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Robert Eskildsen

Transforming Empire in Japan and East Asia

The Taiwan Expedition and the Birth of Japanese Imperialism



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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My research into the Japanese expedition to Taiwan began more than two decades ago as I sat alone in the reading room of the Special Collections Room at Waseda University Library in Tokyo, leafing through a stack of Japanese woodblock prints. When I came upon a crude broadside from 1874 that depicted the "surrender" of indigenous Taiwanese to the Japanese military I laughed out loud, the sound echoing oddly in the silence. When I saw the broadside I enjoyed a moment of amused recognition because I understood it as a parody of a print from twenty years earlier that showed the fictitious "surrender" of Commodore Perry to Japanese authorities. The broadside has long since ceased to amuse me. Years later I recognized I made a simple but important error in my interpretation of the print: It was indeed based on the earlier print, but it was not a parody. It took me many more years to find a way to describe precisely the relationships I could see in the two prints and to explain their importance in the modern history of Japan and East Asia. From the outset, my journey has been supported by the twin pillars of history and relationships, and I would like to take a moment to thank the people and organizations who have helped me along the way.

In the spring of 1998, I taught a colloquium at Smith College where the students and I compared the responses in China, Korea, and Japan to Western imperialism. I would like to thank the students for helping me to understand how Japan's early embrace of Western diplomacy changed the trajectory of imperialism in East Asia. I also owe thanks to Lixin Gao, who in a chance discussion introduced me to the function of recursion

in computer programming. Several months later I had the insight that Japan's early embrace of Western diplomacy began a recursive relationship, and a key point in clarifying that insight was a long discussion with my brother Steve who gave me many ideas about how to explain recursive relationships in layman's terms.

My journey was aided by support from many institutions. In 1999, Smith College awarded me a Jean Picker Fellowship. In 1999-2000, the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science awarded me a postdoctoral fellowship that supported a one-year affiliation as a visiting research scholar at the Historiographical Institute at the University of Tokyo. The fellowship and the affiliation it made possible proved invaluable. I owe a particular debt to Miyachi Masato for the time and the incisive criticism he shared while I was there. The Institute of Taiwan History at Academia Sinica in Taibei provided help for my project several times, in particular when it hosted a research trip I made there in 2001. I would like to thank Liu Ts'ui-jung, Chen Chiu-kun, Chang Lung-chih, and Ts'ai Hui-yu for the help they provided on that and other visits to the Institute. I also am thankful for the help given to me by Huang Ke-wu of the Institute of Modern History at Academia Sinica. He introduced me to libraries and museums in Taibei and joined me for a research trip to southern Taiwan. I had the good fortune to receive a Japan Foundation Fellowship for the summer of 2003 that made it possible to do important archival work in Tokyo. In 2006-2007, the International Research Center for Japanese Studies in Kyoto generously supported me for a year as a visiting research scholar. In particular, I would like to thank Jim Baxter for everything he did to make my stay there productive, and the encouragement and advice he continued to give me for many years thereafter.

This book is unquestionably better for the comments and criticisms I have received from scholars who gave freely of their time to read chapters or to serve as interlocutors in discussions about my research. Many thanks to Dani Botsman, Mlada Bukovansky, Alexis Dudden, Steven Ericson, Matthew Fraleigh, Andrew Gordon, Allen Hockley, Daniel Horowitz, David Howell, James Huffman, Paul Katz, Kyu Hyun Kim, Kimura Naoya, Kokaze Hidemasa, Ethan Mark, Morita Tomoko, Henry D. Smith, Tan'o Yasunori, Emma Teng, Bob Tierney, Tsuruta Kei, Jun Uchida, Anne Walthall, and Kären Wigen. Some of these scholars disagreed with my interpretation, and many gave me good advice that I did not heed, and to them, I offer particular thanks for their forbearance. I also benefitted immensely from participating in various writing groups. Excluding

members who are mentioned elsewhere, the participants included Kenji Hasegawa, Lisa Yinghong Li, Ryoko Nakano, and Okamoto Yoshiko. Paul Barclay deserves special thanks for the many insights he has shared about the indigenous people of Taiwan, for the many sources he introduced me to, and for reading parts of my manuscript.

Behind my research lie primary sources, behind the sources lie libraries, museums, and archives, and supporting those institutions are their professional staff. My research would not have been possible without them, and I owe all of them special thanks. At the top of the list is Sharon Domier, the East Asian Studies Librarian at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. The digital revolution overtook libraries as I was doing the research for this project and Sharon repeatedly helped me identify strategies for finding information in the new environment. One of the most important resources she introduced me to was the Japan Center for Asian Historical Records (Ajia Rekishi Shiryō Sentā), or JACAR. I became an early adopter, and it vastly increased the quality of my research. Many years later Hirano Ken'ichirō, at the time the director of the Center, gave me the opportunity to present my research as an example of what could be accomplished using JACAR sources. While I was affiliated at the Historiographical Institute, the staff at the library there helped me get access to sources that proved indispensable to my research. Ironically, I needed documents from the USA, and they overcame many difficulties to borrow microfilm copies that helped me take my project in a new direction. My research evolved yet again in an unexpected direction after a reference librarian at the National Diet Library tracked down a source from the National Central Library of Taiwan and then went out of her way to track me down to show me the source she had found. Her dedication still inspires me. The source she discovered prompted me to visit the National Central Library and the National Taiwan Museum in Taibei. Librarians and curators at those institutions helped me find a wealth of primary sources that gave me new insights into the history of the Taiwan Expedition. Finally, I would like to thank the Special Collections Room of the Waseda University Library. My journey began there, but the library staff has proven kind and professional on many occasions since, and I deeply appreciate their help. Several students have worked for me as research assistants, including Taeko Ohyama, Sunhee Chung, Ji Eun Lee, Yuima Mizutani, Shiori Inoue, and a couple of others whose names have been lost to operating system and email client upgrades. I appreciate the help all of them provided.

I owe special thanks to friends and colleagues who read the manuscript and who otherwise kept me moving forward. Without their help, this book would not have been possible. Mark Ravina served as an important interlocutor and incisive critic. I thank him for his comments and criticisms and for standing by me during the seven lean years. Hyaeweol Choi always offered insightful comments and encouraged me to push my thinking a step or two farther. The book is better because of her help, and my life richer because of her friendship. I thank Rob Hellyer for his comments about my manuscript, and I deeply appreciate the constancy of his support. Lori Watt has been an inspiration for many years, and I thank her not only for reading my manuscript but also for making me rethink what is important about imperialism.

Over the years, I have come to appreciate good mentors and good colleagues. I owe a great debt to Bill Steele who got me started in the field of Japanese history and who has provoked my thinking and helped me find solutions for decades. Peter Duus said less in order to make me think more, and to great effect. I respect and admire his thoughtful professionalism. Margaret Sarkissian and Jerry Dennerline, two colleagues from the "old days," helped keep me moving, and thinking. Bruce Batten has been a great colleague, and I am thankful for the support of my colleagues in the History Department at International Christian University.

Finally, let me thank my family. This book is filled with the memory of Mariko Uto. I would like to thank her and her family, Tatsuyuki, Tomoko, Hiroki, and Harumi, for the kindness they showed me. My wife Hiroko and my stepdaughter Yuima are a blessing. They helped me finish this book while making my life better. The final words go out to Steve, Chip, and Sue: thank you for being there.

NOTE TO THE READER

Taiwan has seen many political changes over the last century and a half that have affected the linguistic diversity of the island and the way that the languages there are transliterated. Because of these changes, it has not been possible to use a consistent system for writing names. As much as possible I have transliterated the names of people and places in Taiwan to approximate local pronunciations at the time, but many inconsistencies remain, especially in place names. One example is the city of Takao, known today as Kaohsiung (Gaoxiong in Pinyin). The modern name for the city is written 高雄 in Chinese characters, but that character compound dates to the Japanese colonial period, and in Japanese, it is pronounced Takao. Before the Japanese colonial period, the city was known to Westerners as Takow, Takau, or Takao, and in Chinese characters, it was written 打狗 (Dagou in Pinyin). I follow the local pronunciation in the 1870s and call it Takao. The same approach applies to other city names, such as Taiwan-fu (present-day Tainan), Amoy (Xiamen), and Keelung (Jilong), but there are exceptions. For the town of Pongli, an approximation of the local pronunciation at the time, I use the Pinyin transliteration Fangliao to make it easier for readers to locate it on maps. As far as possible I have included in the index alternate pronunciations and Chinese characters for place names and personal names to help readers navigate between transliterations.

The names of villages inside the indigenous territory pose particular difficulties of transliteration. The biggest question concerned what to call

the village of Butan (牡丹). Most secondary sources now identify it by the Pinyin transliteration Mudan, but the people of that village did not choose the characters that are used to write its name and primary sources by Westerners or Japanese in the 1860s and 1870s uniformly follow local pronunciation in calling it something similar to Butan. In this case, and several others, I chose a transliteration that approximates the local pronunciation as primary sources record it. A similar example is the town of Pilam (present-day Taitung or Taidong), which is often transliterated Peinan or Beinan (卑南). In some cases, however, Japanese sources mention a town or village using Chinese characters alone and do not provide a gloss showing the pronunciation. In these cases, I transliterated the names using Pinyin, for example, Beishiliao on the southwest coast and Nanfengwan in the northeast. Some villages are identified in Japanese sources using the Japanese syllabary, and I have transliterated them to approximate what I suspect would be the local pronunciation by removing vowels at the end of syllables that were added in transliterating the names into Japanese.

With the exception of Amoy, Chinese names outside of Taiwan and Chinese terms in general are transliterated using Pinyin. Japanese names and special terms are transliterated using the modified Hepburn system, although macrons are not used for some well-known place names (e.g., Tokyo rather than Tōkyō). Personal names for Japanese and Chinese are typically presented family name first, given name second. Dates are expressed using the Gregorian calendar. Unless otherwise noted all translations and maps are my own.

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