	鍾美芳
Zhong Taimei	鍾台妹
Zhong Tiemin	鍾鐵民
Zhong Zhaozheng	鍾肇政
Zhou Jinbo	周金波
Zhu Chunsheng	朱春生
Zhu Dianren	朱點人
Zhu Jinzhi	朱錦芝
Zhu Yingtai	祝英台
Zhui Feng (Xie Chunmu)	追風(謝春木)
Zi Lu	子路

Books, Stories and Articles

Anjiao	暗礁
“Ah Q zhengzhuan”	阿Q正傳
“Arashi no monogatari”	嵐の物語
Arasoenu unmei	争へぬ運命
“Aru onna no kiroku”	ある女の記録
“Aware na rui bāsan”	哀れなルイ婆さん
“Ayuan”	阿遠
“Baishu de beiai”	白薯的悲哀
“Baozhengbo”	保正伯
“Benliu”	奔流
“Bentao”	奔逃
“Bocitan kezhang”	波茨坦科長
“Boming”	薄命
“Buruyi de guonian”	不如意的過年
“Bungaku zakkan—furui atarashii koto”	文学雑感—古い新しいこと
“Buweirenzhi de Long Yingzong”	不為人知的龍瑛宗
Chi ni hau mono	地に這うもの
Chin fujin	陳夫人
Chō sensei	張先生
Chuci	楚辭
“Chunguang guanbuzhu”	春光關不住
“Dai Wansheng fanqing ge”	戴萬生反清歌
Dadi zhichun	大地之春
“Danshui hebian”	淡水河邊
“Denen shōkei”	田園小景
“Dongye	冬夜
“Dobu no higoi”	どぶの緋鯉
“Doro ningyō”	泥人形
“Dou naore”	鬥鬧熱
“Dushi de huanghun”	都市的黃昏
“Du Taiwan tongshi”	讀台灣通史
“Fengzuo”	豐作
“Fennu de Danjiang”	憤怒的淡江
“Fuhui”	赴會
“Fule chunyan huilai”	赴了春宴回來
“Fūsui”	風水
“Fūtō suio”	風頭水尾

"Gōka heian"	合家平安
"Gonggou"	功狗
"Guaming fuqi"	掛名夫妻
"Guangfu jinxingqu"	光復進行曲
"Guanglin"	光臨
Guangfu qian Taiwan wenxue quanji	光復前台灣文學全集
"Guijia"	歸家
"Guxiang"	故鄉
"Gyokuran hana"	玉蘭花
"Hakai"	破戒
"Hanwen gaige lun"	漢文改革論
"Heping xuanyan"	和平宣言
Hu Taiming	胡太明
Hu Zhiming	胡志明
"Ichi kyōwa oto ni demo"	一協和音にでも
"Imo zukuri"	薯作り
"Jiazhutao"; *Jiazhutao*	夾竹桃
"Jiaode gushi"	腳的故事
"Jiaoyuan"	狡猿
"Jingshen de huangfei—Zhang Liangze huangmin wenxue lun de piping"	精神的荒廢—張良澤皇民文學論的批評
Jiucaihua	韮菜花
"Jiyū rōdōsha no seikatsu danmen"	自由労働者の生活断面
"Juewang"	絕望
"Kagami"	鏡
"Kano jo wa doko e?"	彼女はどこへ?
Ke'ai de chouren	可愛的仇人
"Kenen tonarigumi"	犬猿隣組
"Kepa de chenmo"	可怕的沈默
"Kurage"	海月
"Kinō no hi"	帰農の日
"Kirei na tahata"	綺麗な田畑
Konjiki yasha	金色夜叉
"Konyaku kidan"	婚約奇談
"Kōka"	黃家
Kōmin sosho	皇民叢書
"Kuroi shōjo"	黒い少女
"Kyōshū"	鄉愁

Lai He quanji	賴和全集
“Lai He sanpian xiaoshuo xilun”	賴和三篇小說析論
“Lai He shi shei?”	賴和是誰?
Lai He shougao yingxiang ji	賴和手稿影像集
“Lai He yu Taiwan zuoyi wenxue xipu”	賴和與台灣左翼文學系譜
“Lai xiai Zhong Lihe”	來喜愛鍾理和
“Langman waiji”	浪漫外記
“Lanyi shaonü”	藍衣少女
“Lao qiaofu”	老樵夫
“Letian pai”	樂天派
“Lifajiang de lianai”	理髮匠的戀愛
“Liming zhige”	黎明之歌
Limingle de dongya	黎明了的東亞
Linghai weibiao	嶺海微飆
Lingrou zhidao	靈肉之道
“Lishan nongchang”	笠山農場
“Lishi henduo loudong”	歷史很多漏洞
“Liuyin”	柳陰
“Lu”	路
Lü Heruo ji	呂赫若集
Lü Heruo xiaoshuo quanji: Taiwan diyi caizi	呂赫若小說全集：台灣第一才子
“Luandu zhilian”	亂都之戀
“Lüli”	履歷
“Lun puji baihuawen de shiming”	論普及白話文的使命
“Lun puji baihuawen de xin shiming”	論普及白話文的新使命
“Lunshi”	論詩
“Mai caipiao”	買彩票
“Manku sisheng”	蠻窟嘶聲
“Men”	門
“Mengjing yu zianshi—chongtan ‘benliu’”	夢境與現實－重探“奔流”
“Me moe yuru”/*Me moe yuru*	芽萌ゆる
“Miaoting”	廟庭
“Michi”	道
“Mier”	迷兒
“Minami ni shisu”	南に死す
“Minato no aru machi”	港のある街

“Mofan cun”	模範村
“Moluo”	沒落
“‘Monosashi’ no tanjō”	“ものさし” の誕生
“Muison”	無医村
“Nankin zakkan”	南京雜感
“Niuche”	牛車
“Nüpengyoumen lai zuoge xinshidai de xinnüxing”	女朋友們來做個新時代的新女性
“Papaiya no aru machi”	パパイヤのある街
“Qianjin”	前進
“Qingjia yu shange”	親家與山歌
“Qinyou dexin”	親友的信
“Qipan bian”	棋盤邊
“Qiuju de bansheng”	秋菊的半生
“Qiuxin”	秋信
Renbu no niwa; “Renbu no niwa”	蓮霧の庭
“Reshi”	惹事
Riju xia Taiwan xin wenxue	日據下台灣新文學
“Rinkyo”	隣居
Rika fujin	梨花夫人
“Riyongwen guchui lun”	日用文鼓吹論
“Sansen sōmoku”	山川草木
“Saodong de linghun”	騷動的靈魂
“Seishū”	清秋
“Sekiryū”	石榴
“Shanhuo”	山火
Shanling—Chaoxian Taiwan duanpian xiaoshuo ji	山靈—朝鮮台灣短篇小說集
“Shansong de ren de gushi”	善訟的人的故事
“Sheng yu si”	生與死
“Shengli jinxingqu”	勝利進行曲
“Shi”	逝
Shi to shiron	詩と詩論
“Shiganhei”	志願兵
Shijing	詩經
“Shilun ‘huangmin wenxue’”	試論 “皇民文學”
Shina shi	中國史
“Shinshi e no michi”	紳士への道
“Shirarezaru kōfuku”	知られざる幸福
“Shiroi sanmyaku”	白い山脈

“Shizilu”	十字路
Shuihu zhuan	水滸傳
“‘Shuyō’ kaishō no ki”	“首陽” 解消の記
“Songbaofu”	送報伕
“Suibi”	隨筆
“Suigan”	水癌
“Ta facai le”	他發財了
“Taidong lüguan”	泰東旅館
Taiwan dandai wenxue	台灣當代文學
Taiwan hishi	台湾匪誌
“Taiwan ‘huangmin wenxue’ de zong qingsuan—cong Taiwan wenxue de zunyan chufa”	台灣 ‘皇民文學’ 的總清算—從台灣文學的尊嚴出發
“Taiwan huawen de xinzi wenti”	台灣話文的新字問題
“Taiwan kaigan”	台湾開眼
Taiwan lianqiao	台灣連翹
Taiwan minjian wenxue ji	台灣民間文學集
Taiwan shōsetsu sen	台湾小説選
Taiwan shōsetsu shū	台湾小説集
Taiwan shūkyō to meishin rōshū	台湾宗教と迷信陋習
Taiwan wenxue shigang	台灣文學史綱
Taiwan wenxue yu shidai jingshen—Lai He yanjiu lunji	台灣文學與時代精神—賴和研究論集
Taiwan xiangtu wenxue, huangmin wenxue de qingli yu pipan	台灣鄉土文學, 皇民文學的清理與批判
Taiwan xiaoshuo fazhan shi	台灣小說發展史
Taiwan xin wenxue gaiguan (*shang*)	台灣新文學概觀 (上)
Taiwan xin wenxue yundong jianshi	台灣新文學運動簡史
Taiwan zuojia quanji—duanpian xiaoshuo juan, riju shidai	台灣作家全集—短篇小說卷, 日據時代
“Tansui kawa no sazanami”	淡水河の漣
Tiexie shiren Wu Zhuoliu	鐵血詩人吳濁流
“Tongchou”	銅臭
“Tongxing zhi hun”	同姓之婚
“Tsukiyo”	月夜
“Udori no yome iri”	鵞鳥の嫁入
“Unmeironsha”	運命論者
“Umi no yado”	海の宿
“Uta”	歌

"Wantong fagui ji"	頑童伐鬼記
"Weixue de zaochen"	微雪的早晨
"Wenrou de fankang"	溫柔的反抗
"Women difang de gushi"	我們地方的故事
"Wuchu shenyuan"	無處伸冤
Wuhuaguo	無花果
"Wuqian de xuanya"	午前的懸崖
"Wuti"	無題
Xianren zhi xie, tudi zhi hua	先人之血, 土地之花
"Xiansheng ma"	先生媽
"Xiaogang"	小崗
Xiaoshuo biji	小說筆記
Xiaowu dache ji	小屋大車集
"Xiaozhang"	校長
"Xifu"	媳婦
"Xin mengmu"	新孟母
Xin sheng biji bu	新生筆記簿
Xin shenghuo bibao	新生活壁報
Xin shenghuo yuekan	新生活月刊
"Xin wenxue chuantong de jicheng zhe—Zhong Lihe: lishan nongchang li de shehui xing maodun"	新文學傳統的繼承者—鐘理和: 笠山農場裡的社會性矛盾
"Xiongnian bumianyu siwang"	凶年不免於死亡
"Xizhao"	夕照
"Yabubian de meiguihua"	壓不扁的玫瑰花
Yabubian de meigui hua—Yang Kui de ren yu zuopin	壓不扁的玫瑰花—楊逵的人與作品
Yang Kui huaxiang	楊逵畫像
Yang Kui quanji	楊逵全集
Yang Wenguang pingman shibadong	楊文廣平蠻十八洞
Yangtou ji	羊頭集
Yaxiya de gu'er	亞細亞的孤兒
"Yemangmang"	野茫茫
"Yigan 'chengzai'"	一桿「稱仔」
"Yige tongzhi de pixin"	一個同志的批信
"Yihen qiangu"	遺恨千古
Yomigaeru Taiwan bungaku: Nihon tōjiki no sakka to sakuhin	よみがえる台湾文学: 日本統治期の作家と作品

Yoake mae no Taiwan	夜明け前の台湾
"Yousi"	游絲
"Yoitsuki"	宵月
"Yu"	雨
"Yuanxiangren"	原鄉人
"Yueqin"	月琴
"Yuexia"	月下
Yuyehua	雨夜花
"Yuzhong riji"	獄中日記
"Yūgure no naka no kazoku"	夕暮の中の家族
"Yūkage"	夕影
"Zai shi ju"	財子寿
"Zansetsu"	残雪
"Zaogao de Taiwan wenxuejie"	糟糕的台灣文學界
"Zenyang bu tichang Taiwan xiangtu wenxue?"	怎樣不提倡台灣鄉土文學?
"Zhiyou muguashu de xiaozhen"	植有木瓜樹的小鎮
"Zhong Lihe de nongmin wenxue"	鍾理和的農民文學
"Zhong Lihe zuopin lun"	鍾理和作品論
Zhongguo wenyi congshu	中國文藝叢書
Zhonghua minguo wenyi shi	中華民國文藝史
"Zhutouzhuang"	竹頭庄
"Zōsan no kage ni—nonki na jīsan no hanashi	増産の蔭に—呑気な爺さんの話

Terms

baihua	白話
banshan	半山
baozheng	保正
bentu	本土
bentu xing	本土性
bo'ai	博愛
boming	薄命
bungaku kenshō	文藝懸賞
Bungei Taiwan shō	文芸台湾賞
caiyi yuqin	彩衣娛親
chengze jian'ai tianxia	成則兼愛天下
chuantong wenren	傳統文人

daiwa kon	大和魂
daze jianji tianxia	達則兼及天下
dangwai	黨外
datong	大同
dazhong/taishū	大眾
dazhong de yuandi	大眾的園地
dazhong wenyi/taishū bungaku	大眾文藝
disan wenxue	第三文學
diguo hanwen	帝國漢文
dōbun/tongwen	同文
ducai wuneng, minzhu wuwang	獨裁無能, 民主無望
enbon	円本
fa hu qing zhi hu li	發乎情止乎禮
Fushoutang	福壽堂
fushou gongwei	俯首恭維
gaichi bungaku	外地文學
guofang	過房
haiku	俳句
Hakka	客家
hakkō ichiu	八紘一宇
hanjian	漢奸
helu	合爐
heisokukan	閉塞感
hezhi hanyu	和製漢語
hontōjin	本島人
huangmin	皇民
jianchi yu fankang	堅持與反抗
jiapin qinlao, bu zelu ershi	家貧親老，不擇禄而仕
jiawenming	假文明
jidujiao mian shicai	基督教免食菜
jieshen ziai	潔身自愛
jietou ju	街頭劇
jingjiu gengtang	井臼羹湯
jūgo shōsetsu	銃後小説
jūjiro shōsetsu	十字路小説
kashiwade	柏手
kendō	剣道
kōkoku bungaku	皇国文学
kokutai	国体
kōmin	皇民

kōmin rensei undō	皇民鍊成運動
kōmin sōsho	皇民叢書
kōminka/huangminhua	皇民化
modeng	摩登
modeng nü	摩登女
naichijin	內地人
nanpō	南方
nanshin	南進
nijū seikatsu	二重生活
nikka shinzen	日華親善
nittai ichinyo	日台一如
nittai shinzen	日台親善
niuma shen	牛馬身
peh-oe-ji	白話字
pengbi	碰壁
pubian duzhe zhujun	普遍讀者諸君
qicai	棄材
Qingguo nu	清國奴
qucong yu qingxie	屈從與傾斜
quhua jiuwen	曲話就文
qujing tong you	曲徑通幽
quwen jiuhua	曲文就話
rencong jingshen	忍從精神
ritai pingdeng	日台平等
rōnin	浪人
ryōshin shinzen	良心親善
sanmian zhuyi	三眠主義
shijie zhuyi	世界主義
shehui jituan	社會集團
shehui xing	社會性
shengren wu lu, siren wu tu, muyang wu pu, gengniu wu cao	生人無路, 死人無土, 牧羊無埔, 耕牛無草
shenti xiaofei	身體消費
Shōwa	昭和
shuyuan	書院
shuangchong jiuhua	雙重舊化
siwenren	斯文人
taijin san	大人さん
Taishō	大正
taishū	大衆

taishū bungaku	大衆文学
Taiwan bungaku shō	台湾文学賞
Taiwan bungakusha sō kekki	台湾文学者総決起
Taiwan wenxue jiang	台灣文學獎
Taiwan yishi	台灣意識
taiyu wenxue	台語文學
tanci	彈詞
tengyō yokusan	翼賛天業
tianhuo	天火
tsūzoku shōsetsu	通俗小説
tongyi	統一
tōyō teki jikaku	東洋的自覚
tutou tunao	土頭土腦
wansheng	灣生
wen yi zai dao	文以載道
wenhua shidai	文化世代
wenji dazhong hua	文藝大眾化
wenyan yizhi	文言一致
xiabi ru yougui	下筆如有鬼
xiandai xinnüxing	現代新女性
xiangrou dian	香肉店
xiangtu wenxue	鄉土文學
xiangtuse de bifa	鄉土色的筆法
xiangtuyu de zuopin	鄉土語的作品
xianqi liangmu	賢妻良母
xiaobao	小報
xiayi	俠義
xin fanzaijiao sihou wuren ku	信蕃仔教死後無人哭
xinmin	新民
xintiandi	新天地
xiuliang	朽樑
xiucai	秀才
xiangfu jiaozi	相夫教子
xixian wu zhanshi	西線無戰事
Yamato minzoku	大和民族
yexingren	夜行人
yi	義
yi shi tong ren	一視同仁
yidan	藝旦/藝妲
yin	音

yinren	隱忍
yitong	一統
youxian jieji	有閑階級
yubao yubian	寓褒於貶
yuanming	怨命
yuanxiang	原鄉
yūhi	雄飛
yūwa bungaku	融和文學
zaidao	載道
zhaohun	招魂
zhenghua fanshuo	正話反說
zhimindi hanwen	殖民地漢文
zhongkui zhilao	中饋之勞
zhongnan qingnü	重男輕女
zhongwen qingwu	重文輕武
ziyou benfang	自由奔放
ziyou di	自由地
zōsan bungaku	增産文学
zuguo wenhua	祖國文化

Schools, Places, Dynasties and Incidents

Beijing	北京
Boai Hospital	博愛醫院
Busan	釜山
Daimokukō Public School	大目降公学校
Donghai huayuan	東海花園
Fengtian	奉天
Fujian	福建
Kaohsiung High School	高雄中學
Guandi Temple	關帝廟
Guang Daxing	光達興
Guangdong	廣東
Guangzhou	廣州
Han	漢
Ikeda Katsumi	池田克己
Ikubunkan High School	郁文館中学
Jiaobanian Incident	噍吧哖事件
Keelung	基隆

Kunming	昆明
Kyūshū	九州
Lishan Farm	笠山農場
Linbai Publishers	林白出版社
Lugang	鹿港
Luku	鹿窟
Lugouqiao Incident	蘆溝橋事變
Meinong	美濃
Ming	明
Moji	門司
Nagaji Public School	長治公学校
Nanjing	南京
Nihon daigaku	日本大学
Qing	清
Qishan	旗山
Shenyang	瀋陽
Shikoku	四国
Shimonoseki	下関
Shishi	石獅
Shouyang yuan	首陽園
Tainan erzhong	台南二中
Taiyuan	太原
Tamsui	淡水
Taoyuan	桃園
Weishui Basin	渭水盆地
Wufeng	霧峰
Xiamen	廈門
Xiaoyi tang	小逸堂
Xilai'an Incident	西來庵事件
Xinpu	新埔
Xinzhu	新竹
Zhanghua	彰化
Zhijing shijian	治警事件

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