T'ai-wan hsin wen-hsüeh and the Evolution of a Journal: *T'ai-wan min-pao*

Rosemary M. Haddon

ABSTRACT

Lagging a few years behind China's shift toward "new literature," *pai-hua* (vernacular) and mass culture following the May 4th Movement, Taiwan by the mid-1920's, with the decline of its aristocratic cultural elite, had undergone a similar transformation. This essay discusses various aspects of this transformation, which, as in China, was strongly influenced by the reading of reprinted Western fiction and poetry (and in Taiwan, also reprinted Chinese fiction and poetry), by analyzing the works of several key Taiwan writers of the 1920's and 1930's. Particular emphasis is given to the central theme of anti-colonialism (Taiwan was a colony of Japan) and national (Taiwanese) identity, and to the crucial role of the *T'ai-wan min-pao*, which published many of these writers.

KEY WORDS

"new literature"
mass culture
anti-imperialism
vernacular
anti-colonialism
democratic idealism

As in China, Taiwan's new literature (*hsin wen-hsüeh*) evolved out of the classical Chinese tradition. For more than three hundred years, over one hundred poetry associations provided the chief channel of creativity for the island's educated elite. Taiwan's literati – those scholars on the island who received a classical literary training – carried on the tradition of classical versification until the second decade of Japanese rule. Then, the loss of class status for the elite brought about the demise of the classical tradition. By the mid-1920s, the decline in literati influence, the gradual, wholesale adoption of the *pai-hua* (vernacular) and the move toward mass culture (*ta-chung wen-hua*) marked the termination of the classical period in Taiwan and the transition to the vernacular.

In China a few years prior the this time, the emergence of the vernacular era under the tuttelage of Hu Shih had been part of a larger intellectual movement striving for, among other things, national salvation and the emancipation of the individual. A question which was intricately related to this movement concerned the role of China's tradition and Chinese traditional culture, both of which were condemned by May Fourth intellectuals as the leading causes for China's spiritual ills. A major critic of tradition, Lu Hsün, turned from the study of medicine to the writing of literature in the belief that literature could be a tool in the search for a cure for China's numerous ills.[1] The search for a cure and the vision of a new China which Lu Hsün and other May Fourth intellectuals

envisioned was a major component of the antitraditional *zeitgeist* of May Fourth.

The search for remedies, both cultural and political, characterized many other countries of Asia which were caught in the throes of the post-World War I dislocation. In these countries, rising anti-imperialism dovetailed with Wilsonian idealism which, in turn, generated a search for new political systems. Taiwan, for instance, experienced a number of political reforms which resulted from the relatively liberal atmosphere of the Taishô period (1912-1926). The first of these was the appointment of a civil governor-general whose appearance in Japan's newly acquired colony accorded a measure of social and political relief.[2] Prior to this time, the colony had always been ruled by the military.

As in China, the new, liberal atmosphere which transpired in Taiwan proved to be a fertile breeding-ground for a number of journals. Besides disseminating new ideas, these journals aimed at the reform of Japanese colonial rule. Declaring in its first issue that "all idols were destroyed by the Europeaan War,"[3] the *T'ai-wan min-pao*, the most prominent literary journal of this period,[4] sought to raise the awareness of Taiwan's reading public with regard to their political and cultural environment. Disseminating ideas about Wilsonian self-determination, democracy, and socialism which were brought to the island by Taiwanese students in Japan, the journal also presented the concept of the vernacular which the Taiwanese writer and critic Chang Wo-chün (1902-1955) brought back from China. Soon, generated by this stimulating intellectual atmosphere, Taiwan's intellectural revolution was born.

As it churned its set of wheels in relative isolation from the historical motherland of China, the *T'si-wan hsin wen-hsünh yün-tung* (Taiwan New Literature Movement) proved, in some ways, to be a mirror image of the larger movement on the mainland. The movement, which lasted from

1920 to 1937, began with the remnants of classical versification in the early 1920s and lasted throughout the 1920s with the development of a number of different modes, including romanticism, naturalism, realism and traditionalism. Much of the new literature was written in the Japanese language because Taiwan's writers of the 1920s and 1930s, like everyone else under colonial rule, were compelled by colonial policy to speak and write Japanese and to adopt Japanese names; the Chinese language was virtually outlawed. Other writers, however, struggled to maintain the Chinese tradition by writing in Chinese. During this literary movement, Taiwan's romanticism and realism developed in tandem with reprints from China and different parts of Europe which exerted a stylistic influence on Taiwan's emerging new literature. This article examines the Chinese and European stories selected for reprinting in the pages of the *TWMP* and the influence these reprints exerted on Taiwan's literary development during the 1920s and 1930s. The intertextual nature of Taiwan's new literature is one respect in which it enjoyed a similarity with its May Fourth counterpart.[5]

Chang Wo-chün

One of the main promoters of the Taiwan New Literature Movement was Chang Wo-chün. Chang spent a number of years in China during the period of May Fourth, and he subsequently wrote a series of articles in which he criticized the state of Taiwan's literature.[6] Chang's submissions to *TWMP* made him an important contributor to the journal and a key figure in the movement. Chang Wo-chün's intent was to enlighten his readers on a number of different points regarding the establishment of a vernacular literature on Taiwan. These points included the degenerate state of *wen-yen-wen*, or the classical language; the historical factors involved in Taiwan's current literary crisis; and the need for language reform.

Chang also introduced new literary concepts from China, specifically those of Hu shih,[7] which he hoped would generate new literary interest.

In a number of articles, Chang lamented the fact that although there was currently a great number of writers, specifically poets, in Taiwan, the quality of literature produced was inferior. The reasons for this, Chang contended, could be found in the continued use of the "dead" *wen-yen-wen* in literary production, the privileging of form over content, and the emotional alienation of the writer from the subject matter of his art. Chang also decried the fact the there was one genre only – poetry – which was produced on the island. While Chang faulted the writers themsleves for many of the deficiencies of Taiwan's literature, he also pointed out that, as a colony, Taiwan was historically separated from China and was thus not solely to blame for its current state of affairs. An unbridgeable gap resulted when Taiwan was ceded to Japan; accordingly, the people in Taiwan were unaware of the many political, social and literary changes that had gone on in China during May Fourth. These changes had begun with the New Culture movement and had ended with the dismantling of China's ancient classical tradition. Chang concluded that the literary revolution in China was powerless to affect any changes in Taiwan, which he describes in one article as an "epitaph to antiquarianism" (*ku-tien-chu-i te mu*).[8] Besides comparing Taiwan to China, Chang also cited Europe as an example of a country which had experienced new literary trends, specifically, romanticism and realism. Japan had similarly produced excellent new literature since Meiji times. Taiwan's proximity to China and Japan, Chang hoped, would eventually bring about a revival.

Chang Wo-chün's main arguments for literary reform in Taiwan are outlined in his article entitled "Ch'ing he-li che-hsia che tso pai ts'ao-ts'ung-chung de p'o-chiu tien-t'ang" (Please Lend a Hand in Dismantling this Old, Broken-down

Temple in the Grassy Thicket). In this article, Chang maintains that Taiwan's literature is a branch of Chinese literature; any changes in Chinese literature will naturally affect its branch literature. In Taiwan, nonetheless, the population living in this "broken-down temple" slumbers on, unaware of the changes in China and also unaware of its danger of being crushed. The analogy with Lu Hsün in Chang' s image is clear. However, where Lu Hsün suffered a moral dilemma over whether to awaken his compatriots, Chang is clear about his mission: he not only vows to wake up his compatriots, he will also invite them to help him to dismantle this "old, broken-down temple." Chang concludes the analogy with Lu Hsün by stating that he is merely a "foot soldier" summoning (na-han) the revolutionary literary forces into Taiwan. Lu Hsün's influence over Chang Wo-chün is apparent from the allusions he cites in this article. It is clear that Lu hsün's short stories, which were reprinted in the *TWMP*, also influenced the emergence of Taiwan's vernacular fiction. This influence is discussed in a later section of this paper.

By the mid-1920s, the transition to the vernacular was complete in Taiwan, although in some parts of the island classical prose and poetry continued to be written into the 1930s. The remnants of wen-yen-wen – Taiwan's satiric parodies of classical prose and poetic texts of the early 1920s – consisted of barbed critiques which took aim at the more repressive aspects of Japanese colonial rule.[9] While the motif of political reform was a major theme in Taiwan's first attempts at the vernacular, other themes also emerged, and Taiwan's new literature soon became as thematically broad as May Fourth's. Taiwan's first fully-fledged vernacular short story not only focuses on reform, it also concerns a second theme.

Taiwanese and Chinese Predecessors and the Rise of Romanticism

"Shen-mi te tzu-chih tao" (The Mysterious Island of Self-Restraint)[10] is a satire on the slavish mentality and tradition-bound worldview of the Taiwanese, and thus it ridicules the national character in much the same way as Lu Hsün's *Ah-Q cheng-chuan* does. Faulting the national character as the cause for the island's social backwardness, this piece mirrors many of the same concerns as its Chinese predecessor.[11]

"The Mysteriours Island of Self-Restraint" takes the form of an allegory which, as a self-reflexive and critically self-conscous form of narrative, aimed to educate the reading public and to raise awareness about political and cultural issues.[12] Recounted by an omniscient narrator, "The Mysterious Island of Self-Restraint" opens with Mr. Wu-chih (Ignoramus) of *Wu-chih-kuo* (Ignoramusland),[13] who arrives on a Utopia-like island after a magical flight in a dream. Landing in a field, Mr Wu-chih discovers that everyone – peasant and elite alike – is adorned with cangues which they wear proudly around their necks like ornaments. Mr Wu-chih is infected by a desire to liberate them. The inhabitants, however, are innocent of the implications of "self-restraint" (*tzu-chih*); that is, of the ideology imposed by the cangue. Instead, they desire to continue their serfdom because, having sought the cangue with "sincerity," they will not easily give it up.[14] On an allegorical level, the cangue implies bondage; as an instrument of cultural suppression, it precludes the importation of new knowledge from the nearby continent of China.[15] Culturally isolated from the mainland, Taiwan seems damned to perpetual ignorance.

"The Mysterious Island of Self-Restraint" is also a critique of Japanese rule, although it successfully avoided censorship through its allegorical techniques. The cangue obliges its wearers to work hard in order to support the founder's caste – the "yellow-turbaned strongmen" (huang-chin shih-li) – who, according to the narrative, could not be expected not to eat or wear clothing just because the islanders do not do these things. The islanders, furthermore, should "requite kindness with kindness" considering the benefits conferred upon them by the beneficence of the caste.[16] This story depicts Japanese rule as oppressive and addresses certain political questions which in pre-Taishô Taiwan would not have been tolerated. As a two-tiered satire, on the other hand, it also implies that the Taiwanese are constrained as much by their own cultural environment as by the political situation under the Japanese. Unable to see past certain immediate benefits, the islanders are happpily ignorant about the true nature of their circumstances.

As the first vernacular short story after the classical era, "The Mysterious Island of Self-Restraint" was the forerunner for a growing vernacular movement. The journal *TWMP* assumed the role of medium for this movement and soon began life as a separate Taiwanese-run publication, printing articles and stories in the vernacular language.[17] Aptly described as the "Taiwan version of the May Fourth Movement,"[18] the *TWMP* adopted a function similar to that *Hsin ch'ing-nien or Hsiao-shuo yüeh-pao* during the New Culture movement in China. As the major point of distribution for translated European, Japanese and Russian literary works, the *TWMP* was not only an important place of publication for aspiring writers but it was also the launching pad for Taiwan's leap into internationalism.

During the period from 1923 to 1931, besides European imports, at least eighteen Chinese works from the May Fourth period in China were reprinted in the *TWMP*, bringing to a

total of over thirty the number of foreign literary works appearing in the journal.[19] With a circulation of 15,000 to 16,000 copies after 1927 when *TWMP* moved from Tokyo to Taipei, this journal played a major role not only in the diffusion of European thought but also of Chinese stylistics.[20] The literature reprinted in the journal and the tide of new knowledge and new thought from China and Europe which it brought into Taiwan had a long-lasting and extensive influence. Metaphorically, it forced open the "cangue" – that device which since the end of the nineteenth century had exercised a stranglehold over Taiwan's Ch'ing-type of society and economy. With the removal of the cangue, the flood of influences from abroad began.

The first May Fourth reprint to appear in the pages of *TWMP* was Hu Shih's "Chung-shen ta-shih" (The Greatest Event in Life, April, 1923). This work consisted of a diatribe against astrological superstition and traditional Chinese taboos, specifically, that condemning marriage between two persons of the same surname (t'ung-hsing chih hun).[21] This reprint was one among many which exercized a "stimulus-diffusion" type of influence in the rise of Taiwan's mode of romanticism. This mode was Wertherian and contained elements of escapism mixed with idealism and the desire for free choice in marriage. The story entitled "Shei wu ju?" (Who Wronged You? 1923) by Wu Tse-sheng, for instance, was written in a mixture of classical and vernacular styles and is representative of Taiwan's romanticism. "Tsui hou te chieh-chüeh ju ho?" (What is the Final Solution? 1923) by Shih Jung-chen and T.S.'s "Chia-t'ing yuan" (Family Complaint, 1924), all published in the *TWMP*, similarly represent this phase. "Family Complaint" is a story about three young protagonists who struggle against traditional social institutions and propose a flight to an idealized country (China) as the solution to the intergenerational conflicts they experience with their parents.[22] This story exemplifies "the power of

reason [which] is sufficient to conquer social traditions."[23] The one work by a Taiwanese woman, Kan Nü-shih, entitled "Ko-chüeh" (Separation, *TWMP*, February 1925), is also written in the romantic vein. It takes the form of an epistle addressed to a male lover, marriage with whom is opposed by the parents of the female narrator. "Family Complaint" and "Separation" are reminiscent of the desire for social change contained in Pa Chin's Family.

Experiments in the romantic mode constituted the most prominent literary trend during the years 1923 to 1926 in Taiwan. During this time, works by Chinese writers such as Ping Hsin, Kuo-Mo-jo and Hsü Chih-mo were reprinted in the pages of the *TWMP*. English romanticism in the form of poetry by Percy Bysshe Shelley ("Music, When the Soft Voices Die") also played a part in inspiring the new ethos. Thomas Hardy's poem "In the Moonlight," which can be considered romantic, was included, too.[24] As for the Chinese writer, Kuo Mo-jo's "Mu-yang ai-hua" (The Lament of the Shepherdess), which was reprinted in the October/November, 1925 issue, consists of a chronicle of lost love which the narrator stumbled upon during his travels in Korea.[25] Sojourning at an inn, the narrator takes a walk through the mountains one day when he hears in the distance the plaintive song of a shepherdess. He returns to the inn and inquires about the song of the innkeeper. The latter subsequently relates a sorrowful tale which included the fact that the young shepherdess was originally betrothed to the innkeeper's son. But the boy was killed in a fit of fury by his father, and the shepherdess was left to chant her plaintive lament in the remote Korean hills. The theme of lost love with its strain of sentimentalism is characteristically Chinese.

In a slightly different strain, Ping Hsin's "Ch'ao-jen" (The Loner), reprinted in the *TWMP* in April 1925, relates a tale about a misanthropic loner struggling with alienation. At the end of the piece, the misanthrope is reconciled with the world

through his friendship with a young boy. Alienation is a theme which recurs in other May Fourth literature such as in the works of Yü Ta- fu, and it also appeared as a theme in Taiwan literature.[26] "Hsiu-Yü" (Attraction) written in Chinese by Chang Wo-chün and published in the *TWMP* in April, 1928, focuses on this theme. In this story, the alienated protagonist contemplates with a sense of outraged, puritanical self-righteousness a group of modish young men and women who are enjoying themselves in a cafe. In contrast with their gaiety, he confronts his existence alone.[27] The years prior to 1926 and the emergence of realism were perhaps "aberrant" in light of later developments in Taiwan literary history;[28] nonetheless, this period of romanticism in Taiwan provided a point of departure for subsequent literary developments.

In Taiwan in the mid-1920s, the exigencies of the colonial situation demanded a socially engaged type of literature. This demand effectively reined in further developments of most types of romanticism. The move from romanticism to realism mirrored a similar trend in Chinese literature during May Fourth: the romantic period in China, from the years 1917 to 1927, was superceded in the early 1930s by a post-romantic reaction. Heeding the call of China's socio-economic problems, many Chinese writers made their journey leftward and literature subsequently became more socially engaged.[29]

In Taiwan, the waning of romanticism began in the year 1926 and was heralded by the publication of Taiwan's first realist short story.[30] Realism was defined as a generic "microcosm of society" and became the dominant trend in Taiwan until the onset of the Sino-Japanese War.[31] With the war, Japan's militarization and the increasing censorship in colonial Taiwan put an end to the politically critical stance implied in Taiwan's realist literature, and a unique trend of traditionalism set in which accorded more exactly with Japan's wartime demands. During the postwar period, that is, in the 1960s and 1970s, realism reemerged as the "correct" and

dominant trend, as one critic succinctly puts it.[32]

European Reprints

After romanticism, the second set of reprints to appear in the *TWMP* was nineteenth-century European realism. These reprints, like the earlier romantic reprints, were similarly a source of influence on Taiwan's indigenous literary development. The first of these reprints were Hu Shih's translations of Alphonse Daudet's "La Derniere Classe" (The Last Class) and Guy de Maupassant's "Deux Amis" (Two Friends, translated by Hu Shih as "Er Yu-fu") which appeared in the journal in May, 1923 and March, 1924, respectively. The two stories have patriotic themes: the first concerns the last French language class in an elementary school in Alsace-Lorraine prior to the German occupation. "The Last Class" was probably chosen as a reprint because of its theme of the loss of the homeland – an obvious parallel with Taiwan under the Japanese occupation. "Two Friends," on the other hand, is a story about two petty bourgeoise Frenchmen who encounter Prussian soldiers while they are on a fishing excursion during their day off. Accused of being spies, the two Frenchmen refuse to divulge the password they used to get through the advance guard and are summarily executed. The two stories may have been reprinted in the *TWMP* as a caveat issued on the part of the editors of the *TWMP* against Japanese assimilation.[33]

In Taiwan, the presence of the Japanese colonial governmant precluded any overt growth of patriotism.[34] One exception to this was Yang K'uei's (1006-1985) 1932 novella, "Shinbun haitatsufu" (Paperboy ["Sung-pao-fu" in the Chinese translation]) which was originally written in Japanese. This story combines elements of anti-Japanese sentiment with the indoctrination of the protagonist, Yang, a young worker-student in Japan, into socialism. At the conclusion of "Paperboy," Yang returns to Taiwan with the intention of

overthrowing Japanese rule.[35] Yang's patriotism was somewhat more muted than that in "Two Friends"; the latter could not be easily duplicated in Japanese colonial Taiwan.

Among Taiwan's first works of realism, "I kan ch'eng-tzu" (Steelyard) by Lai Ho (1894-1943) resulted indirectly from the transplantation of European thought and stylistics into Taiwan. Through these reprints, Lai Ho, who was referred to as the "Lu Hsün of Taiwan,"[36] had ready access to foreign literature, and the inspiration he derived from these reprints stamped his work with a foreign model in much the same way that Lu Hsün's works bear the influence of Gogol. Lai Ho's writing went through a difficult, three-stage process. First, he set his text down in classical Chinese, then he translated it into the vernacular; and finally, he infused it with appropriate Taiwanese dialect in the dialogue.[37] "Steelyard" was Lai's third short story and it was published in the *TWMP* in February 1926. This story was inspired by Anatole France's *Crainquebille*: Lai Ho's debt to France is apparent in the postscript to "I kan ch'eng-tzu," which reads as follows:

> Recently, I have had occasion to read Anatole France's *Crainquebille* [1904]. I came to realize that this type of incident is not confined to un-developed countries only but can arise in any place where the power of force holds sway. Paying little heed to stylistics, I have set it down for the criticism of the literary world.[38]

The cultural and social contexts which comprise the background of "Steelyard" and *Crainquebille* are quite different. During the period of *Crainquebille*, France was a republic; Taiwan, in contrast, was a colony under Japanese rule. Nonetheless, their similarity in terms of stylistics and thematic content points to the intertextuality of the two stories. The French stylistic called the "single incident," for example, may

have been the source for the brevity and schematic nature of "Steelyard."[39] Besides this, the immediate similarity of these two works lies in their central theme which concerns a vendor who is accused and fined by a policeman as he is selling his wares. This vendor is subsequently sentenced to imprisonment and is later released through the intermediary of a benefactor. In the case of *Crainquebille*, the vendor's fifty-franc fine is paid by an unknown person; Ch'in Te-shen, on the other hand, is released on bail which is paid by his wife. A further similarity of the two stories is their *dramatis personae*, that is, costermongers, which belong to the category of the "little people"(*hsiao jen-wu* in Chinese. In Taiwan the "little people" characterize Taiwan's colonial and post-war *hsiang-t'u wen-hsüeh* (nativist literature).

Like most of Taiwan's literature, "Steelyard" is ironic, a mode which signifies frustration or bondage. The story, however, concludes on an epic note. Overcome by "incomprehensible despair," the submissive peasant, Ch'in Te-shen, decides that he must act and rises up to murder a Japanese policeman.[40] The time and circumstances of such a murder in the story rule out the likelihood of this actually happening in colonial Taiwan. Thus, one can safely assume that the inspiration for "Steelyard" derived from sources other than reality. Lai Ho clearly formulated his ideology of force after his foreign model and then applied it to the situation in his own country.[41]

In sum, "Steelyard" was constructed within a borrowed Eruopean thematic and stylistic framework. This construction contrasts with "The Mysterious Island of Self-Restraint" and the Taiwanese works of romanticism which were recreated in Taiwan under Chinese influence. "Steelyard" is an example of the "slice of life" type of European realism, and, in this respect, this story was the first to delineate the more oppressive aspects of Taiwan colonial realities. In short, "Steelyard" is Taiwan's first instance of exposé fiction or

literature of resistance.

As Taiwan's literary movement gained momentum so did the social and political movements which formed the backdrop for this movement. In actuality, the two movements developed in tandem: Taiwan's new literature fit into the network of social and political activity as "a branch of the social movement."[42] One important movement within this network was the League to Establish a Taiwan Parliament, the objective of which was the reformation of Japanese rule. Others still were labour and peasant movements and had links with the Comintern. Of all these movements, the Taiwan Cultural Association's mandate was concerned with issues such as the status of women, the labouring class, the meaning of culture, the improvement of social habits, free choice in marriage, universal education, Japanese culture and history, improving rural and village culture, increasing industrial and commercial knowledge, abolishing opium smoking and destroying noxious superstitions.[43] For the first time in history, the social problems of the island had become the subject of widespread, communiy concern.

In the world of literature, European stories selected for reprinting in the *TWMP* reflected the social and political nature of Taiwan's movements for reform. These reprints touched on social and political issues in the country of their origin but spoke in a *parole* similar to that of Taiwan's community interests. Rudyard Kipling's "The Gate of the Hundred Sorrows," for instance, deals with the theme of opium-smoking which, in Taiwan, was one issue of the social movement. The story commits all the errors of colonial imperialism – the attitude embraced by the author of this piece; nonetheless, this attitude was overlooked in favour of the piece's theme.

The dramatized narrator in "The Gate of the Hundred Sorrows" recounts his life as an opium smoker in a Calcutta opium den, which he explains is a "respectable" (*pukka*) opium

house, and not one of those "stifling, sweltering *chandoo-khanas.*"[44] This pukka is run by a "Chinaman" called Old Fung-Tching, who was originally a boot-maker in Calcutta before he murdered his wife and the clients who at one time frequented it. These include a half-caste called *Memsahib*, *Eurasians*, Persians and Fung-Tching's nephew, Tsin-ling. The latter is despised for adding bran to the opium when he took over operations following the death of his uncle, Fung-Tching. The narrative also relates that there is a Joss in the *pukka*, "lacquered black, with red and gold writings on it"; mats with "wadded woollen head-pieces, all covered with black and red dragons and things;" and finally, Fung-Tching's coffin which stood in a corner. This was eventually sent back to China with the old man's corpse inside it. Also included was "two ounces of Smoke inside it, in case he should want 'em on the way."[46] Although "The Gate of the Hundred Sorrows" was written in India, at many levels of signification it replicates the sights and sounds of traditional China.

Opium, which constituted a major social problem in the Ch'ing dynasty, was one of the "three major ills of Japanese colonial Taiwan."[47] The problem was so extensive, in fact, that according to one scholar, it was the determining factor in the Japanese government's decision to radically revise its colonial policy.[48] *Apian* as it was called in Taiwan, was a frequent topic in the Taiwan Cultural Association's circulating lecture tours, and it was also the subject of numerous journal articles and fictional works. In September, 1931, the editors of *TWHMP* reprinted a Japanese story entitled "Ahen" (Opium). Authored by "Marakusa Reinen," which is a Japanese transliteration of Marx-Lenin, this Marxist piece consists of a diatribe not just against opium but also against other kinds of "opium of the masses," specifically, religion and superstition.[49] The examination in "Ahen" into the three social ills of opium, religion, and superstition once again reflects the issues which were singled out for reform in Taiwan.

A few years after the publication of "Ahen," the native Taiwan writer Lü Ho-jo (1914-1947) wrote a chronicle of an opium smoker entitled "Goke heian" (Peace in the Family), which was written in Japanese. This story is a mixture of the themes of opium-smoking and filial piety and centers on an adopted son who repeatedly offers support to his opium-addicted father when his natural sons desert him. The father, Fan Ch'ing-hsing, gives up the habit for a while after having dissipated his fortune, and the family starts up a restaurant in order to recoup its losses. The sons move back home, and the restaurant does very well, at which time Fan again takes up his old habit, ruins the family business and the sons leave again. "Peace in the Family" concludes by placing the blame for the situation on opium. As a reaffirmation of the value of filial piety, "Peace in the Family" is an essentially traditional work. Written in 1943 when literature could no longer take a politically critical stance, this story celebrates the theme of filial piety—a theme which both romantics and realists had previously ignored.

The Trend Toward Realism

During the mid to late 1920s, Taiwanese writers dealt systematically with a variety of social issues, including the position and treatment of women, female insanity, marriage and superstition.[50] Other themes, such as political activism,[51] the intellectual, attachment to the past, rural idealism, the rural/urban dichotomy and modernization are reminiscent of similar themes in the works of Lu Hsün. In fact, much of Taiwan's new literature of the realist mode can be subdivided into a Lu Hsün paradigm based on these themes. Six Lu Hsün reprints were introduced into Taiwan, four of which exercised considerable appeal. These four were "Ku-hsiang" (reprinted in the *TWMP* in April, 1925), "K'uang-jen jih-chi" (*TWMP*, May, 1925), "Ah Q cheng-chuan" and "Kao lao fu-tzu" (*TWHMP*,

April, 1930).[52] When these stories were reprinted, the influence exercised by the European reprints was waning in Taiwan.[53] The fact that Taiwan's new literature began to echo with Lu Hsün-like themes is to the credit of China's great modern writer. The following discussion focuses on the major themes of Taiwan's realist literature.

As in May Fourth literature, women were treated thematically in Taiwan literature. Women appear in the works by Wu Hsi-sheng, Yang Chien, and Lü Ho-jo. Wu Hsi-sheng's "Buta" (Pig),[54] written in Japanese, makes a misogynistic comparison between daughters and pigs: daughters are as valuable as pigs because daughters can be sold as prostitutes or concubines and thus earn money for their father/owner. In "Pig," the farmer's sow dies of disease. His daughter also dies prior to her sale as a concubine, in her case, of venereal disease. The farmer is thus deprived of his assets. "Pig" is the first piece of Taiwan's new literature to deal thematically with women.

Yang Chien's 1935 "Po-ming" (Miserable Fate), on the other hand, is a critique of marital violence. This piece, however, like "Pig" discussed above, similarly fails to evoke any resonance of feminist thought.[55] The protagonist in the story, Piao-mei (Cousin), is a victim of the cruel institution of simbua,[56] and is subsequently abused by her mother-in-law following her marriage. Piao-mei runs home only to be remarried shortly after into a shop-owner's family. The family loses their business and their house through a fire accidently started by Piao-mei, and after this incident she is cruelly beaten, goes insane and dies. The theme of "Po-ming"—depression, remarriage and death—is reminiscent of Lu Hsün's "Chu-fu" (New Year's Scarifice), although this story by Lu Hsün was never reprinted in the *TWMP*.

Three wartime stories, "Chotei" (Temple Courtyard), its sequel "Tsukiyo" (Moonlit Night) and "Aai shi ju" (Wealth, Sons, Longevity), which were all written originally in

Japanese by Lü Ho-jo, also deal thematically with women and marriage.[57] In "Temple Courtyard" and its sequel, a widow suffers cruel treatment at the hands of her in-laws after marrying a second time. The father of the woman is unmoved by his daughter's plight and threatens to leave her ancestral tablet off the ancestral altar if she does not return to her family. She returns and attempts suicide; however, she is rescued from death and there is no happy resolution to her situation.

"Wealth, Sons, Longevity," on the other hand, combines the theme of female madness with elements of popular religion.[58] There are a number of motifs in this work, including the physical isolation and other-worldly setting of the household; the greedy conniving of Chou Hai-wen, the master of the household; and the machinations of a former maid which all recall the moody darkness of Edgar Allen Peo. Yü-mei, Chou Hai-wen's new, second wife, is victimized in the text by both those who hold greater power than her and by traditional Confucian values. Unfortunately, Yü-mei gives birth to a girl in the story; she is subsequently maliciously punished with ostracism and by the denial of post-natal nourishment. As a consequence, she contracts puerperal fever and goes insane. Yü-mei's misery can be attributed to the traditional Chinese value placed upon male heirs. Nonetheless, rather than pointing this out, the narrator calls up the irrational – hsiang-ch'ung – to explain the unfortunate incidences in the text.[59] By resorting to superstition instead of pointing a finger at traditional society as the prima facie cause for Yü-mei's suffering, the narrator has engendered a vital flaw in this text which could otherwise be considered a critique of the treatment of women in traditional Chinese society. Like the other fictional instance of female insanity discussed above, Yü-mei exits in silence in "Wealth, Sons Longevity." She is a victim of a Confucian code which, it is said, was sounded by "an eater of women."[60]

Another set of stories from this period deals with a totally different theme. These stories focus on the old-fashioned Confucian scholar who is narrated as the object of satire. These works were patterned after Lu Hsün's "Kao lao-fu-tzu" (Master Kao), a piece of gentle satire ridiculing the traditional Chinese intellectual. The intellectual's foibles could be drawn up as follows according to this piece: he suffers both from a general ineptitude and from an inability to adapt to new-age conditions. Furthermore, he is endowed with a spirit of hypocrisy which stems from his incompetence. In "Master Kao," the narrator takes aim at Master Kao's Old World attitudes toward mass education, and in particular, his attitude toward the education of girls. After his first, humiliating day teaching in a girls' school, Kao concludes that "schools would certainly corrupt social customs, and it would be better to close them, especially schools for girls."[61] Kao decides to resign, and the narrator enjoins rhetorically, "Why should he join forces with [schools for girls]?"[62] At the conclusion of this story, Master Kao enjoys good luck at a game of mahjong and is gradually won around. He concludes that the "world was not so bad after all."[63]

In a similar vein, Ch'en Man-ying's "Jung-kuei" (Triumphant Return)[64] narrates an account of an elderly scholar – a hsiu-ts'ai – who is a relic of the imperial past. According to the story, the old scholar "disdains the new system of Japanese education one moment only to revel the next in the accomplishments of his son within that very system."[65] The message in "Triumphant Return" is a rerun of "Master Kao": it ridicules a self-righteous intellectual who is critical of the system until its various advantages reconcile him to it .

In a slightly different tone, Chu Shih-t'ou's "Ch'iu hsin" (Autumn Letter) constitutes more of a spoof on the same type of Old World scholar than the previous story does. In the manner of Lu Hsün's K'ung Yi-chi,[66] Tou-wen in this story spends his days copying texts in the fashion of the traditional

scholar. Tou-wen, and especially his gown and queue, attract the stares of the public in the same way that K'ung Yi-chi does. This happens in "Autumn Letter" one day when Tou-wen sets out for Taipei. Tou-wen has been invited by his grandson and urged by the Japanese police to attend a function in honour of the thirty-fifth anniversary of the Japanese presence in Taiwan. When Tou-wen arrives at the function, his ignorance of the Japanese language as well as his bizarre appearance invite the ridicule of some school boys. Unlike K'ung Yi-chi who meets with a violent end in Lu Hsün's story, the protagonist in "Autumn Letter" finds his way to a park and quietly drops off to sleep. "Autumn Letter" concludes ironically with its profile of an aging remnant of China's golden past."

Wang Chin-chiang's "Mo-lo" (Depravity), on the other hand, is reminiscent of Lu Hsün's "Shang shi" (Regret for the Past) and recapitulates the theme of the disillusioned social activist. his loss of ideals and his resulting inner turmoil.[67] Unable to escape from the past, the one-time social activist of "Depravity" falls into inertia. Demoralized after doing a stint in jail, the former ideologue comes to view his wife – his former partner in activism – as a mere housewife and drudge. Like Chuan-sheng in "Regret for the Past," the anti-hero of "Depravity" similarly rejects the world, including both his wife and his former colleagues. Emotionally, he withdraws from his loved ones and undergoes a spiritual metamorphosis. In the end, like Chuan-sheng, the protagonist similarly finds his will to reform: the activist-turned-drunkard resolves to pull himself together after passing yet another night of debauchery. "Depravity"closes with the breaking of a radiant dawn; one assumes that his contradictions are resolved.

Finally, the weight of tradition and the hold it exercises over personal destiny is a further theme in this period of Taiwanese literature. "Seishû" (Clear Autumn, 1944) by Lü Ho-jo combines the theme of rural traditionalism with the "roads"

taken by individuals pursuing different dreams. Alternatively, these individuals may have become locked into different destinies by fate, and in this respect, "Clear Autumn" resembles Lu Hsün's classic work of antitraditionalism – "Ku-hsiang" (Old Home).[68] In "Clear Autumn," the roads that brothers take are very different; in fact, one of these roads leads a brother down the dangerous pathway toward identification with the Japanese. The weight of traditionalism in "Clear Autumn" engenders personal conflicts, in particular, those between filial piety and the individual desire for self-fulfillment. The same conflict is felt by the narrator of Lu Hsün's classic. What differentiates this work from its Chinese counterpart is the Japanese presencce in the Taiwanese story.

"Gyûsha" (Oxcart),[69] another work written in Japanese by Lü Ho-jo, has a different theme from the stories mentioned above. This story, set in the idealized Taiwanese countryside, is conceived within a nativist framework. Superannuated by modernization, the carter, Yang T'ien-ting, undergoes emasculation and financial bankruptcy as he vainly attempts to find work for his ox and cart. As a portrait of the negative aspects of modernization, "Oxcart" depicts the destructive forces of mechanization which erodes both traditional values and the idealized rural life. The peasants in "Oxcart" take note of how the implements of the Ch'ing period, particularly the oxcart and the waterwheel, have been replaced by updated Western machinery and complain about how the motor vehicle has adversely affected their livelihood. The developmetal programs of the Japanese colonial-govenment launched Taiwan into rapid growth beginning in the third decade of Japanese rule; nonetheless, Taiwan's nativist writers focused almost exclusively on the adverse effects of Taiwan's rapid development.

At the end of "Oxcart," Yang T'ien-ting is penalized with a fine of two yuan: a Japanese policeman has found him asleep on top of his cart, in violation of one of the many arbitrary

prohibitions of colonial rule. Unable to pay the fine, the carter steals a couple of geese which he plans to sell on market day. As he enters the market, however, he is arrested by another Japanese policeman. "Oxcart" ends on a note of irony signifying powerlessness and despair. In much of Taiwan's nativist literature, including that written in the 1960s and 1970s, the disempowered people at the lower ranks of Taiwan's social orders are compelled, on a daily basis, to contend with the autocratic and unenlightened wielders of power above them.

In conclusion, beginning in the year 1923, Taiwan's new literature commenced its evolution from simple satiric parodies to a variety of modern modes. Some of these modes resulted from May Fourth influences, others from European models and settings. The stylistic influences on the growth of Taiwan's literature were wide and varied, but the intertextual nature of Taiwan's vernacular fiction paved the way to greater sophistication and internationalist sentiment in subsequent years. Taiwan had progressed far since the day of the "cangue" which stemmed the tide of foreign influences and thought. Once the cangue was gone, that tide could no longer be held back and Taiwan's revolution got underway. In many ways, Taiwan's New Literature Movement expressed the same concerns as the movements of May Fourth; at the same time. However, it also expressed the unique and particular concerns of Taiwan.

Notes

[1] According to Lin Yü-sheng, author of *The Crisis of Chinese Consciousness: Radical Antitraditionalism in the May Fourth Era*, Lu Hsün and two other intellectuals of the May Fourth period, Hu Shih and Ch'en Tu-hsiu, espoused a "holistic" intellectual approach toward China's spiritual problems. Focusing on tradition as the locus of China's problems, these intellectuals rationalized that China's problems were essentially cultural. (Lin Yü-sheng, *The Crisis of*

Chinese Consciousness [The University of Wisconsin Press, 1979]: 6.)

[2] Taiwan was ceded to Japan in 1895 under the terms of the Treaty of Shimonoseki following China's defeat in the first Sino-Japanese war. Taiwan's first civil governor-general was Den Kenjiro who was apppointed to the colony in 1919.

[3] Quoted from the *Tái-wan min-apo*, April 15, 1923: 2.

[4] Besides *T'ai-wan min-pao,* other journals printed in Taiwan during this period included *Hsin ch'ing-nien, T'ai-wan ching-nien, T'ai-wan* (the successor to *T'ai-wan ch'ing-nien*), *T'ai-wan hsin min-pao* (the successor to *T'ai-wan min-pao,* abbreviated as *TWHMP*), *Nan-yin, T'ai-wan wen-hsüeh, T'ai-wan wen-i, Formosa* (later merged with *T'ai-wan wen-i*), *Hsien-fa pu-tui, Ti-i hsien* (the successor to *Hsien-fa pu-tui*), *T'ai-wan hsin wen-hsüeh, Bungaku hyoron, Taiwan jiho and Bungei Taiwan.* The *T'ai-wan min-pao* is hereafter abbreviated as the *TWMP.*

[5] Taiwan's new literature was generated by Chinese and Europea literature in much the same way that May Fourth literature was influenced by the European literature reprinted in Chinese journals during the New Culture and May Fourth movements. See Bonnie S. McDougall, *The Introduction of Western Literary Theories into Modern China,* 1919-1925 (Tokyo, 1971) for a discussion of the development of modern Chinese literature under European, English and American auspices.

[6] Chang Wo-chün's articles were compiled for the first time by his son, Chang Kuang-chih. Chang's articles, poetry, short stories and random notes (*sui-pi*) were published in the collection *Chang Wo-chün wen-chi,* Ch'un wen-hsüeh ts'ung-shu 63 (Taipei: Ch'un wen-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1975).

[7] Chang Wo-chün gives a detailed explication of Hu Shih's "Pa-pu-chu-i" (Eight Don'ts) in "Ch'ing he-li che-hsia che tso pai ts'ao-ts'ung-chung te p'o-chiu tien-t'ang (Please Lend a Hand in Dismantling this Old, Broken-down Temple in this Grassy Thicket). This article, originally published in TWMP, *chüan* 3, no. 1 (1825), is anthologized in *Chang Wo-chün wen-chi* 15-23. Chang prefaces his discussion of Hu Shih by stating that his intention is to introduce his readers to the

meaning of China's literary revolution.

[8] Chang Wo-chün, "Tsao-kao de T'ai-wan wen-hsüeh-chieh" in *Chang Wo-chün wen-chi:* 5.

[9] Jane Parish Yang, "The Evolution of the Taiwanese New Literature Movement," Ph. D Diss. University of Wisconsin-Madison: 14.

[10] "Shen-mi te tzu-chih tao" was first printed in the the journal *T'ai-wan*, 4: (1923): 18-22, the successor to *T'ai-wan ch'ing-nien*.

[11] Lu Hsün's 1921 *Ah-Q cheng-chuan* was reprinted in the *TWMP* in November 1925.

[12] Allegory did not develop to a large extent in the new literature of Taiwan. Chinese allegorical reprints which probably had an influence on the development of this genre in Taiwan consisted of translations by Lu Hsün of two works by the Russian writer V. Ia Eroshenko (1889-1952) entitled *Yü te pei-ai* (The Tragedy of Fish) and *Hsia te lung* (The Narrow Cage). These were printed in the *TWMP* in June 1925 and September, 1925, respectively, Lu Hsün's Ya te hsi-chü (The Comedy of Ducks) was also reprinted in the *TWMP* in January, 1925. *Niu-yü* (Cow Talk, published in the inaugural issue of *TWMP*, 1935), by I Ming, was similarly a satire on the slave mentality of the Taiwanese.

[13] The *Chuang-tzu*-like names in "Shen-mi te tzu-chih tao" imply a Taoist influence in the story.

[14] In traditional Chinese fiction, *Shui-hu chuan,* for instance, the cangue is a mark of the criminal, while in modern times it sometimes figures as psychological constraint. In Chang Ai-ling's "Chin-so chi," for instance, Ts'ao Ch'i-ch'ao locks herself within her "cangue" to await the materialization of her schemes for financial security. (See C.T. Hsia's discussion of Chang Ai-ling in *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961: 398-407.)

[15] "Shen-mi te tzu-chih tao" 20. The "current of new thought" in the story is a reference to the New Culture movement in China.

[16] Ibid. 21.

[17] Yang 60. On April 15, 1923, the Chinese language section of *T'ai-wan* which had published "Shen-mi te tzu-chih tao" began life as

a separate journal, the *T'ai-wan min-pao*.

[18] Yeh Jung-chung, et al, *T'ai-wan min-tsu yün-tung-shih* (The History of Taiwan's Nationalist Movement) (Taipei: Hsüeh-hai, 1979): 544.

[19] The choice of translations which appeared in the *TWMP* was constrained both by the availability of works and by the foreign language capabilities of native Taiwanese, the majority of whom still had little or no exposure to foreign countries and languages. Of the reprinted translations which appeared in this journal, five – three English and two French – were translations by Hu Shih; two other French pieces were translated by Li Wan- ju; a fifth French piece was translated by Chou Chien-jen; two Russian pieces were translations by Lu Hsün; and three Japanese pieces were translations by Chou T'so-jen and a native Taiwanese, Chang Tzu-p'ing. One of the latter's translations is left untitled. Two more Japanese works were reprinted in the *TWMP* in the original Japanese. The one American work by Nathaniel Hawthorne was translated by Chu Pin-wen.

This study does not include foreign works printed in other journals which, from a cursory examination, comprise mainly non-literary subjects, for example, philosophy (Bertrand Russell was a popular subject of translation in Taiwan), economics (Japanese in particular) and the social sciences.

[20] John L. Jang, "A Brief Account of the Evolution of the Taiwan min-pao, in *Studia Asiatica: Essays in Asian Studies in Felicitation of the Seventy-fifty Anniversary of Professor Ch'en Shou-yi*, ed. Lawrence G. Thompson (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Centre, Inc., 1975): 177.

[21] Hu Shih's Shuo-pu-ch'u, a play about the danger of individualism, also appeared in *TWMP* in May, 1925.

[22] The country (ch'in-ai te ku-hsiang), presumably China in these works, is, like Taiwan, perceived as suffering from ruthless tyranny.

[23] Yang 87-89.

[24] The latter two works were reprinted translations by Hu Shih.

[25] The poem "Yang wang" by Kuo Mo-jo was also reprinted in the TWMP in June, 1925.

[26] Yü Ta-fu's most representative work "Ch'en-lun" (Sinking) was not reprinted in the *TWMP*; instead, only "Ku-shin" (story) was reprinted in February 1930. This work is a parable about Ch'in Shih-huang and his attempts to wipe out intellectuals. It may have been reprinted in Taiwan as a symbolic warning to Taiwanese intellectuals that the Japanese colonial government's assimilation policies would effectively "wipe them out."

[27] Wang T'uo's "Yi-ko nien-ch'ing te chung-hsüeh chiao-yuan," Hsien-tai wen-hsüeh fu-k'an 1 (August, 1978), is thematically similar to "Attraction."

[28] Jane Parish Yang states that Taiwan romanticism is aberrant in light of later literary developments (Yang 88.)

[29] Leo Ou-fan Lee, should be "'Modernism' and 'Romanticism' in Taiwan Literature" in *Chinese Fiction from Taiwan: Critical Perspectives*, ed. Jeannette L. Faurot (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980): 7.

[30] This was Lai Ho's (1894-1943) "Tuo nao-je" (Much Ado About Nothing) which was printed in the *TWMP* in 1926.

[31] Lai Ho's definition of literature as a "microcosm of society" applies to Taiwan realism. (Lai Yün [Penname of Lai Ho], "Tu T'ai-jih-chih te 'Hsin-chiu wen-hsüeh chih pi-chiao," rpt. in Lai Ho hsien-sheng ch'üan-chi, vol, 1 of Jih-chü-hsia T'ai-wan hsinn-wen-hsüeh: Ming-chi [Taipei: Ming-t'an ch'u-pan-shi, 1979]: 209.)

[32] Chian Hsün, cited in Joseph Lau, "Echoes of the May Fourth Movement in Hsiang-t'u Fiction," in *Mainland China, Taiwan, and U.S. Policy*, ed. Hung-mao Tien (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1973): 138.

[33] Numerous Taiwanese of the generation educated under Japanese colonial rule were assimilated or "Japanized" under Japanese assimilation policies. They spoke Japanese and adopted a Japanese lifestyle.

[34] Chinese patriotism was more readily apparent in Taiwan in the wake of the Tiao-yü-t'ai (Sankaku) Movement of 1970.

[35] "Shinbun haitatsufu" was only printed in its entirety in 1934 in the journal *Bungaku hyoron*. The second half of "Shinbun haitatsufu"

was originally banned under Japanese censorship.

[36] Despite the comparison, the differences between Lu Hsün and Lai Ho outweigh their similarities. The differences are both linguistic (Lai Ho made extensive use of the Taiwanese dialect) and cultural (Lu Hsün was far more obsessed with tradition than Lai Ho). The two writers are comparable due to the volume of work they produced and the importance they assumed as leaders in their respective literary contexts.

[37] Wang Chin-chiang, "Lai Lan-yün," T'ai-wan shih-pao, August, 1936. Reprinted in Lai Ho hsien-sheng ch'üan-chi 405. Quoted from Yang 96.

[38] Lai Ho, "I kan ch'eng-tzu," reprinted in Yeh Shih-t'ao, Chung Chao-cheng, ed. *I kan ch'eng-tzu: kuang-fu-ch'ien T'ai-wan hsin-wen-hsueh ch'üan-chi*, Vol. 1, Yuan-ching ts'ung-k'an No. 121 (Taipei: Yuan-ching, 1979): 67-68.

[39] "I kan ch'eng-tzu" is unusually schematic for a Chinese story. Other works by Lai Ho are also characterized by the single climax and abrupt ending of "I kan ch'eng-tzu."

[40] According to one critic, after Ch'in Te-shen murders his oppressor, he then commits suicide. (Liang Ching- feng, *Lai Ho shih shei?* Rpt. in *Lai Ho hsien-sheng ch'üan-chi* 442.) In *Crainquebille*, on the other hand, Crainquebille is released from prison but does nothing to avenge his oppressor; instead, he fails totally to be reintegrated into society. Turning to drink, he proceeds on a slow descent into mental and physical dissolution. The ironic tone of *Crainquebille* is even further intensified because, deciding that it is more pleasant to spend one's life in jail, Crainquebille attempts to get himself rearrested.

[41] In *Crainquebille*, the concept of force is repeated many times: "Society rests on force; force must be respected as the august foundation of society. Justice is the administration of force." The police, as the representatives of this force, can never be slighted for to do so would amount to demeaning the state: "To eat the leaves of an artichoke is to eat the artichoke." (Crainquebille, in *Crainquebille, Putois, and Other Profitable Tales* by Anatole France, tr.

Winifred Stephens [London: John Lane Bodley Head Limited, 1916]: 28.) In other words, in order to "save" the artichoke, the "little people" must be sacrificed.

[42] Yang K'uei, *Ch'uan-hsia che pa hsiang-huo:kuang-fu-ch'ien te T'ai-wan wen-hsüeh tso-t'an-hui, Lien-ho pao* (October 22, 1978): 4.

[43] Recorded in the TWMP and T'ai-wan min-tzu yün-tung shih. During the years 1923 to 1927, the Taiwan Cultural Association sponsored circulating lecture tours for the promotion of native culture. These lectures were immensely popular and well-attended

[44] Rudyard Kipling, "The Gate of the Hundred Sorrows," in *Plain Tales from the Hills* (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1934): 268.

[45] Ibid. 267.

[46] Ibid. 268, 269, 271, 272.

[47] The other two ills were foot-binding and queue-wearing. (Ch'en Ch'ing-ch'ih, "The Evolution of Japanese Assimilation Policy in Colonial Taiwan," Paper presented at XXVIII Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Toronto, Canada, March, 197: 5.)

[48] Ch'en Ch'ing-ch'ih claims thaat the announcement of the Japanese government to ban opium in Taiwan was a factor in Taiwanese resistance to the Japanese take-over, and this led the Japanese to adopt a policy of zenka (gradual assimilation) toward their newly-acquired colony. (See Ch'en Ch'ing-ch'ih 6.)

[49] "Ahen" is concerned thematically with a dying opium-smoker and his wife, the latter of whom resorts to religion and superstition in the hope of saving him.

[50] Although the position and treatment of women appears as a theme in Taiwan's new literature, only two May Fourth reprints which deal with this issue were reprinted in the *TWMP*. These were Hu Shih's "Li Ch'ao chuan" (*TWMP*, July, 1923) and Ling Shu-hua's "Nü-jen" (*TWHMP*, November, 1930)

[51] Three stories by the Chinese writer Chiang Kuang-tz'u reprinted in the *TWHMP* in September, 1928, June, 1930 and August, 1930, respectively, deal with the theme of revolutionary heroism. In these stories, the protagonists pour their energy into the trade union

and Marxist movements after experiencing disappointment in their love lives. These stories were "Kan-lan," "Hsün'ai" and "T'ao-ping."

[52] The other two Lu Hsün reprints were "Ya te hsi-chü" and "Tsa kan." The latter was reprinted in *TWMP* in December, 1929.

See ftn. 11 for the date in which "Ah Q cheng-chuan" was reprinted.

[53] The two remaining French reprints in the *TWMP* – Pierre Louÿs' Byblis, a children's tale about incest which appeared in *TWMP* in March, 1925 and Villiers de L'isle-Adam's "Virginie et Paul," an essay on love (*TWMP*, March, 1928) – are of dubious influence here. A third, Emile Zola's "Les Fraise" (*TWMP*, February, 1928), on the other hand, exercized an impact on the growth of naturalism in Taiwan.

[54] Published in Formosa in June, 1934.

[55] Published in *T'ai-wan wen-i* in March, 1935.

[56] Simbua (hsin-niang in Mandarin) involves the sale of a daughter into a family where she will serve as wetnurse for her infant future husband until he is old enough to marry her.

[57] These stories appeared in *Taiwan bungaku* in 1942, *Taiwan jiho* in 1943 and *Taiwan bungaku* in 1944, respectively.

[58] First printed in *Taiwan bungaku*, 1942.

[59] Hsiang-ch'ung is the belief that coming in contact with a dead person or passing by a cemetery, etc. at a time when a person is particularly vulnerable may induce illness, insanity or even death.

[60] Julia Kristeva, *About Chinese Women*, tr. Anita Barrows (New York: Urizen Books, 1974): 66.

[61] Lu Hsün, "Master Gao," in *The Complete Stories of Lu Xun*, tr. Yang Xianyi and Gladys Yang (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981): 229.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid. 231.

[64] "Jung-kuei" was published in *TWHMP* in 1930.

[65] Yang, p. 178.

[66] "Ch'iu hsin" was published in *T'ai-wan hsin wen-hsüeh* in July, 1936; Lu Hsün's 1919 "K'ung I-chi" was not reprinted in the *TWMP*.

[67] "Mo-lo" was published in *T'ai-wan wen-i* in August, 1935.

[68] "Ku-hsiang" closes with the following lines: "It is just like roads across the earth. For actually the earth had no roads to begin with, but when many men pass one way, a road is made." ("My Old Home" in *The Complete Stories of Lu Xun* 65.)

[69] "Gyusha" was published in *Bungaku hyoron* in 1935.

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