

THE RETURN OF THE VANISHING FORMOSAN:

DISTURBING THE DISCOURSE OF NATIONAL DOMESTICATION AS THE LITERARY FATE OF THE  
ABORIGINAL MAIDEN IN POSTWAR TAIWANESE FILM AND FICTION

by

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## **Abstract**

### **The Return of the Vanishing Formosan:**

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Stories about aborigines in a settler society, especially stories about aboriginal maidens and settler men, tend to become national allegories. Initially, the aboriginal maiden is a figure for colonial landscapes and resources, while later, in her conversion in fact or fiction from aboriginal to settler, she helps build national identity. Yet after being romanced, the aboriginal maiden's fate is to disappear from settler consciousness, because she is displaced by the national settler mother or because the settler loses interest in her, only to return in abjection to haunt the settler conscience. In her return as a prostitute, a commodified bride or a ghost, she disturbs the discourse of 'national domestication', the notion of nation as family. Though she returns in abjection, an Amazonian association tends to linger in the person of the aboriginal maiden, an association that suggests the kind of self-empowerment on which a healthy liberal society

depends. In other words, the figure of the aboriginal maiden tends to be used in the construction, the contestation, and potentially the reconstruction of national identity in a settler society.

While I discuss examples from settler societies around the world, particularly the story of Pocahontas, and try to contribute to ‘settler colonial discourse studies’, I focus on postwar Taiwan. This dissertation proposes the notions of the ‘settler society’ and the Habermasian public sphere as ‘frames’ for the study of Taiwanese literature. I show how the Formosan aboriginal maiden has been appropriated for the construction and critique of both Chinese and Taiwanese nationalisms. I argue that while nationalism is partly about social control and the advancement of particular interests, writers who have romanced the Formosan aborigine have been implicitly participating in a debate about national domestication, the telos of which is the democratic imagination of a good society, one in which the Formosan aborigines will feel in some sense ‘at home’, though perhaps not as members of the ‘national family’. Finally, under the rubric of ‘alternative aboriginal modernities’, I discuss stories that reread the romance of the Formosan aborigine by aboriginal writers who have entered the national debate.

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## Spelling, Citation, and Romanization

Except in quotations and official names, I use Canadian spelling. But because it has more pizzazz, ‘ize’ is preferred to ‘ise’.

I follow MLA citation guidelines throughout. I favour in-text citation. For names, I prefer Pinyin, though I make an exception for Shih Chiung-yu. For the titles of works in Chinese, I have used the following format: *Pinyin*, Chinese, [English]. For instance: *Miyuan* 迷園 [Beguiling Garden]. This is basically the same format as is used in Yvonne Chang’s *Literary Culture in Taiwan*, though Chang does not include the Chinese. My translations are sometimes somewhat idiosyncratic, for reasons of assonance and rhythm, or to bring out another sense of the original previous translations have missed. I have chosen to use the title in Pinyin for all references following first mention. Readers without Chinese or a background in Taiwanese literature may consult the list below and, using the year of publication, find a summary in the appendix. Works mentioned only once are not included. I can think of no good translation of Li Yongping’s big novel *Haidongqing* and will simply refer to the Pinyin.

<i>Pinyin title</i>	<b>Chinese title</b>	<b>[English title]</b>	<b>Writer</b>	<b>Year</b>
Bentao, Mawuku xi	奔逃，馬武窟溪	Flee, Mawuku Stream	Shih Chiung-yu	1993
Cailiuji	採硫記	Sulphur Extraction Journal	Ye Shitao	1968
Hehuan shan shang	合歡山上	On Mt. Hehuan	Film	1958
Lao Mo de dierge chuntian	老萊的第二個春天	Old Man Mo’s Second Spring	Film	1984
Lao Yang he tade nuren	老楊和他的女人	Old Man Yang and His Woman	Lu Qiang	1989
Liang ge baba	兩個爸爸	His Two Dads	Lu Qiang	1984
Liming de juebie	黎明的訣別	Parting at Dawn	Ye Shitao	1989
Meigui meigui wo ai ni	玫瑰玫瑰我愛你	Rose, Rose I Love You	Wang Zhenhe	1984
Pan Yinhua de diwuge nanren	潘銀花的第五個男人	Silverflower Pan’s 5 <sup>th</sup> Man	Ye Shitao	1989
Pan Yinhua de huantie jiemei	潘銀花的換帖姐妹們	Silverflower Pan’s Sistahs	Ye Shitao	1991
Qiutian de hunli	秋天的婚禮	Wedding in Autumn	Shih Chiung-yu	1993
Shewu	蛇屋	Snake House	Zhu Xining	1962
Xiari	夏日	Summer Sun	Wang Zhenhe	1961
Xilayazu de moyi	西拉雅族的末裔	Last of the Siraya	Ye Shitao	1989
Xingyiji	行醫記	A Doctor’s Diary	Ye Shitao	1967
Ye juhua	野菊花	Wildflower	Ye Shitao	1989
Yiluka Molai	伊魯卡摩萊	Yiluka Molai	Ye Shitao	1967
Yizu de hunli	異族的婚禮	Intermarriage	Ye Shitao	1994
Yusheng	餘生	The Survivors	Wu He	2000
Zuihou yi zhu mahuang	最後一株木麻黃	The Last Whistling Pine	Shih Chiung-yu	1993

## Introduction: The Formosan fate of Pocahontas

Je ne suis pas une aborigène, je suis une nation.<sup>1</sup>

A colonist arrives in the new world and meets a native girl at the seashore, in the forest, at the fort, on the farm: there are meetings like this, and stories about the meetings, in every settler society. And in every settler society, the stories tend to take on a larger significance, which changes over time.

In this dissertation, I read postwar Taiwanese works of film and fiction in which a Formosan aboriginal maiden is romanced by a Chinese settler male as national allegories.<sup>2</sup> By ‘national’ I mean both nation as people and nation as country. By national allegory I mean a narrative presentation of a nation in representative characters and contexts. There have been innumerable national allegories in postwar Taiwan, from the 1950s to the present; fictionalizing or filming the nation is a national pastime. But most of these allegories deal with two issues, Taiwanese-Mainlander relations or state-society relations. They do not face the fact that Taiwan is a settler society. As national narratives, they are impoverished compared with the national romances I interpret in this dissertation.

In these romances, most generally, the man represents the Chinese population of Taiwan, the maiden represents the Formosan aborigines, and the setting of the story represents the island of Taiwan. It should go without saying that such works might, more broadly, be about gender relations. I will argue, further, that the man may also represent the state (in the sense of the government) and the maiden the society of Taiwan, and even that the man may represent the people in relation to the land of Taiwan. Thus, the romances may bear upon gender relations, settler relations with indigenes, state-society relations, and human relations with nature.

Introducing temporality, I argue that the maiden is also a figure for the national domestication or civilization of primitive humanity or natural landscape. I also describe the maiden as possessing a fate. Symbolically, the fate of the aboriginal maiden introduces the issue of the nation’s temporality, to the temporal ideologies of Progress and Preservation, to modernity.

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Not an aborigine but a nation am I’. “Je ne suis pas une femme, je suis une monde” (qtd. in Said, *Orientalism* 187), ‘I am not a woman. I am a world’, was supposedly what the Egyptian courtesan Kuchuk Hanem said to Gustave Flaubert. I am assuming throughout that ‘aboriginal’ and ‘indigenous’ have the same meaning.

<sup>2</sup> An early title of the dissertation, which deliberately exploited the polyvalence of ‘romance’, was *Romancing the Formosan Aborigine*.

Filming or writing her aboriginal origin and her present predicament has been a way for filmmakers or writers to emplot the nation as a story with a beginning at the moment of love at first sight between a settler man and an aboriginal maiden and a middle – a national present – in a happy marriage or in abandonment.

All writers and filmmakers I discuss in this dissertation thought within a nationalist framework, more or less liberal economically and politically. There are no anarcho-syndicalists or Enlightenment cosmopolitans among them. The moral horizon of the works in question is national. That this is so might seem to confirm the hypothesis that nationalist sentiments are more powerful in the hearts of the people of the ‘third world’ (Jameson, “Third-World Literature” 65; Brennan, “The National Longing for Form” 46; Anderson, *Imagined Communities* 30-35) because they are particularly threatened by modernity.

At any rate, I argue that a national debate in Taiwan has been carried on in literary works about the aborigines, and that, whatever individual national allegorists thought they were doing, they were in the debate and national ‘domestication’ of land and aborigines was the topic of the debate. Domestication, the problematique of this dissertation, to be discussed in Chapter 1, relates to nationalism because it suggests that the nation is a family and the national territory a home. There were two main ways in which domestication was to proceed: Sinicization or Taiwanization. Domestication was symbolized by the transformation of the Formosan maiden into a Chinese or a Taiwanese, though as a Taiwanese she did not relinquish her aboriginality.

Works in which the aboriginal maiden is appropriated for settler nation-building are, as propaganda, hard to read today. Yet I insist on taking the constructive or propagandistic works seriously. I read them symptomatically, because doing so helps expose the anxieties that motivate them, anxieties which are related in one way or another to the idealism of nationalism, to yearnings for a good society.

The best intentions go awry; domestication tends to fail or to succeed in the wrong way. Aborigines, like disadvantaged groups in general, become domesticated in a liberal economy as ‘domestics’, as functionaries used instrumentally rather than as members of a national family. Through the figure of the Formosan aboriginal maiden, then, the tension between nationalism and liberalism, between community and economy can be explored. Different allegorists in postwar Taiwan were more or less consciously aware of this tension. Not all of the national allegorists I discuss in this dissertation have romanced the aboriginal maiden; in critical responses to the romances, which can be called counter-allegories or anti-romances, the symbol

of the failure of domestication is aboriginal abjection. Hence the stories about ‘the return of the maiden’ as a prostitute, as a young bride sold into marriage, or as a ghost. The Formosan aboriginal maiden disappeared from cultural production in the 1970s, only to return in the 1980s. I discuss why at the end of Chapter 4. The title of my dissertation, which picks up on this idea of disappearance and return and alludes to Freudian theory, is a play on the title of Leslie Fiedler’s great monograph *The Return of the Vanishing American*, about the representation of Native American Indians in American fiction. I describe disappearance and return as part of the undecided fate of the aboriginal maiden. I also argue that as a revenant, living or dead, the Formosan aboriginal maiden ‘disturbs the discourse’ of national domestication and demands the reconsideration and reconstruction of national identity.<sup>3</sup> A reconstructed national identity may simply serve a certain interest, but if it does not resolve the tension between liberalism and nationalism and serve the aboriginal maiden’s interest as well, she is fated to continue to return and demand a place in a nation the identity of which she herself should help to define.

I begin this Introduction by discussing the justification of the dissertation, that it develops a new comparative ‘frame’ for the study of Taiwan film and fiction – the settler society. Three sections follow, on method, organization and limitations.

#### 1. Justification: A new ‘frame’ for the study of Taiwanese cultural production

This dissertation responds to a scholarly call for new ‘frames of reference’ for Taiwan studies. Partly this call is made in the hope of breaking Taiwan out of the Chinese mould. Two older frames that related Taiwan to China were: Taiwan as free or democratic China during the Cold War, and Taiwan as a surrogate China when China was inaccessible. In the former frame, Taiwan represented the road not traveled on the mainland, the road of capitalist ‘development’ towards ‘modernization’. In the latter frame, Taiwan was one of the few places where scholars could study ‘traditional Chinese culture’.<sup>4</sup> At the time the two frames were mutually

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<sup>3</sup> I borrow this turn of phrase from Homi Bhabha, who wrote about normalizing “the disturbance of a discourse” of imperial authority in his article “Of Mimicry and Man.” In the Taiwanese context, the effort to normalize would be nationalist. The presence of the unassimilated or exploited aboriginal maiden disturbs the discourse of national domestication, which I discuss at the beginning of Chapter 1.

<sup>4</sup> The obsession with overcoming tradition and achieving modernity was shared by May Fourth intellectuals and western modernization theorists like Daniel Lerner (*The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East*, ctd. in Chang, “*The Meaning of Modernism*” 177). ‘Tradition’ tends to get reified by local nationalists and foreign observers alike. I do use the terms traditional and modern in this dissertation, particularly concepts of traditional thought, society and literature in contrast to modern counterparts, but have always tried to avoid reification: whenever one cares to date the transition from traditional to modern, ‘tradition’ had and has always been in punctuated flux.

contradictory. Now that both frames are outdated by almost three decades, it would hardly be healthy for Taiwanese studies to become ‘insular’, perhaps floating aimlessly in the sea, as Taiwan was sometimes said to do in ancient texts.

Colonialism and postcolonialism are two obvious new frameworks for Taiwan studies. But these frames have in Taiwan been made to bear a heavy political weight. The official stance in the postwar period was that the Taiwanese people were colonized by the Japanese from 1895 to 1945 and that this time period represented an occupation (日據時期). But some Taiwanese nationalists now claim that Taiwan was colonized by the Qing in 1683 and again by the KMT in 1945. Some even describe the Japanese period merely as a period of Japanese governance (日治時期), not as an occupation *per se*. Some claim Taiwan did not become postcolonial until 1987, when martial law was lifted (Liao Ping-hui 200), not until 1989, when Li Denghui became president (206), or not until 2000, when Chen Shuibian, the Localist candidate, won the election.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, the discourse of postcolonialism is typically deployed by Taiwanese nationalists. It is inconceivable that a contemporary Canadian would talk about Canada’s postcoloniality without in the next breath mentioning the First Nations peoples, but perfectly normal for a Taiwanese nationalist to date Taiwan’s decolonization without mentioning the Formosan aborigines. This is problematic, because, as Emma Teng puts it,

...once you start talking about imperialism or colonialism, it really brings the Taiwan indigenes back to the center of the story...a lot of contemporary discussions about the Taiwan issue really marginalize, or actually just completely ignore, the indigenes. (“Taiwan’s post-post-coloniality” 2)

There are other frames in which the focus is on the aborigines. Anthropologist Scott Simon, has, referring to the future of Indigenous Studies of Taiwan, argued that it would be beneficial to “move beyond Chinese studies and Taiwanese Studies” (“Taiwan Studies” 20), by adopting “contested nationalisms” as a comparative frame. One of my rubrics in this dissertation, ‘contending nationalisms’, refers to the same idea but includes both construction as well as contestation. This is indeed a central theme of my dissertation, as I will be showing how the romance of the Formosan aborigine has been an appealing idea for both Chinese and Taiwanese nationalists, who have in a sense fought over the symbolic resource that the Formosan aboriginal maiden represents. Simon suggests we consider contested nationalisms in the Pacific, on island

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<sup>5</sup> A note on terminology: I will be translating *xiangtu* (鄉土) as ‘Nativist’ and *bentu* (本土) as ‘Localist’. The Nativist movement in the 1970s was overtly socialist or social in concern and was covertly Taiwanese nationalist. The Localist movement begins in the 1980s, when most people shed the socialism and started talking in terms of Taiwan consciousness (台灣意識) and local identity.

nations where the indigenous peoples speak Austronesian languages, while I opt for the larger comparative framework of settler societies, states or nationalisms.

Like Scott Simon, Yvonne Chang, the doyenne of Taiwanese literary criticism, has called for new frames of reference for Taiwan studies. She offers some suggestions, namely “[treating] the history of previously marginalized and repressed groups – be they ethnic minorities, women, or colonized people – as a legitimate frame of reference in scholarly research” (“Frameworks” 22). As a scholar of literature, Chang focuses on the cultural production that a social scientist like Simon tends to neglect. In a review of Margaret Hillenbrand’s book on modernity and resistance in literature in postwar Japan and Taiwan, Chang approves of Hillenbrand’s new ‘intra-regional’ approach (“Revisiting” 5). Hillenbrand’s main objective in her book was to pursue a new kind of intraregional comparative studies beyond the old east-west or China-west paradigms. This approach is promising, but the frame I have chosen for this dissertation is the settler society. I explore this paradigm in Chapters three and four, focusing in particular the relations between historical context and cultural production.

## 2. Method: Allegorical interpretation

In this section I focus on one formal characteristic of allegory, the notion of ‘planes’ of meaning. I also forge, as it were, ‘a key to all settler mythologies’.<sup>6</sup> This key organizes motifs common to the cultural production of settler societies. With key in hand, I describe my approach: allegorical interpretation. I respond to a possible objection, that I am trampling on the intention of the author and violating the specificity of local context.

According to early western definitions, in an ‘allegory’ an author or work indicates one thing while meaning another (Fletcher, “Allegory” 42). ‘Allegory’ is the English word for a European literary and artistic genre, but I am assuming translatability, that allegory’s primary features – characters, settings and stories that are meaningful both on a ‘literal’ plane and on one or more figurative planes – are universal. Scholars have bent over backwards trying to contrast Western and Chinese allegory. Andrew Plaks has argued the former is anagogical, vertical, assuming two separate ontological levels; while the latter is synecdochal, horizontal, where each “element” “partakes of” “the sum total of all existence” (*Allegory and Archetype* 109-110). Pauline Yu has argued that in China, in contradistinction to the west, ‘allegoresis’ is a procedure

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<sup>6</sup> A play on the tragic scheme of Casaubon in *Middlemarch* to find the key to all mythologies, tragic because he does not consult the meticulous and crucial German research on the subject.



of historical contextualization (“Allegory” 410), the contexts linked by categorical analogy or correspondence (類) (*The Reading of Imagery* 116). But their efforts seem contorted, without the flexibility of the form of narrative communication they are studying. While I respect cultural difference, in respect to ‘allegory’ I am a lumpner not a splitter. Along with Doré Levy, I assume that both Western and Chinese allegory “participate in an intentional mode of composition where symbols, action, and language all function to project complex patterns of meaning beyond the literal level of the text” (“Female Reigns” 218). I will disagree with her, however, on the word ‘intentional’. I wrote ‘author or work’ in the first sentence of this paragraph intentionally, for allegory is both a mode of writing and “a way of reading texts” (Colclasure 146).

In allegory, there is an order of levels or planes. The metaphor of ‘level’ implies a vertical arrangement. For medieval Biblical exegetes, for instance, the literal or historical meaning of Hebrew history was transcended by the allegorical meaning of the life of Christ, which was transcended by the moral meaning, in which the events in the life of Christ are reinterpreted as significant symbolically in the life of Everyman, which was finally transcended by the anagogical meaning of the story: the heavenly destiny of humanity as a whole. This is how Frederic Jameson presents the medieval scheme in *The Political Unconscious* (31).

Anagogical	Collective escape from the fallen state
Moral	Individual deliverance from sin
<u>Allegorical</u>	<u>Redemption through Christ</u>
Literal	Out of Egypt

Northrop Frye and Frederic Jameson have both built their own liberal humanist and post-Althusserian Marxist allegorical schemes on this Dantean foundation, in *Anatomy of Criticism* and *The Political Unconscious* respectively (Dowling, *Jameson, Althusser, Marx* 112-113). The highest level in Frye’s scheme exists in the individual imagination of an individual subject, “the throbbing libidinal body of some apocalyptic Blakean man” (Dowling 112) liberated, no doubt, by vast erudition. Jameson’s ultimate, ‘political’ horizon, the level of the totality, transcends the bourgeois category of the ‘individual’. I do not transcend the category of the aboriginal or bourgeois individual but accept (or assert) that the relation between the subjective (or ideational) and objective (or material) worlds is dialectical.<sup>7</sup> At the same time, in Medieval and liberal

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<sup>7</sup> There is, needless to say, a lot more to say about the issue, but as this is a work of literary criticism not literary theory I will for the most part have to bracket the issue of the ‘dialectical’ relation between context and culture. I return to this issue briefly in Chapter 3 in my discussion of positivistic and discursive approaches to the cultural production of settler societies.

allegory, one goes ‘up’ while in Jamesonian allegory one goes ‘down’, and in this respect my scheme is like Jameson’s:

<u>Literal</u>	<u>Settler and indigenous maiden</u>
Gender	Male-female
Ethnic	Settler-aborigine
Societal	State-society (public-private)
Economic	Capital-labour
<u>Regional</u>	<u>City-country (centre-frontier)</u> <sup>8</sup>
Environmental	Human-nature

I am not insisting that individual works have to be meaningful on all seven levels.<sup>9</sup> These are simply hermeneutic possibilities.

The dyads – male-female and so forth – interact, and interaction implies temporality. I use the word ‘fate’, the fate of the aboriginal maiden in settler society, to emphasize temporality.<sup>10</sup> Fate is usually thought to be a matter of passion, a word cognate with passivity and patient. I will be emphasizing as well the active side of fate, which only seems purely passionate in retrospect. In a certain thought-regime, however, fate is fixed, and what this would mean for my allegorical scheme is that women are passive, creatures of passion in both senses of the word. Women are seen as patients in the linguistic sense. The woman waits pronely for the activity of the male. At most, she responds. I also use the word ‘domestication’ as a general way of referring to this process. But this thought-regime is itself a product and may yet become a

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<sup>8</sup> The genders of the city-country or center-periphery dyads are unstable. In Chapter 1 I will discuss the scheme in Goethe’s *Faust* and Hardy’s fiction, in which a man from the city ravages a country girl. Similarly, in settler society, a woman typically comes to represent the frontier. However, by contrast, for Rousseau, cities and women are dangerous. Rousseau was drawing on a hoary representational tradition, of the whore of Babylon or, even earlier, the *Gilgamesh*, in which the primal man Enkidu is drawn into the city by a harlot. Whether ‘woman’ can signify both country and city in both Western European and traditional Chinese literature is an issue I will consider in Chapter 4.

<sup>9</sup> Fletcher notes allegories and allegorical schemes of seven levels (42). The minimum, of course, is two.

<sup>10</sup> Jameson has associated man and woman with time and space respectively (Jameson, “Remapping Taipei” 151) (though he only says woman’s destiny is spatial and not that man’s destiny is temporal) and hence with modernism and postmodernism (153). Man is a temporal principle acting on woman as a spatial principle, man drawing woman forward in time. There may be a line beyond which further abstraction is unhelpful, and I think Jameson crosses it in his article on Edward Yang’s film *Kongbu fenzi*, in which both men and women are very much spatio-temporal beings, beings of action and passion. I will touch upon Jameson’s article in Chapter 2. In my criticisms, temporality remains a separate dimension ‘in which’ the action takes place.

On the other hand, woman and man have been used to symbolize past and future respectively. If the woman is an aborigine, Johannes Fabian would term this symbolism the ‘denial of coevalness’ (*Time and the Other*). According to Carlos Rojas in his criticism of Li Yongping’s *Haidongqing*, also to be discussed in Chapter 2, ‘woman’ in the novel represents Chinese culture, ‘man’ the moulding force of modern economic and political forms. As culture, woman is either to be modernized (progressivism) or preserved (conservatism).

relic of history. The reality of the interaction was always that it was always an interaction, more or less, not between an agent and a patient but between two agent-patients, each of which is domesticated and self-domesticates. In this regard, I will be arguing that the dyadic interactions are dialectical not structural.

The concepts in the scheme are historical. The category of aborigine does not exist except in contrast to settler, both of which refer to a kind of historical situation. For there to be a state-society problem, the ‘society’ has to have reached a certain level of complexity. The same goes for the distinction between public and private. A Marxian would argue that capital only comes into being with the emergence of a capitalist mode of production. The way we look at the environment has changed radically since the Enlightenment. And so forth.

I will be emphasizing the dialectical interaction of the conceptual dyads in a modern context, in which the relations between men and women and between settler and aborigine continue to evolve. One can work towards gender equality, for instance, but equality is not the stable endpoint of the system – there is no endpoint in a historical system, though teleological thinkers may believe in one, as Whig historians believe history is Progress towards a telos. What I call the societal level is the most complex of any of the levels of the scheme because of the evolving nature of the relation between state and society in an age of democracy, in which we tend to emphasize ‘bottom up’ as much as ‘top down’. The ‘public-private’ distinction is itself complicated, particularly because in English ‘private’ indicates both the market (the private sector) and the family (private life), both of which come under the umbrella of the ‘private sphere’, which is, according to the liberal model, supposed to be free of state (or public) control.<sup>11</sup> The relation between capital and labour is also in flux, partly because any labourer is herself a capitalist whose capital inheres in her own person. Finally, the interaction, if it can be called that, between humanity and nature, which to me is ‘foundational’ in the most basic sense, is changing as a function of both technological development and discursive debate between transformationalists and preservationists.

Where do the associations in my interpretive scheme, which I will be discussing further in the first four chapters, come from? Rather than assume that the associations diffused into Taiwan from, say, the United States, I will argue in chapters 3 and 4 that the common themes in settler representations of aborigines arise locally because they are historically contingent, though, because of the agency of human representations, not in any transparent or mechanical way, as a

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<sup>11</sup> Woman in general symbolizes the private sphere, as prostitute and as homemaker.

vulgar historicist would expect. I have not conjured up an imaginary key to all settler mythologies out of my private fantasies. The symbolic associations I use to construct my allegorical framework tend to occur to people in a settler society and become public in works of cultural production. Some of the relevant issues I will have to bracket, especially when I look at traditional Chinese symbolism. Even when I do launch a consideration of, say, the traditional Chinese symbolic resonances of the figure of the female, I can do no more than scratch the surface. But for the works of film and fiction on which I focus, from postwar Taiwan, the associations are patently obvious. Without delving deeply into traditional Chinese literature, it will be impossible to decide to what extent the relevant associations have been imported. Even if they are absent in traditional literature, they might have suggested themselves locally in settler society Taiwan. At any rate, however imperfect and preliminary my conclusions, this is not an influence study but rather a study of the resonance of cultural production in the socio-historical context of the settler society.

Did all, some, or even any of the authors of the national allegorists whose works I will be critiquing have this interpretive schema in mind when they were at work? The associations may be ‘public’, but what if the author did not know about them? One account of the task of the literary or film critic is to interpret the ‘design or intention’ of the author, to understand what he was trying to ‘say’ and account for why he chose to package his ‘message’ in a certain way. But this is surely not all we mean when we talk of the interpretation of works of cultural production. In fact, the word ‘interpretation’ is itself ambiguous:

When we talk of an actor’s interpretation of the role of Hamlet we are using the word in a rather different sense from that which survives in the cognate term interpreter (at the United Nations, for example). These variations can be found in the OED definitions of the term, which include ‘to elucidate’, ‘to explain’, ‘to translate’ (obsolete except in the cognate term ‘interpreter’), and ‘In recent use: to give one’s own interpretation of (a musical composition, a landscape, etc.)’. In between interpretation as translation (from an author to READERS, for example), and interpretation as ‘one’s own’, there is clearly a wide gap. Recent debates have oscillated between these two extremes: the literary interpreter as the translator, conveying the author’s meaning as accurately as possible, and the interpreter as performer from a SCRIPT written by the author. The interpreter as midwife, helping the author’s meaning into the world, and the interpreter as parent. (Hawthorne 180)

I see my role in this dissertation as an interpreter in both senses. The same distinction can be captured by the terms allegory and allegoresis, between an intentional mode of composition and interpretation that in retrospect seems to read meanings into the text, as in the Rabbinical

interpretations of the Song of Songs and the Confucian interpretations of the *Shijing* 詩經 (cf. Zhang Longxi, *Allegoresis*). I do try to respect the intention of the author; I do not apply my interpretive scheme like a cookie-cutter. However, I do not grant the author exclusive interpretive authority. I place the works within the interpretive framework I have constructed for the purpose of this dissertation, which is adaptable to the study of the cultural production of other settler societies. In doing so, I make the works I discuss meaningful in unexpected ways. A cultural producer may well remain unconscious of the significance of his symbols, but by communicating through symbols that may have public associations and at any rate invite the play of the reader's imagination a cultural producer opens his works up to a kind of interpretation untethered to authorial intention. I do not think most authors would wish readers, literary critics included, to remain so tethered. Though in the past, as in traditional China, knowing what tune the writer was singing was the primary task of the reader (as 知音), by the postwar period it was generally accepted that one way of assessing the sturdiness of a work of literature was the number of levels of interpretation it could support without collapsing.

### 3. Organization

In Chapter 1, I weave the ideational strands of this dissertation into a single thread, 'domestication', specifically national domestication, which, in the larger plan of this dissertation, the aboriginal maiden returns to disturb. I argue that in the past women in public have disturbed the discourse of domestication. The problematique of national domestication informs a discussion of liberal, Marxist and nationalist responses to the problem of 'instrumental rationality'. National allegory – which I analyze into three types, hierarchical, homosocial, and heterosexual – is presented in relation to national domestication as a way to narrate the formation of the national family. The constructive and critical potential of national allegory is also explored. I argue for the Habermasian 'public sphere' as an alternative idea of the forum of cultural production to Pierre Bourdieu's notion of the 'field'. Finally, in regard to the critical potential of national allegory, I discuss Homi Bhabha's ideas about the comic turn in colonial discourse when it is repeated.

In Chapter 2 I move the framework developed in Chapter 1 to Taiwan. I discuss domestication, nationalism and national allegory in the Taiwanese context. I end the chapter with a literary example of 'women in public' disturbing the discourse of national domestication. The

same example contains an aboriginal woman in a position of power speaking out in the public sphere.

In Chapter 3, the largest in the dissertation, I propose the settler society as a new ‘frame’ for Taiwanese cultural production. I begin by conceptualizing settler society, contrasting notions of assimilationist and indigenizing settler nationalisms as well as contending and contested settler nationalisms. Then I discuss Taiwan as a settler society. Third, I discuss representations of aborigines in settler societies in general and in Taiwan specifically. I distinguish between positivist and discursive approaches to these representations. I develop the notion of ‘settler colonial discourse’ as a distinct subtype of colonial discourse. I also periodize settler colonial discourse into premodern, modern and postmodern. And I discuss the tendency towards polarization in colonial discourse in relation to theories of Orientalism and Mimicry. Noting that in general aborigines do not quickly enter the ‘national family’ in settler representations, I consider the use of hierarchical and homosocial narration in settler society, leaving heterosexual narration for Chapter 4.

In Chapter 4, I try to historicize the motifs organized in my ‘key to all settler representation’, discussed above in the section on method. I argue that in settler societies around the world the figure of the aboriginal maiden acquires certain symbolic resonances, whether colonial or national, in local context. I argue that the aboriginal maiden tends to appear in premodern settler representations as an Amazon, a figure for the colonial territory, and as a party to symbolic nuptials; in modern settler representations as a settler’s bride and as a whore; and in postmodern settler representations as a ‘modern Amazon’. In this chapter I summarize the literature on the story of Pocahontas and analyze the scholarship with which I am in dialogue in this dissertation.

In the three main body chapters, chapters 5, 6 and 7, I tell a story about postwar Taiwanese history informed by the three phases of the modern and postmodern fate of the Formosan aboriginal maiden. These three chapters are also about the Chinese and Taiwanese nationalist appropriation of the Formosan aboriginal maiden. In Chinese nationalist works, the aboriginal maiden becomes Chinese without aboriginal residue. Works critical of Chinese nationalism oppose this transformation in principle or expose its failure. In Taiwanese nationalist works, by contrast, the Formosan aboriginal maiden becomes Taiwanese, contributing her aboriginality to Taiwanese-ness; while in critical works by the writer Wu He the right of the Taiwanese to appropriate aboriginality is contested. But three phases and two configurations

numerically speaking do not have a common denominator. Two configurations seem to deserve two main body chapters, one on Chinese nationalism and its critique, one on Taiwanese nationalism and its critique. I have instead divided the discussion into three main body chapters. The first two deal with texts written under the regime of Chinese nationalism; I leave Taiwanization until the third chapter. Each chapter is on one of the maiden's fateful phases. First, in the works of the 1950s and 1960s, the maiden becomes a Chinese matron. She is domesticated in the positive sense of the term. Second, in the works of the 1980s, she becomes a whore, a demimondaine. She is domesticated in the negative sense of the term; she is dehumanized in the early Marxist sense (see Van der Veen, "Rethinking Commodification and Prostitution"). Third, in two works from the 1990s, the maiden is Taiwanized, rehumanized as a co-national who is now in control of her destiny. There is, then, a series of three transformations. These three transformations – Sinicization-Dehumanization-Taiwanization – are the turning points in the 'plot' of the story of the Formosan aboriginal maiden I am telling in this dissertation.

Chapter 5 deals with works from the late 1950s to the late 1960s. The state policy at the time was plainification (山地平地化), the object of which was raising aboriginal living standards and bringing parts of the mountains into agricultural production. The setting of the typical national romance in this period was an alpine space in which a nationalist utopia was created, at least in the imagination. In this utopian space, aborigines were transformed into Chinese nationals and the 'pristine' natural environment was improved for human use. In the illusions of 'limerence' – by which I mean I mean the feeling of falling in love, in which the individual has the false sense of oneness with the other without enduring understanding of or generosity for the other – differences between man and woman as well as between aborigine and Chinese seem to vanish. In this way, the nation seems to form. In the process of nation-formation, the maiden becomes tributary to the state. By 'tributary' I mean that the state gave the aboriginal maiden the gift of education and employment, and in return the aboriginal maiden became Chinese and a social functionary, an arm (or perhaps only a finger) of the state.<sup>12</sup> The aboriginal maiden was typically employed by the state as an educator in the works of this period. As an educator, who is assimilated herself, she helps to assimilate the rest of the aboriginal community. The Chinese

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<sup>12</sup> According to Hill Gates's theorization, the three 'modes of production' in postwar Taiwan were: tributary, petty capitalist and capitalist. Gates writes that "[u]nder Jiang Kaishek, the GMD had its own purposes, and they were those of a TMP [tributary mode of production]: to extract surplus, to employ the personnel needed to manage the extraction, to legitimate their actions through ideology, and thus to govern" (*China's Motor* 209). I discuss the applicability of Gates theory and a liberal model in postwar Taiwan further at the beginning of Chapter 2.

men in the works of film and fiction mediate her relation with the state or represent the state, on which the maiden is dependent. But not in every work is the union successful; abandonment of the aboriginal maiden is a recurrent motif.

Chapter 6 deals with works from the 1980s. These works deal with the results of a policy of accommodation, in which the aborigines were to be absorbed into the private sphere, into the liberal market economy. The state hoped to gradually reduce economic protection for the aborigines, lest they become too 'dependent'. Though according to the reference work of this chapter, in which the aboriginal maiden is purchased and happily domesticated, the transition could proceed successfully, according to other works the post-transitional reality was dystopic. The aborigines had been sent one by one into bondage in the city. Aboriginal communities had been atomized. The aborigines were now economically exploited in the construction, mining, fishing, and 'service' industries. Their labour was prostituted. Symbolically, and often literally, the maiden has become a whore, a sign of the failure of Chinese nationalism. She is commodified. She is the object of lust, her value a function of the other's desire for her. As a vendor of sexual services, she is either out of control herself or subject to the domination of a pimp. Her other is a consumer, either a john who pays for her services or a pimp who appropriates the surplus value of her labour.

Chapter 7 deals with reconstructive national allegories from the 1990s in which the maiden becomes a mother. A mother offers 'love', which I distinguish from 'limerence' as involving altruism. The motif and theme of this chapter is in fact the gift. To become a 'donor' or a 'patron', the former maiden must be independent enough to have something to give, and her independence has to have an economic basis. She in fact becomes a petty capitalist, a successful economic agent. The economic and social unit in petty capitalism is the household, which serves as a bulwark against state and capitalist extraction. In the reference work in this chapter, the maiden herself becomes the head of the household, which is a harmonious and symbolically national, but still in some sense a liberal, community. The conflict between liberalism and nationalism is resolved. In the other work I discuss, the national family fails to form, and the aboriginal maiden and settler male part as friends, their individual fates still undecided.

In each of these three main chapters, I discuss the construction and contestation of settler nationalism from various perspectives – Chinese nationalist, Taiwanese nationalist, humanitarian liberal, anti-modern Romantic, and critical socialist – in order to suggest a lively debate about the state of the nation, a debate carried out in the 'literary public sphere' but resonant in the



‘political public sphere’. The master trope in this debate was the ‘figure’ of the Formosan aboriginal maiden.

In Chapter 8, I relate the motif of haunting in settler society cultural production to the theme of justice. I argue, following Derrida, that haunting should be understood in both Marxian and Freudian terms, noting, however, that Marx and Freud make strange bedfellows. I also explore the special meaning that aboriginal haunting might have in settler society. Then I oppose haunting and prophecy as two national temporal orientations. As a review, I trace the uncanny and the prophetic in works discussed in chapters 5 through 7. I go on to evaluate Li Ang’s celebrated novel *Miyuan* 迷園 as well as her recent short story “Dingfanpo de gui” 頂番婆的鬼, asking whether either engages with contemporary debate on aboriginal issues such as socioeconomic inequality, return of land, and self-governance.

In the Conclusion, I make some general suggestions about the contemporary political relevance of the aboriginal revenant. I also discuss of several short stories critical of the national romance by aboriginal authors, who are finally allowed to join the national debate.

There is an appendix, an annotated list of works of settler fiction and film representing the Formosan aborigines.

#### 4. Limitations

First, except for the second half of the conclusion, this dissertation is about the aborigines in the eyes of the Chinese, not about the aborigines in their own words. Some writers who wrote about the aborigines were sincerely interested in aboriginal traditions, and even in aboriginal subjectivity, in what it was like to be an aborigine; though most aborigine-lovers projected upon the aborigines Romantic clichés, such as naturalness, innocence and spontaneity, or more local clichés, such as that the aborigines tend to be dark as well as good singers and athletes. I discuss many such works in the appendix. It is not because I consider what the aborigines have to say about themselves unimportant that I define my topic in this way. All studies have limits; these are mine. I think that it is short-sighted to insist that we should not represent the other or speak out on behalf of the other. Certain others may not be able to represent themselves. Representation may have to start with misrepresentation. I agree with J. J. Healy, who, at the end of his monumental study of representations of the ‘blackfellow’ by white Australians, wrote that with the rise of aboriginal writers “[i]t is probably inevitable that white Australian writing will go into, for the moment, the kind of silence that Aboriginal writing has emerged from” (xx). But

I would also argue that it is important for settlers to keep writing about aboriginal others, because we learn about the other by constructing a concept of him or her in our minds, and we can only check whether that concept is representative by publicizing it and having it checked. Historically, there has been an unfair power differential, and settler representations of aborigines were simply taken at face value, if they were taken seriously at all. Today, we should be aware of this power differential; but let the representation of the other continue.

Second, I am not discussing the representation of the Formosan aborigine in general, though I do make a number of general observations in Chapter 3. My focus is on the representation of the Formosan aboriginal maiden as a figure in nationalist discourses in Taiwan. I have compiled an annotated list of films and fictions from the middle of the Japanese period (1895-1945) to the present and have included it as an appendix. There are many other theses and dissertations in this material. The differences may be more interesting than the commonalities in any comparative project in the humanities research.<sup>13</sup> Sometimes I think that it might be more illuminating to choose unique motifs and try to account for them in cross-contextual cultural perspective. Captivity, for instance. Captivity narratives, stories of adult settlers abducted by Indians, were immensely popular in colonial America. There do not seem to be any stories of this nature in Taiwan. There are some works in which a settler child grows up among aborigines, but no adult captivity. Perhaps a historically minded account of the ‘lack’ of captivity narratives in the case of Taiwan would be more illuminating than the more systematizing, general approach I have adopted. Perhaps by delving into Qing era materials such narratives would turn up. At any rate, this is not the research I have done or the dissertation I have written.

Third, I am not looking at the downstream effects of the works I discuss, at whether they were efficacious. I assume they were, that they have had a critical and democratic effect or at least that discussing them has a critical and democratic potential; but I do not have any evidence to this effect, in the form of readers’ journals or critics’ notes and so forth. I cannot presume to say what the political potential of my research may be. The same goes for the politicized works of propaganda. There is an amusing anecdote told by Wolfram Eberhard in *The Chinese Silver Screen* about a screening of *Lishan chunxiao* 梨山春曉 (1968) in which mainlanders in the audience laughed at the painfully obvious political messages – at such lines as ‘I really admire their spirit of national development!’ (「我真佩服他們開發國家的精神！」) – and just

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<sup>13</sup> cf. Steven Pinker’s comment that if one is “interested in how complex biological systems work, differences between individuals are so boring!” (*Language Instinct* 446).

enjoyed the show. I would like to think this is a comment on the general effectiveness of KMT propaganda, but the blade of this argument is double-edged.

Fourth, I am not proposing a solution to the predicament of the aborigine. I discuss literary, not political, representation.<sup>14</sup> I will come clean here on my own convictions. I think there are versions of liberalism friendly to aborigines. As far as aborigines are concerned, the state should put every effort into education. In a real republic, aborigines deserve the same benefits of national belonging as anyone else. In a settler society, they also deserve special consideration. But I think it is patronizing to assume that the state should solve aboriginal problems, that aborigines are any less capable of adaptation, of criticizing and building on tradition. It is up to them to create alternative modernities that are in some sense aboriginal. Given the problems aborigines and aboriginal communities face, a public-minded, eighteenth century American ‘republican spirit’ on the part of aborigines would be salutary. However, I have tried not to let my own convictions blinker my treatments of the texts, and I refuse to offer advice to the aborigines, to the state, or to the Chinese settlers of Taiwan. Though I sometimes wear my own convictions on my sleeve, I remain a bookish observer.

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<sup>14</sup> In a famous passage that brings out the two senses of the term representation, Edward Said quoted Marx in the *Brumaire*: “They cannot represent themselves, they must be represented” (qtd. in Said, *Orientalism* 21). Marx was talking about political representation of the French peasantry, Said about literary representation.

## **Chapter 1: National allegories as narratives of national domestication**

In this chapter I discuss the problematique of this dissertation – national domestication – as well as general issues of nationalism and national allegory. Given my focus on the representation of the aboriginal maiden, it is apt for me to pay particular attention to the nationalist uses of images of women. The figure of the aboriginal maiden will not enter the argument at the end of Chapter 2, at which point she appears in a prominent public role. The aborigines will take centre stage in Chapter 3, in which I deal with the concept of settler society. The aboriginal maiden is left alone upon the stage in Chapter 4, which argues that the literary fate of the aboriginal maiden is to return to disturb the discourse of national domestication. The first four chapters are more global and theoretical. The subsequent four chapters, chapters 5 through 8, concentrate on postwar Taiwan and consist of literary criticism, including film criticism.

### 1. Problematique: National domestication

National domestication is the problematique, the basic anxiety or tension, of this dissertation. It has a special meaning for aborigines, but in this chapter I focus on gender, on the domestication of women.

Simply put, national domestication involves the (self)extraction of tribal and traditional people out of traditional community and their (self)insertion into modern society, which is imagined by nationalists as a national family living in a national home. The problem of national domestication is that the nation does not always end up one big happy family, that not everyone ends up feeling part of the family. Domestication also carries the meaning of taming, breaking, turning a wild animal into a domestic one. Domestic animals may be bought and sold, and indeed domestication also suggests the market. Domestic servants in premodern times were sometimes alienable, while after slavery was outlawed they sold their labour to capitalists, who used them instrumentally. ‘Dome’ is also an archaic word for building. We speak of houses ‘of business’ or even ‘of ill-repute’, while Coleridge could write of a ‘stately pleasure dome’ decreed in Xanadu by Kublah Khan. The problem of domestication, to put it crudely in several senses, is that the nation should be, according to nationalists, a family at home but often seems like a stable of whores in a stews, an enterprise governed by market logic. We do not meet most of our fellow nationals, and most of those we do meet we interact with in an instrumental,

economic way. In ‘domestication’, then, the tension between nationalism and liberalism is implicit. The discourse of ‘domestication’ is unstable to begin with.

Indeed, domestication has a special meaning for women. Traditionally it meant confinement to the home. In the west, women in public was a matter of concern around the time of the French Revolution, at which time there was a patriarchal reassertion, an attempt to keep women where they belonged, because women in public, in the minds of conservatives, threaten the family, disturb the discourse of domestication (see Hunt, *The Freudian Romance of the French Revolution* 89-123 on the ‘bad mother’). When Tocqueville visited America, for instance, he felt that the strength of American democracy was related to the fact that “the American woman never leaves her domestic sphere” (qtd. in Bellah et al., *Habits of the Heart* 85). In China the same ‘problem’ of women appearing in public emerged in public discourse at least by the 1920s. However, women western and eastern had long been out of the family (出家) in the nunneries and brothels. In the nunneries they no longer seemed quite of this world; while in the brothels they constituted a threat to bourgeois respectability, tranquility and virtue. The prostitute has a special power to destabilize the discourse of national domestication by virtue of her

ability to circulate within social space across the internal dividers of bourgeois society: from private to public domains, across class boundaries, in violation of the distinction between seller and commodity. (Mufti 29)

Yet while it is difficult to imagine prostitution as a wise career move, it is important to recognize that it is often a decision, an expression of female agency. Until the Industrial Revolution, it was one of the few options women had besides marriage.

Today, fortunately, women’s employment options have changed. We have even (again) gotten used to women in positions of power, positions in which they speak out publically, and we do not necessarily assume that women are thereby unable to fulfill their familial responsibilities. To the extent that it once was true that ‘the subaltern could not speak’ because she was under her husband’s thumb and uneducated, today we seem to be closer to realizing the ideal of democracy, which is unfulfilled until all citizens participate in the process of communication about matters of public concern: as the eighteenth century democrats insisted, “[e]veryone had to be able to participate” (Habermas, *Structural* 37). Democracy suggests another way of conceiving of society – as a forum of discussion and of corresponding action – besides home or harem.

In these brief paragraphs, I have drastically condensed and simplified. I do not intend anything I have said to be taken seriously historically. I am developing images and ideas which I

will be unpacking over the course of this dissertation, particularly in the three main chapters, in which the Formosan aboriginal maiden is apparently domesticated but actually prostituted, only to leave ‘the profession’ in search of a place in the sun.

It is not clear, however, why liberals and nationalists invest the family, the domestic sphere, with meaning. An easy answer is that family is universal and everyone values it. To some extent this easy answer is right, but there is more to say, because “[c]ontrary to common belief, kinship is never the basis of pre-class societies. Their cohesion always rests primarily on religious–political relations” (Goody, “The Labyrinth of Kinship”). The anthropological record, even concerning the Formosan aborigines, is impressive in its complexity, both of family forms and the function of family in the social structure. I will not be exploring this complexity in this dissertation, simply because even in works by aboriginal writers the neolocal, nuclear family is the only kind of family represented. The materials I deal with are modern. In the present chapter, I will be probing this issue of the importance of the nuclear family to modern thinkers from the perspective of socio-political philosophy.

In the next two sections, I discuss the two senses of domestication under the rubrics of ‘instrumental rationality’ and ‘the national family’.

### 1.1. Liberalism, Marxism, nationalism and ‘instrumental rationality’

‘Domestication’ is a liberal and nationalist moral metaphor, and both liberalism and nationalism are modern; but it would help to have a larger context, and we can get that by inquiring into older metaphors domestication replaced, and why a replacement was even needed. There were indeed earlier moral metaphors for society. The main such metaphor of the ‘body politic’, which was known to both the ancient Greeks and the Chinese of at least the second century B.C.E. This ancient metaphor was usually applied in states that were “hierarchical and authoritarian” (Hale, “The Analogy of the Body Politic” 67). “That the feet are below the head is how it should be” (Taylor, “Modern Social Imaginaries” 96). In the seventeenth century, when John Locke (1632-1704) started laying the foundations of liberalism, writers started taking the metaphor of the ‘body politic’ less seriously as a model of social organization, ideal or actual. Though it had a life in Romantic Organicism, today it is preserved in ostensibly dead metaphors such as ‘member’ and ‘incorporation’ and the notion of a ‘healthy’ society.

The liberal replacement for the body politic was the social contract. There is surely something liberating in the radical egalitarianism in the notion of the social contract. Though

Hobbes though it would be signed, as it were, out of fear, it led in the eighteenth century to the articulation of the ideal of democracy. But what is lost in the new ‘commercial’ or ‘contractual’ mentality is a moral dimension. Breaking contract is illegal, but it is hard to see how it is morally wrong. Something is also missing from the way the individual’s relation to society has often been thought since the Industrial Revolution – functionally, in terms of a ‘division of labour’, perhaps even as a cog in a machine. A cog is easily replaced, and there is no moral significance in the replacement. In the older metaphor of the body politic, by contrast, there was a moral implication, because a head that hurt its feet would be hurting itself.

There is another concept related to the body politic which has also been important in Western sociopolitical theory and which today contains a moral in addition to a contractual meaning. That concept, which is also a social institution, is marriage. In the Christian tradition, the metaphor of marriage is the ‘one flesh’. Marriages can be ended, but clearly getting married even today is not simply signing a contract. Only with great difficulty can the one flesh be sundered. John Locke also undertook the rejection of the relevance of patriarchal interpretations of marriage to political organization (in Chapter 6 of the *Second Treatise on Government*). According to Robert Filmer, Locke’s philosophical agonist, the relation between subject and ruler was analogous to the relation between Adam and Eve (*Patriarcha*). The fact that Eve was formed of Adam’s rib, according to Filmer, meant that he had sovereignty over her, and the sovereign reigned over the people. To Locke, the argument did not follow, even for Adam and Eve. But, once again, as something – the theoretical equality of all who become members of society by signing the contract – is gained, a moral dimension is lost in Lockean liberalism, in the substitution of the metaphor of the contract for the corporeal metaphor of marriage.

In theory, the liberal revolution was in everybody’s interest. In liberalism, “the basic unit of analysis is the individual,” a being who “maximizes autonomy” (Haugaard, “Nationalism and Liberalism” 346) and is “inherently rational” (349) in his pursuit of happiness, or at least ‘utility’. In theory, Publick Benefits derive from Private Vices, the moral of Bernard Mandeville’s *Fable of the Bees*, published in 1705. As Adam Smith was to put it in 1776, there was in the self-interestedness of individuals an ‘invisible hand’ benefitting the ‘nation’. Hobbes had argued that the self-interested rationality of individuals would lead them to submit to a Sovereign; Smith now argued that it would make the nation rich.

Others have been rather less confident about the liberal revolution, particularly about the way in which liberalism was realized economically in the first century of the modern era, the

nineteenth century: class-based capitalism. The revolution John Locke helped set in motion had potentialities which he could not have foreseen. Locke's triad was life, liberty and possessions, by which he meant estate or property. In this category Locke included our rights, our bodies, our security and our material possessions, but above all he meant land. His famous claim was that the basis of the right of ownership was improvement (Ashcraft, *John Locke* 322). Though he defended unlimited acquisition, he assumed there would always be enough land for everyone, in the "inland, vacant places of America" (qtd. 272), in other words on the frontier, where aborigines lived. As land is a kind of capital, we can think of individuals who improve land in Locke's vision as small-scale capitalists. There was a potential revolution here, of a new order of yeomanry. The kind of capital Adam Smith, writing a century later, was commercial, and he imagined that a harmonious society would result from the self-interested interdependency of small-scale commercial capitalists. In the same year as Smith's masterwork appeared, Jefferson asserted that Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness, rather than the acquisition of landed private property, were inalienable rights. But society was not quite 'modern'. It was not until the first half of the nineteenth century that the revolutionary potential of mechanization was more fully harnessed, mechanization being an essential factor of modernity, which presupposes "atomized individuals, fitted for industrial production..." (Haugard 345). In effect, two main classes emerged, capital and labour. For liberal apologists of capitalism, the capitalists enjoy the fruits of the labour of their workers while shouldering the burden of entrepreneurial risk and providing employment; while, of course, to Marxists capitalists exploit workers by accumulating the surplus value of their labour. To Karl Marx, the root of the new social order was what we might, borrowing a term from Weber, today call 'instrumental rationality' (*Zweckrationalität*), or *jixin* (機心) in Chinese.<sup>1</sup> For Marx, it was not just that the bourgeois exploits the proletariat, regarding the latter as a means for an end. Rather, the whole branching and flowering of the capitalist order comes out of the root of instrumental rationality: the bourgeois exploits not only others but also himself.

...not only in thought, in conscience, but in *reality, in life* – [he] leads a twofold life, a heavenly and an earthly life: life in the *political community*, in which he considers himself a *communal being*, and life in *civil society*, in which he acts as a *private individual*, regards other men as a means, degrades himself into a means, and becomes the plaything of alien powers. (Marx, "On *The Jewish Question*" in the *MECW* 3:154, discussing Hegel, *Philosophy of Right* 346)

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<sup>1</sup> An early *locus classicus* of the Chinese term, which means 'mechanistic mind' is in the *Zhuangzi* (機心存於胸中，則純白不備), in which 'Master Zhuang' evinces an aversion to technics.



According to Marx and Engels the bourgeois exploits his own wife: “The bourgeois sees his wife a mere instrument of production” (Manifesto). The Marxian metaphor for exploitation in the same text was prostitution, which would end with the revolution:

Bourgeois marriage is, in reality, a system of wives in common and thus, at the most, what the Communists might possibly be reproached with is that they desire to introduce, in substitution for a hypocritically concealed, an openly legalized system of free love. For the rest, it is self-evident that the abolition of the present system of production must bring with it the abolition of free love springing from that system, i.e., of prostitution both public and private. (Manifesto)

Out of the mud of human selfishness, according to liberals, might bloom the flower of a rich society, but according to Marx the flower’s beauty was illusory. The entry of the majority of the populations of First World nations into the ‘middle class’ in the twentieth century seems to change the situation considerably, as does the advent of ‘postindustrial society’, heralded by Daniel Bloom in 1973. But Marx’s philosophical critique remains unanswered unless it is met philosophically.

In the first passage quoted above, in his mention of *political community* and *civil society*, Marx is taking aim at a cornerstone of liberal ideology, the notion of social spheres in which different logics prevail. Marx doubted that such partitioning was possible. Such partitioning is a liberal elaboration that responds to the problem of the instrumentalization of human relations in modern society. Liberals have realized that life, liberty and private property alone are insufficient as principles of social organization. To liberals, a partitioning of the society into which the individual is to be domesticated seems necessary. The main partition was between private and public, a distinction that goes back to the Greek terms *oikos* and *polis*, whence come the English words economic and political. For Aristotle, the distinction was more precisely between the ‘realm of necessity’ and the realm of purposeful, political action, and Aristotle valorized the sphere of action over the sphere of necessity. Rousseau reoriented Aristotle by valorizing the home, which in a secularizing age became the realm of pure humanity. The distinction between the home and the market, both of which are private in Aristotle’s sense, is a crucial development in liberalism. The three terms in Hegel’s social analysis were family, civil society (the market), and the state (which Marx called the political community) (Elshtain 173). The home was to be the “intimate sphere” of non-instrumental human relationships, “the domain of pure humanity” (Habermas, *Public Sphere* 46). Friends may be thought of as part of this sphere, and indeed friends are often invited into the home. Before the eighteenth century, in the time of ‘cottage industry’ or ‘household economy’, the family was a unit of economic production and

consumption. Now production and consumption were to be separated and the home became in some sense extraeconomic, though it still had to consume in order to maintain itself, house and body. This process can be seen as part of the course of social evolution, but since states began enacting marriage laws, outlawing the sale of human beings and regulating prostitution – all aspects of national domestication – it has also been partly a top-down process. The market, which arose out of the older household economy, is the domain of labour and commodity exchange. In response to the problem of instrumental rationality, in other words, the family is cordoned off from the market and the state. This split between family and market was in turn related to the philosophical split originally introduced by John Locke between sensibility and sense, between sentiment and utility (Elshtain 127). Relations with family members and friends were based on love and concern, uncoarsened by instrumentality, which nevertheless, according to liberals, had a necessary place in the market. To Hegel's tripartite analysis of society, a fourth sphere, the public sphere, has been proposed and most famously discussed by Jürgen Habermas, as a forum in which individuals take time out of their familial and economic lives to come together as a public to talk disinterestedly about public issues with a view to agreeing on common values and collective action.

Another liberal response is transformative; the boundaries between the spheres of society are made, so to speak, osmotically porous. Intimate values may in some sense diffuse out from the family into the market, from which the family has been detached, but market values may not diffuse in.<sup>2</sup> In this way, the market in theory becomes less brutal and “anarchic” (Elshtain 177). Adam Smith wrote his first treatise on a related issue, the moral sentiments (1759). While Smithian sentimentality or ‘sympathy’ may not yield pure altruism, it is more humane than the model of an abstract rationality calculating units of utility to advance its individual interests. Sympathy seems to be a historical phenomenon as well, a function of modernity. Tocqueville, on his visit to Jacksonian America, noted how eagerly Americans helped one another, as long as it did not cost them too much to do so. Americans were ‘compassionate’, in contrast to the

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<sup>2</sup> The idea of the porousness of the partitions is a response to the problem created by the notion of “a radical separation of one sphere from another” (Elshtain 176). Habermas argued that, having been humanized in the intimate sphere, individuals become public-oriented (*Structural Transformation* 43-51) and come together not as market-agents but as citizens who “transmit the needs of bourgeois society to the state, in order, ideally, to transform political into “rational” authority” (“The Public Sphere” 53) or in other words to subordinate rule to reason in the form of law. Habermas has been criticised for this notion. “Though he maintains a porous boundary between the public and the private, the significant flow is all from the private to the public and in the case of familial intimacy, unlike economic interests, there appears to be no downside to its genuine influence” (Bloch, “Inside and Outside the Public Sphere”).

aristocrats of the *ancien régime*, for whom the serfs were beneath contempt or compassion (Orwin, “How an Emotion Became a Virtue” v; see Tocqueville 2.3.4). Similarly, the communicative values of the citizens participating in the public sphere may transform politics, so that, ideally, the state or government represents and responds to the will of the people, which is a far cry from the vulgar Marxist caricature of the state as the tool of the bourgeoisie.

Into this mix we need to add one more ingredient, nationalism, which is another response to the problem of ‘instrumental rationality’. As a transition to nationalism I would like now to briefly sketch the way early sociologists theorized the problem of modernity. The discipline of sociology emerged as a critical response to the problem of modernity. The sociological account of modernization took the form of a narrative. People once lived in collective communities in which they were bound by kinship, custom, and religion. As wage jobs became available in the industrial cities, people left the traditional communities one by one. Society was ‘atomized’. In the terminology of Ferdinand Tönnies, this was a transition from community to society, from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft* (1887), from social ties to social relations. The first sociologists saw the process as problematical. Durkheim envisioned an ‘organic’ urban solidarity based on the principle of the division of labour, but also examined *anomie* (normlessness) and isolation as functions of failed urban social integration (1897). Nationalism seeks to make social relations like social ties in some sense. Weber worried that social rationalization had desacralized human existence and put humanity in an ‘iron cage’ (1905).<sup>3</sup> Nationalism is often seen as a substitute for religion (see Rex, “Secular Substitutes”). Sociology is a transition to nationalism for two reasons, because sociological theory provides a context for understanding the rise of nationalism, and because the two major early sociologists, Durkheim and Weber, were both nationalists. Neither of them was ultranationalist or populist, but by the same token neither of them was simply a liberal (Breuilly, “Introduction” to *Nations and Nationalism* xvi note 12). It is time now to discuss nationalism as a response to the problem of modernity, and in fact nationalism in the former sense has been theorized as a modern *Gemeinschaft*, an attempt to overcome *anomie*, to create a moral community out of a market.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> The ‘iron cage’ of bureaucracy was Talcott Parson’s translation in 1958. In terms of the problematique of this dissertation, it is interesting that a literal translation would be ‘steel-hard housing’ (Nash, *Contemporary Political Sociology* 11), a negative aspect of ‘domestication’.

<sup>4</sup> “The nation is a distinctly modern form—a form of (*gessellschaft*-like) association, but one that turns to the metaphorical possibilities of the family in order to claim (*gemeinschaft*-like primacy, spontaneity and naturalness” (Mufti 27). See also Haugaard, “Nationalism and Liberalism” 355.

Nationalists range from liberal nationalists, who believe that a country of individuals who chose to belong to a nation should agree upon a constitution, about which they can feel ‘patriotic’ (as in Habermas’s ‘constitutional patriotism’, on which see Abizadeh’s “On the philosophy/rhetoric binaries”), work out collective goals and articulate a national ‘we the people’ spirit, to Nazis, who limit national membership by ‘race’ and tie the nation to a national territory. The former has been called French, civic, modern, and open nationalism; while the latter has been called German, ethnic, traditional and closed nationalism. They have been contrasted as associations of consent and descent. These two ‘ideal types’, as the adjectives for them indicate, have been abstracted from history. The earliest form of nationalism was liberal democratic or civic – ‘no taxation without representation’ in the Thirteen Colonies and a civil code in France – in contrast to the early German ethno-linguistic nationalism of Fichte. The opposition of open and closed mainly refers to a slightly later development, the development of racial theory. Blood became a national issue toward the end of the nineteenth century. In France, Ernest Renan is known for, among other things, his idea that a nation is “un principe spirituel” to the creation of which “la race, la langue, les intérêts, l’affinité religieuse, la géographie, les nécessités militaires” are insufficient,<sup>5</sup> while Maurice Barrès, by contrast, stressed a ‘voix du sang’ and an ‘instinct du terroir’ (in 1903), as the Nazis would go on to erect Blut and Boden as the twin supports of nation. The former term was a nineteenth century notion developed in the context of race theory, while the Romantic notion of a tie between people and territory had first been articulated by Rousseau.<sup>6</sup> Clearly, if national membership is based on blood, it is totally closed to those who are not ‘of the blood’. At any rate, all of these factors of national cohesion, from liberal to illiberal, from spirit to blood, are advocated by people who think a nation must be constituted as a ‘political community’ by more than self-interestedness, obedience to law and co-residence.

The two ideal types of nationalism have been contrasted as modern and ethnic, and this contrast is in fact one of the two central theoretical issues in nationalism studies. The name associated with the former position is Ernest Gellner, in whose account nationalism is functionally necessary to ‘fit individuals for industrial production’. The name associated with the latter position is Gellner’s student Anthony Smith, who argues that in any stable and living

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<sup>5</sup> His answer, of course, in *Qu’est-ce qu’une nation?* is what is now called ‘collective memory’.

<sup>6</sup> In “Projet de constitution pour la Corse,” Rousseau argued that “[i]t is from the nature of the soil that the primitive character of the inhabitants is born” (*Oeuvres complètes* 3:913). Rousseau advised the Corsican nation “to spread itself out over the entire surface of its territory” (qtd. in Abizadeh, “Banishing the Particular” 573; 3:904). Rousseau’s love of the land makes sense in the context of the Physiocratic economics of the day, in which agriculture was yet the foundation of national wealth.

nation there is an *ethnie*, an 'ethnic core'. The modernists believe that nationalism is a product of the Westphalian order, that first there were territorial states as a form, which was later filled in by a national content. Modernists like to point out that no country in the world has ever attained the Wilsonian ideal of national self-determination, according to which every nation should have its own state. When state capacity increased in the nineteenth century to the point that states took over many of the functions of the church, including education, governments turned their countries into nation-states by homogenizing the population culturally and linguistically. They tried to turn themselves into 'nation-states'. Whereas in traditional society, princes were not required to speak the same language as the peoples they ruled, in modern society people become a people because they share a common language and culture. Intellectuals may play a role in this process, by researching and codifying national culture (Hroch). The ethnicists, by contrast, argue that states could never have homogenized their populations unless the idea of nationality was somehow already implicit in ethnicity. Both the modernists and the ethnicists are to some extent correct, and any history of nationalism will have to take both the old and new in nationalism into account. Nationalists tend to be ethnicists; they usually assert that nationalism is from the people, a 'grass roots' phenomenon, and that people just have to be made aware of what they already know; but it is always also to some extent a top-down phenomenon, a nation-building project.

Since 1945, there has understandably been a reaction against top-down modernist nationalism as well as against closed, ethnic nationalism. Today, perhaps especially in Canada, people tend to feel that, in addition to being unethical, "...state-sponsored nationalist projects of cultural assimilation, speciously justified by reference to some supposed need for homogeneity, have increasingly proven to be not just ineffective, but positively counterproductive to the goal of integration" (Abizadeh, "Liberal Democracy" 508). 'Integration', 'incorporation' or 'domestication' are thought to be better served by letting people fit themselves in rather than fitting them in. Such societies do not necessarily revert to a purist liberalism of freedom from state intervention and the rights to life, liberty and property. While what Charles Taylor calls the 'proceduralist' interpretation of liberalism, by insisting on the same rights for everyone, does not allow the formulation of "publicly espoused notions of the good" (Taylor, "The Politics of Recognition" 116-117), including in particular the cultural survival of disadvantaged minorities, there is another interpretation of liberalism that does discuss collective ends and goods. This interpretation has been advanced in Canada by Will Kymlicka and depends on the notion of a cultural right. While Taylor thinks Kymlicka's scheme fails to deal with moderately illiberal

practices such as Bill 101 in Quebec or the curtailment of the right to alienate aboriginal land, such practices can be justified by appealing to the notion that in a conflict of two rights, one might trump the other. Such arrangements might make society more plural, if slightly less liberal.

A ‘multicultural’ nationalism is a kind of nationalism that can properly be defined as postmodern, plural rather than homogenizing. It is also postmodern because it is supposed to be debatable. The multiculturalists have to share the floor with people who do not share their values, and to make their case convincing they may have to use the art of persuasion. ‘Reactionary’ nationalists certainly do: in order to add rhetorical and moral force to the nation, to further social integration, and to coordinate action, sovereign states and nationalist intellectuals have often used family ties to characterize relations between fellow nationals.

## 1.2. The national family

Like liberals, nationalists preach family values. Domestication is entry into the national family. That people take the metaphor seriously and regard fellow nationals as analogous to family members might be part of the secret of success of nationalist dissemi-nation, which at any rate relates to the second main issue in nationalism studies: Why people care so much about the nation, why they, for instance, are willing to die for the nation. The familial in nationalism as in liberalism is a sphere in which non-instrumental cooperative relations based on a logic of love are supposed to prevail. Clearly, a nation as family is a moral community in the way that a society founded solely on the market mechanism and the rule of law is not.

From the point of view of a liberal nationalist, the metaphor of family can have positive and negative implications.<sup>7</sup> Nationalists of consent and descent can both make use of the metaphor. Let us assume three kinds of relations in the liberal family – parent-child, sibling-sibling, and husband-wife. Characterizing the relation between state and society as analogous to the relation between parent and child may be a condition for dictatorship. To some, perhaps to Freud, dictatorship is the natural condition of man. Freud wrote that “Group Psychology is therefore concerned with the individual man as a member of a race, of a nation...” and that “it may be possible to discover the beginnings of its development in a narrower circle, such as that of the family” (*Group Psychology* 5), but went on to conclude that man is not a herd animal, in

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<sup>7</sup> ‘Liberal nationalism’ is ambiguous. Usually Wilsonianism is meant by it, the self-determination of nations, but in this dissertation I will be assuming using the term to mean a kind of nationalism that is comparatively liberal in the sense of individualist and democratic, where national belonging is a matter of choice and where private rights, including the property right, are protected. I see liberalism and nationalism as being in creative tension.

the sense of having a ‘group mind’, but a horde animal, a horde being a group with a hierarchy in which the many are led by the few.

In the sibling relation there does not seem to be the same implicit sense of hierarchy. Fraternity is, not surprisingly, common in democratic, progressive, civic nationalist appeals. But there are elder brothers and younger brothers, as well as sisters. Carole Pateman, in this regard, interrogated the notion of fraternity advanced during the French Revolution. She argues that the fraternity, however egalitarian, consciously excluded women, and so the so-called social contract was actually an inegalitarian sexual contract (Pateman, *The Sexual Contract*).

Finally, there is a long temporal delay between John Locke and Betty Frieden (Elshtain 127-131). It is easy to overthrow patriarchy in theory but much more difficult in practice. Even John Stuart Mill, after he had convinced himself of the political equality of women, tended to assume that woman would tend to want to stay in the home, reinforcing the ancient association of men with the public and women with the private (Elshtain 144). The attachment to hierarchy is not severed once and for all by a conceptual revolution. If the homely metaphor that is used to ‘characterize’ the nation is connubiality, then unless gender equality has been achieved, illiberal inequality is implied. In other words, those who describe nation as family may sneak in Robert Filmer through the back door.

Those wary of nationalist rhetoric may justly shy away from it, but even they know its power. In 1941, in “England, Your England,” George Orwell wrote:

England is not the jeweled isle of Shakespeare’s much-quoted message, nor is it the inferno depicted by Dr Goebbels. More than either it resembles a family, a rather stuffy Victorian family, with not many black sheep in it but with all its cupboards bursting with skeletons. It has rich relations who have to be kow-towed to and poor relations who are horribly sat upon, and there is a deep conspiracy of silence about the source of the family income. It is a family in which the young are generally thwarted and most of the power is in the hands of irresponsible uncles and bedridden aunts. Still, it is a family. It has its private language and its common memories, and at the approach of an enemy it closes its ranks. A family with the wrong members in control – that, perhaps, is as near as one can come to describing England in a phrase.

To Orwell’s credit, he uses the metaphor to a higher purpose while pointing out that, nationalist claims to the contrary, the national family is not all about love but also about power. The actual historical conditions of national domestication have very often led to subaltern oppression or exploitation of groups that fail to enter the middle class or to the continued silencing of women.

These groups interrogate the nation, as they expose the gap between the ideal and the actual, between nationalist discourse and national reality.

In the following section, I look at how different family relations are used for national allegory, which is to say national narration.

## 2. National allegory

This dissertation interprets works of cultural production by settlers about aborigines as national allegories. I have dealt with ‘nation’ above, and have touched on the metaphor of allegorical levels in the Introduction, but there are certain distinctions pertaining to allegory that will help us describe as precisely as possible the object of inquiry in this dissertation. There are, it seems to me, three relevant distinctions, between structural and narrative allegory, between other-worldly and this-worldly allegory, and between realist and constructive allegory.

Allegory can be both structural and narrative. In this regard, we often speak of works of art as allegorical. But we cannot match the structural and the narrative with painting and fiction. Allegorical paintings, such as the paintings of *l'être suprême* from the French Revolution, can represent unchanging foundations that cultural producers may hope serve as the enduring foundations of society; or they may be images out of a narrative. In structural allegory, there may be pairs of opposites – good and evil, male and female, parent and child, and so on – but these pairs will be polar, which is to say stable, oppositions. In narrative allegory, by contrast, the relationship between the pairs of opposites is dialectical. In a dialectic there is an evolving power relationship and thus the possibility of reorientation. National propagandists may wish for a stable, structuralist universe, but narrative introduces a dialectical relation. Narrative has a deconstructive and reconstructive potential. In this dissertation I discuss narrative, which is to say dialectical, allegory.

Allegory can also be other-worldly and this-worldly. Other-worldly allegories are often described as idealist or religious. I am thinking of works such as the *Commedia*, in which the spiritual or philosophical plane is primary. Other-worldly allegories may represent change, but the change in question will be of a religious or philosophical sort, as in the process of understanding how God’s love infuses the Great Chain of Creation. In this-worldly allegories, by contrast, the literal level of the text will be referring to a sandwich of this-worldly planes of meaning. This-worldly allegories, in terms of temporality, may be historical, contemporary or prophetic. Naturally, it is possible to misrepresent the past and the present, while the future is



open. The allegories I am dealing with in this dissertation, being national, are all this-worldly. Historically, the rise of the realist, domestic novel in English in the 1740s has been related to the development of liberalism and nationalism. The earliest domestic novels by Richardson have been taken as national narratives (Parrinder, *Nation and Novel*). Here the private-public distinction substitutes for the older religious-secular distinction, the home being the new transcendent realm of pure humanity.

Finally, allegory can be characterized as realist and constructive. In nationalism studies, an ethnicist like Smith would tend to assume that an ‘authentic’ national allegory is realist, while a modernist like Gellner would tend to assume that national allegory is constructive. Realist allegories represent national reality as it, in some sense, is. Constructive allegories are attempts to bring a certain reality into being. If realist allegories are responses to constructive allegories, they may well be critical exposures of the dishonesty or the failure of the original constructive allegory. This is why in the following sections I contrast constructive and critical national allegory rather than constructive and realist national allegory.

In literary studies, something slightly different is meant by realism. In a realist novel, the details of daily life give the effect of verisimilitude. However, many realist novels have an national subtext, and I would argue that works of ‘realism’ in this sense cannot be national except by allegorization. The national in the realist novel lies in the representativeness of the details. Representative is one sense of the word allegorical, meaning one thing standing in for another. National novels are therefore national allegories. So much more obviously allegorical are the characters (as opposed to the details) in a national novel, who may ‘personify’ the nation in relation to other nations or social constituents within the nation. Aamir R. Mufti talks of “national realism” (19), but his example of national realism, a courtesan who sees the veins in her arms as the railway lines of India, is clearly in some sense allegorical.<sup>8</sup>

The narratives that are part of nation-building projects are constructive national allegories. The mere idea of the nation, as a set of abstractions, is not enough. Narratives, it is thought, are needed, to help people imagine what it would be like to be national. How would a national interact with co-nationals and non-nationals? In France, the principles of the revolution were not enough. The *Chanson de Roland* was also needed, especially in 1870, during the Franco-Prussian War, when it was first promoted as a national epic (Kinoshita, “Alterity, Gender, and

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<sup>8</sup> See Aravamudan, “In the Wake of the Novel: The Oriental Tale as National Allegory” for a defence of the relevance of non-realist, pre-1740s writing to nation-building and national critique.

Nation in the *Chanson de Roland*” 80). In the United States, life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness were not enough. The Founding Fathers signed the Declaration of Independence, but then novelists like Fenimore Cooper, got to work narrativizing the spirit, the character or the state of the nation, especially from the 1820s on, under the influence of Sir Walter Scott. Many nationalists argue that a national story, historical or otherwise, is an important part of nation-building, because it emplots or narrativizes identity. The notion that identity is created or articulated through narrative is a well-known idea of Paul Ricoeur’s – ‘narrative identity’ (see *Oneself as Another*). For nationalists, ‘national identity’ supposedly provides the answers to issues such as ‘who are we?’, ‘what makes us distinct?’, ‘what is the structure of our society?’, ‘where have we been, where are we now, and where are we going?’, and so forth.

Readers of national novels are modern, and not surprisingly modern bourgeois social relations, including familial relations, are used to emplot nations. Though it may be objected that it is inaccurate to write the nation in terms of bourgeois family relations, the nation is unimaginable in its entirety. We cannot have an idea of each separate member of the nation the way we can of each member of our family or our face-to-face community. We may imagine them as being like, say, the guests at the party at the mansion in José Rizal’s *Noli Me Tangere*, but we could never attend such a national party unless the guests are all representatives. We have to understand the nation in ways that make human sense, in ways that combine our faculties of understanding and feeling. For this latter reason, it makes less sense to imagine society as a machine or a plant, unless you are seeking a metaphor to do philosophy with. Machines and plants are nice, but the intensity of feeling they generate in us is relatively limited. It is also hard to get a compelling story out of them, science fiction and fantasy excepted.

It might also be objected that the mode of national allegory is simply not historically important, just as it might be argued that the historical effects of, for instance, the metaphor of the virginity of the landscape of the New World are historically insignificant and that in general historians should not waste their time on poetics. It is hard to imagine what evidence for the historical efficacy of metaphors and narrative structures would look like. It is certainly in some sense idealist, rather than materialist, to assume that metaphors and narratives ‘matter’. Lynn Hunt was responding to a similar objection when she wrote, “I do not mean to reduce politics to fantasies, either individual or collective. Yet politics do depend on imagination and hence to some extent on fantasy, and family experience is the source of much of that fantasy” (Hunt, *Family Romance* xv). I would broaden her term ‘family experience’ to ‘bourgeois social

experience'. As stated in the limitations section of the Introduction, I do not mean to demonstrate the historical efficacy of national narration. Rather, I simply assume that it has been and continues to be historically efficacious, that it is worth talking about, and that its historical efficacy is why so much creative and critical energy has been expended on it over the past at least two centuries (and, for myself, over the past three years). At the least, national narrative can serve as an indicator of the state or even the abiding spirit or character of the nation, which is to retreat from a 'constructivist' position to a 'realist' one.

In the succeeding sections, I begin by considering the significance of the three different ways of allegorizing the nation, homosocial, hierarchical and heterosexual, which, in a family context, can be described more specifically as parental, fraternal, and connubial. This exercise in typology is important, for the way in which national relations are allegorized reflects the way nationalists think it is or want it to be. Moreover, national imaginaries can be compared on the basis of the use of these three different narrative types, which I describe in more literary terms as melodramatic, epic and romantic modes.<sup>9</sup> After discussing these three modes, I go on to distinguish critical in contrast to constructive allegory.

### 2.1. Hierarchical, homosocial, and heterosexual national narration

Within the family, hierarchical narratives are about child-parent relations, about, for instance, "the (élite) subject's orientation towards the nation as the love of the (male) child for its mother" (Mufti 26). Clearly, national allegorists may be attracted to parental narration, because it puts the state and the intellectual elite in the driver's seat. But of course child-parent relations are complicated and thus national parental narratives can be interesting. A parent can be a nurturer, a teacher, a rule-maker, a tormenter, or simply indifferent. Parental narration has been most impressively theorized by Lynn Hunt in *The Family Romance of the French Revolution*.<sup>10</sup> In the

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<sup>9</sup> The term 'mode' is generally used in two ways in this dissertation, either in the phrase 'mode of production' or to characterize authorial attitude. Melodramatic, epic, and romantic are constructive modes, in contrast to deconstructive modes like irony and parody. I will discuss this latter sense of mode below. Sometimes, the term is used in a third way, simply meaning type, as in the quotation on allegory by Doré Levy on p. 6 of the Introduction.

<sup>10</sup> Hunt shows how Republicans and Royalists debated the future of France around the time of the Revolution in fiction through relations and plot motifs reminiscent of the tumultuous Freudian model of family dynamics. In the Freudian model, the sons kill the father, consume his flesh, compete for the mother and eventually compact a new law, defended by a deified father, in order to end competition. Hunt was not a committed Freudian. She writes,

Rather than using this term in the strict Freudian sense as applying to the individual psyche, I use it to refer to the political – that is, the collective – unconscious, and I give the term a positive connotation. By family romance I mean the collective, unconscious images of the familiar order that underlie revolutionary politics. I will be arguing that the French had a kind of collective political unconscious. (xiii)

larger category of hierarchical narration are stories about student-teacher relations, relations between police (and other agents of the state) and citizens, and relations between citizens and a Great Leader.

Next, homosocial narration. Robert Kee Irwin's *Mexican Masculinities* theorizes homosocial 'bonds' or 'relations' as nation building. He even goes so far as to propose a "homoerotics of nation" (Irwin xxxv), a phrase reminiscent of Leslie Fiedler's article "Come Back to the Raft Ag'in, Huck Honey!", about the homoerotic interracial relations on the American frontier. Clearly, the "substitution of erotics for politics" (Dougherty 76) is not limited to heterosexual narration, nor should we expect it to be in an age that is enlightened, sexually speaking. There is in reality an erotic, or at least a physical, force in friendship, and the libinous aspect of friendship is part of the 'glue', as it were, of the social order. Lynn Hunt reminds us that "Freud suggests that the brothers' social organization had a homosexual tinge that was worth preserving" (6).<sup>11</sup> The feelings between men are usually glorified in epic writing, and indeed homosocial narration is ancient. Homosocial narration sometimes implies egalitarianism and public life and may be used to represent republican public-spiritedness. But in times of conflict national homosocial narration combines the hierarchical with the homosocial. As Freud pointed out in *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego* (1921), the army is an 'artificial group' held together by libidinous ties amongst soldiers and between soldiers and leader. Epics are usually historical, especially modern ones, and a nation without much of a past may have a hard time writing epics about itself. In contrast, heterosexual narration requires no historical basis and usually conceals hierarchy.

The type of national allegory I study in this dissertation is 'national romance', a kind of heterosexual narration. More specifically, it could be described as connubial or a subset of connubial narration – many of the works are courtship fictions. In regard to courtship fictions, Patrick Parinder, in his work on national allegory in English fiction, has written that

The novel of courtship is much more than a vehicle for the romance of social climbing and upward mobility, however. The form's potential for national allegory resides in the so-called 'national marriage plot', in which an alliance between families bears a weight of political symbolism implying the resolution of contraries and the reconciliation of national differences." (*Nation and Novel* 31-32)

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In this dissertation I am in some sense exploring one aspect of the family romance of postwar Taiwan.

<sup>11</sup> On the national tie as libidinous, see Anderson, *Imagined Communities* ch. 8.

Courtship-and-marriage is fascinatingly ambiguous in regard to power relations. During the courtship phase, a man is typically on his best behaviour, while after marriage some sort of power struggle may result. Thus, the illusions of love in courtship often conceal patriarchal intent, which only becomes manifest later. For patriarchal writers, "...domesticated female sexuality provides the idiom of national / belonging" (Mufti 29-30). But a patriarchal intent may well clash with a matriarchal intent. National heterosexual narratives explore "the national-allegorical possibilities of 'woman' as signifier" (Mufti 13), and domesticity is but one possibility. Another obvious possibility involves narrativizing the 'national economy' in the contractual, commoditized and instrumental relation between a prostitute, whether as high class courtesan or cheap hooker, and a client. Here also is ambiguity, because of the variables of the girl's social status, of whether or not she entered the profession of her own free will, and of whether she has let it control her destiny.

We can begin to contextualize national allegory by asking what each kind of national allegory seems good for as well as in what ways it does or does not make for good reading. Hierarchical narration obviously serves social control and stability. The problem with hierarchical narration may be that it tends to be preachy. Most readers are not eager to identify as obedient children, especially not if they are democrats. Homosocial narration tends to be used when there is some grand national purpose to be accomplished, such as the defence of the nation. But the band of brothers must, from a statist perspective, be kept under control. The state does not want the band of brothers to oppose state control like Robin Hood and his merry men. Eventually, national allegorists who take a governmental perspective will opt for domesticity. Heterosexual narration gives the reader domesticity. People like to read love stories. Even men will read them, as long as there is 'action'. But not all national allegories are governmental. We can further contextualize national allegory by asking how it can be used for both constructive and critical purposes.

## 2.2. Debating the nation through national allegory

There is usually a utopian impulse in constructive national allegories, but the impulse often goes awry, both internationally and domestically. Internationally, constructive national allegory may feed national aggressiveness. Domestically, the problem is that "the use of some myths rather than others to buttress a given collective identity, and thereby to legitimate a set of

sociopolitical relations” (Abizadeh, “National Myths” 293). Indeed, national narratives may be preferential. They may also be exclusionary, as they were in eighteenth century Britain:

One of the most striking aspects of the new domestic realistic novel, particularly as the English developed it, is its ability to exclude. It puts a stop to immigration and emigration. It does not on the whole care for ethnic mixing. The domestication of the supposedly realistic novel is not a matter only of gender, nor of gender and class, but of gender, class and race. (Doody, “Prescriptive Realism” 292)

But the narrativity of national allegory helps to mitigate the ‘danger’ it poses. With the addition of the temporal dimension, a metaphor becomes a narrative, social relations become dialectical, and the state of the national family is opened up to debate. The skeletons can come out of the cupboard; the conspiracy of silence can be broken. Ricoeur makes a similar argument. He implies that “the most harmful ideologies of “national identity”” (*Oneself as Another* 123) may be balanced by the temporal, agential aspect of identity, by *ipse*-identity in contradistinction to *idem*-identity, identity as character. National narratives are dialectical rather than structural. They are amenable to both construction and critique. Any kind of national narration, hierarchical, homosocial, and heterosexual, can be used for construction or for critique. The figures of the good and bad father, as analyzed by Lynn Hunt, were used for constructive and critical purposes respectively.<sup>12</sup> Irwin gives examples of brothers who are not worthy of the loyal band. In this dissertation, rather than the good and bad father or brother, I will be dealing with the good or bad Chinese husband or customer of the Formosan aboriginal maiden, and sometimes with the good or bad aboriginal maiden. The point is that national allegories are open to rewriting, to ‘counter-allegory’. Aamir R. Mufti wrote, concerning a Muslim writer’s rewriting of the Indian nationalist myth of Mother India, “[t]his frankly instrumental mobilization of (a desexualized) motherhood is translated...into the sexual exploitation of the prostitute” (28). In the critical works I interpret in chapters 5 through 7 of this dissertation, by contrast, the frankly instrumental mobilization of a sexualized Formosan aborigine is translated into the sexual exploitation of the prostitute as the central metaphor in a strategy of national critique.

In the following two sections I explore critical and constructive national allegory through two theorists, Frederic Jameson and Doris Sommer. I discuss them in this order because

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<sup>12</sup> We should not necessarily assume that we as progressives will agree with critics, because criticism can be reactionary. In *The Family Romance of the French Revolution*, Lynn Hunt shows how the ‘bad mother’ was often the sort of woman who wanted to play a role in public life.

Jameson's work on the subject came first, and Sommer responded to Jameson. Then I go on to situate critique and construction in the Habermasian public sphere.

### 2.2.1. Fredric Jameson on critical national allegory

Frederic Jameson is in fact the person who in 1984 single-handedly revived 'national allegory' as a term for respectable literary criticism.<sup>13</sup> Jameson's article about 'national allegory' is "Third-World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism." The article generated a heated initial reaction but still seems relevant to contemporary literary and cultural criticism to critics of different ideological persuasions (from Marxists like Imre Szeman to liberals like Margaret Hillenbrand). Jameson's revival of the term and approbation of the form might seem ironic, given that Jameson is hardly a nationalist. Not surprisingly, he left 'national' out of the title. Why was he so gung ho about national allegory? The true function of national allegory according to Jameson, I would argue, is exposure: national allegorists expose the original crime of capitalism. Of the works Jameson studies, this interpretation fits Sembene Ousmane's novel best. In Sembene Ousmane's *Xala* [Impotence], El Hadji is a rich French speaking Islamic businessman in postcolonial Dakar who has stolen land from a tribal village. This is the original crime, the source of his wealth and, according to Jameson, the wealth of every capitalist. In the climax of the story, El Hadji is stricken with *xala* by the shaman of the village and eventually ritually humiliated. But because capitalism is a "global historical process" (Jameson, *Political* 226), while national allegorists may think they are addressing a local problem, they are actually grappling with a larger issue. In this way, Jameson brings national allegory into the Marxist fold. That capitalism is the main issue is only implicit in the other criticisms. In Lu Xun's "Yao" 藥 [Medicine], for instance, the people of China are consuming each other literally and symbolically.

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<sup>13</sup> The term 'national allegory' goes back to at least the 1840s, but for over a century after that time it got little positive press, for two main reasons. First, 'national' implies politics, and the *l'art pour l'art* crowd has sought to crowd politics out of 'art,' to deny art any socio-political function à la Kant. Despite the efforts of such critics as Lionel Trilling to allow politics into the shrine of art and criticism, the New Critics sought to avoid the taint of ideology and propaganda. My approach is frankly socio-political, and it seems to me that works of art can be about politics – they can even influence politics – while remaining themselves 'extrapolitical', an argument I develop below in connection with the political public sphere. Second, 'allegory' has a vaguely preachy sound to it. Allegory is supposedly obvious, for the *hoi polloi*, the uncultured public, in contrast to 'symbol,' which has an air of participation mystique – which is why Paul de Man related it to Nazism ("The Rhetoric of Temporality") – and semantic richness. In fact, these associations go back to the Romantics, specifically to Coleridge, who contrasted allegory and symbol and favoured the latter (Fried, "The Politics of the Coleridgean Symbol"). I think allegories can be thought of as structures of symbols, so there is no need to declare an allegiance to symbol or allegory.

On the literal level, the parents of a consumptive boy feed him the blood of an executed dissident, while on the symbolic level, the blood has become a commodity.

If all Jameson was offering was a tedious Marxist interpretation of ‘third world’ literature in terms of the centre and the periphery, the article would have bothered people less. The most interesting issue is what Jameson makes of the obviousness of national allegory in the third world. This obviousness, as well as the national obsession, is what turned off or bored the people, first world critics, to whom Jameson addressed his article (“Third World Literature” 65). Jameson’s answer is related to the public-private distinction. As I have discussed, the distinction is part of liberalism. The idea is that in the first world the division between the private, especially the familial, and the political has become radical. ‘First world’ people have depoliticized and psychologized (70) their private lives. Here we have the germ of, or perhaps a preview of, Jameson’s *The Political Unconscious*. The political in first world literature has gone underground, as it were, and a hermeneutic manoeuvre is consequently necessary to exhume it (79). But that is not how it is in the ‘third world’, where what we call the ‘private’ and the ‘public’ still interpenetrate, where there is still a feeling of community, of the totality. Hence, in the third world, the hermeneutic manoeuvre is unnecessary, because the mutual reflection of the ‘two planes’ is obvious, because the process of privatization and psychologization is incomplete, because the individual is not radically autonomous. This is why Jameson seemingly preposterously claims that “*the story of the individual is always an allegory of the embattled situation of the public third-world culture or society*” (69). This is also why the eating (吃) of the blood of a political dissident is, in Jameson’s view, so powerful, because it polysemically brings together the sexual sphere, the familial scene of eating dinner together, a soteriological ideal gone horribly wrong of curing the ills of society through a community of blood, and the political dimension, because of the dissident source of the blood soaked up in the *mantou* (饅頭), a sign that resistance has been recontained.<sup>14</sup>

While I do not swallow Jameson’s argument whole – I think a strict separation of public and private does not make allegory impossible, and that the reason why third-world intellectuals have been nationally obsessed is because they have felt themselves to be on the receiving end of

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<sup>14</sup> Easy to misunderstand, Jameson’s assertion that *the story of the individual is always an allegory of the embattled situation of the public third-world culture or society* relates to the distinction between symbol and allegory. Notice that Jameson does not say that the individual is a symbol for the nation but rather that the individual’s story is allegorical. There are always others in an individual’s story. A symbol is a monad, and in allegory symbolic monads are brought together into a narrative. In other words, interpersonal relationality is always present in the allegorical story of the individual. Symbol is to the autonomous individual as allegory is to the individual in society.



modernity – I am in my own way following him in insisting that the story of the aboriginal maiden is always an allegory of the situation of a settler society. This is not because I share Jameson’s disapproval of a “great split” (69) between private and public. I think it is a good idea, that extrapolitical privacy should be defended. But I also believe that as we live our private lives we should remain aware of how we come to have what we have as well as of how others are living. This for me is Jameson’s most important point, that the prosperous bourgeois may be well-meaning but, as he pursues his leisure activities and spends time with his family, unconscious of the totality implicit in his private life. Jameson’s proposed ‘cognitive mapping’ or “mapping of the totality” (“Third World Literature” 88) is directed at the blithe first world bourgeois who does not know how his consumer goods are made, mine at the settler who believes he is a native.

I describe Jameson’s concept of national allegory as critical, but it also might be described as ‘realist’, because his paradigm is the exposure of the true reality hidden by capitalist mystification. However, characterizing Jameson’s approach is not that simple. As a Marxist Jameson is a utopian. Critical national allegories – as satires – participate in the Progress of History:

All satire...necessarily carries a utopian frame of reference within itself; all utopias, no matter how serene or disembodied, are driven secretly by the satirist’s rage at a fallen reality. (“Third World Literature” 80)

The exposure of reality is the first stage in its redemption. To non-Marxists, Jameson will seem like a constructivist.

### 2.2.2. Benedict Anderson and Doris Sommer on constructive national allegory

Doris Sommer has distanced herself from Frederic Jameson and associated herself with Benedict Anderson, who did not himself use the term ‘national allegory’, but whose ideas about imagined community-building novels relate to national allegory (Sommer, “Love and Country” 113). For this reason, I begin my exploration of Sommer’s ideas of constructive national allegory through Benedict Anderson.

Anderson’s thesis, a truth now universally acknowledged, is that print-capitalism is indispensable to the formation of national ‘imagined communities’. As Anderson puts it, Benjamin Franklin’s occupation – newspaper publishing – was as important as his politics in the formation of a self-consciously American public (*Imagined Communities* 61). In addition to the newspaper, Anderson also emphasizes the role of novels in nation-building. In *Imagined*

*Communities*, he discusses *Noli Me Tangere*, the anti-colonial Filipino polymath José Rizal first novel (26-36). *Noli* was published in 1887 before the possibility of national disillusionment – about a decade before the Spanish colonial regime was replaced by an American puppet administration. In Anderson’s account, by reading about the party-goers in the symbolically national mansion in *Noli*, readers realize that they and all of their anti-colonial compatriots are simultaneously waltzing through time as a group. They experience narrative “simultaneity” (Anderson 24-25). They now have a sense of *we*, based partly on the cognitive effects of reading.<sup>15</sup>

Working from Benedict Anderson, Doris Sommer has taken the term ‘national allegory’ from Jameson, critiqued a straw man version of Jameson’s argument, and reinterpreted the term from a constructivist perspective. She argues Jameson’s idea of allegory, based on the metaphor of exposure or “revealing” (Sommer, “Love and Country” 122) is strangely more Medieval than dialectical. The national novels Sommer studies, by contrast, set dialectical principles in motion as they write ‘imagined communities’ into existence. ‘Imagined community’ is Benedict Anderson’s term; Sommer proposes her own: ‘foundational fiction’. Like Anderson, she seems to see something positive in nationalism, in birds of a feather flocking together. Also like Anderson, she is well aware of the potential for nationalism to turn ugly in populism or even fascism.

In her monograph *Foundational Fictions*, Sommer studied novels written by Latin American literary lions or even political leaders in the mid-nineteenth century and put on national school curricula in the twentieth. The stories Sommer studies are ‘romantic’. In comparison to Benedict Anderson, who emphasizes the cognitive effect of national novels, Sommer pays more attention to the emotional impact. Sommer explores eros as a foundation for polis. Sommer theorized the national romance as a “gymnasium of the heart” (*Foundational Fictions* 54). The aim of the writers she studies was to synthesise domestic agonists: liberals and conservatives or bankers in Lima and miners in the Peruvian Altiplano are united in a single solidarity, whose internal contradictions are equalized in the illusions of love.

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<sup>15</sup> Anderson has a *huge* following in literary and cultural studies. His term ‘imagined communities’ is certainly new, but the idea behind it is not. Anderson’s notion that ‘print capitalism’ is a crucial factor in the development of communal consciousness is problematic. As I shall discuss below in the section on the public sphere, according to Habermas, the press arguably did not in Europe become ‘for profit’ until after 1830. Print is hardly always used for capitalist purposes. Franklin et al. did promote American nationalism because they thought it would sell. At any rate, ‘homogenous, empty time’, a notion Anderson takes from Walter Benjamin, is a new conception of time – time filled up with events – and print may have helped to plant that conception cognitively. Thus Sommer takes Anderson as a cognitive constructivist.

Why marital love rather than martial glory? In other words, why romance rather than epic? Borrowing an idea from Georg Lukács, Sommer argues that a “dearth of productive events” (“Allegory and Dialectics” 72) to celebrate in epic mode led the would-be nation-builders of Latin America to romance. The great events in a national epic, in Sir Walter Scott’s *Waverley* for instance, sometimes really happened, though they are usually somewhat romanticized in the retelling. They are historically particular. By contrast, the events in bourgeois romance are putatively universal: love at first sight, first kiss, marriage, consummation, childbirth, and so forth. The events may not necessarily happen in that order; but a ‘natural’ progression is suggested. Mapping romantic moments onto national milestones is an attractive option for writers and readers alike. Romance is a flexible template for national narration that can be adapted to local circumstances by liberal nationalists around the world.

A national novel should give the reader a sense of a national ending, a sense of stable resolution, but according to Sommer a dialectical war of the sexes is waged in the foundational fictions both intra-textually – within each novel – and then inter-textually for more than a century, from the 1840s to the 1960s. In the mid-nineteenth century, at a time when opposing political interests had to cooperate by forming coalitions, active women and passive men interacted in the foundational fictions. In an age of populist resistance to the American aspiration to hemispheric hegemony in the early twentieth century, the masculine asserted itself. In “Populism as Rhetoric,” Sommer explores the populist use of the genre of romance to generate anti-American sentiment and support for the local caudillo or strongman, who was often worse than the Americans or secretly in bed, as it were, with the Americans. In these stories, two men, representing American hegemony and its local rival, compete for the affections of a girl, who symbolizes land and people. By the 1960s, the girl has become even more passive. She is in fact now abject, and the man is rather less heroic than he seemed in the 1910s. In the 1960s, in what has come to be called The Boom, writers like Gabriel Garcia Marquez, Carlos Fuentes, and Mario Vargas Llosa, all of whom were Marxists in the 1960s, rather than returning to tell the true story that had been misrepresented, instead parodied or ironized the foundational fictions. There is no longer any romance; the central event is a rape. By this point, Sommer is no longer talking about constructive national allegory but about realist or critical national allegory, which reveals

what the national allegorists of earlier generations had sought to conceal, the failure of what they had sought to construct.<sup>16</sup>

At the end of Sommer's work, which traces a single (though multinational) context over time, we get a better idea of the relation between critique and context than we do in Jameson. In Jameson, it seems as if writers respond to a historical process or situation, which of course they do. But in Sommer we have the added dimension of imaginative works responding to earlier works. We have the suggestion of a dialectic of "allegory and counter-allegory" (Mufti 23). In the kind of counter-allegory Sommer discusses, the allegory countered is not a specific work, as in rereadings of major canonical works like John Coetzee's *Foe* (of *Robinson Crusoe*) or Timothy Findlay's *Headhunter* (of *Heart of Darkness*). Rather, what is reread is simply the trope – the relation between woman and man as nationally symbolic of the relation between people and state or between land and people.

My discussion of the work of Jameson and Sommer has destabilized the way I contrasted these two critics at the beginning of this section. In my account Jameson started out as a critical realist and was revealed as a constructivist; while Sommer, a self-declared constructivist, ends the story she tells about the national allegories of Latin America with critical works. With this in mind, we might conceive of both critics as discussing a dialectic of national appearance and reality, of collective construction and critique.

I have compared Jameson and Sommer in terms of a distinction between realist and constructive national allegory because I am discussing a very similar dynamic in this dissertation. I discuss both constructive and critical national allegories authored by both the state and private agents. Each of the three main chapters – chapters 5 to 7 – of my dissertation includes both constructive and critical works, in order to suggest a lively national debate. Debate brings us to the forum of national allegory and to Jürgen Habermas's concept of the public sphere.

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<sup>16</sup> Irwin's *Mexican Masculinities* was a conscious critical response to Sommer's thesis about the importance of romance in Latin America. In Mexico, asserted Irwin, homosocial narration was "much more" important:

[Octavio] Paz's well-known allegory of *mestizaje* proposes Mexicans to be the sons of the rape of indigenous Mesoamerican cultures by the invading Spanish conquistadores. This allegory coincides with much Mexican literature whose heroes are frequently young mestizo men, Mexico's sons. Moreover, it is not romances between white Spanish *galanes* [gallant romantic heroes] and lovely indigenous maidens that symbolize national unity, but much more commonly homosocial bonds among young Mexican men, *los hijos de la Chingada*. (xi).

Paz had written that Mexicans were *los hijos de la Malinche*, sons of la Malinche (see Irwin, "Ramona" 551). Irwin traces the response of the homosocial metaphor to historical developments, including the end of the Diaz dictatorship. Naturally, focusing on a single nation-state allows Irwin to go into greater depth and expose some of the generalizations of Sommer's work.

### 2.2.3. The public sphere as the forum of national allegory

In this section I propose the public sphere as the forum of national allegory. Theorization of the public sphere must now engage the work of Jürgen Habermas. In the public sphere, according to Habermas, ‘private’ concerns are publicized and disinterestedly discussed in a public but also extrapolitical sphere where ‘rational-critical’ debate is carried out. Habermas later rephrased this idea in terms of ‘communicative rationality’, where the individuals of the public reach an action-coordinating understanding through communication.

Before examining the nature of the public sphere in more detail, one should keep the other major concept of the forum of cultural production, Pierre Bourdieu’s ‘field’, in mind.<sup>17</sup> In the ‘literary field’ in Pierre Bourdieu’s sense, a myriad individual literary agents jockey for position, for what Bourdieu calls ‘cultural capital’, which may accrue in inverse proportion to economic capital; what the bourgeois aesthetically prizes is the kind of kitsch the *artiste* despises (“The Field of Cultural Production, or: The Economic World Reversed”). I have two problems with Bourdieu’s theory. Bourdieu’s theory can rationalize critique: an author may realize that a humanitarian or critical ‘pose’ (or the daring lack thereof) will help him accrue literary capital. This is certainly part of critique. But critique is also the expression of conscience, not a topic about which Bourdieu has much to say. There is also the problem of the level of rationality achieved by the agent in Bourdieu’s sociology. Bourdieu offered a synthesis to the thesis of the Enlightenment subject who makes rational decisions that change his situation and the antithesis of what Anthony Giddens has called the “structural dope” (*Social Theory* 52), the automaton who blindly follows rules in structuralist explanations of social behaviour. Bourdieu’s name for the impetus of behaviour on this middle path is the disposition (see “Structures, *habitus*, practices” 52-65 and “The Logic of Practice” 80 in *The Logic of Practice*). Dispositions, bundled together, form a *habitus*. A Bourdieuan agent, however, is not enlightened enough to distantiate himself from his *habitus*, and Bourdieu tends to see intellectuals in the academic and literary fields as reinforcing the prevailing social ideology without being aware of doing so, because they are so busy accruing social or cultural capital (*Homo Academicus*).

One might presume that Bourdieu was realistic and that Habermas by contrast was impossibly idealistic about the behaviour of self-interested individuals, but Habermas was well

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<sup>17</sup> Bhabha offers an alternative conception of the forum of literature – “a theatre of war” (“Of Mimicry and Man” 157), but his theatre is undertheorized in comparison to Bourdieu’s field and Habermas’s public sphere, as is Edward Said’s “battleground” (*Culture and Imperialism* xiii). Bhabha and Said were both channelling the Fanon of *Damnés de la Terre*, which stressed the necessity of violence.

aware of the fallibility of his ideal. In *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Habermas emphasizes that the public sphere was initially a bourgeois institution that formed in the eighteenth century. The public sphere was born of struggle, the bourgeois or liberal struggle with autocracy for a private sphere off limits to state control. The liberals articulated their demands for private rights in public. The struggle in the seventeenth century was for religious freedoms, in the eighteenth for democratic representation and commercial *laissez-faire*. In the public sphere, the interests of the bourgeoisie tended to be represented, but somehow, the public sphere served the cause of truth in addition to the cause of the bourgeoisie. Such was the situation for almost a century. In the 1830s and 1840s, and especially after the failure of the proletarian revolutions of 1848, however, there was according to Habermas a general coarsening of the public sphere. Formerly it had been the preserve of the well-educated bourgeois elite, but now it was a commons to which a larger public had access. Furthermore, the public sphere began to be colonized at this time by the private sphere on the one hand and the political sphere on the other. The profit motive took over the newspapers, which became commercial ventures rather than ‘publications of conscience’, and the state began sullyng the public sphere with propaganda. The state of the contemporary public sphere is, in Habermas’s own terms, often “deplorable” (“Public space” 10). Habermas defends the fragile integrity of the public sphere in addition to being its historian.

But Habermas is not always depressing about the prospects of democracy, because alongside a ‘species interest’ in technical mastery, which can lead to the scientific search for truth as much as to instrumental rationality in the socioeconomic sphere, there is an equiprimordial “constitutive interest in the preservation and expansion of the intersubjectivity of possible action-orienting mutual understanding” (*Knowledge and Human Interests* 310). Habermas would in *The Theory of Communicative Action* go on to argue that communicative rationality encompasses instrumental rationality. Action directed by communicative rationality is communicative action. Commercially and politically inspired representations may be described as informed by instrumental or strategic rationality. Habermas’s typology of rationality and action, fully elaborated, has not just two but four terms: instrumental, normative, dramaturgical, and communicative. Normative rationality appeals to ethical considerations. Dramaturgical reason involves presentation or disclosure. Communicative reason is all inclusive (*Communicative* 82-101). The problem of course is not everyone is sincere about communication.

Habermas wants the communicative to be foundational, but the instrumental or strategic interest – whether political or economic – keeps colonizing the public sphere.

To uphold democratic communication, Habermas proposed, in *Moral Consciousness and Communicative Action*, a canon of ‘discourse ethics’. The content of the canon will not concern us, but Habermas’s use of the word discourse is very pertinent. Habermas made a distinction between discourse and critique. He wrote that he would

...speak of “discourse” only when the meaning of the problematic validity claim conceptually forces participants to suppose that a rationally motivated agreement could in principle be achieved, whereby the phrase “in principle” expresses the idealizing proviso: if only the argumentation could be conducted openly enough and continued long enough. (*The Theory of Communicative Action* 42)

Discourse involves repair of kinks in the communicative process, which has a telos of mutual understanding and agreement. Habermas contrasts discourse with critique, to which people resort “when arguments are employed in situations in which participants need not presuppose that the conditions for speech free of external and internal constraints are fulfilled” (42). Critique draws uncommunicative commercial or political representation into the fold of discursive communication.<sup>18</sup> The applicability of these theoretical reflections to my dissertation in particular should be obvious. I have contrasted construction and critique in national allegory. As nationalist appropriations of aboriginal images for nation-building are instrumental, they can be critiqued on that basis.

All the same, the applicability of this architectonic tower of terminology to literature remains undemonstrated. In this regard, we can first ask whether Habermas has made a place for the literary in his theories. Habermas does indeed address literature as well as literary criticism. He terms the field of literary publication and reception the ‘literary public sphere’ (*literarische Öffentlichkeit*). Habermas, however, touches only briefly, in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (49-50), on novel reading as conducive to the formation and reproduction of the bourgeois order, including a new notion of domesticity. The domestic sphere became a zone of pure humanity, where people share their hearts and minds and become audience-oriented but also dialogue-oriented, used to both speaking and to listening. The literary public sphere is an outgrowth of this zone. Problematically, Habermas describes the literary public sphere as a “precursor” of the ‘political public sphere’ (*Structural* 29), the latter being the agency that wields “a discourse of reason *on* and *to* power, rather than *by* power” (Taylor 233), the agency that

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<sup>18</sup> ‘Discourse studies’ often assumes a quasi-Foucauldian definition of discourse. I return to this issue in Chapter 3.

challenges the legitimacy of authority disinterestedly. But literature's place, if any, in the political public sphere is left unclear. In *The Theory of Communicative Action*, Habermas again dealt with the nature and function of literary representation, but here he problematically limits literature to a 'dramaturgical' (lyrical?) expressive capacity. Literary production, for Habermas, would seem to be dramaturgical action, characterized by an excess of rhetoric and a dearth of argumentation. In this regard, scholars have tried to rectify what they perceive as the 'rhetorical' inadequacy of Habermas's theory of communicative action. As Aresh Abizadeh has noted of Habermas's 'constitutional patriotism', which dispenses with 'the flag' and founding moments in history, Habermas seems to mistrust rhetoric and to assume that rational argumentation should predominate in communicative action, giving his conception of communication a distinctly colorless quality and leaving it "motivationally impotent" ("On the philosophy/rhetoric binaries" 445). Abizadeh has argued that rhetoric should be given a place in the public sphere as a *technê* or art of argumentation. If a convincing account of literature's amenability or relevance to argumentation could be given, then, it would seem, literature might have a place in the public sphere.

Here I turn to David Colclasure, who wrote his doctoral dissertation on 'literary rationality' as a distinctive form of communicative rationality. Colclasure reminds us that for Habermas the communicative includes the dramaturgical, which is to say the predominantly rhetorical (39). Colclasure shows that Habermas is aware of the descriptive and normative functions of literature, in that he assumes that literary language serves a late-Heideggerian function of 'world-disclosure', in which the word 'world' "encompasses the objective, social, *and* subjective worlds" (115). Literature, it would seem, is not just about expression for Habermas. Going beyond Habermas, Colclasure's own aim is to make "the expressive, descriptive, and normative functions of literary practice evident" (347). He proposes that works of literature aspire to literary rationality. A work of literature, or an author through a work, makes a complex claim of intersubjective authenticity (127), a claim that may be negotiated.<sup>19</sup> It is in the process of 'negotiation' of this claim of literary authenticity that, to use Charles Taylor's term, literature's 'extrapolitical' political relevance is established, for "its negotiation of novel ways of regarding the objective, social, and subjective worlds...makes it into a unique

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<sup>19</sup> The claim of authenticity is a validity claim. The validity claim is a notion in Habermas's 'universal pragmatics', which he had developed in the 1970s. There are four validity claims: every utterance claims to be accurate, ethical, authentic and meaningful, and can be contested on these grounds. We contest validity claims to secure our species interest in communication.



contributor to the public sphere at large and the political public sphere specifically” (Colclasure 348).

Colclasure brings his own theorizing down to earth. He applies his adaptation of Habermas to the fiction of the German Reunification. Colclasure can be said to be looking at national allegory. He offers explicitly allegorical interpretations of works by two East German writers written before and after 1989. Pertinently, one of the writers Colclasure studied, in a story written before 1989, has been accused of making a reactionary political appeal by characterizing the relation between individual and state in parental terms. This writer’s claim of literary authenticity has been challenged by critics who claim she was sucking up to the state. Less pertinently, Colclasure has selected semi-autobiographical serious works of fiction that slip from I to we. In this way, the experience of the protagonist becomes allegorically ‘paradigmatic’, which is to say intersubjectively meaningful to a certain group of people, for former East Germans or perhaps for all Germans. Through allegorical readings of these texts, Colclasure argues “the thesis that the literary use of language and the language of literary criticism, *when* it is communication-oriented, operates according to an aesthetic rationality that not merely supplements but is a necessary component of the reasoning practice of the well-functioning public sphere” (60).

In this dissertation I serve as the sole arbiter of ‘literary authenticity’ in most cases, because of the sort of research I did, because I sought out works of literature rather than attending to the reception of a few major works. More problematically, most of the works I examine are about an other, typically a Formosan aboriginal maiden, who is often represented for the sake of a patently instrumental motive – assimilation or exploitation. Can Colclasure’s theory of literary authenticity really be adapted to the study of the kind of power-differential characteristic of representations of aborigines in a settler society? I think it can. Most of the works I critique are not ‘communication-oriented’. But the communicative tendency of the public sphere remains. Pseudo-communicative representations are, sometimes over an agonizing long process of decades or centuries, exposed, their claim of literary authenticity challenged. I focus more on this process of inauthentic construction and critique than does Colclasure. Perhaps only in my reading of Wu He’s novel *Yusheng* in Chapter 7 might I broach the issue of intersubjective literary authenticity. In this regard, I will here append a few remarks about ways in which pseudo-representations are critiqued through rewriting.

#### 2.2.4. The modes of national allegory

Consider again the rape that, according to Doris Sommer, rewrote the national romance in Mexico. The rape occurs in Carlos Fuentes's Boom-era novel *La Muerte de Artemio Cruz* (1962). The rape was allegorically the less-than-glorious reality of national history. In a symbolic sense, Fuentes's representation was the truth of national history, though in reality, of course, there was no such rape. It is a fictional rape. A historian of a certain ideological bent might deliberately use the vocabulary of ravishment, but one would not find such a scene in a work of history unless the rape was historically significant. This kind of rhetorical vocabulary is subject to abuse, which is why Habermas is suspicious of it. But even in the event of abuse, the rhetoric can be challenged, the representation renegotiated.

Theoretically fortified by Habermas, I turn to Homi Bhabha, who studies representation *qua* representation. In "Of Mimicry and Man" Bhabha writes,

If colonialism takes power in the name of history, it repeatedly exercises its authority through the figures of farce. For the epic intention of the civilizing mission...often produces a text rich in the traditions of *trompe-l'oeil*, irony, mimicry and repetition. In this comic turn from the high ideals of the colonial imagination to its low mimetic literary effects Mimicry emerges as one of the most elusive and effective strategies of colonial power and knowledge. (122)

I will discuss the concept of Mimicry in Chapter 3; I cite the passage here because Bhabha Bhabha suggests a process reminiscent of the dialectic of construction and critique I elaborated in my discussion of national allegory. When the epic style is mimicked, it may well become comical or farcical. Repetition seems to engender a change in attitude.

In this dissertation, I will be using the term 'mode' as a quality of national allegory related to the attitudes of the author and reader. This definition is close to Northrop Frye's use of the term in *Anatomy of Criticism*. Though Prince describes Frye's conception of mode as "a fictional world considered from the point of view of the hero's power of action in relation to human beings and to their environment" (54), clearly the attitudes of writer and reader to the characters in question are also included. I will be assuming that certain modes tend to be used in constructive works while others are more appropriate to critical works. Some modes – in particular the melodramatic, epic, and romantic – are more constructive. Melodramatic, epic and romantic, which I related above to hierarchical, homosocial and heterosexual narration, are usually considered genres, but I have avoided the term genre because I am more interested in aesthetic effect (in relation to authorial or textual intent) than in generic features. As modes,

these three terms have the following meanings in this dissertation: melodramatic as unambiguously moralistic and didactic, epic as homosocial, action-packed and public, romance as heterosexual, action-packed and private. Mode is also, of course, a term from music. Melodrama, epic and romance are the major modes of nation-building narratives. The minor keys, as it were, in a critical writer or filmmaker's repertoire include the tragic, nostalgic, bathetic, comic, parodic, ironic, gothic, horrific and – perhaps the most appropriate of all – the grotesque, a word cognate with 'grotto', as it was in caves that in the popular Chinese imagination aborigines have often been imagined to have resided. In this way, the obfuscation of the original melodramatic, epic or romantic utterance must first be penetrated through parody rather than simply replaced by a positive or realistic presentation. The parodic work is what Kwame Anthony Appiah called a "space-clearing gesture" (*In My Father's House* 149). It is deconstructive, but it clears a space for reconstructive, communicative representation.

### 3. Conclusion to Chapter 1

Homi Bhabha offers a way to tie together the main ideas of this chapter. Although, in his article on mimicry, Bhabha's hostility to colonialism is thinly veiled, in being a postcolonialist he seems to ride on the liberal nationalist bandwagon. His is also a narrative nationalism. In his introduction to the famous volume *Nation and Narration*, he wrote that "a new state [like India in 1947] requires more than rituals and administrative routines to forge a national identity; it also needs a narrative" ("Narrating the Nation" 34). While he may be a nationalist, and a nation needs a state, Bhabha is neither a statist nor an ethnicist. He is a liberal. The whole thrust of his thought is towards plurality; he is against pedagogy and for performativity, anti-spoken and pro-speaking, anti-written and pro-writing. His conception of nationalism is pluralistic, including marginal voices – the voices of all who are to be nationally domesticated – in the ongoing narrative creation of the nation. In this way, the problem of how to avoid a national allegory that naturalizes and helps to reproduce an unjust social order is solved or at least partly mitigated, because "national identities that emerge through open processes of debate and discussion to which everyone is potentially a contributor" are not the same as "identities that are authoritatively imposed by repression and indoctrination" (Miller 39). We may, to use a trendy phrase, still legitimately talk about a 'politics of the representation' of the colonial, in Bhabha's case, or the aboriginal, in my own; but we must still specify our concept of politics. My

assumption in this dissertation is that any politics of representation has a communicative tendency.

## Chapter 2: Domestic discourse in national allegory in Taiwan

Having laid the intellectual groundwork for this dissertation in Chapter 1, I now return to the beginning and examine nationalism and national allegory in Taiwan.

### 1. Nationalism in China and Taiwan

In discussing nationalism in Chapter 1, I began with a consideration of social structure and moved on to kinds of nationalism. Similarly, in this section I start by considering the applicability of the liberal model to postwar Taiwanese social structure and then proceed to nationalist discourses in postwar Taiwan. The purposes of this section are to give the reader a sense of what ‘domestication’ meant socio-economically in Taiwan and of how people talked about the nation. These two purposes together relate to the normative claim that a nation that is socio-economically unjust is a ‘nation’ in name (or in discourse) only.

#### 1.1. The structure of national society in postwar Taiwan

In my general discussion of liberalism at the beginning of Chapter 1, I proposed a four-part analysis of the structure of society into political and public, private and intimate spheres, the ‘public sphere’ being a relatively late addition to liberal theory. As I noted, this analysis grew out of an earlier distinction between *oikos* and *polis*, which explains the polysemy of the word private – both the market and the family. I noted further in this regard that the family as a non-productive sphere is a comparatively recent development in western political thought and society, dating to the eighteenth century or later. In traditional China, there were two pairs of terms. The first pair is *nei* (內) and *wai* (外), literally inside and outside respectively, the former subordinated to the latter, though not to the extent that *oikos* is subordinated to *polis* for Aristotle. *Nei* is inside the household, while *wai* is outside the household. It is often said that women handle the inner sphere while men handle the outer sphere (女主內，男主外). But *nei* did not include what we now call the private sector. The terms *gong* (公) and *si* (私) correspond roughly to the English terms public and private, because *sishi* (私事), private matters, included commerce, which was traditionally disparaged in China (as it was in the west until the eighteenth century), and because *gong* implies both state activities and the ‘openness’ (公開) on which the ‘public’ sphere (公共領域) depends.

But this analysis, to the extent that it holds at different times in the west over the past few centuries, may not hold in Taiwan in the first few decades of the postwar period. Most scholars think that a public sphere only emerged in Taiwan in the late 1970s, at a time of nascent democratization. I discuss this issue below in the section on national allegory in Taiwan. In this section I will focus on the separation of private life and the private sector, which did not begin to occur until the 1970s and which relates to the emergence of liberal capitalism.<sup>1</sup> This issue is important in this dissertation, as I shall try to indicate with examples along the way.

The private sphere in postwar Taiwan was ‘petty-capitalist’, a term I borrow from the anthropologist Hill Gates. When people talk of the role the Taiwanese (rather than mainlander) SMEs (small and medium-size enterprises) or family factories played in the Taiwanese economic miracle, they are talking about the petty-capitalist sphere. According to Gates, the Taiwanese petty-capitalists could not fight state power openly, but they did resist. Domestication at the time meant penetrating the whole country with state power on the Leninist model, to turn the party into the state and the state into the nation. The economy was dominated by massive state-owned enterprises until the 1980s. Because of growing Taiwanese petty-capitalist resistance this effort was only ever partly successful. The form petty-capitalist resistance took was the avoidance of state extraction and regulation. This is how Gates, a Marxist historian, tells the story, and it is likely what Taiwanese nationalists would like to believe, but the state probably welcomed the contribution of the SMEs while keeping them small on purpose.<sup>2</sup>

In this petty capitalist order there was not yet a sharp distinction between the private sphere – the market – and the intimate sphere – the family. The family was still a unit of production. Employees at SMEs, especially the small ones, were usually kin. There were SMEs all over the island, which eased urbanization pressure. It seems to me that beginning in the 1970s the liberal distinction between private life and the private sector becomes more and more applicable, as production and family were gradually separating, as people became more and more likely to work for strangers when they traveled to the cities. At about the same time, the capitalist presence in Taiwan increases, initially foreign multinationals but also local companies. Intellectuals at the time, particularly Chen Yingzhen, interpreted the growth of capitalism in

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<sup>1</sup> During the Republic, the KMT sought to reform Chinese society to conform to the liberal model. Human trafficking was outlawed, as was polygamy. The conjugal family was supposed to be a unit of consumption not production. See Susan Glosser’s book *Chinese Visions of Family and State* for the putative link between the nuclear family and the ability to modernize in Republican writings.

<sup>2</sup> Especially to thwart the development of an independent labour movement, a function of the capitalist mode of production. See Minns and Tierney, “The Labour Movement in Taiwan” (especially the section entitled Ethnicity and Industry) for discussion.

terms of dependency theory, but, more and more, capitalism was indigenous.<sup>3</sup> Though the household in *Lao Mo de dierge chuntian* (1984), a film I discuss in Chapter 5, is *petit bourgeois* in Hill Gates's sense, by the 1990s more and more families were non-productive.

In a petty capitalist order, some fare worse than others – women, for instance, “whose connections to the means of production were indirect and who were thus less insulated than men from the market, were especially likely to be commoditized” (*China's Motor* 95). Petty capitalist household patriarchs treated women as labour and traded them as commodities depending on labour need and the labour market (“The Commoditization of Chinese Women”). Gates notes in this regard that prostitution was a common form of female commodification and that prostituted prostitutes in postwar Taiwan, as opposed to prostitutes who entered the profession of their own accord, were usually prostituted by their parents (*China's Motor* 183). Gates found a news report of parents selling a daughter into prostitution in the early 1990s (*China's Motor* 199). However, even by the 1970s, the practice had become less general because

Under conditions of harsh competitiveness, petty capitalism can have a meaner face, a “limited-good” or zero-sum-game mentality. Under the expanding conditions that have prevailed in Taiwan since the 1960s, however, one constantly senses a cheerful spirit of cooperation within the competition.” (*China's Motor* 242)

Since the 1970s, the capitalist sphere has gradually grown and the petty-capitalist sphere has slowly shrunk, and it has become gradually less conscionable for parents to sell their children. Unfortunately, it became less general for all groups besides the aborigines, whose prostitution became a cause for hysteria in the 1980s and 1990s, as I show in chapters 6 and 7. The aborigines were not members of the families running the SMEs and were typically incorporated into the economy in a capitalist fashion. We should not imagine that they were naked and helpless in their domestication, but the transition to modernity was rather more challenging for them.

Having dealt with the structure of society and economy and how people actually entered it, I now turn to how people talked about the nation.

## 1.2. Nationalist discourses in postwar Taiwan

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<sup>3</sup> Developed in Latin America in the 1960s, dependency theory was a theory of intentional underdevelopment. The idea was that the United States exploited Latin American labour and resources while intentionally keeping Latin American countries underdeveloped so that they would not become competitors. In the case of Taiwan, there was a certain truth to the charge of dependency. Japanese companies manufacturing in Taiwan were loath to let Taiwanese companies acquire patented technology. There were technology transfers, but usually what was transferred was outmoded. The other side of the story is that dependency led to development and ultimately interdependency.

Nationalist discourse in postwar Taiwan originates in the late Qing or even earlier. The origin of nationalism in China has been debated in terms of modern or ethnic. Most scholars accept some version of the culturalism-to-nationalism hypothesis (Townsend, “Chinese Nationalism”) and date Chinese nationalism to the time of Sun Yat-sen. There are others, especially Prasenjit Duara (*Rescuing History* 51-82), who quibble with this idea and find the origins of Chinese nationalism in the Song dynasty or even earlier, though in his book Duara was arguing against confining history to a national frame.

Sun Yat-sen’s nationalism (see Bergère) was originally monoethnic or Han and later became multiethnic when the prospect of losing the territory mainly occupied by the four other major ethnicities in the Chinese nation – the Manchus, the Mongols, the Tibetans, and the Uighurs – loomed. In other words, Sun revised his view when he realized that most of the territory of what is now the PRC was not primarily Han.

Whatever the content of his nationalism, he was so much a nationalist that he denounced cosmopolitanism. While today this stance would seem right wing, it is understandable considering Sun’s contemporary context. Sun lived at a time when elites were afraid that China would cease to exist, losers in the international struggle for domination of the earth. This was more than ‘national shame’. This anxiety at the possibility of being dominated or swallowed up culturally or even territorially is a feature of many third world nationalisms. It was a part of the Republican Chinese experience and to some extent of the postwar Taiwanese experience. Nationalism in China was partly an attempt to manage modernity, to domesticate rather than be domesticated.

We can discuss nationalism in postwar Taiwan in terms of ‘discourse’. Here I borrow the term from Gunter Schubert. Schubert does not define the term but is not using it in a Foucauldian or a Habermasian sense. He seems to mean simply ‘a way of talking with real world consequences’. Schubert divides nationalist discourses into three types, Chinese or Taiwanese ethno (-cultural) nationalism, multi-ethnic nationalism – the theory of the four main ethnic groups (四大族群) – and political or state nationalism, the last type being in some cases indistinguishable from liberal democracy. Below I offer a more historical account than Schubert provides, though I nonetheless retain his categorization. This dissertation will assume the following periodization: Chinese ethnonationalism from 1945 on, Taiwanese ethnonationalism from the 1940s on, but unmentionable in the public sphere until the 1980s, postmodern multicultural nationalism from the 1990s.



Chinese ethnonationalism in postwar Taiwan was state policy and consisted of assimilation, modernization, and tradition. Implemented in the 1930s, the nation-building project of linguistic assimilation and cultural homogenization was only successful after the war. It consisted of a National Language (國語) program and a relentlessly Sinocentric perspective in the classroom and the newspaper. It was also modernist in the sense of being state-led. It involved a project of modernization and development. This state-promoted nationalism was also traditionalist, though the ‘tradition’ in question was highly selected or ‘constructed’. This marriage of the modern and the traditional may seem like a ‘paradox’ (Chun, “Tradition and Modernity in Nationalist Taiwan”), but it is common throughout Asia and may in some sense be common to all nationalisms, as all nationalisms are ‘modern Januses’ (Nairn), both prospective and retrospective. The high point of Chinese ethnonationalism in Taiwan was 1966, the centennial of Sun Yat-sen’s birth, the year of the Cultural Revolution on the mainland, and the year of the KMT’s answer to the Cultural Revolution, the Cultural Renaissance Movement (CRM). The CRM was the Leninist party-state’s attempt to totally control the process of identity formation in Taiwan, to permeate the society with state-defined culture. As Allen Chun puts it, “[i]nstitutions like the school, media, family, military and workplace played important roles in diffusing this culture from the realm of high politics to the level of everyday routine” (“From Nationalism to Nationalizing” 49). This kind of description makes Chinese nationalism on Taiwan in the 1960s sound rather Foucauldian. The culture that was supposed to permeate society was a stripped-down version of Confucianism, emphasizing social authority and filial piety (忠孝). As the latter term suggests, the CRM was an “attempt to extend feelings of familial solidarity to the level of the nation” (60).

The state adopted a much more moderate stance well in advance of the lifting of martial law in 1987. By 1981, Chiang Kai-shek had been dead for six years. Massive urbanization had begun a decade earlier. The state had eased off its hardline assimilationist stance assumed in 1966. The new program the state, under Jiang Jinguo’s direction, introduced in 1981 was called ‘cultural development’ (文化建設) and involved community formation and cultural creation, with a focus on the arts. Some of the state promotions, like Peking opera, were obviously designed to promote Chinese ethno-nationalist identity, and some of the restrictions, like limiting Taiwanese content on television, were still hardline; but overall the new approach was more liberal. Later in the decade, several years before his death, Jiang Jinguo, reflecting publically on his four decades of residence on Taiwan, said, ‘I am Taiwanese too’ (我也是台灣人). Whether

or not his claim is acceptable to Nativists and Localists, it is based on a liberal conception of national belonging, in that it reflects an individual identification rather than an inherent identity.

Taiwanese ethnonationalism was first expressed in the 1940s by Liao Wenyi. Dai Guohui has traced the rise of Taiwanese identity to the late 1940s, as a reaction to the incompetent and brutal governance of Chen Yi, though Dai Guohui, not being a Taiwanese ethno-nationalist, describes the process as a “pseudo-ethnicization” (see Schubert for discussion). A foundational text in the development of Taiwanese ethnonationalism is Su Beng 史明’s *Taiwan ren sibainian shi* 台灣人四百年史 [The four centuries of the history of the Taiwanese people], an account of Taiwanese suffering under successive colonial regimes published in Tokyo in 1962. For most of the postwar period, Taiwanese nationalism in Taiwan was the love that dared not speak its name. In the 1970s, as part of the Dangwai (黨外) political movement, out of which in the 1980s coalesced Taiwanese nationalist discourse and eventually, in 1986, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), intellectuals researched Taiwanese history, literature, language, and activism as a branch of Chinese history, literature and activism (Xiao, *Huigui xianshi*). In Taiwan, Gellner’s ‘potato principle’ was a sweet potato principle: in the 1970s, during industrial deepening, Nativists harked back to an age when the Taiwanese people lived closer to the land than did the mainlanders. In the 1980s, more radical figures differentiated Taiwanese from Chinese and tried to claim nationhood for Taiwan on the basis of the pioneering experience. Hsiao A-chin, in *Contemporary Taiwanese Cultural Nationalism*, has studied the “role played by such humanist intellectuals as writers, artists, historians, linguists” (14) in the process of Taiwanese national identity formation. Through the 1990s, social scientists took popular opinion polls asking people whether they were Taiwanese or Chinese or both, and the percentage of people claiming Taiwanese identity rises through the decade. Mark Harrison, in his book *Legitimacy, Meaning, and Knowledge in the Making of Taiwanese Identity*, has criticized this social science work for making the positivist assumption that there really was something called Taiwanese identity to study, rather than Taiwanese identity being partly constructed by research and by the ‘questionnaire situation’. At any rate, by the 1990s, people had more identity options than before, and, as Allen Chun has pointed out in his article “Fuck Chineseness,” identity was more and more a matter of identification after personal reflection than of inherent qualities, more a matter of choice. Even though some Taiwanese nationalists claimed a lineage or racial basis for the Taiwanese nationality (see Shen Jiande) based on the mixing of settlers from Fujian and Siraya aborigines in the seventeenth century, with a few drops of Dutch blood to spice the stew, the

individual decided for him or herself whether to take this kind of discourse seriously. The racist discourse is not mainstream, but the mainstream Taiwanese political discourse from the 1990s to the present has been less than ideal. It has been both populist and exclusionary. A common political slogan is ‘love Taiwan’ (愛台灣), and the insinuation that the KMT and the mainlanders do not love Taiwan is often in the air.

As an antidote to ethno-nationalist excess, there is another discourse that came out of the Dangwai/DPP nexus, the discourse of the four great ‘ethnic’ groups (四大族群), namely the Aborigines (lumped together as a single group), the Hakka, the Taiwanese, and the Mainlanders, emerged. Though group belonging is not a matter of choice in this discourse, its pluralism is a contrast with the old homogenizing Chinese ethno-nationalist discourse. But have we witnessed the “loosening [of] the nation-state link” (Hughes, “Postnationalist Taiwan” 70) in Taiwan? This seems to be an overstatement, and Christopher Hughes, writing in 2000, might now have reconsidered his stance after eight years under Chen Shuibian. Ethnonationalism is alive and well in Taiwan. At the same time, there are political and cultural signs that Taiwan is developing into a liberal democracy. First, there has been a liberalization of the public sphere and a growth of civil society. David Schak has recently claimed there has been an improvement in ‘civility’ (“Civility in Taiwan”). Though Taiwan has not outgrown the clientelistic political machine that the KMT built over several decades (Stockton, *Clientelism*), democratic institutions have become more robust. Second, culturally, one measure of a state’s postmodernity would be the degree to which culture is considered detachable from politics and open to change. People in Taiwan are now free to claim whatever cultural identity they wish, though such claims will not necessarily be taken seriously – identity is not purely a matter of identification – nor are they always sincere. Culture is now thought of as responsive to individual creativity. These are indeed positive signs, but on the other hand there are many disturbing issues, of cultural “survival” (Taylor, “The Politics of Recognition” 118) and of the commodification of culture, of aboriginal cultures in particular, an issue I discuss in Chapter 3.

This typology of nationalist discourses in Taiwan matters in this dissertation, in that in the three main body chapters, two deal with Taiwan under Chinese ethnonationalism, while a third deals with Taiwanese ethnonationalism in tension with multiculturalism and what I will describe as a territorial or environmental nationalism.

In Chapter 1, I related nationalism to national allegory. Below, I relate nationalism in Taiwan to national allegory in Taiwan.

## 2. The national family in China and Taiwan

In this second and final section of Chapter 2, I discuss the way the nation has been metaphorically and narratively imagined in China and Taiwan.

In China we would expect ‘nation’ to be understood in familial terms. There is in traditional China neither a Plato to radically reengineer the social order nor an Aristotle to devalue family in favour of political life. Mencius taught people to treat non-family members with an affection different in degree not in kind.<sup>4</sup> In the first lines of the *Daxue* 大學 [Great Learning], ordering a family is a training ground for governing a state. Family was a cornerstone of Neo-Confucian philosophy. Family in socio-political Chinese philosophy has always had a positive resonance. Why is a difficult question, well beyond the scope of the present study, but one would guess that the ancient Chinese and the modern liberals and nationalists embraced family for similar reasons. They likely assumed that kinship is the foundation of social order. More idealistically, they dreamed of creating a good society. The emphasis on family was not just elite. It was also popular, as the common phrase ‘all men are brothers’ (四海皆兄弟) suggests. It is no surprise, then, that the family metaphor would root in the discourse of Chinese nationalism. The word for country in ‘Chinese’ is literally ‘national family’ or ‘national home’.<sup>5</sup>

Not surprisingly, families featured in national narratives of the Republican era, when self-consciously national narration emerged in China. It is not possible for me to inquire into in what senses earlier ‘allegories’ can be considered ‘national’, but we should ask whether the term ‘national allegory’ applies to the literature of the Chinese republic. Nobody in the Chinese speaking world, neither writers nor critics, thought in terms of ‘national allegory’ until Frederic Jameson in 1984 published his article, which included criticisms of Lu Xun’s writings, on the topic. But the preoccupation with ‘nation’ had been noted much earlier, most famously by C. T. Hsia, who wrote of an “obsession with China” in his ground-breaking book on modern Chinese fiction, published in 1971. Chen Yu-shih’s book on Mao Dun, *Realism and Allegory in the Early Fiction of Mao Dun* assumed the applicability of the term allegory to a Chinese Marxist writer obsessed with nation. Chen published his book in 1986 but did not mention Frederic Jameson in

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<sup>4</sup> 老吾老以及人之老，幼之幼以及人之幼。(Mencius 1.1).

<sup>5</sup> The folk etymology of the Chinese term *guojia*, or ‘country as family,’ explicitly relates nation to family. The original sense of *guojia* was *guo* plus *jia*. A *guo* was a feudal territory larger than a *jia*. In a way, though, the original *guojia* was a family, because in the Former Han dynasty the first Han emperors enfeoffed family relations. The polity may have been a “vast extended household” as early as the Western Zhou (Roberts 17), but only the political elite would have seen it that way.

it. In his lengthy introduction to a reedition of C. T. Hsia's *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction* (xvii-xxxv) in 1999, David Der-Wei Wang notes the applicability of Jameson's paradigm to Republican fiction, and its similarity to Hsia's own paradigm (xxiii-xxv) despite the opposing ideological and critical backgrounds of the two scholars. Wang seems rather weary of the idea of national allegory and in his own way is trying to get past the obsession with nation. Personally, I think it is still important, especially if applied to domestic relations between dominant groups and subalterns. It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to provide a general and original account of national allegory in Republican China and related scholarship. In the next few paragraphs, I can only suggest the changing importance of different types of familial relations, the parental, the fraternal and the connubial, corresponding to the larger categories I termed hierarchical, homosocial and heterosexual and related to the genres of melodrama, epic and romance in Chapter 1.

Family is indeed an important metaphor in this body of cultural production. To begin with, the paternal idea is prominent. Sun Yatsen was the 'national father' (國父), as the Qianlong emperor had been the father-and-mother of the people. We might expect an emphasis on parental narration, given the importance of the father-son relation and of the concept of *xiao* (孝) or filial piety in traditional Chinese socio-political thought and social practice. But many of these works that treated the relation between father and son as nationally symbolic were authored by anarchists or socialists and not by nationalists. One of the major works, by Ba Jin, is *Jia* 家 [Family] (1933). The family in Ba Jin's novel is dysfunctional, ferociously autocratic, a symbol of 'feudal' China in need of democratic reform.

There were also homosocial national narratives, both socialist, in writings about revolutionaries, and nationalist, especially during the war of resistance against Japan. Mao Tse-tung was a great admirer of the first half of the *Shuihu zhuan*, the romantic part about the outlaws coming together into a band. Homosocial narration continued in the PRC, in stories about collective industry or about keeping the frontiers free from Russians and capitalists. But not surprisingly, the state put a cap on homosocial endeavour in cultural production, lest it get out of hand. In Meng Yue's account, the state restrained masculine resistance by promoting an overpowering maternal image ("Female Images and the National Myth").

Given women's changing status in the Republic, it is not surprising that gender relations would become a focus of attention at the time and get related to national concerns, not to say that

they were not a focus of attention in traditional China.<sup>6</sup> I have mentioned Glosser's book on the belief that national strengthening and family reform were linked. There is a lot of contemporary critical interest in gender relations in national allegory in republican China.<sup>7</sup> A typical scheme has been noted by Perry Link in popular literature (*Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies* 196-235), of a woman representing China and a pair of men wanting to take her down the roads of nationalism or socialism respectively. Either way, marriage meant one man and one woman. There are works that are constructive and critical from both nationalist and socialist perspectives. A particularly interesting example of the use of gender in constructive and critical nationalist and socialist writing has been studied by Lydia Liu, who has written one of the most influential articles about Republican national narration, "The Female Body and Nationalist Discourse." In this article, Liu argues that in *Shengsi chang* 生死場 [Field of Life and Death] the writer Xiao Hong rewrote her lover Xiao Jun's anti-Japanese national allegory *Bayue de xiangcun* 八月的鄉村 [Village in August] by changing the identity of the rapist. In *Bayue de xiangcun*, a Chinese woman is raped by a Japanese soldier. Given the foreign presence in China during the Republican era, it is not surprising that the protagonists in national narratives would represent members of different nations. By contrast, *Shengsi chang* is 'domestic'. In Xiao Hong's novel, a Chinese woman is raped by a Chinese compatriot. Xiao Hong's novel is a work of socialist critique.

### 2.1. 'National allegory' in Taiwan

To begin with, there is one main Chinese national narrative and a couple of Taiwanese national narratives in postwar Taiwan.

The Chinese national narrative outlined the past, present and future of the Chinese nation on Taiwan. According to the Chinese national allegory promulgated in Taiwan, the Taiwanese people were Chinese, and the Chinese people were all 'children of the Yellow Emperor' (黃帝子

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<sup>6</sup> One of the issues I have had to bracket in this dissertation is to what extent the relation between male and female was in traditional China ever used allegorically for the relation between state and society, as assumed in my allegorical schema. Tani Barlow, who has written an article related to the topic – "Theorizing Women: funu, guojia, jiating" – writes elsewhere of Ding Ling's writing that "gender has entered the primary relation of state and citizen, breaking all historical precedent" ("Introduction" to *I Myself am a Woman: Selected Writings of Ding Ling* 16). In other words, Barlow also brackets the issue. Gender is an issue in Chinese socio-political philosophy. In terms of yinyang thought, the state was yang or masculine and society was yin or feminine. It may have entered traditional literary production as a socio-political metaphor, perhaps in particular in *Shuihu zhuan*.

<sup>7</sup> For instance, Shuqin Cui's *Women Through the Lens: Gender and Nation in a Century of Chinese Cinema* and J. Liu's *Revolution Plus Love*.

孫). They had been humiliated by the Western powers and Japan from the 1840s, and by the Communists during the Chinese Civil War from 1947 to 1949. They were now in exile on Taiwan, but they had a ‘sacred’ mission: to fight Communism and retake the mainland. The authorities were well-aware that retaking the mainland was impossible, but for the sake of social control the myth continued to be disseminated until the 1980s, by which time it had become open to parody. Before this time, any public questioning of the myth was dangerous.

The Taiwanese national narrative, which draws primarily on Su Beng (史明), is a postcolonial history of a suffering people who had endured periods of Dutch, Spanish, Qing, Japanese, and Chinese rule. A geographical determinism was emphasized in the early 1990s, since which time Taiwan has often been said to have a ‘maritime culture’ (海洋文化). But in the emphasis on maritime culture is a stress on action rather than simply passion. Thus, the book *Xinxing minzu* 新興民族 [A New Rising Nation], ghost-written for DPP candidate Xu Xinliang’s 1996 presidential campaign, by which time the possibility of becoming postcolonial from the Taiwanese perspective seemed very real, was supremely self-confident, portraying the Taiwanese people as adventurous entrepreneurs descended from pirates who had the courage to brave the Taiwan Strait and set up factories in mainland China.<sup>8</sup>

That these narratives are both ethno-nationalist may be surprising given the ‘ideological’ left-right split in Republican China. But the fact is that except for the 1970s, when prominent Nativist authors embraced socialism, the issue of social justice has been subsidiary to ethnic antagonism in postwar Taiwan. Injustice tends to be seen as ethnic injustice, as when, for instance, Taiwanese nationalists complain about mainlander monopolization of socio-political capital. The KMT and DPP are not publically represented in a way that draws out any difference in social policy. Indeed, they have both talked a neoliberal discourse for over a decade. It is partly this dualistic ethnic obsession that has driven me to write this dissertation on the Formosan aborigines.

In addition to these three major political national narratives, a vast number of films and fictions produced in Taiwan since 1945 can be described as national allegories. To some critics who are uncomfortable about the presence of politics in ‘art’, notably C. T. Hsia, the volume of production has seemed regrettable. Hsia lamented the ‘obsession with China’ of Chinese writers

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<sup>8</sup> These entrepreneurs were ironically the DPP’s main supporters and would remain so for the following decade. The Taiwanese gentry were co-opted by the KMT in the early 1950s, when they exchanged land for shares in government corporations. They tend to vote blue, to support the KMT even today. What is less certain now is the support of overseas Taiwanese entrepreneurs (台商) for the DPP.

in the twentieth century, implying that they would write better books if they cared less about politics and wrote about the universal problems of the individual. The flood of national allegories since the rise of Taiwan consciousness in the early 1980s has not abated, and there now seems to be an “obsession with Taiwan” (Hillenbrand 638). I see the obsession as potentially productive, as it counteracts pervasive selfish individualism. It offers a challenge to liberalism. Liberalism is a “fighting creed” (Taylor, “The Politics of Recognition” 120), but liberals do need to consider how the individual ‘groups’.

Only two scholars writing in English, Christopher Lupke and Margaret Hillenbrand, have explicitly responded to Jameson’s article on national allegory in as much as it relates to Taiwan, and I will discuss their works below, along with an article by Jameson on Yang Dechang’s film *Kongbu fenzi*. But the scholarly literature on texts from Taiwan that could be considered instances of ‘national allegory’, in the sense that the protagonist stands for the nation or constituencies therein, is voluminous.<sup>9</sup> Scholars have looked at colonial sufferings and postcolonial yearnings of the Taiwanese people under Japanese colonialism (Yee; Chang; McArthur) in the 1940s, the Civil War (Wang Dewei; Lupke on Wang Lan) in the 1950s, the mainlander sense of displacement and exile on Taiwan (Lupke on Wang Wenxing and Bai Xianyong) and the true nature of Civil War era nationalist ‘heroism’ exposed (Riep on Wang Wenxing) in the 1960s, the effect of economic ‘dependency’ on Taiwanese society (Kinkley) as it underwent urbanization (Hillenbrand’s “GIs...”; Riep on Chen Yingzhen) in the 1970s, the corrosive effects of the capitalist miracle (Liao on Li Ang) and exploitative, overly rapid ‘development’ under the KMT’s direction (Rojas) in the 1980s, and attempts to destabilize patriarchal narratives of the nation by proposing alternatives from feminist and homosexual perspectives (Chiu and Chu respectively) in the 1990s.

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<sup>9</sup> See especially the volume *Writing Taiwan*, edited by David Wang and Carlos Rojas, particularly Carlos Rojas’s “Li Yongping and Spectral Cartography.” See also Chiu Kueifen’s “National Construction and the Identity Politics in Contemporary Taiwanese Women’s Fiction,” Chu Wei-Cheng 朱偉誠’s “Queer(ing) Taiwan: Sexual Citizenship, Nation-Building or Civil Society,” Margaret Hillenbrand’s “GIs and the City: Images of Urbanisation in some Postwar Taiwanese Fiction” and “The National Allegory Revisited: Writing Private and Public in Contemporary Taiwan,” Frederic Jameson’s “Remapping Taipei,” Jeffrey Kinkley’s “From Oppression to Dependency: Two Stages in the Fiction of Chen Yingzhen,” Liao Chaoyang’s “History, Exchange, and the Object Voice: Reading Li Ang’s *The Strange Garden* and “All Sticks are Welcome in the Censer of Beigang,” Christopher Lupke’s *Modern Chinese Literature in the Postcolonial Diaspora* and “Wang Wenxing and the ‘Loss’ of China,” Marshall McArthur’s *Cultural Identity Debates in Taiwanese Literature after the Nativist Period*, Steven Riep’s *Writing the Past*, Wang Dewei’s “Reinventing National History: Communist and Anti-Communist Fiction of the Mid-Twentieth Century,” Angelina Yee’s “Constructing a Native Consciousness” and “Writing the Colonial Self: Yang Kui Texts of Resistance and National Identity,” and June Yip’s *Envisioning Taiwan*.



No general study has been done on national narration, national allegory, or foundational fictions in postwar Taiwan. June Yip's book promises a lot but only deals with Hou Xiaoxian's films. In my opinion, no one has read widely enough to undertake such a study. Perhaps no one could, and a study covering the Taiwanese national imaginary in film and fiction since the 1940s would be too diffuse. All the same, it seems potentially productive to make some remarks about the use, both constructive and critical, of hierarchical, homosocial and heterosexual modes of national narration in postwar Taiwan.

Hierarchical discourse seems strangely absent from the national allegories themselves. While the KMT put the national father and Chiang Kai-shek up on pedestals, particularly in the education system, in cultural production people were more subtly reminded that the state was teacher or parent by an authoritative moral voice issuing from a minor older character at the end of the work.<sup>10</sup> Wang Wenxing's novel *Jiabian* is the most famous exploration of hierarchical familial narration, but his perspective is hardly statist. The problem in the story is of an absent father and a son who fails to find a local substitute for his mother, a situation in which Christopher Lupke has seen national significance ("Wang Wenxing and the 'Loss' of China"). There has been rather more homosocial narration, but its meaning depends on whose pen it flows from. Homosocial endeavour features prominently in the nationalist anti-communist literature of the 1950s. For Li Qiao to write about the struggle of a United Front of Hakka and Aborigines against the Japanese in *Hanye*, on the other hand, was rather more sensitive, as it was extra-governmental and could easily turn into critique in the manner of Robin Hood, as I will discuss at the end of Chapter 3. In my reading and viewing, in state-supported narrative propaganda romance was the narrative mode of choice. Since there was no longer a war on, it seemed best to domesticate the population. An early example of this approach was the film *Huangdi zisun* 黃地子孫 [Children of the Yellow Emperor] (1955). Despite the title, the film is a romance, in which pairs of teachers, the man a mainland and the woman a Taiwanese, get married and go on a tour of south-western Taiwan. Eight years after the 228 Incident, the state was promoting romantic reconciliation and domestic tourism.

I now turn to the three scholars who have explicitly dealt in English with the issue of national allegory in Taiwanese cultural production. Whereas almost all the national allegories I

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<sup>10</sup> In this regard, many writers argue that Confucianism, especially the inculcation of obedience in the traditional family, was an important factor in the economic miracle. Minns and Tierney dispute this culturalist argument, describing it as 'the missing *x*' that explains the miracle.

study in this dissertation are ‘domestic’ as opposed to ‘international’, Lupke, Jameson and Hillenbrand all situate Taiwan in a geopolitical context. More pertinently, all look at texts which figure the nation as female.

Christopher Lupke used Jameson’s concept of ‘national allegory’ in his doctoral dissertation in a criticism of Bai Xianyong’s short story “Youyuan jingmeng” 遊園驚夢. Madame Qian’s situation represents the embattled situation of the Chinese people in exile. Bai Xianyong is trying to do the work of mourning the loss of China (164), symbolized for Madame Qian by memories, of a “tryst with a lover back in Nanking” (166) and of romantic and political intrigues that led to loss. Here the geopolitical angle is not economic, a matter of the global capitalist mode of production, as in Jameson. Rather, the issue is intellectual subalterneity, of the global ideational economy, of Bai Xianyong as a Chinese writer influenced by German intellectual trends, both literary Nativism and Freudianism, which Lupke links via the idea of the uncanny.<sup>11</sup>

Frederic Jameson’s article “Remapping Taipei,” which in 1995 (as Chapter 2 of *The Geopolitical Aesthetic*) updated ‘third world’ national allegory to 1986, the year of Edward Yang’s *Kongbu fenzi* [The Terrorizers]. Jameson embraces dependency theory (119; 145; 146), hence the emphasis of the American presence in the Jameson’s reading of the film, though dependency might well have been on the filmmaker’s mind. In his earlier article “Third-World Literature,” Jameson had dealt with a Spanish work from the 1880s, Chinese fiction from the May Fourth era and African literature and film from around 1960. Of these works, only in the novel by Galdos, *Fortunata y Jacinta*, is a woman – as an object of desire for two different social constituencies – a national figure. Jameson for the most part assumes that in *Kongbu fenzi* the male “technocrat and a bureaucratized professional” (145) of a protagonist, Li Lizhong, is the national representative, but towards the end of the article he considers *Kongbu fenzi* as “a film about women’s destinies” (151). The film after all employs what Jameson calls synchronous narrative simultaneity.<sup>12</sup> Each of the multiple protagonists could be regarded as a national figure. Problematically Jameson describes the situations of the women in the film – the nostalgic, alcoholic mother who locks her daughter, a biracial prostitute (the White Chick) in the room

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<sup>11</sup> Lupke, by the way, is not arguing that Bai *is* a subaltern. Indeed, Lupke’s is not an “influence study” (136). He reads Freud’s essay on the uncanny as a “parallel text” (138). If the idea of repression inspired the story, Bai is not to be seen as slavishly copying but creatively appropriating.

<sup>12</sup> SMS is modernist and goes beyond the thesis of the omniscient narrator and the antithesis of the isolated subjectivity by introducing multiple simultaneous narrative perspectives.

when she leaves, and Li Lizhong's wife the aspiring novelist – as “fundamentally spatial” (151). It is indeed striking the way that the White Chick is forcibly locked up, domesticated one might say, but I see her as very much her own creature, very much a free agent, a temporal being rather than simply a spatial one. The White Chick is indeed a sign of American presence in Taiwan, but it is striking that she is domesticated not by a foreigner but by her own mother, suggesting a domestic dimension of domestication, by which I simply mean that if the Americans domesticate Taiwan, there is also an internal domestication, of local women by a local authority.

Hillenbrand's article, published in 2006, responds directly to Frederic Jameson's “Third World Literature” but does not mention “Remapping Taipei.” The article is entitled “The National Allegory Revisited: Writing Private and Public in Contemporary Taiwan.” Hillenbrand's title promises more than her text delivers. It is not ultimately clear what her take is on Jameson's contrast between the modern west, in which private problems are psychologized, and modernizing Taiwan, in which perhaps there is still a sense of community, especially among those who grew up in the *juancun*, the mainlander military dependents' villages, and remember a way of life that is “gradually vanishing” (651). Hillenbrand's argument is “that the incompatibility that is frequently assumed / between postcolonial allegory (which strives to subject the imperial past to alternative interpretation) and its postmodern counterpart (which is wary of any attempt at truth) is intriguingly resolved, at least to some extent, in the cultural production of contemporary Taiwan” (634-635). This dialectic is reminiscent of my own terms of reconstruction and critique, but, as I discussed in the Introduction, the term ‘postcolonial’ is still problematical in Taiwan. Hillenbrand looks at the significances of the *juancun* in Zhu Tianxin's story “Xiangnian wo juancun de xiongdi men” 想念我眷村的兄弟們 [Remembering my Brothers from the *juancun*] (1989), a post-Jamesonian production likely written as a ‘national allegory’. In Hillenbrand's account, the *juancun* becomes a “multiple microcosm” of “the Chinese mainland that is lost forever to the KMT, the mainlander community on Taiwan, the operation of KMT power, and Taiwan itself under KMT rule” (652). The main symbol in the story is the sexual abuse of a little girl, Little Ling, at the hands of one of the older men in the community in a shack as suggestive of exploitation and of human rights abuses carried out behind closed doors. Clearly, it is a critical work, not a work of nationalist domestication. It is disturbing, though, the extent to which Little Ling's experience is one of passion, as if the people were completely at the mercy of the state; though at the end of the story ‘Little Ling’, and all the little girls she represents, manages to get herself safely married, often to a Taiwanese man.

## 2.2. The public sphere as the forum of Taiwan national allegory

I now turn to a consideration of the public sphere as the forum for Taiwanese national allegory. Zhu Tianwen was, it seems to me, participating in a national debate in the public sphere on the place of women and mainlanders in Taiwanese society. But we might simply assume she was simply trying to accumulate ‘cultural capital’, a notion of Pierre Bourdieu’s.

Bourdieu’s ‘field’ is now a prominent paradigm in Taiwanese literary studies due to the influential researches of Yvonne Chang. Chang’s latest work is *Literary Culture in Taiwan: From Martial Law to Market Law*. In it she studies the institution of literature in postwar Taiwan, drawing on Pierre Bourdieu and Raymond Williams, who have been prominent in her earlier work (*Modernism and the Nativist Resistance*), as well as Peter Hohendahl, who wrote *Building a National Literature* in Germany in the nineteenth century. This work represents Chang’s growing opposition to ‘thematic’ studies in favour of research on literature as an institution. She wants to go beyond the older paradigm of the individual writer finding the narrative form for his message or for the issue he wants to ‘thematize’. Systemic considerations are now primary. Following Bourdieu, we are to imagine writers taking positions based on considerations of social, economic, political and cultural capital. In Chang’s earlier work, Raymond Williams’s categories of ‘alternative’ and ‘counter-hegemonic’, corresponding, according to Chang, to the Modernists and the Nativists, gave some sense of the critical undercurrent of the Martial Law era. But in her latest work Chang does not make it clear where, from martial law to market law, between political and economic logic, a voice of conscience speaking out about a certain issue is to be heard or how any literary authenticity might come out of the system. Perhaps during the heyday of the *fukan* in the 1980s? No, for in those days middle class concerns filled the public sphere. Chang does not pursue this point, though in other writings she clearly believes in the possibility and importance of critique (“The Meaning of Modernism” 176). The systemic approach is not the problem. A more Habermasian approach to literature as an institution might be helpful. One of Hohendahl’s main influences, for instance, was Habermas, and the public sphere is a major issue in *Building a National Literature* (44-103).<sup>13</sup> Chang cites Habermas but her approach does

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<sup>13</sup> Other scholars present less self-consciously theorised and rather more rowdy ideas of the forum of literature. Margaret Hillenbrand, for instance, characterises of the forum of ‘national allegory’ in the 1980s and 1990s as a site of “struggle between competing national allegories.” Another turn of phrase seems inspired by the jostling brutality of frontier settlement society, as each national allegory “stakes its claim to the Taiwanese self in different ways” (“The National Allegory Revisited” 639). Human interaction in any context may be partly a rough and tumble affair, a competition for limited resources, a matter of rushing in to stake claims; but it is more than that.

not seem particularly Habermasian. Perhaps she is more pessimistic about the public sphere than Habermas. Or perhaps I am more optimistic than Habermas or Chang.

At any rate, one needs to ask whether the concept of the public sphere is at all appropriate for Taiwan in the postwar period. Li Dingzan's introductory essay in *Gonggong lingyu zai Taiwan* 公共領域在台灣 [The Public Sphere in Taiwan] argues that society in the 1950s was "totally politicized" (Li 30) and dates the emergence of the public sphere to the 1970s. Wu Jiemin sees the Nativist literary debate in 1977 and 1978 as the first significant public debate in postwar Taiwan (Wu 316).<sup>14</sup> In this account, Taiwan in the 1970s and 1980s was like Western Europe in the eighteenth century, as a literary public sphere became the forum for a bourgeois fight for liberal freedoms. Before this time, according to Li and Wu, the so-called public sphere was dominated by the state. After this time, especially by the 1990s, as in Europe from the 1830s, the public sphere in Taiwan was colonized by the private sphere, by the profit motive.

My take on this issue is that the public sphere is not all or nothing. We can talk in terms of bourgeois public spheres, emerging public spheres, or even alternative public spheres and analogues in other times and places. In doing so we would be drawing on Habermas's theorization of the basic human interest in communication. One cannot assume that people were generally uncritical or even that political dominance was total in the 1950s, a decade when intellectuals like Lei Zhen were campaigning for democracy, only that any would-be critic had to be delicate. In the 1960s, state control of the public sphere was if anything tighter than it had been in the 1950s; but as I shall argue in Chapter 5 there are texts from the 1960s in which state competence is questioned allegorically.

Allegory is important in regard to the veiled nature of the critique of this period. Allegory is not only a form for the presentation of the national self, but also an approach to expression to which critics could turn when censorship was tight in the 1950s and 1960s. Allegory has had a similar function in China since ancient times. Censorship is one of the main reasons for saying one thing while meaning another. The following parable was recorded in the first century B.C.E.:

Jianzi of Zhao raised an army to attack Qi. He announced that anyone in the army who dared to remonstrate with him would be put to death. An armoured officer named Gonglu looked over at Jianzi and laughed loudly. Jianzi asked, "Why are you laughing?" Gonglu replied, "I just remembered something funny." Jianzi demanded an explanation on pain of death. Gonglu replied that one day his neighbours, a husband and wife, were going to work in the fields, when they saw the girl of the mulberry grove. The husband pursued but could not catch her. He

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<sup>14</sup> See Xiao's *Huigui xianshi* for discussion of earlier more modest debates from the late 1950s.

returned and his wife, incensed, left him. Gonglu said he was laughing at the husband because of the vanity of his desire. Jianzi said, “For me now to attack another kingdom would be to lose my own kingdom, which would be my own vain desire.” Thereupon he disbanded his army and went home. (*Shuoyuan* 說苑 [Garden of Persuasions], ctd. in Fuller, *An Introduction to Literary Chinese* 117; translation mine)

The parable inside the parable does not quite match the political context of the parable. It is hypothetical. Jianzi has not yet attacked, while the husband in the parable inside the parable has pursued and lost both girl and wife. Here a subaltern (in the original sense of the word) speaks probability to power, but in a veiled way. Later on in Chinese history, there were official channels through which criticisms or suggestions could ascend through the bureaucracy, perhaps even reaching the imperial ear, and critics were thought to have a moral obligation to offer critique. This was a conduit of comment created by the state. But sometimes critical poems were written for elite distribution, not for submission to the emperor. Kang-I Sun Chang argues that in the Song dynasty allegory was a way for critics to make political comments without being explicit (373). With the rise of commercial publishing in the Ming dynasty, especially by the sixteenth century, there was the possibility of a *petit bourgeois* voice, more likely a gentry voice, in China advancing its own interests or perhaps even speaking truth to power. This is the time in which some modern commentators have been willing to stretch the definition of public sphere to allow China in (Rankin 160), though the issue of *Modern China* devoted to the public sphere and civil society in China, which includes Rankin’s article, neglects literary culture. This gap is partly filled in by Paul Ropp’s book on the *Rulin waishi*.

At any rate, I am not arguing that in the 1950s and 1960s in Taiwan allegory was always a safe way to express criticism. A perfectly innocent story may be subject to allegoresis, to overinterpretation, as in the case of the Popeye-landing-on-a-deserted-island newspaper cartoon that got Bo Yang imprisoned in 1967 (see Lancashire, “Popeye and the Case of Guo Yidong, Alias Bo Yang”). The authorities suspected Bo Yang of comparing Chiang Kai-shek to Popeye. Internationally, anything that in the least smacked of a critique of the KMT’s geopolitical status on Taiwan was likely to be squashed. Domestically, 228 and socialism were the main taboos. But an author who stayed away from these two topics was relatively safe, and allegory sometimes offered a way to be safely critical, especially allegories involving aborigines, who were, so to speak, out of the way.

What about the 1980s, when writers could be openly critical and when there was a more fully formed bourgeois public sphere? Why continue to write literature? Just to stake out

positions and sell as many books as possible? Why not just write letters to the editor or take to the podium and harangue the people? My tentative answer, following Colclasure, is that serious works of literature have a “productive ambiguity” (190). Works of literature and film tend to invite conversation rather than state conclusions, to give one a sense of the ambiguities and complexities of the issues. Many of the works I interpret in this dissertation are tendentious, but though the informing ideologies would be tedious in a newspaper editorial, they become more interesting in narrative form, especially when they are clothed in allegory. As for the 1990s, when, as Yvonne Chang has noted, literature’s “status” dwindled (*Literary Culture* 3) and works of literature were no longer as important in cultural debates, I think there were still a few good, and important, writers, of whom I discuss Wu He in Chapter 7.

### 3. Conclusion to Chapter 2

By way of conclusion, I now turn briefly to Li Yongping’s *Haidongqing* 海東青 (1992), because it is a national allegory, because it is the most baroque exploration of the domestication of women in connection with production and consumption in all of Taiwanese literature, and because a scene in it brings the Formosan aborigines into the discussion in a way that relates to my claim in Chapter 1 that women in the public sphere disturb the discourse of national domestication.

Carlos Rojas has written an explicitly allegorical interpretation of the novel, “Li Yongping and Spectral Cartography” (336). The allegorical reading is sanctioned by Li Yongping himself in the introduction to the 2006 reedition (iii). *Haidongqing* is about a Taiwanese man name Jin Wu with an American Ph. D. in hand who returns to Taiwan to teach at a national university. He spends most of his time feeling out the seedy side of urban life. He becomes a *flâneur* in a postmodern bohemia. Yet the novel is not Jin Wu’s story.

Like Xiao Hong’s novel *Shengsi chang*, the title of Li Yongping’s novel focuses readerly attention on the frame rather than on the action. Xiao Hong’s title figured China as a ‘field’ and directed attention away from the agency of the protagonists. A woman becomes abject in Xiao Hong’s work. She is raped, and her raped body is a metaphor for the national territory. Similarly, *Haidongqing* is a place. It is in fact the name of a city, a city ‘east of the sea’ (海東). Clearly, east of the sea is east of the Taiwan Strait. As Carlos Rojas points out, there is an explicit identification in the novel of female body and city, and of city and mainland China. Breasts are described as prominent ‘landmarks’ of the female body in the sequel to the novel (Rojas 324;

*Zhu Ling manyou xianjing* ch. 4), which map onto the landmarks of the city of Haidongqing, which in turn refer to famous sights or sites in mainland China. In this way the female body is both national personification and symbol of city and landscape at one and the same time, as in *Shengsi chang* and as in all the national romances I discuss in this dissertation. But unlike *Shengsi chang* the novel does not deny human agency, particularly women's agency. It is a story of women in the city.

Jin Wu spends most of his time wandering around with very young girls who have fallen into prostitution or are of danger of doing so. They are, like the raped woman of Xiao Hong's novel, on the edge of abjection. As in Zhu Tianwen's work, there is a disturbing and deliberate confusion of hierarchical and heterosexual narration in a fictional world in which parents cannot defend their children against the extra-familial elders who would abuse them. In Rojas's account, the fate of young girls becomes the allegorical fate of Taiwan, which has 'grown up' (i.e. modernized) too soon. There is indeed wide-scale sexualized child abuse in *Haidongqing*, in which Chiang Kai-shek seems to be implicated. Li Yongping seems to figure the Chiang project of authoritarian modernization as sexual abuse and as economic exploitation. Modernization would have happened naturally, it stands to reason, but Chiang accelerated the process. Though there are transnational Japanese sex tourists and black American gang rapists in the novel, most of the abusers or exploiters are Chinese, both Taiwanese and mainlander, both johns and pimps. It is more a domestic than an international national allegory. Chiang Kai-shek is himself a john. He is seen in the vicinity of a 'barber shop' on Changchun Road. One of the young girls opines to Zhu Ling, the heroine of the story, that Chiang might get his 'two little eggs' snipped off (*Zhu Ling* 341-342; ctd. in Rojas 341-342), which seems a kind of 'return of the repressed'. Local pimps pierce the ears of young girls and get them to take oestrogen pills to hasten sexual development. Penetration with the penis and piercing with the needle are identified, and both symbolize the process by which Taiwan's dictators have, by controlling the terms of economic 'dependency', catapulted Taiwan into a state of premature ruination.

Yvonne Chang has noted that the stance Li Yongping takes in the preface of the novel is one of "ultraconservative nationalism" (*Literary Culture* 205). In the preface of the first edition, the author figures Chiang Kai-shek as Moses leading the nationalists out of bondage. Moreover, Li Yongping reveals in the preface to the revised edition that he was funded by the newspaper *Lianhebao* [United Daily News], which is conservative and pro-KMT, while writing the novel (ii). A conservative nationalist would be expected to respond to this kind of social corruption



with great anxiety by condemning it or clamping down on it. Whatever Li Yongping's own convictions, that is just what his narrator Jin Wu does not do. The most he does do is tell Zhu Ling not to grow up so fast at the end of *Zhuling manyou xianjing* 朱鷄漫遊仙境 [Scarlet Roves in Faeryland] (1999), as if to tell her to remain domesticated a little longer. It is this kind of statement that leads Chang to argue that Li Yongping's work is "anchored in a coherent moral vision" (205). But fourteen hundred pages is rather a long time to wait for a coherent moral vision to be articulated.

The delay of the moral message might not necessarily be a moral failing. Whether or not Li Yongping is ultraconservative, his novel offers the reader a phantasmagoria of the private sphere. The novel is about young women entering the private sphere, about girls in public. It cannot be said that the novel makes it seem as if domestication is in the best interests of all young women. The narrator repeatedly catches creepy glimpses of shadowy mothers secluded from society sitting out the month (坐月子), drinking sesame oil chicken soup in postpartum centres. It is the young girls themselves who decide to take oestrogen supplements and get their ears pierced, out of a desire to be mature. Entering the public space and, in some cases, the market is therefore an expression of female agency. The girls do not know what they are getting themselves into. The world which they wish to enter is dangerous, full of traps for the innocent. They have to evade these traps themselves, without help from their parents, their teachers (like Jin Wu) or the state. But women's fate is not totally bleak. For some are not limited to a choice between domestication in marriage or prostitution. Some women manage to avoid the traps and discover other roles to play in society. One such woman is a certain aboriginal representative in the National Assembly.

Of all the local national allegories I have discussed in the present chapter, only *Haidongqing* may serve as a bridge to the Formosan aborigines.<sup>15</sup> The title of the novel, *Haidongqing*, recalls the popular song "Gaoshanqing" 高山青 [Mountains Green]:

Green mountains stand.

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<sup>15</sup> Li Yongping is from Sarawak. He relocated to Taipei for higher education in the late 1960s. His decision reflects the lack of options in for 'overseas Chinese' in Malaysia at the time. Li Yongping's early story "Lazi fu" 拉子婦 [Country Wife] deals with relations between Hakka settlers and the indigenous Dayaks on Borneo. The narrator's uncle takes a squaw to wife, begets three children upon her and abandons his wife and children when he has the opportunity to marry a girl from a respectable Chinese family. Though very little of Dayak society is suggested, aside from the detail of the communal longhouse mentioned by the narrator's mother, the story is noteworthy for the narrator's (and the author's) abhorrence of Chinese settler inhumanity to the indigenes. Another important novel dealing with the same material is Zhang Guixing's *Wo sinian de changmian zhong de nanguo gongzhu*, recently translated as *My South Seas Sleeping Beauty*.

Blue rivers rill.

Maiden of Alishan, as lovely as a stream.

Young man of Alishan, as solid as a hill.

高山青。澗水藍。阿里山的姑娘美如水阿。阿里山的少年壯如山。<sup>16</sup>

In Chinese, *qing* is associated with Nature (the ‘evergreen’ tree is the 萬年青) and with Youth (青春). It would stand to reason that the child or teenage prostitutes in the novel include some children of nature, aboriginal girls, because at the time Li Yongping was writing the novel in the late 1980s there was widespread reportage, mostly hysterical, about the prostitution of Atayal children.<sup>17</sup> But the ethnicity of the prostitutes in *Haidongqing* is not specified. There is only the single scene in which an aborigine appears. In this scene, a lady aboriginal assemblywoman, Jianxu Yuguai 簡許玉桂 by name, ironizes the ‘glorious restoration’ (光復) of Chinese rule on Taiwan, which she insinuates was more a plunder than a takeover (a 劫收 rather than a 接收). And she is not impressed with the KMT’s claim of national representativeness: “They pretend that this little island of ours represents all China! Shammers! Shammers!” (“Li Yongping and Spectral Cartography” 335; *Haidongqing* 495).<sup>18</sup> Carlos Rojas mentions the scene – it is thanks to him that I am able to mention it – but does not dwell on the particular force this criticism has coming from an aboriginal woman, a public representative speaking up for herself and her people in the public sphere, not the sort of pathetic figure we find in critical national allegories like the ones Lydia Liu and Margaret Hillenbrand studied. Rojas’s note on page 335 is the single reference to the indigenous peoples of Taiwan in *Writing Taiwan*, the most important volume in any language on national narration in Taiwan. This lack of critical attention in Taiwan to aboriginal representation is a *raison d’être* of this dissertation.

<sup>16</sup> It first appeared in the 1949 film *Alishan fengyun*. Teresa Deng (鄧麗君) made it famous again in the 1970s by singing it on NHK.

<sup>17</sup> In cultural production in the 1980s, aboriginal prostitution is an issue in Wu Jinfa’s “You yueguang de he” (1981), “Yanming de jiedao” (1983), “Anye de wu” (1984), and “Chunqiu chashi” (1988); in the film *Laoshi sikayeda* (1982), Wang Zhenhe’s novel *Meigui, meigui, wo ai ni* (1984), Lu Qiang’s “Liang ge baba” (1984), Li Qiao’s “Damalun Youmu” (1985), the film *Shizong renkou* (1987), and the film *Chunqiu chashi* (1988). Please see the appendix.

<sup>18</sup> Rojas translates ‘sham immortal’ (假仙).

### Chapter 3: Insisting on the indigenous: ‘Settler society’ as research frame

This chapter proposes the ‘settler society’ as a lens through which to see Taiwan’s cultural production and also examines the lens. There are three sections in this chapter. In the first two, I discuss the concept of the settler society and consider Taiwan as a settler society. The settler society framework has already been applied to Taiwan by historians and political scientists, but not yet by literary or film critics. In the third section I discuss the cultural production of settler societies. I relate my research to the existing scholarly literature on the representation of the aborigine in settler society, including the Formosan aborigine.

#### 1. Conceptualizing settler society

In most settler societies, there are aborigines, settlers or natives, and immigrants; but ultimately everyone is an ‘immigrant’. The meaning of ‘aborigine’ is relational. Aborigines are in many cases demographic minorities, as are immigrants, but aboriginal problems are different from those of immigrants. Many immigrants, after all, are relatively well-to-do, and for this reason do not suffer the same kind of discrimination that aborigines typically do. For the average bourgeois in the United States, Canada or Australia, the aborigine is outside of daily experience in the way that the immigrant is not. Aborigines can be considered ‘colonized people’ but are not typically so. Colonized people, after all, tend to remain majorities and have often become post-colonial, whereas aborigines have in most cases not. As Patrick Wolfe has put it, settlement “is a structure not an event” (“Structure and Event: Settler Colonialism, Time, and the Question of Genocide” 103).

#### 1.1. Colonies of settlement and exploitation

That aborigines and colonized peoples who have become postcolonial have different experiences or fates relates to the difference between a colony of settlement and a colony of exploitation (Osterhammel 10-11). In a colony of settlement the labour of the ‘natives’ is not needed. Settlers usually bring their own labour, black in Brazil and convict in Australia. In a colony of exploitation, on the other hand, the colonizer relies on the productive capacity of the colonized. The historian who has written most intelligently on the notion of the settler society, Donald Denoon, elaborates on a “world-wide pattern” (*Settler Capitalism* 2) of settler society formation, in which the difference between colonies of settlement in the Americas and of

colonies of exploitation such as India is the ‘mode of production’ of the indigenes: nomads and hunter-gatherers were relatively easy to either sweep away or incorporate in various ways into burgeoning settler populations, while settled peoples were hard to dislodge (29).

Especially since 1945, the colonies of exploitation have decolonized, whereas the colonies of settlement have remained settler-dominated and will, with the exception of South Africa, which was not heavily settled comparatively speaking, remain settler-dominated for the foreseeable future. Latin America is unique in the degree to which interracial mixing took place; but even today there are racio-social gradients in Latin American societies, where the rule is, broadly speaking, the more white the more privileged (Gott, “Latin America As a White Settler Society”). Only in highly indigenous countries like Bolivia can we speak of indigenous nationalism, though a more or less superficial Mestizo nationalism is general throughout the region.

One might argue that the child of a settler becomes a native son or daughter and is no longer a settler. Such a person would usually be called a colonial or a Creole, or a ‘native’ in the context of nationalism. In this dissertation, I will be assuming the principle ‘once a settler, always a settler’. In other words, the ethical sequelae of settlement do not disappear when a society becomes highly urbanized. As long as the indigenous peoples in a settler society are discriminated against or relatively impoverished, the society remains a settler society. It is harder to become to become post-settler than it is to become post-colonial, because the aborigine, while unable to decolonize his (or her!) ancestral land, also fails to assimilate, or assimilates in the wrong way.

## 1.2. Settler societies, states and nations

Settler society has also been discussed in terms of the concepts of the settler state and of settler nationalism. ‘Settler society’ has the widest meaning. It implies interaction between settlers and indigenes. Settlers may have been sent or recruited by a state or they may have made the trip independently or even illegally; they may come as individuals or families; and their interactions with indigenes may be peaceful or violent. But in all settler societies, control of land and its resources is the main interest at stake. The concept of a ‘settler state’ emphasizes the presence of a settler government constituting a territory as a state. A settler state may try to exterminate, enslave, amalgamate, assimilate, or protect the indigenes, and may even grant them political representation. A settler nation, according to Benedict Anderson is one in which settlers

or creoles – settlers born in the colony – make a break with the country of origin (*Imagined Communities* 47-66). The first break was made on the basis of civic principle – ‘no taxation without representation’. Other more ethnic distinctions – linguistic, cultural or ‘racial’ – may added later and magnified in a fetishization of small differences, as Michael Ignatieff, borrowing a phrase from Freud, has argued, in order to justify the nationalist cause (“Nationalism and the Narcissism of Minor Differences”); although the longer the break the more likely the differences will be significant.

### 1.3. Assimilationist and indigenizing settler nationalisms

The most useful distinction proposed by scholars of settler nationalism is between assimilative and indigenizing. In his doctoral dissertation, Anthony Moran has analyzed settler nationalism into these two types (40; 126-166), but his terms are more useful than his discussion. By assimilationist and indigenizing he seems to mean what I would describe as modern and postmodern nationalism in a settler society context, on which more below. In discussing indigenizing settler nationalism he raises the issues of settler guilt and reparation and of protection for cultural diversity, which for the aborigines means cultural survival. I prefer to redefine Moran’s terms as follows. In assimilationist settler nationalism, the settlers try to assimilate the aborigines either biologically or culturally or both, while at the same time still distinguishing themselves from the metropole on the basis of other differences, such as the pioneering spirit. In indigenizing settler nationalism, on the other hand, the settlers identify with the natives in order to distinguish themselves from the metropole. The indigene becomes a symbol of difference in this type of settler nationalism. These can be described as two kinds of settler nationalist discourse. In practice, indigenization is always surpassingly shallow, usually involving either appropriation or commodification of aboriginal cultures.

The aboriginal identification in indigenizing nationalism may be a function of the revolutionary moment. For instance, in 1775, grown men dressed up as Mohawk Indians and dumped English tea into Boston Harbor (Deloria; Green), identifying their own rebelliousness with the rebelliousness of the Americans, the Indians. ‘American’ only referred to the colonists or settlers from about this time. In this case, the implied kinship is spiritual or cultural, and the discourses of indigenization and elimination coexisted. At the time of the Boston Tea Party, for instance, settlers to the south were fighting the Shawnee. Blood often gets mixed into the discourse of indigenizing settler nationalism. *Métissage* and mestization occur in settler societies

everywhere when the settler population is predominantly male. Mestizo blood often becomes a sign of distinction for indigenizing settler nationalists. Québécois separatists in the 1960s, for instance, claimed that having *du sang indien* distinguished them from the English Canadians (Vautier 217): *métissage* three centuries earlier was thereby imbued with national significance.

As the example of Quebec suggests, in the history of all settler societies, there is usually or always staggered settlement: different groups of settlers arrive at different times, though group formation may postdate settlement. Colonial contestation often develops into contending settler nationalisms: Union or Confederate, Boer or English, Québécois or Canadien, and so forth. In such a situation, the idea of the aborigine may come to mean different things to different groups. One group may challenge another's claim of indigeneity on an ethical basis. This phenomenon dates to at least the sixteenth century, when a Black Myth about the atrocities committed against the Amerindians by the Spanish was eagerly accepted and spread by Protestant settlers in North America to justify settlement, though the source of the myth was a Spanish Dominican named Bartolomé De Las Casas, an early defender of the Amerindian. As the example of De Las Casas suggests, not all contending settler colonialisms or nationalisms are constructive. De Las Casas was in some sense self-critical, and in a premodern settler society at that. Non-partisan critics, many of them indigenous sympathizers, frequently challenge settler nationalist claims on the indigene. Once the indigenous peoples themselves have the education and the tools of dissemination to critique settler nationalisms and even construct their own nationalisms, a veritable polyphony of national construction and critique can play out. The symphony may become at times somewhat cacophonous, but I argue that its basic character is communicative and its basic issue is domestication. It is such a symphony of contending settler nationalisms that I am studying in this dissertation.

#### 1.4. The fate of the civilizing project in liberal settler societies

One of Anthony Moran's types of settler nationalism is assimilationist. Assimilation as an ideology is, of course, ancient. Stevan Harrell has compared the Confucian, Christian and Communist 'civilizing projects' ("Civilizing Projects and the Reaction to Them"). Though the Confucian and Christian 'civilizing missions' are old, even though the French term that 'civilizing mission' translates, *mission civilatrice*, is only two hundred years old, a product of the Enlightenment, of the ideas of men like the Marquis de Condorcet, who believed that given the assumption of a single human nature it is only reasonable that all people be governed by a single

state and a single law (Todorov, *Of Human Diversity* 24). At the time, settler nationalism in the Thirteen Colonies was an expression of the opposite impulse, of differentiation. While Hegel welcomed the arrival of the World Spirit, others in the German speaking world, such as Fichte, were not so pleased. Out of their discontent ethnic, Romantic nationalism was born. This was the nexus of the dialectic of cultural (or ethnic) assimilation and differentiation.

This dialectical debate played out in the colonies of exploitation. Colonial historians distinguish between the French direct and the English indirect approach to colonial governance. In the former the colony is incorporated into the national institutions of governance, while in the latter it is kept separate. These approaches also bear on cultural content, and within Great Britain, there was in the first half of the nineteenth century a debate between scholarly Orientalists and missionary Anglicists. The Orientalists believed in the preservation of Indian culture, while the Anglicists urged the wholesale reform of Indian society according to liberal principles (Mackenzie, *Orientalism* 26).

This dialectic has also played out in settler societies. We can look at its fate in terms of culture and land. In terms of culture, assimilation was initially the operative theory. The first policy of active assimilation dates to the very beginning of the Victorian era, to 1837 in the British colonies (Armitage 4). In Victorian anthropology, the notion of cultural evolution was generally accepted (Stocking), so that nationalists and modernizers could represent the national culture as more modern and progressive and therefore as the rightful fate of all citizens, aborigines included. In the 1910s, Boasian anthropology nurtured a reconsideration of assimilation. The “inchoate ideal of cultural pluralism” (Berkhofer 181) was expressed officially in the late 1920s. A key text from the 1950s was Claude Levi-Strauss’s *Tristes Tropiques* (1955). At the end of the decade, Levi-Strauss’s assessment of the prospects of aborigines remained pessimistic: “They are all destined for extinction...I would hope never to cease from being their pupil, their witness” (“The Scope of Anthropology” 123). By extinction Levi-Strauss meant cultural extinction.<sup>1</sup> In the 1960s, however, aborigines in the United States embraced the new ideal of resistance (Bruner, “Ethnography as Narrative”) during the Civil Rights era. The justice of the settler civilizing mission was no longer self-evident, though it took decades before the actual policies were revised and historical injustices addressed, at the beginning only rhetorically. Recently attempts have been made to address the problem of cultural loss, while retaining the basic liberal framework of individual rights and responsibilities. Liberals claim that aborigines

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<sup>1</sup> Wolfe means the same thing by ‘genocide’ in the title of the article cited above.

can be accommodated within a new multicultural liberal framework. Will Kymlicka, the Canadian political scientist, has argued that the claims of aboriginal peoples can be handled using the notion of an individual's cultural right (*Liberalism, Community and Culture*). The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, passed in September, 2007, affirmed that indigenous peoples possess collective rights to, among other goods, cultural development (Article 3).<sup>2</sup> However cultural survival is to be ensured, the point is that the value of multiculturalism is now generally assumed by liberals. At the same time, countries with substantial populations of aborigines today still display a superficial indigenizing tendency culturally speaking. The minorities mural at the airport in Beijing (Gladney, "Representing Nationality in China" 92) is reminiscent of the totem poles inside the airport in Vancouver. In practice, in liberal settler societies, assimilation succeeds and fails in the wrong ways. Liberalism breaks up traditional communities, which it atomizes, but due to discrimination the individuals do not necessarily disappear into the modern mass society. As a social process, however, assimilation is often willing: individual Indians will try to assimilate if being Indian is stigmatized. Today, when there are benefits to apply for, and when being aboriginal is a matter of 'pride', individuals will tend to claim indigenous status and identity. But one's status and identity are not solely up to the individual. It is just not that simple in a discriminatory society, though assimilation is still touted by right-wingers like the Australian Roger Sandall as the solution to the endless problems of the aborigines (*The Culture Cult*).<sup>3</sup> Historically there have been differences depending on local terrain, production and labour relations, which have even shaped different conceptions of 'race' in different contexts.<sup>4</sup> But today, the demographic disparity in terms of living standard, life expectancy and other measures between settlers and aborigines is similar in the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada.

As for land, treaty lands in the United States were held collectively. From 1887 in Oklahoma, a kind of liberal experiment was conducted. The Dawes Act was an attempt to get Indians to adapt to liberal land tenure, which is to say individual ownership and the right to alienate. It linked citizenship to ownership (Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian* 174). Berkhofer has noted muckraking exposes of Indians being cheated out of oil and mineral rights in the 1920s

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<sup>2</sup> Only four countries, Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand, voted against it the UN Declaration. The PRC approved the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples without reservation, because in theory none of the provisos applied. China officially recognizes fifty-five national minorities, but, by virtue of the salt sea rule, China claims to have no aborigines.

<sup>3</sup> Crudely, the debate is between little c and big C culturalists.

<sup>4</sup> See Donald Denoon on the ennobling of the Maori among the settlers of New Zealand, in contrast to the denigration of the blackfellows among Australian settlers (*Settler Capitalism* 203).



(179). In 1931, the government realized most of the land was gone without the Indians being any better off. From 1934, the sale of Indian land was again restricted. This kind of restriction is obviously illiberal, but it is common in settler societies around the world, including, as we shall see, in Taiwan.

### 1.5. Premodern, modern and postmodern settler society

I will in this dissertation be using the terms premodern, modern and postmodern. In a premodern settler society, the aborigines may be inside the polity or outside. They tend to be inside the polity more on the level of discourse in the writings of urban intellectuals than in reality in the countryside (Gott 279). What is premodern about such a settler society is that it is still colonial and thus pre-national. In a modern settler society, the state usually aggressively attempts to domesticate the aborigines and incorporate them into a modern state, a state with a national linguistic and cultural program. I say usually rather than always because in the 1880s Argentina enacted a policy of Amerindian removal, while in Taiwan and the United States the objective might be better described as suppression and sequestration with a view to eventual assimilation. In a postmodern settler society, assimilation is abandoned in favour of multiculturalism, just as national linguistic and cultural programs yield, at least on the level of discourse, to diversity. On the level of practice, postmodern settler societies tend to have strong homogenizing tendencies, both bottom up and top down. In Taiwan, aborigines long for the same middle class lifestyle as other Taiwanese. And in the supposedly multicultural PRC, the objective of the western development project instituted in 1999 is the improvement of the lifestyles of Tibetans and Mongols through contact with Han Chinese (Oakes, “Welcome to Paradise!”).<sup>5</sup>

## 2. Taiwan as settler society

As I have endeavoured throughout my research to be answerable to historians and accountable to history, I begin with a thematic history of Taiwan seen through the lens of the concept of the settler society. I move on to consider comparative research on Taiwan as a settler society, state and nation, with a view to characterizing Taiwan as a settler society.

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<sup>5</sup> I would define the PRC today as a statist settler society, but there is a whole other, Leninist history of the fate of the civilizing project, which I touch on in Chapter 4.

## 2.1. A thematic history of Taiwan as a settler society

While I mainly deal with postwar cultural production in this dissertation, the content of postwar cultural production includes the Qing era – postwar writers sometimes represent the past – so I begin earlier. The main themes in any settler society are control of women and land as well as domestication – whether or not or how aborigines are domesticated. The three main agents in the following narrative are aboriginal, settler, and state.

Taiwan has been inhabited for thousands of years. The earliest inhabitants are thought to have come from either Malaysia or Zhejiang. There are two related theories of the origin of these people, a southern theory and a northern theory. The southern theory was the first explanation proposed. That the Formosan aborigines are commonly considered to be of Malayo-Polynesian ‘stock’ reflects this southern theory. According to the northern theory, the aborigines originally came from mainland China to Taiwan. Wherever they came from originally, the current consensus, based on evidence marshalled by the Australian archaeologist Peter Bellwood, is that proto-Austronesian speakers living in Taiwan, wherever they came from originally, spread out from Taiwan about twenty-five hundred years ago by boat both east – reaching Madagascar – and west – reaching Easter Island. Taiwan is the root of the Austronesian tree.

Taiwan’s aborigines have long been culturally diverse. The earliest traces of aboriginal presence around three thousand years ago are culturally uniform around the island. A thousand years later, however, a cultural diversification had taken place, and while the connection between these early peoples and the Formosan aborigines of today is uncertain, it seems likely that the cultural diversity of Taiwan’s aboriginal population three thousand years ago is related to the cultural diversity four hundred years ago, when the first Chinese settlers began arriving. Raleigh Ferrell, writing at the end of the 1960s using evidence gathered largely by Japanese anthropologists, analyzed aboriginal Taiwan into geographical culture zones: littoral, lowland and highland (*Taiwan Aboriginal Groups*). But within each zones there was cultural diversity.

While Japanese and Chinese traders had been interacting with the Formosan aborigines for several centuries before the Dutch chartered East Asian trading company, the VOC, arrived in 1624, non-aboriginal settlement of Taiwan begins in the 1620s and 1630s. The first settlers were brought in by the Dutch, mainly from Fujian but secondarily from Batavia, which the Dutch had founded in 1619. The settlers intermarried with the Siraya aborigines – the Siraya lived in the plain around what is now Tainan City, where the Dutch were based. Melissa Brown

has speculated on the motivations on both sides for these marriages (*Is Taiwan Chinese?* 134-165) at a time when it was ‘better to have a wife than a god’. It seems reasonable that there were advantages for both sides, mainly in the form of contacts related to the deer product trade, which lasted until the herds were decimated in first few decades of the eighteenth century. The same social context characterizes the rule of Zheng Chenggong, or Koxinga, a pirate who took up the cause of Ming loyalism, drove out the Dutch in 1662, founded a dynasty and died several months later. The Zheng dynasty lasted until 1683, when the Qing ‘admiral’ Shi Lang defeated Zheng Chenggong’s grandson and managed to convince the Kangxi emperor, who considered Taiwan more trouble than it was worth, that the island was worth keeping (Shepherd, *Statecraft* 106).

Settlers were ordered out of Taiwan, the main consideration in the imperial mind being security. Indeed, the population dropped. But many remained, and Taiwan’s distinctive three-tier land tenure system began developing. Landlords applied to the state for charters. Then they recruited tenants from Fujian and Guangdong, to whom they alienated cultivation rights. These tenants in turn recruited subtenants. The landlords became absentee landlords later on, while the tenants became the local gentry. The Qing state attempted to protect the landholding rights of aborigines, and many of the absentee landlords, at least in the eighteenth century, were aboriginal. The protection the state afforded was less than ideal, however, as Yu Yonghe pointed out. In 1697 Yu Yonghe journeyed from Tainan to Danshui to extract and refine sulphur and then went home to the mainland and published a famous travel journal. In the journal he sometimes sounds like a humanitarian, though the moral discourse on which he would have been drawing was Confucian. He writes,

In each administrative district a wealthy person is made responsible for the village revenues. These men are called “village tax farmers” [literally, village merchants, or sheshang]. The village tax farmer in turn appoints interpreters and foremen who are sent to live in the villages.... But these interpreters and foremen take advantage of the simple-mindedness of the barbarians and never tire of fleecing them, looking on whatever they have as no different from their own property. In connection with the activities of daily life, great and small, all of the barbarians – men, women, and children – have to serve in their homes without a day of respite. Moreover, they take the barbarian women as their wives and concubines. Whatever is demanded of them they must comply; if they make a mistake they must take a flogging. (Shepherd, “Island Frontier” 111)

The fate of the aborigines was either assimilation (or Sinification), which in the language of the day was called ‘cooking’, or retreat into the hills and later into the mountains. The cooked savages (熟蕃) were within the ‘pale’ (蕃 or ‘hedgerow’ in Emma Teng’s translation (*Taiwan’s*

*Imagined Geography* e.g. 36)), while the uncooked or raw savages (生蕃) were beyond civilization (化外). In other words, Han settler society on Taiwan was both open and closed to the aborigines. After aboriginal revolts at the beginning of the 1730s, immigration and intermarriage were outlawed. In 1750, a three tier buffer system was set up, to protect the Han settlers against the attacks of the raw savages. Cooked savages lived in the buffer zone; they were to be used against revolting Han settlers if need be.

In the 1860s, as a result of the Treaty of Tianjin, western missionaries were allowed into Taiwan. More importantly, so were Western adventurers; from the 1860s, Taiwan began to be drawn more closely into the world economy, mainly on the strength of tea and camphor production. In terms of government policy, security was the overriding concern until 1874, when Japan made noises about occupying the southeast coast. The issue at hand was the Qing's refusal to indemnify Japan for an aboriginal attack suffered by an Okinawan merchant marine crew there in 1871. In response to the Japanese claim, the Qing quickly accepted responsibility and finally claimed the whole of the island as part of the empire (Eskildsen, "Mimetic Imperialism"). For the next two decades, a new policy went into effect, according to which the aborigines were to be forcibly subdued and Sinified. This switch was part of a larger post-Taiping reorientation in Qing policy, from Manchu multicultural stability to 'domestication', involving a Han Chinese settlement effort in the northwest in response to Russian imperialism (Millward, "Domestication of Empire" in *Beyond* 232-254). It was part of a larger global process: the late Qing domestication occurred at the same time as two similar efforts in the western liberal nation-states of the USA and Argentina, the latter more murderous.

In the Japanese period, the age of the Western-style nation-state arrived. A comprehensive land survey was made, and it was discovered that there was twice as much productive land as was listed on the Qing registers. The three-tier tenure system was reduced to two, and agricultural producers, whether landowner or tenant, were producing cash crops like sugar cane and rice to be sold at fixed rates to the local sugar or rice monopoly, which was a private Japanese firm (Ka, *Japanese Colonialism in Taiwan*). The colonial government began a program of modernization and assimilation of the populace, who were to shave their queues, stop binding feet, quit smoking opium, and adopt Japanese names. The Japanese program of assimilationist modernization eventually included the aborigines.

Initially, anthropologists like Inō Kanori surveyed the aborigines with a governmental purpose somewhere in mind. The current names of the aboriginal tribes – the Atayal, the Bunun

and so forth – were assigned during this period and were mostly either exonyms or endonyms meaning ‘people’. The focus was on the ‘raw savages’, now called the Takasago *zoku* (‘people’) (高砂族); the plains aborigines or cooked aborigines were absorbed into Taiwan society, only to emerge again in the 1980s as a part of Taiwanese nationalist discourse. At first, while power on the frontier was still equally distributed between Japanese and aborigine, intermarriage between subaltern Japanese and aboriginal royalty was a way for the Japanese state to implicate itself into aboriginal tribal politics (Barclay, “Gaining Trust” and “Cultural Brokerage”). This approach was abandoned when the aborigines were subdued penultimately in the 1910s, though Japanese abuse of aboriginal women was one of the possible instigating factors in the Wushe Incident in 1930, which I describe in more detail in Chapter 7. After Wushe, during the Great Depression, when Japan was entertaining and acting upon imperialist dreams, assimilation became more aggressive. Aboriginal villages were combined and moved to lower elevations to facilitate governance. Aboriginal festivals were also combined and simplified, and every effort was made to force the aborigines to abandon the subsistence mentality and adopt a modern approach to work and a concept of imperial citizenship. Many aborigines fought for the Japanese in the War of the Pacific, and by the time the Chinese nationalists got to them in the late 1940s many of them were using Japanese in their daily lives, which characterized aboriginal village life in some places until the 1960s. Many older aborigines today speak more Japanese than Chinese. As for whether Taiwan under the Japanese was a colony of settlement or exploitation, settlement from poorer regions of Japan was not insignificant, and by the end of the war one of nine residents was Japan-born or creole. If Japan had not lost the war, the island would have likely been increasingly a colony of settlement.

In 1945, the KMT nationalized the land in the high mountain districts, reserving only one eighth of that area for the aborigines (Chiu 123). The amalgamation of aboriginal villages continued; villages were sometimes moved to make way for development projects and national parks. There was also active exploitation of land-based resources, facilitated by the state. Bureaucrats franchised alpine forest logging contracts to Chinese merchants, while aborigines were jailed for stealing firewood or squatting. There was supposed to be protection for the limited lands aborigines were assigned, but the protection was inadequate, and in 1966, when it was realized that the protection of tribal areas had failed and that lands and rights were changing hands illegally, the illegality was treated as a *fait accompli* and retroactively authorized (Ericssen, “Indian Country”). At the same time the state began registering and apportioning land to

indigenous communities, in a move reminiscent of the Dawes experiment in liberal land tenure in the United States, though in the United States the lands in question had been awarded to nations by treaty, in contrast to Taiwan, where no treaties were ever signed. The Taiwanese liberal experiment had the same result: by the 1980s, aboriginal communities had lost a lot of reservation land. The first legislation to address the issue was not introduced until the late 1980s and early 1990s, partly as a result of the three ‘return our land’ (還我土地) movements organized through the Presbyterian Church and an NGO called the Aboriginal Protection Association. The land the aborigines seek has not been returned. There are cases of local government and corporate refusal to turn over control of property to aborigines. The most famous case is China Cement, which seems to have forged documents to try to turn a lease of Taroko land into a purchase (Simon, “Remembrance as Resistance”). Today in Taiwan, an indigene can only sell his land or business on a reservation to another indigene. These are protective, illiberal measures, but to protest on liberal principle, as does the Plainsmen’s Rights Association (PRA), is unpopular, and the PRA has even been represented as ‘racist’ in the media. Aborigines and non-Aborigines find ways to cooperate around the restriction. One of the larger goals of the aboriginal elite related to land ownership is self-governance, and while a lot of legal discussion and proposal has occurred no agreement has been reached.

Intermarriage in postwar Taiwan was no longer for land, as was the case for Chinese settlers in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Demobilized nationalist soldiers got married to aboriginal women for child-bearing and sheer companionship. Approximately one and a half million Chinese Civil War refugees, disproportionately male, arrived in Taiwan from 1945 to 1950, which at the time had a population of six and a half million (Rubinstein, “Introduction” 10), meaning that there was a more than fifteen percent increase in population at the end of the decade. The balance of the ‘marriage market’ shifted, most drastically in the mountains, where in the 1950s and early 1960s Taiwanese access was restricted. Taiwanese men may have been slightly outcompeted by mainlander men, but aboriginal men were seriously outcompeted by mainlander men and Taiwanese men alike. Even elite aboriginal men were uncompetitive.<sup>6</sup> Out of concern for the welfare of aboriginal males and social stability, the

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<sup>6</sup> A poignant example of this is the true story of the Amis musician Li Taixiang 李泰祥, who fell in love with Xu Shoumei 許壽美 the daughter of a hospital president from Xinzhu, eloped with her in 1967, and had her stolen away from him by the girl’s parents, who barged in on them on their first night together as man and wife in a hotel on Yangming mountain, because they could not conscience their daughter marry a ‘savage’. A year later, Xu Shoumei

government introduced a triple registration requirement for marriages between mainlanders and aboriginal women (Harrison, “Changing” 77). But elite liberals like Lin Haiyin’s husband He Fan, who was from the class of mainlanders who were employing aboriginal women as maids, not from the class that was marrying or patronizing them in brothels, argued that restrictions were both illiberal and bound to fail.

Even though the ROC in 1957 signed the International Labour Organization Indigenous and Tribal Populations Convention, which mandated protection for aboriginal languages and cultures, the state tried to assimilate the aborigines, all of which, regardless of ‘tribe’, were termed ‘mountain compatriots’ (山胞). The state introduced modern medicine, suppressed shamanism, discouraged aboriginal attire, banned Japanese and aboriginal languages, taught Chinese, and encouraged proselyzation.<sup>7</sup> University students joined the so-called ‘national salvation clubs’ (救國團) in the 1970s and volunteered in remote aboriginal areas; this was a way for young members of the middle class and the aborigines to be exposed to and influence one another. It is only since the 1980s, when the Dangwai struggle for political representation radicalized into Taiwanese nationalism and diversified into a variety of social movements, including aboriginal and environmental movements, that aboriginal cultures have been generally considered attractive or worth preservation.

One should not, however, have too one-sided an idea of assimilation. Forced assimilation is indefensible, but surely some officials really believed that assimilation was in the best interests of the aborigines. Moreover, the state policy of cultural assimilation, which was part of a modernist, nation-building project, was contradictory. Beginning in the 1950s, to give young people a livelihood the state funnelled them into montagnard cultural troupes (山地文化工作隊), which performed for local tourists. The first filmic evidence of this is 1961: the performance taken in by Mr. Wang and Mr. Liu in *Wang ge Liu ge you Taiwan* 王哥劉哥遊台灣 [Messieurs Liu and Wang tour Taiwan], the iconic Taiwanese film directed by Li Xing (李行). The state started the first culture parks (九族文化村) in the 1970s, comparable to the aboriginal villages in China. If cultural assimilation was in fact the objective, cultural objectification and

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went to Taipei on the pretext of applying for an overseas student visa and eloped with Li Taixiang to Taidong, the latter’s hometown. The couple had a son and divorced several years later (Ji Ji ch. 5).

<sup>7</sup> Chiang Kai-shek and his wife were both Methodists. Though the Chiangs may to some extent have shared the missionary impulse, allowing Christian missionaries, including Mormons, into the country no doubt pleased the Americans. Moreover, it facilitated governance, because Christianity was considered a modern, advanced religion in comparison with either aboriginal spiritualism or Chinese folk religion.

commodification was not the best way to achieve it. Finally, the aborigines themselves often strove to assimilate (Harrison, “Clothing and Power on the Periphery of Empire”). Henrietta Harrison has argued elsewhere that aborigines were actually quite savvy in self-representation, adopting indigenous identity when it was to their advantage (“Changing Nationalities, Changing Ethnicities”). Melissa Brown has made a similar argument in her book *Is Taiwan Chinese?* for the entire history of Taiwan from the seventeenth century to the past few decades. Though this conception of identity may be overly instrumentalist – Brown balances instrumentalism with a cognitivist emphasis (13-18) – it at least acknowledges the agency of the aborigine.

In terms of employment, from the 1970s, aboriginal women were overrepresented in prostitution, especially after the economy took off and employment options for Chinese women improved. Aboriginal men tended to take so-called 3D jobs (dirty, demeaning, and dangerous) in industries such as mining, fishing, and construction after other Taiwanese men had abandoned them. But at least in the 1970s and 1980s, most aborigines could find jobs if they wanted them. Since the late 1980s, *Gastarbeiter* on short-term contract have increasingly become a crutch for the economy (see Tierney, “The Guest Labour System”), creating in the process an unemployment problem for the aborigines. This is the socioeconomic context of the ‘return to the village movement’ (回到部落運動), which is typically taken as an attempt to stem the loss of culture. Today, the aborigines manage as best they can. There are illiberal measures in effect on reservations to protect aboriginal businesses, resembling those on the sale of land. The state continues to support aboriginal capitalism, as does a prominent engaged anthropologist, Scott Simon (“Learning and Narratives of Identity: Aboriginal Entrepreneurs in Taiwan” and *Sweet and Sour* chapters 14 and 15). The two stories Simon tells are inspiring, but further study is needed to show that they are representative rather than exceptions to the rule.

Aborigines would be more competitive if they were better educated, but their education has been neglected, as has education in remote areas generally. Rather than address this problem with educational reform, the state has chosen ‘mark inflation’ as a quick fix: aborigines get 25% added to their university entrance exam marks, 35% if they can demonstrate basic competence in a supposedly mother tongue.

Today, though, it seems genuinely trendy to be an aborigine, and young people are likely to react positively to the aboriginal mystique, which includes a supposed excellence in music and sport. It is for this reason that the aborigines in Taiwan seem to be doing better than those in the Anglo settler societies, as Scott Simon himself argues (“Taiwan’s Indigenous Peoples”,



*Encyclopedia of the World's Minorities*). All the same, there is still a socio-economic gap between Chinese and aboriginal, which is reflected in educational attainment and in health and mortality.

## 2.2. Comparative research on Taiwan as a settler society, state and nation

From the 1950s to the 1980s, scholars of Taiwan's 'development' before 1895 often evinced an admiration for the glorious achievements of Chinese pioneers and Qing mandarins. Today the discourse is sometimes overturned. One sometimes hears the settlers of Taiwan described as interlopers, foreigners, or settler-invaders by Taiwanese historians. I prefer the relative neutrality of scholars such as Melissa Brown, John Shepherd, and Emma Teng, all of whom use the terminology of 'settlers' and 'aborigines'. Ka Chih-ming, writing in Chinese, uses the terms *han* (漢) and *fan* (蕃).

In particular, John Shepherd and Emma Teng have made the effort to bring Taiwan into comparative historical discussions using the concepts of settler society and state. In an appendix to his *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier, 1600-1800*, Shepherd compares Qing Taiwan and colonial America ("Indians and Settlers"). He argues that in Qing era Taiwan indigenous land rights were protected more effectively than in America. At the same time he finds resonances between the two cases, describing Lan Dingyuan as Jacksonian (444). In 1722, Lan Dingyuan argued the Formosan aborigines should have one year to open the land which they occupied, or they should forfeit ownership or tenancy rights to Chinese homestead families. Lan Dingyuan sounds almost Lockean in his concept of the basis of ownership rights.<sup>8</sup> Just over a century later, the Frontier President Andrew Jackson supported Indian Removal to win over southern voters, though some at the time greatly lamented the removal of the Cherokee to Oklahoma. There was also a kind of Indian question in eighteenth century Taiwan, and an important contribution of Teng's research (in *Taiwan's Imagined Geography*) is to suggest a debate within the Manchu mandarin state on the aborigines, which she fits into the larger framework of Qing multiculturalism. Against officials like Lan Dingyuan, other officials regarded the aborigines with Mencian compassion and tried to protect their land rights. The aborigines were, after all, human in the eyes of patronizing and paternalistic officials. To some,

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<sup>8</sup> John Locke argued that since the Indian knew no enclosure and therefore could not improve the land he possessed no property right (Ashcraft, *John Locke* 322).

the aborigines were even “Noble Savage[s]” (Teng 67), though they never became ideals for the Chinese to emulate.

One comparison Teng develops turns on the concept of ‘race’. Teng rightly argues that Qing Mandarins did not wring their hands over ‘miscegenation’ the way American moralists did from the mid-nineteenth century on (151). Paul Barclay has also found that a fear of racial mixing was not an issue during the Japanese era (“Cultural Brokerage” 352). But the issue of race is more complicated than either indicates. Several decades before Andrew Jackson no less than Thomas Jefferson was willing to consider racial mixing as a way of creating an American nation. “Your blood will run in our veins, and will spread with us over this great island,” wrote Jefferson (qtd. in Nash, “The Hidden History of Mestizo America” 11). ‘Race’ as a concept would harden later in the century in the age of positivist science, especially in wilful misunderstandings of *On the Origin of Species* (1859). At the level of discourse, some Qing era officials considered the aborigines ‘another kind’ (異類), impossible to civilize.<sup>9</sup> At the level of practice, though, the Han Chinese settlers were worse than racists. In the 1870s, one Christian missionary observed, at a market in Puli, ‘savage meat’ for sale as a commodity (Davidson 255). The animalization of the aborigines in contemporary representations related to the effort to subdue the aborigines in the 1870s and 1880s is also food for thought for anyone who would take up the thesis that the Qing, in being not ‘racist’ in the sense of nineteenth century western ‘scientific racism’, was somehow different in kind from other settler societies. And in the postwar period, the way people referred to *fan* (蕃) was racist in a social sense.

The concepts of settler society and state have also been applied to postwar Taiwan in partisan discussions of KMT or mainlander dominance over ‘native’ Taiwanese. Marshall Johnson used the term “settler society” to explain the ‘marriage market’ in postwar Taiwan: mainlander men married Taiwanese women more than Taiwanese men married mainlander women. Wu Rwei-ren applied Ronald Weitzer’s definition of a ‘settler state’ to Taiwan, in order to rephrase the oft-heard complaint that cultural, economic, political and social capital was unfairly distributed by the KMT among mainlanders and native Taiwanese after the war (Wu 199). Actually, Weitzer’s definition of a ‘settler society’ only fits postwar Taiwan in a limited sense. Weitzer’s “three pillars of settler rule” are autonomy from the metropole, control over the “indigenous” population, and maintenance of the settler “caste solidarity” (26-28). Whether the

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<sup>9</sup> Teng does not deny that in the discourse of the Mandarinate there was no ‘race’-like concept. Indeed, her research on the different meanings of the word zu (族) and xing (性) is an ideal of scholarly *différence* (101-121).

latter two pillars stand is debatable in the Taiwanese case, but the first pillar has fallen, since the KMT was a displaced metropole for most of the postwar period. At any rate, there is no mention of the aborigines in these discussions.

A recent paper uses the term ‘settler society’ in reference to the aborigines. Political scientist Shi Zhengfeng, who has been part of the discussion on whether to constitutionalism the survival and cultural rights of the Formosan aborigines, and who seems like a liberal in the Kymlickan mould, asserts Taiwan is a “typical settler society” (典型的墾殖社會) comparable to the US, Canada, New Zealand or Australia both historically and in terms of the goals of the contemporary indigenous movement, which are ortho-designation (正名), self-governance and return of land (“Yuanzhumin zhengce” 1). Following Chen Shuibian’s discourse of nation-to-nation (國對國) relations between the settlers and aborigines of Taiwan, Professor Shi even takes seriously the Wilsonian right of national secession of the aborigines, arguing that “the Han people should think harder about how to convince the aborigines to accept this country” (4). The problem with Professor Shi’s liberal perspective is that a liberal solution is contingent upon the kindness of theoretically selfish strangers. How much the Han people are willing to do? Are they willing to tie aboriginal employment minimums to the foreign labour caps? Instead of seemingly generous policies like lower standards for aboriginal university entrants, are they willing to improve the educational system in more remote areas? While Professor Shi himself seems sincere, a lot of lip service is paid to the aborigines by both the Greens and the Blues, and lip service cannot be considered communicative action.

Scholars have also applied the idea of ‘settler nationalism’ to the Taiwan case. In Taiwanese settler nationalism, the aborigines have been appropriated. Some scholars deal with this appropriation as a local phenomenon, while others place Taiwan in comparative context. First, as noted by Shi Zhengfeng, the importance of the aborigines to Taiwanese nationalists is apparent from the Republic of Taiwan Draft Constitution by Xu Shikai 許世楷, which begins with a phrase about the “Malayo-Polynesian ancestors *of the Taiwanese people*” (italics mine). The aborigines are part of the racial plank in some accounts of the Taiwanese nationalist platform. In the July 1994 issue of *Shanghai* (山海) magazine, the title announced, “Women Dou Shi Pingpuzu” [We are all Pingpu aborigines]. Taiwanese nationalists buttress the Taiwanese claim to nationhood by arguing that the Taiwanese people are Mestizo, the descendents of marriages between plains aboriginal women and Chinese settlers in the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries. They have politicized *métissage*. It is ironic that the Greens pursue this line, given that the large number of biracial people in Taiwan, children of marriages between mainland soldiers and aboriginal women. The aboriginal are also part of the cultural plank in the Taiwanese nationalist platform. In a sense the Taiwanese need the aborigines. As the German sociologist Michael Rudolph put it,

...whether one talked about such Taiwanese particularities as the Taiwanese puppet show or the Taiwanese Opera: Once one came to the Mainland-province Fujian, one would discover that all these things existed here in a very similar manner. Only by profound inclusion of the ‘nutrient YZM’ [原住民的養分] – e.g., the inclusion of the different Aboriginal cultures – it could be clearly demonstrated in which way Taiwan was different from China. (“Role of Taiwan’s Austronesians in the Construction of Taiwanese Identity”)

One of Melissa Brown’s arguments in her monograph *Is Taiwan Chinese?* was that there is no detectable aboriginal influence in mainstream Taiwanese culture, and that aboriginality is no basis for claiming a ‘cultural’ difference between China and Taiwan, because China has the national minorities.

Second, the rise of Taiwanese ‘nationalism’ in the late 1980s has recently been compared, along with Singaporean nationalism, to ‘settler nationalism’ in the Thirteen Colonies by no less an authority than Benedict Anderson. Anderson found no fundamental difference between ‘western’ settler nationalisms and ‘eastern’ settler nationalisms in Taiwan and Singapore:

The core constituencies for these nationalisms are ‘overseas’ settlers from the Southeastern coastal regions of the Celestial Kingdom, some escaping from the imperial state, some sent over by that state. These settlers imposed themselves, sometimes peacefully and integratively, sometimes by violence, on the pre-existing populations, in a manner that reminds us of New Zealand and Brazil, Venezuela and Boer South Africa. (“Western Nationalism and Eastern Nationalism”)

To my knowledge, no one has pursued these particular cases for comparison in any detail.

Scholars have considered other comparisons based on the notion of the settler nation, most notably Benedict Anderson’s brother Perry, who has compared Taiwanese nationalism to Anglo-Irish nationalism. Taiwan and Ireland are both islands divided politically and demographically between a settler north and a native south, and both are home to settler nationalisms precariously close to and economically dependent on a metropole. It is not hard to see why Taiwanese cultural nationalists would find the Celtic Renaissance, an Anglo-Irish nationalist formation, inspirational (cf. Wu Qiancheng 吳潛誠). But however much the Irish suffered in the nineteenth century, they were by that time peasants not primitives; Irish cultural

roots go deeper than Taiwanese; and Ireland today is ‘post-settler’ in a way that Taiwan is not. The comparison for my purpose is not helpful.

Quebec is a better contemporary comparison, and another scholar, Frank Muiyard, has examined postmodern settler nationalisms in the ‘provinces’ of Taiwan and Quebec. Muiyard points out that both have a history of *métissage*. Both have indigenous populations comprising slightly less than two percent of the total population. Most importantly, both are instances of “over-colonization,” a term Muiyard coins for societies where there have been historical ‘waves’ of colonization (“Nation-State Building in Postmodern Times” 19-21). His examples are Quebec, Puerto Rico, Taiwan and South Africa (19). Muiyard’s neologism helps us understand why in Taiwan the aborigines tend to get ignored: with Taiwanese people claiming to be ‘natives’ oppressed by the Mainlanders, it becomes easy for them to overlook the ‘indigenous’ aborigines until they become useful as a bolster for Taiwan nationalism. Muiyard’s concept can be refined by returning to the distinction between colonies of exploitation and settlement. The Dutch and Spanish occupations were exploitative, involving almost no Dutch and Spanish settlement. The Japanese colonial period in Taiwan was mixed, but after the war all Japanese settlers in Taiwan were repatriated. There have only been two waves of Chinese settlement of Taiwan, from the 1630s to 1895, and again from 1945 to the early 1950s. Of Muiyard’s cases only South Africa is, like Taiwan, an instance of ‘over-settlement’, though one with a vastly different demography. Quebec is not, because English Canadians did not go on to settle Lower Canada. As a settler society, therefore Taiwan is unique.

Uniqueness does not, however, invalidate the comparative enterprise. In the next section, keeping Taiwan’s uniqueness in mind, I endeavour to compare the cultural production of Taiwan with that of other settler societies.

### 3. Approaching the representation of aborigines in settler society

In many settler societies, there has been a literary and scholarly obsession with the aborigine. Heavyweight authors have written their greatest works about the indigene.<sup>10</sup> In Latin America, there was a massive nationalist literary and even socio-political movement called

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<sup>10</sup> In Australia, Patrick White and Xavier Herbert; in Canada, Rudy Wiebe, Robert Kroetsch and Leonard Cohen in Canada, all of whom are examples of major Canadian postmodernists for Linda Hutcheon in *The Canadian Postmodern*; in Guatemala, Miguel Ángel Asturias Rosales; in the P.R.C., Gao Xingjian; in Peru, Mario Vargas Llosa; in the ROC, Shen Congwen; in South Africa, Nadine Gordimer and John Coetzee; and in the USA, Ernest Hemingway, William Faulkner and many other minor authors. This list includes six Nobel laureates.

Indigenismo from the time of the Mexican revolution on (1911). The nationalism of Indigenismo was indigenizing in my sense of the term. The American literature on the subject of the representation of the Indian is massive. Scholars have devoted monographs to the representation of the aborigine in different nation-states or regions.<sup>11</sup>

There are no monographs or dissertations on the filmic and fictional representation of the Formosan aborigines. There are some articles and theses. These studies focus on a certain topic, tribe, place, text or writer.<sup>12</sup> The range of texts studied is very limited. The most effort has been directed at the various versions of the stories of the ‘interpreter’ (通事) Wu Feng 吳鳳 and the heroic pioneer Wu Sha 吳沙. Yang Huanhong, who has limited himself to film, is an exception in that he has slaved in the archive and found a wider range of works. Combining my own list to Yang’s I have produced the most comprehensive list of filmic representations of the Formosan aborigines in the appendix of this dissertation. To my knowledge, mine is the only substantial list of fictional representations of the Formosan aborigines.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> See, for instance, Robert Berkhofer’s *The White Man’s Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*, David Driver’s *The Indian in Brazilian Literature*, Leslie Fiedler’s *Return of the Vanishing American and Love and Death in the American Novel*, Terry Goldie’s *Fear and Temptation: The Image of the Indigene in Canadian, Australian, and New Zealand Literatures*, J. J. Healy’s *Literature and the Aborigine in Australia*, Peter Hulme’s *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797*, Leslie Monkman’s *A Native Heritage: Images of the Indian in English-Canadian Literature*, Tessa Morris-Suzuki’s *Reinventing Japan: Time, Space, and the Nation*, Antonio Sacoto’s *The Indian in the Ecuadorian novel*, and Doris Sommer’s *Foundational Fictions: The National Romances of Latin America*.

<sup>12</sup> Daria Berg’s “Wu Jinfa and the melancholy mountain forests of China’s border cultures: new voices in Taiwanese literature,” Chen Lizhu’s thesis 〈台灣電影中原住民形象之研究 – 論述工業的它者圖像〉 [Images of Aborigines in Taiwan film – on the image of the other in the discourse industry], Du Weiyong 杜偉英’s articles 〈從葉石濤小說〈西拉雅族的末裔〉系列 – 談平埔族〉 [Talking about the plains aborigines via Ye Shitao’s “Last of the Siraya” series], 〈葉石濤的原住民小說〈馘首〉、〈火索槍〉、〈鳥占〉、〈陷阱〉初探〉 [Inquiry into Ye Shitao’s aboriginal stories “Headhunter,” “Firearm,” “Bird Divination,” and “The Trap”], 〈從鍾肇政的原住民小說〈馬利科彎英雄傳〉 – 談泰雅族〉 [Talking about the Atayal via Zhong Zhaozheng’s aboriginal story “Tale of the Hero Makeliwan”] and 〈從鍾肇政的小說〈卑南平原〉 – 談卑南族與其遺址搶救、古文化〉 [Talking about the Beinan, the rescue of archaeological sites and traditional culture via Zhong Zhaozheng’s story “Beinan Plain”], Guo Huihua 郭慧華’s M.A. 〈鍾肇政小說中的原住民圖像書寫〉 [The Written Image of the Aborigine in Zhong Zhaozheng’s Fiction], Li Daoming 李道明’s 〈由活動影像看鄒族〉 [“The Tsou on Film”], Wu Jiajun 吳家君’s M.A. thesis 〈台灣原住民文學研究〉 [Taiwanese Indigenous Literature], Liu Zhijun 劉智濬 and Zhang Qixia 章綺霞’s 〈台灣電影中的邊緣他者：漢人導演與原住民影像〉 [Marginal Others in Taiwanese Film: Han Chinese Directors and Aboriginal Images], Watan’s “Myth of the Images of Aborigines,” and Yang Huanhong’s M.A. thesis 〈他者不顯影—台灣電影中的原住民影像〉 [The Undeveloped Other – The Image of the Aborigine in Taiwanese Film]. There are many other works that touch upon Chinese representation of the Formosan aborigines, but in even less depth.

<sup>13</sup> In this dissertation, I deal only with fiction and film, just as Edward Said in both *Orientalism* and *Culture and Imperialism* dealt mainly with highbrow writings. Representations of aborigines are not limited to film and fiction. We know for instance that in Canada and the United States, the aboriginal became a popular material in comic books. Young children bought reproduced aboriginal paraphernalia – Indian kitsch. This may have been the case in Taiwan, but I have not found any references in the films and fictions. Research might turn something up. There is probably not a lot, because Chinese themes – the *Sanguo yanyi* and the *Xiyouji* for instance – and more recently

How to characterize these researches, with a view to describing my own approach? We can discriminate two general research approaches, positivist and discursive.<sup>14</sup> A critic who adopts a positivist approach brackets epistemological or ontological problems or is not aware of them. A positivist critic will assume that a narrative ‘about’ aborigines is really about the aborigines. A discursive approach, as I define it, confronts problems of epistemology and ontology, the dialectical relation between representation and reality, and relates narratives about aborigines to settler concerns. As I am myself adopting a discursive approach, I spend less time on positivist research.

### 3.1. Positivist research

There are several ways in which a representation of an aborigine can be realist or positivist. A story might, for instance, be about the cultural particularity of a group of aborigines or the historical events they have endured. Du Weiyang studies stories by Ye Shitao and Zhong Zhaozheng in these two ways. Stories may also depict the current plight of an aborigine. For the most part, Daria Berg’s article (“Melancholy” 202-241) on stories by Wu Jinfa in the 1980s on the contemporary problems of the urban young female aborigine takes this approach, though she does note that all four of Wu Jinfa’s stories are narrated by young Chinese men who want to save or who actually do save an aboriginal woman from society or from herself. In doing so, she suggests that Wu Jinfa’s understanding of his relation to the aborigines is informed by a kind of trope. His characters seem to see themselves as princes on white horses (白馬王子). In other words, Berg makes a discursive observation. Critics who adopt the positivist approach usually see writers as fulfilling an educator’s or a journalist’s role, informing the public about who the aborigines are, what has happened to them, and how they are doing now. Perhaps a story about an aborigine in the first person, such as Wang Zhenhe’s “Xiari” 夏日 [Summer Sun] (1961), can be taken as positivist – in the sense of what it is really like subjectively to be an aborigine. It is surprising that no critic has dealt with first person aboriginal narrator stories by Chinese writers. A positivist approach would be to take the representation unproblematically as in some sense ‘how an aborigine sees the world’, while a discursive approach would emphasize the author’s

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Japanese themes have tended to dominate the content of comics. There are comics about the Formosan aborigines from the 1990s, but they were published with government support and did not reach a wide audience. At any rate, like Edward Said I feel more comfortable discussing purportedly serious works of so-called art, which, I think, have more to say.

<sup>14</sup> See Harrison’s “Where is Taiwan identity?” for discussion of these two terms.

standpoint, for instance, Wang Zhenhe as a young male Chinese student aspiring to be a modernist writer.

The positivist approach is the most obvious approach to take when studying settler representations of aborigines, and when I attempt to describe my research people usually assume my approach is positivist. After all, it stands to reason that a story about the aborigines is in some sense about the aborigines. A few people have become positively derisive when I tried to distance myself from realism. My approach is not wholly positivist or arealist, because when I treat critical writings, the prostitution of the aboriginal maiden is allegorically symbolic of the ‘actual’ predicament of the aborigines. There is indeed an appearance and reality structure to my dissertation, as there was to Doris Sommer’s monograph *Foundational Fictions*, discussed in Chapter 1. However, I always emphasize the ‘mode’ of reality – reality is always seen in some way as a result of specific human concerns and perspectives – the allegorical structure of the work in question, as well as my own act of allegorical interpretation.

For a critic such as myself, who is not intimately familiar with the Formosan aborigines, there is in relation to positivism a problem of evaluation. A story might be written by an anthropologist with narrative genius, an understanding of the constructed nature of culture, and intimate familiarity with the aborigines; but unless the critic has a similar genius, understanding and familiarity his evaluation of the accuracy of the representation may not be worth very much. At most he will only be able to say that a certain representation seems naïve or crude, not that it is. In gathering Taiwanese materials, I have not come across any stories that seem to be ‘the real thing’. There is an anthropologist (Hu Taili) who has written a short story about Wu Feng, but as a narrative it is not very good. Most works are produced by settlers without an expert’s knowledge or understanding. Most simply reproduce clichéd aboriginal qualities, such as natural, spontaneous, good-natured, vital, and so forth when they describe the aborigines. Their representations seem to draw on what Edward Said has described as

a set of references, a congeries of characteristics, that seems to have its origin in a quotation, or a fragment of a text, or a citation from someone’s work on the Orient, or some bit of previous imagining, or an amalgam of all these.  
(*Orientalism* 177)

### 3.2. Discursive research

By ‘discursive research’ I am assuming the most influential theory of ‘colonial discourse’, Edward Said’s theory of Orientalism. Said emphasizes the ways in which colonial aims and



perspectives shape representations. More importantly, he stresses that the identity of the colonizer comes to be secretly dependent on his representation of the colonized Other. It is for this reason that I describe discursive research as in general being about the subject, not the object, of representation. However, Said's theory was a subjectivist or humanistic adaptation of the Foucauldian theory of discourse, which emphasized the system and not the subjects and objects of representation, the structure and not the human agents and patients.

'Discourse' has a technical meaning in the writings of Michel Foucault: – "the linguistic apparatus through which the articulation of knowledge becomes an expression of power" (MacKenzie 3). A 'discourse' determines who can speak authoritatively about something, shapes his speech, rendering it a tool of discipline, of social control. This notion of discourse has been influential among scholars who study colonial representations. Some of these scholars are uncompromising structuralists. The scholar who, in a book about the solipsism of anthropological theory, first used the term 'settler colonial discourse', for instance, defines the term 'discourse' as a "total social phenomenon" (Wolfe 3), one that presumably only had an inside and was thus impossible to get outside of. The late Foucault emphasized that as a social phenomenon discourse was not total. Several years after the publication of *Orientalism*, Foucault wrote that "[d]iscourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it" (*History of Sexuality* v. 1 101), still an anti-humanist statement – Foucault refuses to say that human beings would thwart it – but at least it is poststructuralist, no longer totalizing.

Edward Said very laudably tried to humanize Foucault. He wrote, "Yet unlike Michel Foucault, to whose work I am greatly indebted, I do believe in the determining imprint of individual writers upon the otherwise anonymous collective body of texts constituting a discursive formation like *Orientalism*" (*Orientalism* 23). He went on to clarify his approach: "Accordingly my analyses employ close textual readings whose goal is to reveal the dialectic between individual text or writer and the complex collective formation to which his work is a contribution" (24). At the end of *Orientalism*, he held out hope for "a knowledge and discourse that was not "corrupt" or "blind" but emancipatory" (Howe, "Edward Said and Marxism" 55; of *Orientalism* 326). In other words, Said humanized discourse by reinserting the reflexive human agent.

On the other hand, there are philosophical problems in Said's work. He clearly thinks the works he studies have had significant effects in the real world. Otherwise, why study them? But

sometimes he seems to talk about discourse as detached from reality. In an infamous passage, he wrote, “The things to look at are style, figures of speech, setting, narrative devices, historical and social circumstances, not the correctness of the representation nor its fidelity to some great original” (*Orientalism* 21), implying that the correctness of the representation is unimportant or that, because reality is after all a construct, any construct is equally valid or invalid.

Philosophically, I follow Foucault in assuming that discourse must always be historicized and Said that ‘discourse’ must always be perspectivized. In other words, the historical context and perspective of the reflexive human agent thinking, communicating or acting through the discourse always needs consideration. My own assumption is that there is no outside of discourse, that discourse “is not about objects and experience” which exist outside of and prior to discourse. Rather, discourse

is constitutive of objects and experience. This is not the subjectivist position that there is nothing (no thing) in the world until we recognize it or speak of it. Rather, it is the position that the world of ‘things’ has no meaningful structure except in connection with the standards we employ to ascribe qualities to it. We therefore cannot speak about the world of experience without beginning with some presuppositions about the boundaries that distinguish one object or event from another. (qtd. in Harrison, “Where”; Shapiro, *Language* 20)

In other words, in regard to ‘the world of experience’, to the subjective world as opposed to the objective world, we perceive reality through our conventions, a system of which can be called a discourse; yet we can be to some extent self-reflexive about the conventions and the system.

Politically, Edward Said also tends to be rather simplistic. Discourses are often political. Colonial discourse certainly was. A mendacious and self-interested ‘political discourse’, one might assume, could be met with Habermasian critique. But one should not assume that the object of critique would necessarily be crude and simplistic. We should not conclude that the people who developed colonial discourse were unreflective, binarizing morons. Despite his clearly fine literary sensibility, Said offers a binarizing account of colonial discourse. In colonial discourse, according to Said, the Occident was represented as masculine, active, rational, dominant and progressive in contrast to the Orient, which, as feminine, passive, irrational, submissive and unchanging, “...has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, ideal, personality, experience” (*Orientalism* 1-2).<sup>15</sup> What Emma Teng and other colonial discourse theorists like David Spurr who study discourse *qua* discourse discover is that discourse,

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<sup>15</sup> Of the problems with the writings of other discourse theorists like Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Spivak, see Benita Parry’s *Problems in Current Theories of Colonial Discourse*. For a colonial historian’s account of Said’s inadequacies, see Mackenzie’s wonderful *Orientalism*.

including colonial discourse, is diverse, both empowering and abjectifying, both ennobling and disparaging. Teng finds that Qing era officials could draw on different bits of the classical tradition to suit their purposes, to show either that the aborigines were animalistic or that they were civilizable or even Noble Savages. Spurr's discursive tropes include both debasement and idealization. Scholars also find internal debate. The debate is not always in the same terms as we would use today, but neither are the terms unrecognizable to us. One might assume, given this discursive diversity and tendency to debate, an analogous diversity in authorial intent, but Edward Said typically assumes that the purpose of colonial representations is to naturalize and facilitate colonial domination and exploitation. While Said distanced himself from Foucault by emphasizing the imprint of the author, subsequent colonial discourse theorists have to distance themselves from Said's simplifications. Some did not even try and became even more simplificatory than Said.

Colonial discourse theory has been adapted to the study of settler representations of aborigines. Terry Goldie's approach in *Fear and Temptation* is discursive in the Saidian sense. According to Goldie, representations of the Indian in the British Commonwealth came not from any observation of the Indian but from the colonizer's desire for dominance. The colonizer represented the Indian as a negative of what he was. The Indian was innocent and savage while the settler was knowledgeable and civilized, and so forth. In the process, the colonizer's identity came to depend on his construction of the aborigine. While Said emphasized the political dimension in *Orientalism*, Goldie emphasizes economic domination. In his account, the Indian tropes of mysticism, naturalness, spontaneity, and so forth, are the "standard commodities" (7) of the settler discourse of aboriginality.<sup>16</sup> Most of the chapters in Goldie's book are on these commodities, while at the end, when he turns to Rudy Wiebe and Patrick White, he recognizes subtlety when he looks at how two major authors have confounded the Commonwealth discourse of the Indian.

Taiwanese research on the representation of the Formosan aborigines never gets this subtle. The instrumental aim is usually seen as political, rather than, as in Goldie's research, economic. In Watan's essay "Myth of the Images of Aborigines," for instance, a representation of the aborigines is part of an effort to construct a "political myth" (iii) "for political purposes" (iv) – the main purpose being the legitimation of assimilation. Watan does not use the term

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<sup>16</sup> The term was inspired by Said, who had written that "'Oriental sex' was as standard a commodity as any other available in the mass culture" (*Orientalism* 190).

discourse, but his research can be described as discursive. Granted, Watan, an aborigine himself, was examining the objectionable representation of Wu Feng. Scholars who stress the political usually assume that the motives behind the representations were disciplinary, related to what the late Foucault called govern-mentality. In his M.A. thesis, Yang Huanhong argues that the representations of the Formosan aborigines are products of a “discursive apparatus” (9); but Yang does suggest a more interesting approach than Watan. Yang relates the representation of the aborigines to the construction of settler nationalism, as I am doing in this dissertation, and he also assumes a politics of representation (22-25). When there is a politics of representation, contending positions appear, as they do not in a Saidian approach unless one is willing to read serious authors sympathetically. Finally, Liu and Zhang also adopt a discursive approach. They focus more on the motivation of the filmmaker than on the accuracy of the filmic representation of the aborigine. They discuss the use of the aborigine in Taiwanese identity construction in two films from the late 1980s and 1990s, in which Taiwanese subalterns identified with the aborigines, implying that both shared an experience of oppression. These four scholars illustrate Taiwanese settler colonial discourse studies, as Patrick Wolfe and Terry Goldie illustrated settler colonial discourse studies in Australia and the Commonwealth respectively.

But the field of settler colonial discourse studies remains relatively under-theorized. Settler discourse theorists often do not differentiate the settler situation from the colonial situation. They fail to historically contextualize. And they transplant Said’s Orientalism, and all its problems, to a settler context. These are problems I address in the following three sections, which represent my contribution to settler discourse studies.

### 3.2.1. Distinguishing the discourses of colonies of exploitation and settlement

Emma Teng wrote,

Painted in the broadest strokes, European Orientalism and Chinese discourse on barbarians can be regarded as comparable. Indeed, the similarities are striking and point to the existence of shared, cross-cultural modes of constructing foreign “others.” (*Imagined Geography* v)

Just as Teng has sought to expand colonial discourse studies to include Taiwan, so I am trying to help establish settler colonial discourse studies on a firmer foundation, expanded to include Taiwan. For Teng’s audience, the notion of an ‘oriental’ colony and a colonial discourse is deeply foreign. Teng is right to engage these scholars in her epilogue to *Taiwan’s Imagined Geography* (249-258). I am trying to engage scholars like Teng who assimilate settler colonial

discourse to colonial discourse. I am also trying to communicate with scholars who study settler societies. One major work edited by a prominent feminist scholar from Israel describes a settler society as one “white Europeans have settled” (Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis, *Unsettling Settler Societies* 3). Such statements arise out of ignorance and are the other side of the coin of Chinese definitions of colonization as a sin of the Europeans and the Japanese (as in the entry on ‘殖民地’ in the online encyclopaedia Baidu), certainly not a Chinese phenomenon both historical and contemporary. It is my duty as an East Asianist to challenge my colleagues studying white European settler societies, in order to make more subtle as well as global accounts of settler colonialism possible.

One way to differentiate the discourses of colonies of exploitation and settlement is to inquire into the use of gender. As my dissertation is mainly about the nationalist use of the image of the aboriginal maiden, this seems a sensible approach.

In *Orientalism*, Edward Said hinted at a systematic association between woman and colony. “... Flaubert’s encounter with an Egyptian courtesan [Kuchuk Hanem] produced a widely influential model of the Oriental woman” (6) and, it seems clear, of the relation between Oriental and Occidental. “...Kuchuk is a disturbing symbol of fecundity, particularly Oriental in her luxuriant and seemingly unbounded sexuality” (187). She inhabits a “...realm of fantasy, outside of drab (or harried) bourgeois lives, the interdicted” (190). She represents Oriental women: “They express unlimited sensuality, they are more or less stupid, and above all they are willing” (202). Scholars have picked up on Edward Said’s suggestions and ramified them (see Spurr, “Eroticization” in *Rhetoric* 170-183), including scholars of settler societies: according to Terry Goldie, women represent temptation in a colonial context, the word ‘tempting’ suggesting both desire and danger. Said was talking about Egypt, a colony of exploitation France had lost long before Flaubert visited, Goldie about the Commonwealth colonies of settlement. Emma Teng conflates the two in writing, “colonial power and ethnic prestige are symbolized by the sexual license of Chinese men vis-à-vis native women. Thus, in terms of gender, Qing colonial discourse exhibits considerable overlap with European colonial discourses but is yet not entirely parallel” (174).

I will discuss in what ways the two discourses are not entirely parallel and why. Here, I would rather ask, what might be particular about the association in a settler society? I propose, but am not yet able to substantiate, three hypotheses about the difference between the representation of the colonial and the aboriginal woman, concerning the character of the

aboriginal maiden, the relation between land and woman, and the meaning of prostitution. All three hypotheses proceed out of the assumption that the fates of the colonized woman and the aboriginal woman are different.

My first hypothesis concerns the character of the aboriginal woman. In the Pocahontas story, which I will also discuss in Chapter 4, the heroine is hardly passive and submissive, as was typical of the Orientalized courtesan in Said's account. Gender inversion among aborigines in the cultural production of foreigners is more interesting than Orientalist feminization, because Amazonian aborigines are empowered, whereas Orientalized women are pliant. The origin of the trope of gender inversion may well be travelers from patriarchal societies observing the relative prominence of women in other societies. The trope may have a discursive role to play in colonial conquest, because however fearsome Amazons may be they are not as fearsome as aboriginal men. The trope of gender inversion may involve the neutralization of aboriginal men, though not necessarily, as the case of Powhatan, Pocahontas's powerful father, shows.

My second hypothesis is that the symbolism of land and woman has to do with the relation between colonizer and land. It is not as if colonizers in colonies of exploitation are unconcerned with the land. The British carried out land reform in India, for instance, as did the Japanese in Taiwan. But in a colony like India, the relation between colonizer and land will tend to be more indirect. Wishing to get things out of the land not to settle it, the colonizer is content to stay in the city or at least the town. In a settler society, the relation between colonizer and land will be more direct; the settler wants to occupy and farm the land. Flaubert encountered Kuchuk Hanem in a brothel in Cairo, whereas settlers encounter the aboriginal maiden in the countryside that they want to settle. For this reason, the symbolic association between aboriginal woman and landscape tends to be stronger in a settler society than in a colony of exploitation. This association tends also to be more enduring. France in relation to Egypt is no longer Flaubert in relation to Kuchuk Hanem, and even at the time Egypt was no longer a French possession; but the American settlers in relation to the continental United States is still in some symbolic sense John Smith or John Rolfe in relation to Princess Pocahontas. The French do not tell the story of Flaubert in Egypt obsessively (except, perhaps, guiltily or defensively, in the wake of Said), whereas the Americans keep coming back to Pocahontas.

The durability of the association in settler society leads on to my third hypothesis, that the meaning of the aboriginal maiden's prostitution will tend to be different from that of the prostitution of the likes of a Kuchuk Hanem. Colonizers may be happy to take pleasure in the

local population, or they may be critical of the pleasure their countrymen are taking. The Oriental courtesan, in other words, can become a figure for critique. The colonizer may make a show of taking responsibility for the courtesan, of shouldering the white man's burden. But ultimately the colonized man has to take care of his own women. Kuchuk Hanem and her sisters are ultimately someone else's issue. Colonial elites tend to reform the courtesan into a domesticated national mother, especially once they become postcolonial, but educated aboriginal elites do not appear anywhere until very recently. Aboriginal prostitution, on the other hand, appears almost as soon as settlers arrive, as a result of socioeconomic inequity, though it is not represented until much later. When it is represented, it tends to become a national issue. A conservative may lament it as a function of human nature and police it. A liberal may tolerate it in a certain part of the city or preach education so that the poor aboriginal girls have other options. A progressive may see in the aboriginal maiden's prostitution a kind of standing indictment of the settler nation.

### 3.2.2. Premodern, modern and postmodern settler discourse

Having differentiated the discourses of colonies of settlement and exploitation, we may now proceed to contextualize settler colonial discourse historically. One often finds a lack of historical consciousness in the writings of the settler discourse theorists. Admittedly, premodern, modern and postmodern are crude markers; but they can be helpful.

Settler discourse theorists propose that the main settler motivation is "indigeneity" (Ashcroft et al. "The Settler Colonies" 134) or "indigenization" (Goldie, *Fear and Temptation* 4). This seems reasonable. The settlers want to make themselves at home. The new world becomes a new home, and home is the space that we – settlers included, of course – invest with the most meaning, because home is the ultimate 'place'. Certain motifs crop up in settler representations as a result of this motivation. Not surprisingly, *terra nullius* representations – images of an empty land, empty, that is, of aborigines, though it may be full of resources – are common in settler cultural production. It is one thing to represent the land as empty. It is quite another to stress the demise of the aborigines. Some scholars emphasize the 'dying race' or 'last of his tribe' narratives (Ashcroft 132; Wolfe 2) as being typical of settler society, when such narratives are typical only of a certain historical moment – the late nineteenth century, when settlement was in earnest, when the land was most prized.

I return now to the typology of premodern, modern and postmodern settler societies, which are pre-nationalist and usually eliminative, nationalist and usually assimilationist and multiculturalist respectively. What generalizations might we make about the nature of representation in each phase?

Some elements of settler colonial discourse are to be expected only in a premodern context. The premodern period was not without ethical discourse, as the black myth about the cruelty of the Spanish shows. This discourse was universalist, whether Christian or Confucian, and was related to a premodern civilizing mission. But belief in the humanity and civilizability of the aborigine coexists in the premodern period with animalization. Animalization tends to be found only in premodern texts, because in the premodern era it was often assumed that aborigines *were* in some sense more bestial. Modern and postmodern representations cannot be so blatant. Elements of premodern settler discourse like the *terra nullius* panorama persist but become more and more ‘marked’. Animalization is now non-existent, and any sense of the inevitability of the aborigine’s disappearance is phased out. Denigration appears sometimes but is more and more extreme.<sup>17</sup> In a premodern or modern settler society, the depiction of the aborigine as a child is common, as part of the civilizing mission, while in postmodern settler society it becomes rare, in a revaluation of values.

In this dissertation I deal mainly with modern and postmodern cultural production, in which the aborigine has to be incorporated into settler society and brought into some kind of relation with the settlers – and so the manner of domestication becomes the main issue. In a word, the main goal in a modern state is the domestication of the aborigines. As I discussed at the beginning of Chapter 1, ‘domestication’ implies family and home. The aborigine is in some sense to be brought into the settler nation-state, into the national household though perhaps not the national family, at least not initially.<sup>18</sup> In the Chinese imagination, the aborigines have often lived collectively in caves, without a built environment, drinking blood and eating fur. When

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<sup>17</sup> ‘Denigration’ is cognate with ‘nigger’. In a recent children’s comic telling the story of Wu Sha funded by Taiwan’s National Institute of Compilation and Translation, the vicious Atayal aborigines are distinguished from the peaceful Kavalan aborigines on the basis of skin color. Skin color is a sign of class difference in Taiwan, but it is also an obvious sign of ethnic distinction. I imagine the representation in this comic has more to do with the local association of tanned with low class, or perhaps even of an imported association of black with bad. This example seems to suggest the continuing vitality of discourse out of joint with reality, though the comic’s dissemination was limited; had it reached a wider audience, it would probably have been pummelled in the public sphere.

<sup>18</sup> One must not imagine that aborigines were without their own forms of housing and related social organization. For instance, each of the ‘tribes’ that has been studied in Taiwan since the analysis of Japanese anthropologists like Inō Kanori in the late 1890s had a distinctive form of housing and social organization. Some tribes even had neolocal residence and the nuclear family. There were forms of private ownership among the Taroko and probably among other groups.



otherwise unoccupied, the aborigines wander the landscape, just for the sheer joy of it. But from the 1950s, according to the Chinese state civilizing mission in Taiwan, aborigines were to adopt Chinese housing and family arrangements. One sees domestication in the cultural production most vividly in the sorts of dwellings aborigines come to occupy in film and fiction, but the term domestication should not be taken too literally: the houses in the works I interpret are literally houses and symbolically forms for a new content, the Chinese *lebensform* – the Chinese form of life. In a modern settler society, ‘domestication’ also has the sense of taming the savage, as in the domestication of crops and animals. The domestication of the aborigine tends to dominate representations in a typical modern settler society.

However, in reality in settler societies, aborigines tend to end up either assimilated or exploited (or both) as they make the transition from primitive indigence to national industry. In capitalist modernity the individual is pulled from the group, just as the land is portioned up; for no group in a society is this process more painful than the aborigines, who are drawn out of primitive, relatively communal society and sucked into the modern economy individual by individual. In a postmodern settler society, the plight of the aborigine tends to become a symbol of something wrong in the state of the nation. The resilience of the aborigine, on the other hand, tends to become a symbol of national cultural diversity.

Having distinguished settler colonial discourse from colonial discourse in general and periodized it in terms of premodern, modern and postmodern, I now consider the possibility of a comprehensive theory of settler colonial discourse.

### 3.2.3. Synthesizing Orientalism and Mimicry for a settler society context

Colonial discourse studies date to Said’s *Orientalism*. Said’s thesis in *Orientalism* was, once again, that in colonial discourse the Occident was represented as the opposite of the Orient, that in the process Occidental identity came to depend on the construction of the Orient. There is, however, another major theory of colonial discourse. Homi Bhabha’s theory of Mimicry complements Said’s theory of Orientalism. Bhabha had in the back of his mind the Anglicist position in the colonial debate in the first half of the nineteenth century in Britain. In his famous Educational Minute of 1832, Baron Macaulay envisioned “a class of interpreters” who would be English in all but skin color. Broadly speaking, Said’s theory is Orientalist, while Bhabha’s theory is Anglicist; Said theorizes representational othering, Bhabha representational assimilation. In his essay “Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse,”

Homi Bhabha was writing about the Anglicist "...desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite" (*The Location of Culture* 122) not quite because if the other really became essentially the same as the self, the other would have to be granted all the rights of the self. In the case of colonial India, that would have meant granting India sovereignty, which was out of the question. It would have also meant giving up a basis for identity construction, an other in relation to which the self could be defined. Both Said and Bhabha psychoanalyze colonial discourse, but their theories seem mutually contradictory.

Faced with these two theories, a critic might on the one hand wish to dispense with 'theory' altogether. John Mackenzie, for instance, writes of the "sheer eclecticism" of Western responses to the East, a diversity in the representations themselves and in the intentions we can likely impute to people who produced the representations. A critic might on the other hand attempt a synthesis. Tzvetan Todorov tries to include both assimilation and differentiation in a single theory that is answerable to history. In *The Conquest of America*, Todorov theorizes identification and differentiation as two ways of cognizing and representing the other. He finds both tendencies in the thought of Christopher Columbus (42). Identification leads to assimilation, while differentiation leads, at least in early colonial America, to mass slavery. Todorov follows the implications of both modes of cognition and representation in subsequent thinkers over the next century and in the terrible historical record. The history of the period might lead one to despair, but the varied responses of the thinkers Todorov studies do not. Some ended up defending Amerindian culture against Catholic universalism and idealizing the Amerindian. Todorov in other works explicitly identifies himself as a discourse theorist, but he certainly does not have a Foucauldian understanding of the term. Todorov would stress that while discourse can be used as a tool of domination, but also a medium of communication. "Nonviolent communication exists, and we can defend it as a value" (Todorov, *Conquest* 182). Thus, in addition to being epistemologically dialectical – some writers went beyond either disparagement or idealization of the aborigine – there is also the suggestion of the dialogical in Todorov's theory, even of the dialogical within a single, bicultural mind.

Orientalism has begun to be applied to the study of nation-states, in which context one would think in terms of 'internal orientalism'. Internal orientalism was first studied in India in a postcolonial context, and the tribals – the 'scheduled tribes' – in India would seem to be among the orientalized internal others; but the scholars who advanced this notion, by analogy with Michael Hechter's 'internal colonialism' of Ireland within Great Britain (Breckenridge and van

der Veer 11), assert that European colonization is to blame for postcolonial internal orientalist representation, because Orientalism “...has become internalized in the practices of the postcolonial state, the theories of the postcolonial intelligentsia, and the political action of postcolonial mobs” (11). They do not consider the possibility that Orientalism is a universal mechanism in identity formation predating the British presence in India. Intriguingly, the notion of internal Orientalism has been applied in China. Scholars have discussed the representation of the ‘national minorities’ of China in terms of ‘internal orientalism’ (Gladney “Representing Nationality”; Schein). Gladney notes that today in the PRC, the fifty-five national minorities are now typically represented as colourfully ethnic and feminine. These scholars have suggested that feminization, in contrast to a masculine Han subjectivity, suggests a process of internal Orientalism in which the Han Chinese assert their modernity in contrast to the backward national minorities. These arguments are not to be confused with Occidentalism, which is a theory about contemporary Chinese representations of the Occident.<sup>19</sup> In a related turn of phrase, Fred Chiu Yen Liang uses the term ‘sub-orientalism’ of postwar Taiwanese media representations of the Formosan aborigines.<sup>20</sup> I would argue that in each of these cases, India, China and Taiwan, we have what seems to be internal orientalism in a settler colonial context – settler orientalism rather than simply internal orientalism. But is orientalism an adequate theory of settler colonial discourse?

Orientalism *per se* has been challenged, most impressively by John Mackenzie. Mackenzie eruditely demolishes the notion that the Orient in Occidental representation was part of “a monolithic binary discourse” (39). He re-describes Orientalism as function of “intertextuality” (39) and “an increasingly intense sensitivity” (214) that was “endlessly protean” (215). To my knowledge no similar critique has been made of ‘internal orientalism’ in a settler

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<sup>19</sup> cf. Chen Xiaomei, *Occidentalism: A Theory of Counter-Discourse in Post-Mao China*.

<sup>20</sup> Sub-orientalism or internal orientalism are the representational counterparts of sub-imperialism/colonialism or internal imperialism/colonialism. Gladney has interpreted the recent settlement of the west, including Tibet and Xinjiang, in terms of ‘internal colonialism,’ but I have not seen the case made for postwar Taiwan. It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to critique these concepts, but it seems to me that many scholars who use this vocabulary are partial to Marxist explanations of history. One scholar who uses these terms of Taiwan, Fred Chiu, is, at any rate, a declared Marxist. Chiu’s discussions of the aborigines assume state ‘exploitation’ of land and people. There is some truth in his Marxist account. Arguably, early on in the postwar period, from 1950 to the mid-1960s, the KMT regarded Taiwan as a colony to be exploited as well as temporarily settled. In some sense, the aborigines were ‘in the way’ of development, occupying land needed for vital national park or resource extraction projects. They were in some sense absorbed capitalistically into the economy and exploited until the import of *Gastarbeiter* became an option. But the Marxist interpretation of history is partial. A fairer assessment would acknowledge the good intentions of the state, which were blunted or misdirected by corruption. A clearer assessment of state policy was that it was contradictory, a mixture of paternalistic concern, of greed, and of societal penetration for the purpose of political control, and I have tried in my thematic history above to indicate the ways in which state policy in postwar Taiwan was both well-meaning and contradictory.

society context. One of the objectives and justifications of this dissertation is to take Mackenzie's critique into settler territory. Mackenzie often seems inclined to simply rubbish Said, but Orientalism might be salvaged if it were complemented with Mimicry.

In this regard, a moment's reflection on the Pocahontas story, for instance, will show that neither Orientalism nor Mimicry is alone an adequate theory of representation. Certainly, in the recent Disney films Pocahontas is an exotic. But there are two main episodes in the Pocahontas story, the evolution of which I will discuss in Chapter 4, and in neither is she exactly Orientalized. In the first, in which she intercedes on behalf of John Rolfe, she is othered; certainly she is a contrast to a typical Englishwoman. In the second main episode in the Pocahontas story, Pocahontas converts to Christianity and takes the baptismal name Rebecca. Rebecca in the Bible may be an Orientalized figure, because she is dark; but conversion also suggests assimilation in representation. In the representation of Pocahontas, then, there is both othering and assimilation, both Orientalism and Mimicry.

In the representations of Formosan aborigines throughout the postwar period, similarly, the aboriginal maiden is both representationally othered and assimilated. Two films, both made by the commercial Hong Kong firm Shaw Brothers in the 1960s, illustrate this point. In *Heisenlin* 黑森林 [Black forest] (1964), a silly aboriginal princess lives in a flower bower surrounded by a moat, and runs off to throw herself off a cliff when she thinks her Chinese lover is leaving. In the film *Lanyu zhi ge* 蘭嶼之歌 [Song of Orchid Island] (1965), made with the same lead actor the following year, the island girl becomes Chinese as well as Christian. The former film is propaganda for the forestry industry, while the latter is a tourist brochure as well as nationalist propaganda. I do not know the material from the PRC well enough to critique Gladney and Schein, but I would imagine that PRC representations of the minorities are diverse and that the accounts of Gladney and Schein might benefit theoretically from a synthesis of Orientalism and Mimicry.

An effective synthesis of Orientalism and Mimicry for settler discourse studies would retain Todorov's theoretical clarity and Mackenzie's sense of the complexity of situations and motivations. In a modern settler state, representational saming of the aborigines may follow from an assimilatory settler nationalism, or it may reflect a more or less sensitive identification, whereby the observer perceives or comes to believe that the other is like him in some respect. In either case, the assimilatory representation of the other may be involved in identity construction – a point Said made, though he tended to assume that identity construction would

assume a binary form. Representational othering of aborigines is also potentially complicated. It may be political, commodificatory, self-indulgent, critical or even ‘phenomenological’.<sup>21</sup> Indigenizing settler nationalists will tend to other both the aborigines and themselves at the same time; they will *assimilate to* the indigenous, at least in representation. The putative alterity of the aborigine – his inability to take care of themselves or to self-regulate, for instance – may be a justification for various policies of control and assistance. A cultural producer may simply be commodifying the aborigines by othering them, selling an exotic image. Representational othering may get linked to the problem of modernity. The indigene may be ennobled by self-indulgently nostalgic settlers who are anxious about what they are losing or have lost. A critical cultural producer might through the image of a degraded aborigine – a prostitute perhaps – critique the failure of aboriginal domestication. Finally, a writer or filmmaker might produce a sensitive and sympathetic portrait of an other, one that even achieves an understanding of another’s agency, a point I take up in the conclusion to this chapter and an idea that will serve as a kind of leitmotif in this dissertation. The aboriginal maiden may return in abjection but even then has the potential for further action. Settler identity construction may be involved in representational othering as well, which is to be condemned when the settler is using a monolithic and polarized ideological discourse, and to be admired when in learning about an other a settler becomes clearer about himself. In proposing these different possibilities for saming and othering in settler representations of aborigines, I am not suggesting that any single work will necessarily belong to either ‘category’ – saming or othering. Between identity and difference there is a continuum. Moreover, as to motivation, there may be multiple motives present in a single work, even a work of propaganda, in which social control, humanitarianism, and the profit motive may all coexist, in which anxiety, concern, desire may all be implicit. This is not to say that I am an apologist for settlement. Rather, I am defending the thesis that settler colonial ‘discourse’ in Taiwan and elsewhere is complicated representationally and

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<sup>21</sup> In my opinion, J. J. Healy’s *Literature and the Australian Aborigine* is the greatest achievement in the field of research on settler literary representations of aborigines. Of the Australians who wrote about the aborigines, Healy writes, “I was struck by how often a consciousness of who they themselves were became tied into the quality of their contact with the Aborigines” (“Introduction to the 1989 Edition” xv). This is reminiscent of Said, but already the notion of ‘quality’ suggests a greater range of possibilities than Said’s solipsistic binary opposition. Healy recalls how his research became “phenomenological” (xvii), a word that suggests a lot: the intentionality of the experience of the Australian settlers, the object of which was the aborigines; the settler idea of embodied aboriginal experience; and intersubjectivity. Healy is well-versed in the Western literary tradition, and he notes when a settler is representing an aborigine in terms of an existing literary discourse. He also knows the history of Australia thoroughly and does not confine himself to the literary. Needless to say, I admire Healy’s achievement. His work is very fine.

motivationally speaking. Once we acknowledge the complexity the task of the critic becomes much more difficult and much more interesting.

In each of the three main body chapters of this dissertation, I attempt to take up this difficult and interesting task by examining both othering and saming representations of aborigines produced in different contexts by Chinese settler writers and filmmakers with different intentions and differing qualities and quantities of sensitivity and sympathy.

#### 4. Narrating settler-aboriginal relations

As we would expect, given that in *Orientalism* and *Mimicry* colonizers are psychoanalyzed, settlers tend to write about themselves in writing about the aborigines. This tendency is common to both settler colonies and settler nations. Aborigines get drawn into the construction of settler identity. Thomas Scanlan has noted the simultaneous emergence of colonialism and nationalism and studied the role that English interactions with native populations played in identity construction. He writes, "...England implicitly embraced the notion that its involvement with the native populations in the New World could serve as an allegory for its own ongoing struggle to define a coherent national identity" (36). Applying to a later period, David Pearson's thesis in *The Politics of Ethnicity in Settler Societies* is that indigenous people achieve "a prominent position in public iconography and within the recast foundational myths of majorities in post-settler states" (1-2).<sup>22</sup> In other words, aborigines become important in nation building. However, it is also crucial to recognize that settlers are not simply writing about themselves and their own national identities.

In writing about aborigines, settlers are also writing about their relations with aborigines. Settlers may tend in premodern and modern contexts to represent themselves as superior to the aborigines and settler culture as the telos of aboriginal development, but, as I argued in Chapter 1, relations in discursive representations become unstable in narratives. An allegorical painting may imply the stability of opposites, but an allegorical narrative about a relation between a settler and an aborigine suggests dialectical interaction. The only scholar who has taken an explicitly narrative discursive approach to representations of the Formosan aborigines is Mark Munsterhjelm. He is to my knowledge the only scholar to theorize narrative in a settler society context, though most scholars who treat representations of aborigines discuss narratives in fiction

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<sup>22</sup> Pearson offers no examples of foundational myths as his interest is issues not national narration. I understand what he means by "post-settler" but I would stress that settler states are not post-settler in the same way that formerly colonized states are now post-colonial.

or film. In his M.A. thesis, Munsterhjelm studied ‘organizational narratives’ in which Chinese heroes rescue aborigines as deployed in a 2001 exhibition on the Canadian medical practitioner and Presbyterian proselytizer George Leslie Mackay. In this account, a narrative trope organizes an exhibition. Munsterhjelm’s M.A. is a respectable piece of work, and his narratological approach is inspiring. I hope, however, in my dissertation, to describe more of a politics of representation in representations of the Formosan aborigines selected from the entire postwar period in which identities come loose from their moorings.

How do deal with the almost two hundred representations of the Formosan aborigines I have gathered and annotated in the appendix to this dissertation? The typology of relations in national allegory I introduced in Chapter 1 and applied to China and Taiwan in Chapter 2 can be adapted to the cultural production of settler societies in general and Taiwan specifically. Once again, the three modes were hierarchical, homosocial, and heterosexual. Scholars of settler cultural production usually get the latter two categories but miss or downplay the first. Goldie called his book *Fear and Temptation*. In other words, epic fear of the brave and romantic temptation by the squaw. Epic and romance describe these two modes, but we have no obvious literary term for the hierarchical, often parental relations one finds in more authoritarian forms of nationalism. I have opted for the term ‘melodramatic’ for hierarchical narration.

Using this framework, comparison can be made over time and space. Historical change in any given context will be reflected in the use of each of the modes. And the particularity of one national case can be established by comparing it with another. In the following sections the temporal scheme I use is premodern, modern and postmodern, terms I elaborated above. Spatially or geographically, I focus mainly on Taiwan in contrast to the United States.<sup>23</sup> When one compares Taiwan to the United States, one finds similarities and differences. One of the theses I am defending in this dissertation is that features that may initially seem attributable to ‘cultural difference’ are actually also explicable historically. We should not be too quick to conclude that all the difference is cultural. I argue this thesis most strenuously in Chapter 4, but it is also relevant for the following two sections on hierarchical and homosocial narration in settler society.

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<sup>23</sup> Canadian critics are not surprisingly defensive about the Americans and eager to establish Canadian difference. Margaret Atwood in *Survival* argued for instance that the settlers against the Indians in the United States is a story of good and evil, whereas for Canadian writers it is a story of victors and victims. I discuss the American context because it is the best researched and the most well-known, and because I know more about it than I do about Canada.

The most important point I make in this section, one of the most important in the entire dissertation, is that the aborigines tend not to enter national allegories as family members, and so the metaphor of family, which as I argued in Chapter 1 has been a way of solving the problem of ‘instrumental rationality’ and founding the nation on something more than the market, fails to protect aborigines. More precisely, one could say that the aborigines tend not to enter the nation as family members except in heterosexual narration. I discuss hierarchical and homosocial narration below. I have much more to say about heterosexual narration and have moved that discussion to the following chapter.

#### 4.1. Hierarchical narration

I begin with the settler tutor. Settlers often justify their presence in the new world by fulfilling the mission of civilization. There were other justifications for settlement, including prestige, security, population pressure, and economic advantage (Confer, “French Colonial Ideas”), all of which bracketed the aborigines. Hence, the tutelary figure is common in settler representations of aborigines. In the Academy Award winning *Cimarron*, released in 1931, the Oklahoma land rushes in 1889 and 1894 are justified by the claim that the settlers were bringing civilization to the Cherokee Diaspora.

The most important hierarchical story in postwar Taiwan period is the story of a self-sacrificing teacher: Wu Feng. In the 1962 film version *Wu Feng*, the subtitle *The Christ of the East* was added.<sup>24</sup> In the film, the interpreter or mediator Wu Feng is both a teacher and a ‘sheriff’. He tries for decades in the eighteenth century to convince the aborigines to renounce human sacrifice. He eventually has to don a red cloak, mount a white horse, and ride off to his destiny: he allows the aborigines to kill him so that they will finally abandon the practice of human sacrifice. The film is pseudo-history relevant to the Taiwan of 1962. No aborigine was still headhunting in 1962. In 1962, the meaning of human sacrifice in this film was simply aboriginal backwardness, and Wu Feng stands for the beneficent state helping the aborigines to civilize. The film is obviously tendentious, but I think it has been contradictorily criticized. It is in fact universally reviled. One can understand the antipathy. It was preposterous to name Wu

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<sup>24</sup> This subtitle appears in the movie but was not in the original Chinese. Here there is a contrast between American and Taiwanese cultural production. The secular schoolmarm is the agent of civilization in the American western much more than the mission schoolmaster, because of the Protestant problem: denominationalism. Religion on the American frontier was a divider not a uniter (Szasz, “The Clergy and the Myth of the American West”). Christian images are frequent in Taiwanese representations of the Formosan aborigines, but the kind of Christianity is usually not specified and would at any rate have meant little to most members of the audience.



Feng Township the district in which Alishan is located (renamed Xinyi Township on March 1, 1989), and it was wrong to put the Wu Feng story in the elementary school textbooks, in which headhunting is described as a bad or evil custom and in which the aborigines deify Wu Feng (in Li Yiyuan 10). But the aborigines are shown in the 1962 film to respect contractual relations: they abide by the agreement they make with Wu Feng to use the heads they took in the Zhu Yigui rebellion in 1721 one a year in their annual sacrificial ritual, which is a regulated rite and a social institution, not bloodlust. Respect for contracts is surely virtuous from the postwar Chinese perspective. Aborigines had already entered into contractual relations in the eighteenth century, and typically it was the Chinese settlers who disrespected them. In this regard, the 1949 and 1962 Wu Feng films represent the Chinese settler incursions on aboriginal territory very negatively, in contrast to the film *Tangshan guo Taiwan* (1986) or the novel *Hanye* (1979), which I discuss below. Taiwanese settlers are being criticized along with the aborigines. Only Wu Feng the interpreter comes out untarnished morally, which is dubious from the perspective of historical accuracy as well as contemporary relevance – if Wu Feng is symbolically the KMT he appears rather too benevolent. At the beginning of the film he is a trader, suggesting the KMT's attraction to alpine resource extraction, but after he becomes interpreter he embraces the moral mission of a teacher in a totally disinterested fashion.

Earlier, premodern versions of the story were much harsher on the aborigines. The first Wu Feng-related cultural product was a poem from 1855 (by Liu Jiamou), in which the proclivities of the typical interpreter are described as marrying raw savage women and inciting attacks on settlers. In Liu's account, Wu Feng is not only righteous but also martial. After his death he appears brandishing a sword and riding a horse. The aborigines associate the apparition with the epidemic from which they suffer and do obeisance to him (in Li Yiyuan 2). In a note on Wu Feng in a late nineteenth century gazetteer, the bone-bred bloodlust of the aborigines is emphasized, and a rational explanation for the 'apparition' is provided: Wu Feng tells his family to burn effigies of him after he is gone. The aborigines see the effigies and assume Wu Feng lives on in ghostly form (in Li Yiyuan 3-4).

In 1912, a Japanese colonial official, Nakada Naohisa 中田直久, added a Confucian dimension: now Wu Feng "sacrificed himself to fulfill humankindness."<sup>25</sup> In the same year, the former civil governor-general Gotō Shinpei 後藤新平, at a time when governor-general Sakuma

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<sup>25</sup> For the use of the story in the Japanese era, see Ching, *Becoming* 153-160 and Kleeman 26-27.

Samata 佐久間左馬太 was crushing Atayal resistance, wrote an inscription for a stele erected at Alishan to commemorate Wu Feng. His accompanying address is not Confucian but sadistic. Wu Feng's family prays for the annihilation of the aborigines: "...let calamity strike the savage villages, that none remain" (in Li Yiyuan 5). After the tribe is struck by the epidemic, the aboriginal shaman says that if they worship Wu Feng they can avert death. Finally, Gotō, who was around this time serving a term as Minister of Communications (逓信大臣), links Wu Feng's taming of the aborigines to plans for imperial development, to the building of railway and power lines up to Alishan (5).

Lian Heng's *Taiwan tongshi* 台灣通史 [History of Taiwan] rereads Wu Feng according to the racialist discourse prevalent in Republican China at the time. Wu Feng now dies for "the Han race" (Lian Heng 622), whereas by 1962 the Chinese intelligentsia, embracing a northern origin theory of aboriginal extraction (Stainton, "Politics" 37), had decided that the aborigines and Han were of the same 'race'. In contrast to the 1962 film, in which Wu Feng is 'tutelary', he is genocidal in Lian Heng's account. He intends to "die and as a vindictive spirit annihilate the aborigines" (Lian Heng 622). The savages are ferocious and bloodthirsty by nature, according to Lian Heng, who was writing a few years after the Japanese had subdued the Atayal in the mid-1910s. Wu Feng resolves to deal with them manfully and martially. Now he has a gang of supporters, wood-cutters and rattan-gatherers, whom he tells to lie in wait and start shooting when they see the aborigines. He fights the savage king in the hall of his compound and, upon dying, shouts, "Wu Feng is going to kill the Savages!" (Lian Heng 622). His family handles the special effects: the few aborigines that make it past the ambush see Wu Feng 'ghost' chasing them from behind. Out of fear, aboriginal women stay at home. Having nothing to eat, they all take sick. The epidemic only abates when they worship Wu Feng as a god (Lian Heng 623), just as the natives worshipped Wu Sha according to Lian Heng (656).<sup>26</sup> The two stories are cut from the same cloth. In the 1962 film, the aborigines commit suicide out of regret by jumping off a cliff – by far the most regrettable moment of the film – while Lian Heng's version seems more like a shootout in a Western film. We know that by the late 1920s American Westerns or Japanese films were based on them were shown in Taiwan (Watan; Li Daoming). Lian Heng had probably never seen a Western. He interprets Wu Sha and Wu Feng as traditional Chinese

<sup>26</sup> In cultural production in the 1960s, the Chinese authority figure, whether as doctor, teacher, policeman or priest, was sometimes deified. The deification of Wu Feng in particular sounds like an episode in the Freudian family romance. Freud's explanation would be that after the primal sacrifice of the father by the patricidal fraternity a longing for the father and guilt would motivate His deification (Hunt, *The Family Romance* 6).

righteous knights (武俠). At any rate, Lian Heng's racist triumphalism and his characterization of Wu Feng as a spectral sheriff would not be out of place in an American Western. The 1962 film, in indulging in nationalist moralizing and satisfaction of the desire of urban audiences for things aboriginal, seems rather tame in comparison.

Wu Feng in the 1962 film is more than a tutelary or policing figure. He is a father figure to a young aboriginal maiden named Shatalan. He rescues her one day when she is tied up in a tree and in danger of being ravaged by some of the men from the local tribe. She is from the tribe on the other side of the hill. Wu Feng takes her home, and insists that she should be able to choose her own husband. She becomes an adoptive daughter. She is so attached to Wu Feng that she does not want to leave his home. Here is the trope of the aborigine as child. Emma Teng gives many examples of Formosan aborigines represented as children (227; 241; 246) in the Qing dynasty. The relationship of the state to the people, including the aborigines (Teng 239, elaborating Millward, *Beyond the Pass* 201) in the Qing dynasty was figured as parent-to-child, not as husband-to-wife. There is a faint suggestion of a romantic attraction on the girl's part, but this film does not develop into a national romance. When Wu Feng goes off to meet his destiny, Shatalan runs hysterically along the path after him.

Wu Feng's days were numbered. In a serious misreading of the field of cultural production, the poet Yang Mu 楊牧 in 1978 wrote an 'epic drama' about Wu Feng and the "children of Alishan" who were eager to "learn" from the great man (Yang Mu, *Wu Feng* 149). In 1980, the scholar Chen Qinan 陳其南 published an article in the newspaper exposing the whole tradition as a fabrication. The anthropologist Hu Taili 胡台麗 published "Wu Feng zhi si" 吳鳳之死 [Death of Wu Feng], a short story that collapsed the skeleton of fact upon which the red cloak of myth had been draped and focused on current not historical or mythic conditions. It was only a matter of time before Wu Feng statues would be pulled down, Wu Feng Rural Township redesignated, and the Wu Feng story taken out of the textbooks.

Overall, the tutelary figure has been relatively more important in postwar Taiwanese cultural production than in American cultural production, where the sheriff is a much more important figure than the tutor. An easy explanation of the difference is cultural: education has been so important to Chinese people since the time of Confucius. In his introduction to his epic drama, for instance, Yang Mu compared the American violent suppression of Indian masculinity with the enlightened benevolence of Wu Feng, a veritable Confucius among the savages (4).

There may indeed be something to this cultural explanation. But a more fully historical explanation of the differences in representation would take into account historical differences. For instance, dissemination was different in the two countries: the state in postwar Taiwan heavily promoted the Wu Feng legend, whereas the cultural production in the United States was more commercial and thus more susceptible to sensationalist violence. And supposedly Confucian Chinese writers were not immune from dealing with the aborigines in this way. Had Yang Mu looked at Lian Heng's account of the story of Wu Feng, in which Wu Feng is a 'sheriff' who has nothing for the aborigines but retribution, his contrast between China and the United States would have been confounded.

Not surprisingly, there are no recent instances of the hierarchical type of narration in Chinese works about the Formosan aborigine. It now seems politically incorrect or even risible to represent the settler as a parent, policeman or teacher with power over the childlike, criminal or ignorant aborigine. In the film *Dong zhi ji* (1990), the native policeman takes over local governance duties from the mainland Chinese policeman by the end of the story. This is what 'self-governance' meant in 1990. While the respect of Chinese people for Formosan aboriginal cultures may not be very profound, respect is at least often expressed. As in a 'postmodern Western' like *Dances With Wolves*, there are some recent, very restrained examples of the aboriginal superior in Taiwanese cultural production (see D'haen's "Popular Genre Conventions in Postmodern Fiction: The Case of the Western" on Postmodern "inversion" 161). The ethnic identities of the teacher and student are likely to be reversed in recent, postmodern cultural production, the easy-going aborigine becoming the mentor, as in the films *Dengdai feiyu* 等待飛魚 [Awaiting the Flying Fish], in which a Tawu youth of Orchid Island teaches a harried girl from Taipei to relax, and *Shanzhu, feishu, Sakinu* 山豬、飛鼠、撒可努 [The Sage Hunter], in which an aboriginal forest cop teaches an official from the Ministry of Transport about the value of nature, in order to avert a highway development. Both films are from 2005, and both were made with a commercial intent, so that a fair bit of simplification and idealization of the situation of contemporary aborigines has gone on. Furthermore, the former might be classified as a romantic narrative, the latter as a homosocial narrative, as there is no 'institutionally marked' hierarchical relation in either.

#### 4.2. Homosocial narration

The famous Americanist Leslie Fiedler notoriously identified a theme of inter-'racial' homosocial (*Love and Death* 192) or even homoerotic bonding ("Huck Honey") in American literature. The relationship between the 'Great Snake' Chingachgook and Hawkeye, the Good Companions, in James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826) is interracial and homosocial. It is according to D. H. Lawrence (*Studies in Classic American Literature*) an "immortal friendship" in the wilderness, story of a settler in harmony with both Indian and nature and free from the constraints of modern society, represented by the "petticoat government" of the settler female (Fiedler 58). Yet Lawrence insisted that, "The Red Man and the White Man are not blood-brothers: even when they are most friendly" (qtd. in Fiedler 54). Chingachgook was the original of the "Noble Redskin" in American comics of the 1930s. By the 1870s in America, however, the reincarnations of Hawkeye and Chingachgook had been Cowboy and Indian. Now 'the only good Indian was a dead Indian' (Mieder). In the 1930s, the Noble Redskin and Indian enemy figures coexisted. This contrast suggests a continuum of homosocial interethnic relations, from harmonious to adversarial. The idea of such a continuum is useful for the study of interethnic homosocial relations in Taiwanese literature. The different versions of the Wu Feng story could be placed as homosocial narratives at different points along this continuum. But there are many other stories from Taiwan that can be studied as homosocial narratives.

Stories about Qing dynasty history published from the 1940s to the 1970s as a function of nascent Taiwan consciousness tended to reflect the ethnic tensions of an earlier time. Stories by the Hakka writer Long Yingzong, for instance, give a gritty portrayal of antagonistic relations between the hill-dwelling Hakka and the highland aborigines in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. "Yeliu" 夜流 [Night Flood] is about Hakka camphormen headhunted by Atayal braves, while "Huangjia" 黃家 [The Huang Family] is about the owner of a trading post who cheats his Atayal customers. Long Yingzong's stories – some written in the 1940s and translated from the Japanese, others new – were part of the construction of Taiwanese or perhaps specially Hakka collective memory.

After Taiwan lost its seat in the UN and was diplomatically betrayed by Japan, the state stepped up promotion of anti-Japanese cultural production. Zhong Zhaozheng's novel *Mahepo fengyun* 馬赫坡風雲 [Storm over Mahebo] (1971) retold the story of Mona Rudao's resistance to Japanese colonial oppression. Mona Rudao became the Noble Redskin of the Taiwanese historical imaginary. He was even more of a hero than his American counterpart, because he had

fought against the Japanese ‘colonizers’ rather than the Chinese settlers. Li Qiao’s *Hanye* 寒夜 [Wintry Night], the most important Hakka settler epic, written in the late 1970s, also participates in the anti-Japanese discourse in celebrating aboriginal resistance. Concessions are made to early historic antagonisms, but later unity achieved in the presence of a common enemy, the Japanese (Balcom 15). The Peng family pioneer in Fanzai (‘savage’) Wood. They initially suffer headhunting attacks. A Chinese nicknamed Three Chops 三刀 leads the pioneers against the aborigines. One might expect the aborigines to be denigrated, but there is no necessary connection between conflict with and denigration of an indigenous enemy.<sup>27</sup> *Hanye* is a recounting of the story of settlement a century after the fact by a humanitarian Hakka intellectual who was more inclined to ennoble or even identify with the aborigines. The foremost aboriginal chief *Hanye*, Beidu Babo 北都·巴博, is a champion deer hunter, “a leader of outstanding mental and physical abilities” and a hunter of twelve human heads (Li Qiao 37). The aborigines end up teaming up with the Hakka rebels or ‘bandits’ against the Japanese at the Battle of Malabang. Briefly, the settlers and aborigines are on the same side, in contrast to *The Last of the Mohicans*, in which the friendship between Chinggachgook and Hawkeye is half the book.

In regard to indigenizing settler nationalism, in many homosocial settler narratives, the settler hero ‘goes native’ to some degree; but there is usually resistance to the loss of identity. Hawkeye remains an American frontiersman, a man without a ‘cross’, a man without any native blood. One of the characters in *Hanye* may be biracial: many stories circulate about Three Chops: that the aborigines killed his wife, but also that he is a half-breed or full-blood aborigine. He at least knows some “Taiya” (38). In the late 1970s, Li Qiao might have made the reader uncomfortable by insisting upon Three Chop’s racial aboriginality; a decade later Taiwanese intellectuals would be insisting on their plains aborigine blood, as the racial prong of the Taiwanese nation-building project (see Brown, *Is Taiwan Chinese?*). But in Taiwan, as in most settler societies until recently, spiritual identity has been generally safer than racial identity. In *Last of the Mohicans*, Hawkeye merely put on the trappings of native identity and remained a man ‘without a cross’ – which is to say he was no cross-breed. In *Hanye*, when Ahan and Qiu Mei, the locally born Hakka and the Hakka from Henan, return from the Battle of Malabang, “both men were dressed in native garb and carried long-handled native knives” (148). Settlers represent the acquisition of the backwoods abilities of the Indians in order to assert indigeneity,

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<sup>27</sup> *La Araucana*, the national epic of Chile, tells the story of the defeat of the noble Araucanian indigenes. It was by Alonso de Ercilla (1533-1595), who participated in but was critical of the conquest.

to nativize themselves (Lawson and Johnson 363). They even reveal that they have “cut off Jap heads” (149), appropriating what was originally a proof of aboriginal manhood as a symbol of national resistance. But while Li Qiao may have been using the aborigines to make a place in Taiwanese history for the Hakka settlers, he was also genuinely interested in the aborigines. The spiritual nature of the indigenous identification in *Hanye* and the absence of the tutelary impulse distinguishes Li Qiao’s novel from settler epics like Knut Hamsun’s Nobel Prize winning *Growth of the Soil* (Jernsletten 73) or for that matter from the predominantly tutelary 1962 film *Wu Feng*.

“Taimu shan ji” 泰姆山記 [Story of Mount Taimu] (1984), also by Li Qiao, is also a story of communion, but it differs in one crucial respect from *Hanye*. “Taimu” describes the last days of the Hakka author Lu Heruo. Lu lived most of his life under the Japanese, but died during the White Terror in 1951. As Angelina Yee notes, the note of spiritual solidarity between Hakka and aborigines is pronounced:

Describing the solidarity between the fugitive and the aborigines, who lead him through dangerous mountain paths to escape KMT capture, Li eulogizes the simplicity and grace of aboriginal worship of nature in contrast to the crassness and cruelty of mainland captors in hot pursuit. (Yee 97)

In this story, published five years after *Hanye*, Li Qiao switched the identity of the opposition to the Hakka-aborigine alliance from Japanese to mainland Chinese. I would call Li’s nationalism in either *Hanye* or “Taimu” as indigenizing settler nationalism, but in the latter one group of settlers, the Taiwanese or perhaps specifically the Hakka, are identifying with the aborigines to distinguish themselves from another group of settlers, the mainlanders. Implicit in the 1970s, Li Qiao’s Taiwanese nationalism is now explicit.

The Hakka were not the only ones who represented national interethnic homosocial relations. The last movie of the great director Li Xing, *Tangshan guo Taiwan* 唐山過台灣 [From the hills of the Tang, a passage to Taiwan] (1986), retold the story of Wu Sha in an effort to shore up Taiwan’s Chinese identity. Wu Sha was the ‘heroic’ leader of the settlement of the Yilan (Ilan) Plain, and in this film the Han Chinese become the benefactors of the aborigines. In the work, there is a clear distinction between the Kavalan aborigines, who are gentle, and the Atayal aborigines, who are savage headhunters. The settlers are attacked by the Atayal, but manage to survive. The Kavalan chief is an old partner of Wu Sha’s, but he is being somewhat

uncooperative regarding the land issue.<sup>28</sup> Wu Sha changes the chief's mind when the tribe is plagued with smallpox. The condition was described as 'smallpox' (天花) by Inō Kanori. Lian Heng described the problem as 'carbuncles' (痘) (655). As Wu Sha saves the sick with Traditional Chinese Medicine the problem was likely self-resolving. At any rate, out of gratitude the Kavalan chief accepts Wu Sha's terms of land use, which are far more generous than the aborigines were ever given historically, as well as Wu Sha's offer to teach the aborigines how to plant the land properly. In doing so, Wu Sha was ignoring Kavalan land use practices, which included planting millet on slopeland and hunting on the plains. Hearing this offer, the chief tells Wu Sha: "You are my true friend!" The story of Wu Sha was as recently as 2001 still in a primary school textbook.<sup>29</sup>

Recent films have also critiqued the settler state and society on Taiwan using homosocial narration. In *Liang ge youqi jiang* 兩個油漆匠 [Liang ge youqi jiang] (1990), a filmic adaptation of Huang Chunming's short story of the same name, a mainlander and an aborigine, work side by side as skyscraper sign-painters in Taipei, both displaced and exploited by their Taiwanese employer. It seems the Hakka were not the only ones who communed with the aborigines. In the original short story, both painters were from the country, their employer a city crook. The theme of ethnic exploitation is much more prominent in the film, which seems as if it might be a mainlander response to Taiwanese claims about the unequal distribution of capital favouring mainlanders in postwar Taiwan.<sup>30</sup> At the same time, the film speaks more for the aborigine than for the mainlander. Though both are displaced and diasporic, the aborigine is more abject, oppressed both in the city and at home: he comes from a village near the land leased to Asia Cement, and the destructiveness of limestone mining to the beautiful alpine environment around Hualian is exposed in the film. In the climax, the aborigine falls from top of the building to his death, his last memory of a Chinese girl with whom he fell in love but who was out of his league; the mainlander, by contrast, is taken home by his Taiwanese wife and son.

By the late 1980s in Taiwan – the corresponding date in the United States would be the 1960s – aboriginal resistance against Chinese employers became newsworthy. There are several films from the late 1980s and 1990s in which violence is the aboriginal male response to

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<sup>28</sup> In other parts of Taiwan, there were aboriginal landlords, as there was some protection for aboriginal land rights. But not yet in Yilan at the time. Wu Sha and the settlers were squatters. This film is dishonest about the social history of the area.

<sup>29</sup> In the *Guoyu* 國語 textbook (grade 5 term 2) published by Senseio (30-31).

<sup>30</sup> See my brief account of the article by Liu and Zhang above.



exploitation, for instance *Chijiao de tianshi* 赤腳的天使 [Barefoot Angel] (1987), *Dong zhi ji* 冬之際 [Rite of Winter] (1991), and *Chaoji gongmin* 超級公民 [Super Citizen] (1999). All have the 1986 Tang Yingshen 湯英伸 case in mind, in which Tang Yingshen, a Tsou aborigine, murdered his Taiwanese employer. *Chaoji gongmin* is the most forgiving of the violence, while in the first two films the necessity of ‘taking responsibility’ is emphasized at the same time as urban labour and alpine resource exploitation is exposed. In *Dong zhi ji*, the Chinese policeman tells the aboriginal arsonist that a real man takes responsibility for his actions; but the aborigine had only committed the crime because Chinese loggers working for a company that enjoyed a government contract and local collusion were cutting down the forest and enjoying the services of local women, who had become prostitutes in the presence of the foreign population. All of these films are understanding of the aboriginal plight and critical of settler state and society.

A recent important example of homosocial narration is Wu He’s other aboriginal novel from the 1990s, entitled *Sisuo Abang Kalusi* 思索阿邦卡露斯 [Contemplating Abang and Auvini Kadresengan] (1997), in which Wu He hangs out in a Rukai village with his friends, who include a Taiwanese photographer named Abang and the Rukai writer Auvini Kadresengan. The latter sees Wu He as a mentor, as is evident from his effusive “Afterword,” but this is not a role Wu He would embrace. From a position of equality, Wu He contemplates Auvini Kadresengan contemplating himself, his cultural heritage, and his future. It is a promising example of how relations between Chinese and aborigines might be ‘re-emplotted’.

## 5. Conclusion to Chapter 3

I had two main purposes in the present chapter, to characterize Taiwan as a settler society and to discuss the nature of the cultural production of a settler society.

In regard to historical characterization, in the postwar period, Taiwan was to some extent a colony of exploitation, at least early on, when Chiang Kai-shek had not yet given up on returning to the mainland. It was however also a colony of settlement or of ‘oversettlement’, to adapt Frank Muryard’s term. As a result, two different settler nationalisms developed, Chinese and Taiwanese. The latter is clearly indigenizing, but the latter is not obviously assimilationist in my sense of the term, because Chinese nationalists as members of the ROC were not trying to distinguish their own culture as settlers from Chinese culture. Chinese nationalism on Taiwan was displaced. But this does not mean that ‘assimilatory settler nationalism’ is inapplicable to

postwar Taiwan. As I argue in Chapter 5, in the 1950s and 1960s, the indigene's assimilation was a sign of Chinese national competence and became part of representational nation-building.

Adding the dimension of representation added complexity to the discussion. I began by contrasting two approaches to settler society cultural production, positivist and discursive. I tried to contribute to the definition of settler colonial discourse studies by differentiating colonies of settlement and exploitation, by historicizing settler societies, and by synthesizing Orientalism and Mimicry into a single theory of settler colonial discourse. Then in the following section I explored how the discourse operated in narrative form, arguing that while settlers may be writing about themselves in writing about aborigines, they are also to some extent writing about aborigines and about their relations with aborigines.

I described my own approach as discursive and clearly I am dealing throughout with narrative discourse, in fictional or filmic form. The upshot of my discussion of the way settler discourse mediates settler reality was that polarization – the aborigines as either the same or different – tends to lead dialectically to some kind of authentic representation of the other. I mentioned in this regard the issue of apprehension and representation of the agency of the other. I would now claim, borrowing Habermas's term, that whether or not the agency of the aboriginal other can come through in the discourse of the settler is the acid test of the authenticity of a settler's representation.

Emma Teng, at the end of her chapter on the representation of women in Qing era Taiwan, includes a short section entitled Modern-Day Manifestations of Colonial Gender Discourse, in which she traces two elements of Qing era colonial discourse in modern day Taiwan, gender inversion – Amazonian female dominance – and hypersexualization (*Taiwan's Imagined Geography* 193). Hypersexualization certainly appears in postwar Taiwanese film and fiction. Gender inversion does appear from time to time in postwar Taiwanese film and fiction, in *Lao Mo de dierge chuntian*, for instance, which I discuss in Chapter 6. The aboriginal bride in the film knocks out the bad guys in the movie theatre in order to protect her husband, poor old Mr. Mo. Teng relates these two associations to the justification of aboriginal women's presence in the 'entertainment' industry, but I would rather stress the female agency implied by the association in a way that relates to the modern aboriginal maiden's predicament. Teng implies that discourse provided a link between women warriors and a justification of the exploitation of the Formosan aboriginal maiden, but Henrietta Harrison grounds the same discourse in women's adaptability ("Clothing and Power on the Periphery of Empire"). Harrison has shown how

aboriginal women in Taiwan's highlands in the 1950s and 1960s tended to adopt Chinese dress much more readily than aboriginal men. Rather than conclude that the state policy – as well as the discourse that informed it – was successful and therefore that the state transformed the aborigines; or rather than assume that the idea of aboriginal women's hypersexuality and hypercompetence was used as part of a justification of exploitation – Harrison emphasizes a woman's choice. A woman's choice is the means by which she manages her fate, and it is to the fate of the aboriginal maiden that I turn in the following chapter.

## Chapter 4: Heterosexual narration in settler representations of aborigines

In this chapter, I tell a story about the ‘literary fate’ of the aboriginal maiden that is ‘global’, which is to say that aboriginal women in ‘settler societies’ around the world have a similar fate in literature, though they may reach it by many paths. In a tongue-in-cheek tone, I describe the aboriginal maiden as a heroine with a thousand faces. In Joseph Campbell’s celebrated book, the journey of the hero of a thousand faces was universal because it was a function of the commonalities of individual, usually male, human developmental psychology and experience; whereas I will be stressing the historicity of the maiden’s fate. Historicity is a big word. Campbell’s thesis in the ‘God’ books, in contradiction to *Hero*, was that the myth of the dying god diffused around the earth. This diffusion was a historical process. By ‘historicity’ I mean, *contra* Campbell, that motifs in settler society cultural production are functions of settler society. They arise locally out of the settler society context. What I have in common with Campbell is a sense of symbolic representativeness, one man’s journey standing in for everyman’s, one aboriginal maiden for aboriginal womanhood. However, as this is a dissertation on allegory, I tend to stress the aboriginal maiden’s interpersonal relationality.

### 1. The fate of the heroine with a thousand faces

I assume a rough division between premodern and modern on the basis of the aggressiveness of assimilation: a modern settler society tends to be more aggressively assimilationist.

#### 1.1. Premodern: Amazon, colonial figure, settler’s bride

Tales about Amazons tend to belong to an early, disinterested phase of presettlement, when travelers, like Herodotus and the suppliers of the information that went into the *Shanhai jing* 山海經, bring home fantastic tales about societies in which women have more power than they do at home. This association passes into settler colonial discourse. The association between aboriginal maiden and colonial landscape depends on a prior association between women and land. There are several reasons why, more generally, beyond any formal resemblance, women and land might be associated. Men fight over both. In traditions originating in Neolithic agricultural production, women and land are both more or less fertile and desirable. These associations tend to get translated into the colonial context, in which marriages between

aboriginal maidens and settler men tend to take on a colonial meaning. In premodern representations of these marriages, the bride may or may not assimilate to the settler norm. In modern representations, which is to say representations written in a national context, she usually assimilates, at least initially.

### 1.2. Modern and postmodern: Pseudo-settler, prostitute, modern Amazon

We can imagine the plot of the story of the fate of the aboriginal maiden in modern (which is to say national) settler representations as having three phases: assimilation, commodification, and reconstruction. The maiden's fate, in other words, has a rise-fall-rise 'trajectory'.

The aboriginal maiden may wish to assimilate, to become a settler, or she may simply be represented as assimilating. Either way, the idea of aboriginal assimilation tends to become significant to the construction of national identity. In the context of contending settler nationalisms, different constituencies of settlers and different kinds of nationalists may fight for control over the symbolic power of the figure of the aboriginal maiden. Metaphorically, one might say that they try to woo her. Assimilationists convert her; indigenists identify with her to distinguish the settler nation from the metropole. But though she is enlisted for the construction of national identity, the assimilated aboriginal maiden does not tend to become a national mother. Initial settlement is usually mostly male, while subsequently family settlement tends to predominate. In the context of family settlement, the settler female tends to come to symbolize the landscape, becoming a decent and respectable national mother, a symbol of the national landscape to which settlers can cathect once the land has been cleared of forest and aborigines.<sup>1</sup>

But the aboriginal maiden does not disappear permanently after the settler woman arrives on the scene. As Leslie Fiedler reminds us in *The Return of the Vanishing American*, *The Vanishing American* being a film from 1925, she returns. In early representations, she was an Amazon or a Princess. She often reappears in settler representations in a state of abjection, as a 'Princess' or prostitute. A link between the Princess and the prostitute is capitalism. In the writings of Samuel Purchas, the 'free intercourse' of Algonquian maidens and colonial men is related to 'free intercourse' in the sense of trade, which Peter Hulme describes as Adam Smith's doctrine one hundred and fifty years before the fact (*Colonial Encounters*, 162). In her

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<sup>1</sup> See the picture of the Great Canadian Shield as white woman in W. H. New's *Land Sliding: Imaging Space, Presence and Power in Canadian Writing*, p. 138. Annette Kolodny's monograph *The Lay of the Land* is specifically about this association.

prostitution the aboriginal maiden may well symbolize settler exploitation of both aboriginal people and landscape. The aboriginal maiden in settler representations, in other words, tends to get dragged into the deconstruction of the national identity she had helped to construct.

National deconstruction may also clear a space for the reconstruction of national identity on a new foundation. At this point, the Amazonian association the aboriginal maiden tends to carry with her into modern times becomes meaningful again. In the period of initial contact, the figure of the Amazon represents the real freedom of the female in certain primitive societies; in postmodern settler society it becomes an inspirational figure of female aboriginal empowerment, inspirational for the construction of the narrative identity of the individual aboriginal maiden as well as of the nation.

In this regard, the word fate in English tends to imply suffering and passion, by which I mean passivity. It also tends to imply an image of finality rather than an ongoing process. But by 'fate' I intend both passion and action, both passivity and activity, as well as a story whose ending is undecided. My use of 'fate' is in other words not fatalistic. The active aspect of fate is suggested by the word 'destiny', though perhaps destiny merely suggests a grand kind of fate. I make these comments because in representing disadvantaged others we often tend to assume they are patients rather than agents. This is not always the case: in accounts of Amazons there is an idea of women as radically free, and in the story of Pocahontas's supposed salvation of John Smith, Pocahontas's agency is emphasized, though clearly in a way that supports colonial purposes. But it tends to be the case that settlers see aborigines as pathetic figures. Assimilationists claim the aborigines are helpless unless they assimilate, and settlers are always more or less assimilationist. Settlers who expose the failure of assimilation or domestication also tend to believe that being aboriginal is solely a matter of suffering. In the phase of reconstruction, it seems to me, more acute settlers may form a more 'realistic' idea of the 'fate' of the aboriginal maiden, which is the ongoing story of a passionate agent.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> In Paul Ricoeur's philosophy of narrative identity, the form of fate is narrative, a narrative which is still in some sense in the process of being written. Ricoeur writes that life is "an *activity and a passion in search of a narrative*" ("Life in Quest of Narrative" 29). Telling the story of a life helps us transcend fatalism: drawing on Martin Heidegger, Ricoeur wrote that "[t]he end of the story is what equates the present with the past, the actual with the potential. The hero is who he was. This highest form of narrative repetition is the equivalent of what Heidegger calls fate (individual fate) or destiny (communal destiny), that is, the complete retrieval in resoluteness of the inherited potentiality that Dasein is thrown into by birth" ("Narrative Time" 182). While the mention of communal destiny might make liberals wary, it can be understood democratically. A liberal might still be able to accept the usefulness and truthfulness of a concept of communal destiny, because no man is an island, materially or in thought or feeling.

I find Ricoeur's account fascinating. Ricoeur focuses on accounts of the self, on the construction or narrative nature of authentic personal identity, though he does consider the self in relation to groups of others,

## 2. The maiden's fate in global space and time

In the following survey, I follow a roughly 'cultural' principle, and it is for the most part in this chapter that I consider 'culture'. The cultural spheres I assume are Anglo, Franco, Ibero, and Sinic. Originally I studied a few representations from the Islamic world and India, which would have made the account more truly global and not simply West-versus-China. But my studies in these other spheres were too preliminary for inclusion here. In adopting this organization, though, I am not conceding determinative primacy to the 'cultural'. In this dissertation, I have aimed to 'always historicize' as well as to 'always indigenize'. I use the term 'cultural production' as an alternative to 'art', but do not mean that the products were produced by 'culture' abstracted from history. While there may be cultural inflections of the allegorical significance of the 'aboriginal' maiden, I am arguing that she tends to become significant in certain ways as a function of settler society.<sup>3</sup> In this chapter I shall be dealing to some extent with the issue of whether associations I argue are specific to settler society, particularly the association between the aboriginal maiden and the aboriginal landscape, appear in Chinese cultural production.

### 2.1. Greek colonies

Herodotus is a major Greek source on female warriors (4.110-117). He wrote about the danger posed by the Amazons, their way of life, and the possibility of sexual experience with them (4.113). Herodotus was certainly not a settler, but the Amazon motif passed into settler discourse. We get the related figure of Circe from Homer. An Amazon stays independent of men, while a Circe wants to entrap and dominate men. There is certainly an imaginative element in stories about Amazons and Circes, but they are not purely fanciful (see Dougherty, *The raft of Odysseus: the ethnographic imagination of Homer's Odyssey*; see also Maul, "The role of

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including nations, especially in especially in "The Self and the Ethical Aim" (*Oneself as Another* 169-202). My research is on the settler use of the image of an aboriginal other for the articulation, critique and reconstruction of national identity. Our emphases differ, but I have in a very limited way tried to draw on Ricoeur.

<sup>3</sup> In using the metaphor of a 'function' from mathematics, I am not implying that cultural production is as strictly defined and determined as mathematical formulae, as if  $f(\text{settler society}) = \text{settler cultural production}$ . Any research in the humanities must take overdetermination into account. By 'overdetermination', a term originating in Freud's writing, I am not implying that the causality of cultural phenomena, including the elements of settler discourse or the phases of the fate of the aboriginal maiden, is undecidable, in the sense that we are unable to choose the true cause from a set of candidates. I mean rather that most events are clearly multiply caused. The cultural production of settler societies is also a 'function' of 'modernity' – of population pressure, universal ethical discourse, nationalist particularism, the novel, and so on and so forth. In theory, to talk about anything you have to talk about everything, which is impossible; in practice one has to bracket.

women in Native American societies”). They originate in traveler’s observations and become part of collective memory; there may not have been any matriarchies (as opposed to matrilineal societies), but there have certainly been less patriarchal societies than the Greece of Herodotus.

Carol Dougherty’s *The poetics of colonization: From city to text in archaic Greece* takes us back to the earliest origins of colonial romance, to the time of Greek colonialism in the middle of the first millennium B.C.E. The gendered tropes we associate with colonialism – such as the virginal female body as metaphor for the colonial territory (63; 69) and the erotic metaphorization of colonial political relations – are often found in Greek representations, which were shaped by “the rituals and rhetoric of the Greek marriage ceremony (including rape)” (76). Dougherty’s account of why marriage and colonialism should have been conflated is that

Both are institutions of integration and acculturation, concerned with uniting opposites and transforming that which is wild and foreign into a fruitful and productive experience. (62)

The Greek colonial discourse became a Roman one. Dougherty argues that the rape of the Sabine women at the time of Romulus and Remus has a colonial significance (67). Clearly so does the story of Aeneas, who arrives in Rome, displaces Turnus and marries Lavinia.

## 2.2. Anglo colonies

Dougherty connects Greek colonial discourse and Anglo colonial discourse. On the one hand, it seems but a short voyage from the Greeks to John Smith, who probably knew of the Greek representations directly or indirectly and who in 1616 personified the eastern seaboard as a virgin maiden, “her treasure having yet never been opened, nor her originalls wasted, consumed, nor abused” (qtd. in Dougherty 69; qtd. in Kolodny 11-12). On the other hand, Dougherty also notes that in Fiji, “[d]ynastic legends tell of the origin of the ruling line from the union of an immigrant prince with a ranking woman of indigenous people” (Sahlins, *Islands of History* 48). In other words, there may be a discursive connection between Greeks and the European colonizers of the sixteenth century, but the connection does not animate and give force to the later use of the trope – the later situation does – and the same sorts of motifs and themes might have appeared without any discursive connection.

### 2.2.1. Ireland



In Book Five of Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1596), Artegall (England) rescues Irena (Ireland), a damsel in distress, from Grantorto (Spain). This allegorical episode is one of the first instances of English colonial or even imperial discourse (see McLeod 32-75, Lim 142-193, and Netzloff 171-200). By this time, there were already English settlers on Ireland.

Though today Ireland is not a typical settler society, the settler-native relation was more typically settler-aborigine in earlier cultural production, when the Irish were still wild, at least in the English imagination, as in the novel *The Wild Irish Girl: A National Tale*, published in 1806. Other contemporary works acknowledged that the Irish had long been drawn into colonial relations. Colonialism was also dealt with in terms of interethnic romance in the novel *Castle Rackrent*, published in 1800, about the abuses of Anglo absentee landlords and the sufferings of their Irish tenants.<sup>4</sup> Mary Jean Corbett has studied both these novels as romantic and family allegories of the colonial relation between England and Ireland in *Allegories of Union*, in which she emphasizes Irish political and cultural assimilation as the general thrust of these works, out of which she distils a gendered colonial discourse. Corbett's work has been a model for this dissertation, in that she traces how the trope of Anglo-Irish romance, involving an English man and an Irish woman, was used to emplot the relationship between England and Ireland in the nineteenth century. Though this kind of connubial nation-building has not worked – most of Ireland is now Republican, not part of Great Britain – the fate of the Irish aboriginal maiden seems ultimately to have been relatively fortunate, at least in the sense that she no longer seems 'aboriginal'.

### 2.2.2. Anglophone North America: Pocahontas

One way to mark the beginning of the story of the English presence in North America would be with Sir Walter Raleigh telling Queen Elizabeth about the discovery of Guyana in 1595, particularly about the woman of power he met among the American aborigines, a land that was uncolonized by the Spanish and thus still had its 'Maydenhead', so to speak (see Louis, "The

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<sup>4</sup> Katie Trumpener has identified this Irish tradition of the national tale – involving contemporary travel to a foreign land and discovery of national differences – as the font of national allegory in English language literature, preceding Sir Walter Scott's Scottish historical novels, the first of which appeared in 1814, by over a decade. Indeed, it is only at this time that writers started describing their works as national tales, national romances, national epics or national allegories. However, as I have discussed in Chapter 1, Patrick Parrinder looks to Samuel Richardson's fiction in the 1740s for the first English national narratives in 'novel' form, and clearly in some sense *The Faerie Queene* is a national allegory.

Work of Gender in the Voyage of Discovery”).<sup>5</sup> English colonization of North America began with Raleigh’s selection of Roanoke as the site of the first colony in 1584. Though the first colony was doomed, American settlement of Virginia, named in 1585 in honour of the Virgin Queen and home to Pocahontas, was not.<sup>6</sup>

The most important story in America, or anywhere, of the type I am discussing is the story of Pocahontas. I am in a sense in this dissertation discussing Pocahontas-type stories, and the provenance of these stories is one of the most crucial issues I face. It may be that the reason one finds Pocahontas-type stories in settler societies around the world because the cultural producers in these societies knew about the story of Pocahontas, which they believed would receive a warm local welcome. Perhaps they thought it would be politically useful in the local context. Local distributors of the cartoonish 1995 Disney film, on the other hand, hoped it would make a lot of money. But I will be arguing that the provenance of the Pocahontas-type stories in settler societies is for the most part local, that the phenomenon I am dealing with is one of multiple origination rather than singular diffusion. If there is appropriation – if a writer adapts the story of Pocahontas to his local context – I will assume that the appropriation will be creative if the local context is a settler society. If it is, then the meaning of the story will be locally produced. There are a few works listed in the appendix that are adaptations, as I note in the summaries. But this dissertation is not a study of dissemination and adaptation.

The story of Pocahontas (1595-1617), the most famous settler romance of them all, is endlessly fascinating in fact and fiction. Jamestown, Virginia was the first permanent settlement on the eastern coast of what is now the United States, and recent research has emphasized the unintentional environmental impact of settlement: that the potato and the tomato came from the Americas is common knowledge, but the Columbian Exchange involved give as well as take: the colonists introduced butterflies and worms (the common night crawler and the red marsh worm, changing the ecology of North America permanently (Mann, “America, Found and Lost” 1). The human side of the story is better known. In his own account (in a letter to Queen Anne in 1616),

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<sup>5</sup> The theme of the discovery of America appears in a poem of John Donne (see Netzloff 64-103):

Licence my roving hands, and let them go  
 Before, behind, between, above, below.  
 O my America, my new found land,  
 My kingdom, safeliest when with one man manned,  
 My mine of precious stones, my empery,  
 How blessed am I in this discovering thee!  
 To enter in these bonds, is to be free;  
 Then where my hand is set, my seal shall be. (Elegy 19, lines 25-32)

<sup>6</sup> On the earliest properly English colonial discourse, see Netzloff 31-63.

the English military adventurer John Smith was rescued by the Algonquian princess Pocahontas from certain death at the hands of her father Powhatan in 1608. Like Squanto at Plymouth, she also brought the Jamestown settlers food while they were starving. Scholars of ‘colonial discourse’ have suggested that in fact Smith was in no danger, that Powhatan was carrying out a ritual of adoption (Hulme 150). But adoption would have subordinated Smith, from whose perspective the colonial meaning of the event was clear: Pocahontas welcomed the settlers to the new world and protected them from Indian masculinity (Tilton 4). There was very much a practical subtext to the story, which Smith revealed in his letter to Queen Anne. In it, Smith suggested that the marriage between the Indian princess and the settler commoner might be a way to “win a kingdom” (qtd. in Tilton 20). As it often happens in the colonial situation, colonial subalterns find themselves in aboriginal high society, and marriage gets linked to land acquisition.

After Smith left, Pocahontas was kidnapped in 1613 by a Jamestown settler. She was eventually baptized Rebecca, came to embrace her new life as a colonist among colonists, and married to John Rolfe. She had a child with Rolfe, toured England, met the king, saw John Smith again, and died at Gravesend on the Thames on the way back. The tragic death of the white man’s ‘squaw’ became a motif in innumerable stories throughout North America in the succeeding centuries (Oshana 48), all of which can be traced back to Pocahontas.<sup>7</sup>

Tragic or not, the Pocahontas story seemed material for romance, and in the early nineteenth century it was rewritten sentimentally according to the conventions of sentimental romance, for now Pocahontas falls in love at first sight with John Smith; her teacup trembles when she meets him again as Rebecca Rolfe (Hulme 137). By the decade before the Civil War, Pocahontas had become a symbol for Southern secessionists. There was even a confederate claim of racial distinction; certain Virginians liked to say they were descended from Algonquian royalty (Tilton 171). Northerners, on the other hand, ridiculed her: the first Pocahontas parody was published in 1855. Henry Adams and Mark Twain both poked fun at Pocahontas (Fiedler 82). Even so, in the late nineteenth century, both Pocahontas’s ‘salvation’ of Smith and her Christian conversion became part of American national mythology, enshrined in one of the scenes in the Frieze of American History and in the painting *Baptism of Pocahontas* in the Rotunda of the United States Capitol.

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<sup>7</sup> Sundquist calls his study of all fictional American Indian women in American literature *Pocahontas & Co.*

Eventually the myth of Pocahontas was reconsidered for the purpose of social critique. In 1930, the modernist poet Hart Crane published *The Bridge*. Pocahontas – The Mother of Us All, “the physical body of the continent or the soil” as Crane described her in a letter (qtd. in Fiedler, *Return* 64) – who dances as an earth goddess (in “The Dance”) and reappears degraded as a strip-tease artist (as ‘Magdalene’ in “National Winter Garden”). Pocahontas became an explicit symbol of Indian abjection in Karl Barth’s 1960 novel *The Sot-Weed Factor*, written in a parodic (and therefore radically antisentimental) vein.

The latest retellings of Pocahontas, by Disney and in a recent big-budget feature film with the Irish actor Colin Farrell (*The New World*, 2005), are frankly romanticizing and commercializing. But the story of Pocahontas is still inspirational for the reconstruction of personal, or even national, identity. Even though she died young, it would be a mistake to see her life as wholly a matter of ‘passion’.

### 2.2.3. Australia

Two years before Hart Crane published *The Bridge*, Katherine Susanna Prichard’s *Coonardoo* told the story of an aboriginal woman named Coonardoo in Western Australia: she has a sexual relationship with a white station (ranch) owner, is rejected by him, becomes syphilitic from prostitution, which is only implied in the novel, and ends up getting dragged across hot coals by her erstwhile lover when she returns. At the end, she is a burnt branch. Prichard was a socialist, and her novel is clearly critical of the way Australia was treating its aborigines.

Ruth Morse, in her article “Impossible Dreams: Miscegenation and Building Nations,” has identified a commonality *Coonardoo* shares with other American and Anglo-Indian analogues: anxiety about ‘miscegenation’ between aboriginal and settler. Morse’s argument could be problematized with a finding from Pocahontas studies, that Pocahontas’s conversion and marriage were stressed in the eighteenth century and downplayed in the nineteenth, when the fear of ‘miscegenation’ began to appear (Tilton 26). At any rate, Morse contrasts the Anglo antipathy to miscegenation with the French and Iberian colonial experiences respectively, the former even less tolerant of miscegenation, the latter much more so.

### 2.3. Francocolonialism: Quebec

In Quebec, Kateri Tekakwitha (1656-1680), the Lily of the Mohawk, represented a variation on the Pocahontas theme. Leslie Fiedler has described Kateri as a French Catholic Pocahontas (*Return* 79). Kateri, or Catherine, was a virgin saint. When she died, her skin supposedly changed from red to white, a manifestation of assimilation. It has been called a “miraculous bleaching” (Fiedler, *Return* 80).<sup>8</sup> Her memory, as preserved in Catholic hagiography and folklore, was profaned in Leonard Cohen’s novel *Beautiful Losers* (1966), in which a prominent folklorist seduces the beautiful losers of history, the last of the Mohicans, a few vulnerable, young Indian women. Cohen’s novel is a send up of Quebec nationalist folklore studies during the Quiet Revolution and a critique of the French Canadian treatment of the Indian. While not as popular as Pocahontas, Kateri still attracts attention, and is one of the characters in William Vollman *Seven Dreams* septology.

#### 2.4. Iberocolonies in Latin America

La Malinche in Mexico was in Leslie Fiedler’s estimation a Spanish Catholic Pocahontas (*Return* 80), and while Mexicans may be ambivalent about the assistance La Malinche as translator provided to the first Conquistador, Hernan Cortez, they do not seem to have been as disturbed as the French by the interracial sexual union.<sup>9</sup>

Doris Sommer discussed several fictional interracial unions in her ‘seminal’ monograph *Foundational Fictions*, which has also had a great influence on this dissertation. The thesis of Sommer’s book was that different powerful interests in Latin American countries in the mid-nineteenth century were united in fiction through the trope of romance. But Sommer also discusses settler-indigene unions, which seem exceptional to her thesis. The indigenes did not represent a powerful interest in the same way that the mine owners in the Peruvian Altiplano represented an interest in contrast to the bankers of Lima. The symbolic functions of these unions – the indigenization of the settler or the assimilation of the aborigine – are closer to those

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<sup>8</sup> In other accounts, Kateri’s smallpox scars cleared and her skin became merely beautiful rather than necessarily white (Henri Béchar, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*).

<sup>9</sup> The reason why the French were so particularly squeamish about interracial union so long before nineteenth century racism is a puzzle. It stands to reason that the Iberians were more tolerant because it was a fact of life in the Iberian Peninsula due to the historical presence of the Moors (and Taboada, in “Latin American Orientalism,” has found a transfer from descriptions of Moors to descriptions of Amerindians (124)). It may be that the Latin Americans were not always so accepting of racial mixing, even though in 1819 Simon Bolivar embraced his Mestizo heritage (Skurski, “Ambiguities of Authenticity” 371). In Mexico, for instance, mestizo identity was not embraced as national until the fall of the Diaz dictatorship in 1910 (Irwin, “*Ramona*” 551). Vasconcelos’s famous phrase ‘cosmic race’ – *la raza cósmica* – dates to 1925. Even today there are racial status gradients in Latin American countries (Gott, “Latin America As a White Settler Society”). But at any rate a more thorough-going historical explanation should be possible for both cases, the French and the Iberian.

of the romances I discuss in this dissertation. In particular, Sommer discusses *Iracema* (1865) by the father of Brazilian literature, José de Alencar, as well as the Ecuadorian novel *Cumandá* (1879). *Iracema* is about the union of an Amerindian woman and a Portuguese man. Their son is the first Brazilian. Sommer sees *Iracema* as a Brazilian “Pocahantas” [*sic*] who saves her foreign lover from her own tribesmen (143). Yet, the novel is specifically the expression of an indigenizing settler nationalism: in her baptism Pocahontas became Rebecca and adopted the trappings of settler identity, including religion, while by contrast the Portuguese Creoles on Brazil went native, thereby distinguishing themselves from the people of Portugal. It may seem odd for Brazilian nationalists to embrace Mestizo identity when ‘racial’ makeup of the country is so overwhelmingly Mulatto, until we realize that the novel was written to assert indigeneity.<sup>10</sup> *Cumandá*, by Juan León Mera Martínez, the author of the national anthem of Ecuador, is by contrast assimilationist, in contrast to the anticipatory Indianismo of Alencar. In his dying breath, the Amerindian father regrets refusing to let a pair of lovers, his daughter and a Spaniard, marry and thereby causing their death. He repents and becomes a Christian, accepting the religion of the settlers (Sommer 138-140).

In contrast to these nation-building fictions of the nineteenth century, more recent treatments during the Latin American Boom of the 1960s use rape or prostitution as a critical metaphor of the relation between settler and aboriginal, or between more and less Mestizo constituents of society, usually representing rural and urban respectively. As Sommer notes (*Foundational* 3), rape is the trope of Carlos Fuentes’s *La Muerte de Artemio Cruz* [1962], which I have mentioned in Chapter 1. In Mario Vargas Llosa’s *La Casa Verde* [The Green House, 1966], an aboriginal girl from the rain forest, after being abducted, winds up initially in a religious mission and eventually in a bordello, the Green House, which is located in a town on the Peruvian frontier between the Altiplano and Amazonia. The novel has been interpreted as critical of Peruvian economic dependency on the United States (Fenwick, *Dependency Theory and Literary Analysis*), but it is hard not to see it as a domestic allegory, in which the Altiplano and Amazonia, figured by an aboriginal girl, are partly exploited by local males, who are representative of local interests, both official and capitalist.

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<sup>10</sup> In Latin American Spanish, a *Mulatto* is a Black-White mix; a *Mestizo* is a white-Indian mix; and a *Zambo* is a Black-Indian mix. According to recent census data, 0.4% of the Brazilian population is aboriginal, in contrast to 60% in Bolivia. Canada’s is 2.4%. There are insoluble problems with ‘racial’ comparisons based on census data – due to categorical differences relating to the issue of mixture, the ‘one drop rule’, blood quanta qualification, self-identification versus ascribed identity, and so forth – but general trends emerge. Morner’s discussion in *Race Mixture* is still useful.

## 2.5. Sinic colonies

China is, as it were, ‘another country’. China’s early cultural development was relatively isolated. China therefore provides a test case for any claim about the universality of elements (or phases) of premodern or modern settler discourse. I do not, however, use the terms premodern and modern in the titles of my seven sub-sections, which are ancient China, early modern China, Qing era Taiwan, Japan era Taiwan, Republican China, the PRC, and postwar Taiwan. Of these, the first three would fit under ‘premodern’, the latter four under ‘modern’, though, to reiterate, premodern and modern are conventional terms, not ultimate referents. We cannot assume an unchanging premodern China, nor can we assume that features that now seem ‘modern’ only emerged by virtue of Western contact.

There are two major differences between western and Chinese colonial discourse. First, the western obsession with metaphors of penetration and virginity of land in colonial discourse (Teng, *Taiwan’s Imagined Geography* 174), metaphors which went back to ancient Greece in the West and which were revitalized during the reign of the Virgin Queen, is not shared by the Chinese. Second, in China the north tended to be represented as masculine, the south as feminine, confounding our expectation of the feminization of a colony. I will be trying to historicize these cultural difference below as I trace the phases of the fate of the aboriginal maiden in China.

### 2.5.1. Ancient China

There are indeed Amazons in ancient China. A ‘country of women’ located in the south is described in the *Shanhai jing* and reappears in many later works. Edward Schafer noted that the ‘woman of Viet’ was a symbol of the south (*Vermillion Bird* 2) by the Tang dynasty. The woman of Viet was sometimes a warrior, and Schafer is not surprisingly reminded of Walter Raleigh in Guyana.

There is certainly an association in China between feminine virginality and the fecundity of the landscape. There is a ‘narrative’ poem in the *Shijing* (生民) about the virgin birth of Lord Ji, the god of millet, who is both a fruit of the earth and also the masculine principle of cultivation, of ordering the land. The land itself as well as its power is feminine in early Daoist texts. “The female is the Earth, that is, a body of a peaceful nature” (Schipper, *The Daoist Body* 127). ‘Seed’ in English and 種 in Chinese both carry the slang meaning of sperm. Do these associations transfer to ‘Chinese colonies’? They do not seem to have done so. The woman of

Viet seems to have captured the Chinese imagination not because of settlement – Vietnam was a tributary – but because of the vast Southeast Asian slave trade, which delivered nubile maidens, “sleek of buttery flesh,” as a poet put it (qtd. Schafer, *Vermillion Bird* 56), to the markets of Chinese cities. Nothing symbolic seems to have been made of southern tributary marriages, either.

Yet there was a hoary tradition in reality and literature of tributary marriage in northern China, from the time of Wang Zhaojun, a woman from the harem whom the emperor sent as a ‘princess’ to the Xiongnu Khan (Bulag, “Naturalizing National Unity: Political Romance and the Chinese Nation”), which scholars have related to the representation of the northern and southern frontiers as masculine and feminine respectively, associations which go back several millennia and which I discuss below.

### 2.5.2. Early Modern China

The sixteenth century was the first era of global colonization. It was an era of colonization in China as well as the Americas. Laura Hostetler in *Qing Colonial Enterprise* has advanced a quasi-Malthusian account of this phenomenon in the ‘early modern’ period of world history.<sup>11</sup> In a time of aggressive settlement by patriarchal peoples, we would expect Amazons and indigenous warriors to gradually disappear, for symbolic nuptials, for the most part involving male settlers and female indigenes representing the colonial landscape, to appear.

Amazonian and Circe figures persist in the early modern period in China, a time when state capacity was still relatively limited and settlement not yet as aggressive as it would be. There was intense official anxiety about the *gu* magic of the indigenous women of the southwest. *Gu* magic was an art of concentrating poisonous animal essences. Originally a Han Chinese practice, it was now projected on the southern frontier (Diamond, “The Miao and Poison”). Steven Miles has argued, writing about a travel account of Guangxi from the 1630s, that “exoticized and gendered constructions of region in Kuang’s travel account reflected both the agenda and the anxieties of what might be conceived of as a Cantonese colonial project” (119). One of the anxieties was shared by both officials and the wives of the traders, that the men would settle in Guangxi, never to return, ensnared by the “unbridled sexuality” (119) of the Circe figures of Guangxi. The perspective of the literatus Miles studied, Kuang Lu, was not that of a

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<sup>11</sup> Hostetler connects population growth with developments in map-making, especially the increased emphasis on exactitude (6). In regard to Hostetler’s thesis, see Jack Goldstone’s “The Problem of the “Early Modern” World.”



settler or an official. He was a traveler who talked about his travels in order to demonstrate his own male eccentricity in his adventures with, among others, a woman warrior.

In the Ming, “...the vocabulary traditionally used to describe a sensuous woman was more frequently employed to depict the appeal of a natural scene in prose and verse on nature during an age when the genre of *youji* (travel essays) flourished” (Huang, *Desire* 15). Mountains were described as being *fendai* 粉黛 or rouge in color. This vocabulary may have been used by travelers or settlers in aboriginal territory, but I have not yet found any examples. According to Emma Teng, in China “gender functions much as it does in the European discourses of discovery and colonialism—to express relations of domination and subordination” (*Imagined Geography* 174), and that Qing writers “represent colonial expansion as a masculine quest for sexual experience.... Colonial relations, too, are sexualized in their textual representations: colonial power and prestige are symbolized by the sexual license of Chinese men vis-à-vis native women” (174). In other words, the aboriginal maiden implicitly becomes a figure for the colony.

As for symbolic nuptials, there are no obvious examples related to settlement from the early modern period, but one of the tales in the *Liaozhai zhiyi* 聊齋誌異, “Yecha guo” 夜叉國 [Yaksha Demon Domain], may relate indirectly to the settlement of Taiwan. It was written around the time the Qing ‘Admiral’ Shi Lang reclaimed Taiwan for the Qing in 1683 from the grandson of his former master.<sup>12</sup> The story is about a male Chinese sea trader whose country wife and children visit China and literally Hanify – the skin of the children gradually lightens (亦漸白暫), rather like Kateri Tekakwitha’s.<sup>13</sup> They also adopt the political goal of the state as their own, participating in ‘southern campaigning’ (南征). It is surprising, given the basic ‘civilizationalist’ (教化) bent of Confucianism, that there are not more obvious examples of the assimilation through marriage of Chinese men and ‘savage’ women in traditional Chinese cultural production.

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<sup>12</sup> A mainland Chinese scholar Chen Min 陳閔 is sure that the island in the story is Taiwan (《夜叉國》本事考), but while it is possible that the tale is contemporary with the retention of Taiwan there is no way to prove a connection, and Allan Barr’s researches (e.g., “A Comparative Study of Early and Late Tales in *Liaozhai zhiyi*”) cast a shadow on attempts to date individual tales precisely.

<sup>13</sup> Gradual skin lightening, of course, could be the result of spending more time indoors. But the motif of skin lightening as a metaphor for cultural assimilation appears often in premodern texts. Dorothee Metlitzki in *The Matter of Araby in Medieval England* studies the motif on the Christian side of the frontier in Albania in the first centuries of the second millennium: the skin of a Tartar khan, a swarthy sultan, whitened after marriage to an Armenian princess in *King of Tars and the Soudan of Damas*. Their son is also shaggy, but “all hairiness disappears” after baptism (137).

Before turning to Taiwan, I will dwell on the issue of the feminization of the southern frontier and the masculinization of the northern frontier. As Emma Teng has pointed out, in the north, including Tibet, the typical story was of a Chinese princess sent to the frontier as counter-tribute (*Imagined Geography* 184). The north in other words was masculine. There was supposedly a harmonious gender balance or “norm” (178) at the geographical centre. Teng does not argue that the representation of the realm was culturally specific to China, as she notes a similar kind of British representation in nineteenth century India, a masculine Aryan north and a feminine Dravidian south. Obviously, we can stress the historical contingency of the cultural association in China. The trope of Chinese princess marrying barbarian king also arose out of the history of the Han dynasty appeasement strategy: *heqin* (和親) marriage, the representation of which has been studied by Uradyn Bulag. It was a historical institution before it became a trope in literature. Until the late imperial period, the northern barbarians were politically more dangerous than their southern counterparts – at the worst the state had to deal with ‘separatists’ in Yunnan like the Dali Kingdom – and the south was comparatively speaking a settler destination, especially from the last few decades of the fifteenth century. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when Xinjiang was being brought into the Chinese imagination, there were laws against intermarriage and no notice taken by officials of intermarriage (Newby, “The Chinese Literary Conquest of Xinjiang” 456). As in Taiwan, the policy baseline was stability, quarantine. However, in the 1860s, when aggressive ‘domestication of empire’ began, involving massive Han Chinese settlement of the frontier (Millward, *Beyond the Pass*), the image of the Qianlong emperor’s ‘fragrant concubine’, a Uyghur woman, became more prominent (Millward, “A Uyghur Muslim in Qianlong’s Court”). Now the northwest, too, could be figured in the feminine.

The symbolic nuptials in China’s premodern north seems to confound our usual expectation that male-female::active-passive (Teng, *Taiwan’s Imagined Geography* 178). However, putting geography aside, I would like to add that it is not as if in the ‘west’ one can always assume that male-female means strong-weak in the colonial context or otherwise. The “simple structural equation” is “untenable” not just for China (Teng 178) but for other settler societies as well. In other settler societies, the powerful settler woman is common. She is a force of domestication. As such she rules in “petticoat government” over settler men (qtd. in Fiedler 58; from Washington Irving’s “Rip Van Winkle”). Though the settler female in Indian captivity was a figure designed to evoke settler rage, Hannah Duston became famous in American settler

annals for taking the tomahawk to the Indians who kidnapped her. In the mid-nineteenth century, Lady Liberty led the pioneers across America to California in the iconography of manifest destiny. In the pulp and the film western, the schoolmarm is a dominant female figure. There are also symbolic nuptials from nineteenth century America involving a settler woman and an aboriginal man, the same formula as the stories about Wang Zhaojun and the Khan. For the critical early period of American literary nation building in the 1820s and 1830s, scholars have studied fictions by Fenimore Cooper and Helen Hunt Jackson in which white settler women married native Indian men and found them quite civilizable.<sup>14</sup> Doris Sommer gives examples from Latin America in *Foundational Fictions*, such as Alençar's *O Guarani*. Civilization seems to be the point in this production, in which there is rather less indulgence in romance. The same motif also appeared in Chinese and Japanese cultural production concerning Taiwan from the Qing era to the postwar period.<sup>15</sup>

### 2.5.3. Qing era Taiwan

In the eighteenth century, according to Emma Teng, Chinese colonial discourse was transferred or adapted to Taiwan. Teng's scholarship in *Taiwan's Imagined Geography* is formidable, and she 'historicizes the discourse', but one sometimes feels she does not historicize enough, that the context of production is not always specified. She might have distinguished between colonies of settlement and exploitation. But hers is an important study with a lot to say about colonial discourse and about Chinese colonial discourse in the context of Taiwan.

There were still Amazons in Qing era Taiwan. The Formosan aborigines valued women over men (重女輕男) (178-180). There was a "gender inversion" (179) in Formosan aboriginal society. Teng notes that the feminization of the aboriginal man might have been a colonial strategy of "emasculatation" (183), but the aboriginal man was not consistently feminized, and Teng includes images of some pretty fierce looking male mountain aborigines, the so-called raw

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<sup>14</sup> See Deborah Marie Evans, "The "Revoltng" Union: White/Indian Intermarriage in Nineteenth-Century American Women's Fiction," Chapel Hill, 2002.

<sup>15</sup> There is a suggestion of Indian male-settler female interracial attraction (between Uncas and the Mulatta Cora) in *Last of the Mohicans* (1826) but no successful union, as in Maria Child's *Hobomok*, Catharine Maria Sedgwick's *Hope Leslie* (1827) and Ann Sophia Stephen's *Mary Derwent* (1838). There is also Helen Hunt Jackson's California novel *Ramona* (1885), about a mixed girl who chooses an Indian male. I discuss examples from Qing and Japan era Taiwan below. In postwar Taiwan, the only examples to my knowledge are the films *Mimi xiangsi lin* (1978) and *Dengdai feiyu* (2006), neither of which I consider interesting. I find such stories less interesting than the romances between aboriginal women and settler men. Because they tend to preach education and civilization, they do not acquire the same popularity as the male settler-aboriginal maiden romances.

savages (e.g. 166). There do seem to have been any writings about *gu* magic, which is to say about Circe figures.

The evidence for the feminization of the colonial landscape is ambiguous. Though Teng writes that “[i]ntermarriage between Han Chinese settlers and indigenous women eventually became a source of contention in frontier society, with women serving as a kind of contested terrain for the colonizers and colonized” (176), the trope ‘contested terrain’ is her own. As I have noticed, the Chinese did not tend to dwell on the virginity of the colonial land in relation to the virginity of the aboriginal maiden. They used more abstract concepts like what Teng calls the “immanent spatial energy” (氣) of the undeveloped land (95). The virginity of colonial land has inspired a lot of cultural and scholarly production in the west. Poetically minded scholars tend to see the metaphor as important or even “crucial, laden” (Hulme 158), and so its lack in traditional Chinese colonial discourse may be significant. On the other hand, it is hard to know what its historical importance has been. Its historical importance is a topic for a historian sensitive to metaphor. John Shepherd does not mention the efficacy of metaphor in his magisterial monograph on the political economy of Taiwan in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By contrast, the historian Henry Nash Smith wrote the book *Virgin Land* about the myth of agricultural plenty in the western desert of the United States around the middle of the nineteenth century, though the legacy of the myth historians is mixed (Fabian, “Back to the Virgin Land”). I will not attempt to distinguish the material from the ideal in the causality of history, and will simply note that in the field in which I claim competence and even expertise – postwar Taiwan – the metaphor of the virginity of land had passed from Russian into Chinese, becoming a commonplace in the Republican period. In the postwar period in Taiwan, the ‘virgin land’ was already a dead metaphor, though writers of fiction always still saw poetic potential in it.<sup>16</sup>

There are stories of symbolic nuptials from Qing era Taiwan. Teng gives only one, a story recorded by an early nineteenth century scholar official, the story of the Lady Baozhu (*Imagined Geography* 188-189). The official crossed two stories, one about a female chieftain

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<sup>16</sup> There is also in the Taiwanese materials Teng studies a ‘lack’ of emphasis on gender at the moment of discovery. I would argue that in ancient Chinese works, in several poems of the *Shijing*, there are narratives of settlement that include one of the most important motifs of settler discourse, the discovery of the empty land or *terra nullius* (e.g. the poem Duke Gong 公劉). But it is true that discovery is not ‘gendered’. There is quite a bit of interest in first colonial encounters, especially gendered ones, in the scholarly literature on European colonization (e.g. Hulme, *Colonial Encounters*; Montrose, “The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery”). In the materials from postwar Taiwan on which I have focused, the moment in which the maiden first appears is often fetishized and seems related to control of the land and its resources. Of the works on which I focus in this dissertation, the motif is prominent in both *Hehuan shan shang* and *Lao Mo*, discussed in chapters 5 and 6 respectively.

and the other about a Chinese courtesan who marries a savage chief, into a hybrid story about a chief of an aboriginal tribe who just happens to be both Chinese and a woman. The story is interesting, argues Teng, because the Amazonian assumption in the Chinese tradition that southern savage women are dominant meant that the courtesan was conventionally dominant both in terms of gender and in terms of ethnicity. The story is indeed intriguing. It seems not to be assimilationist, in contrast to the story from the *Liaozhai zhiyi*.

There are early tales of intermarriage between settler males and indigenous females sourced in Qing dynasty, and in them we may have a settler perspective.<sup>17</sup> In one folktale set in Tainan, for instance one Chen Jia 陳佳 marries uxorilocally into a Plains Aborigine tribe. His bride is the chief's daughter. Later, when the chief is preparing to lead the tribe out of captivity in their own land, Chen Jia insists that he be given, as 'groom wealth', all the land he can plough in a single day. The chief, drunk on millet wine, agrees. Instead of ploughing up and down in the normal way, Chen Jia traces the circumference of a circle. The chief, having agreed to the settler's rules of the game, has no choice but to give him all the land within. The story exists in several variant forms (Hu 130-137; Jin 27; and Wang 1229-1230), but in each case the theme of trickery is clear.<sup>18</sup> The stories are presented without moral commentary or reports of interior mental states, as if they circulated in oral form as tricks of the trade, as *savoir-faire* for land-hungry settlers. They are innocent of sentimentalization; there is no trace of the motif of love at first sight. There is also no trace of any assimilationism.

From my perspective, the most outstanding difference between the settler discourses of Taiwan and America is that though marriage as a strategy of acculturation was advocated by certain officials in Qing dynasty Taiwan (187), stories about indigenous women and settler men were not, so far as we know, used officially to promote assimilation, perhaps because the overriding goal in the early Qing period was preserving the status quo through quarantine (Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier* 137), a policy requiring the maintenance of ethnic divisions (Ka, *Fan toujia*).

#### 2.5.4. Japan era Taiwan

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<sup>17</sup> Though it is hard to tell, because many of the tales have been recorded in the past fifteen years as part of a Taiwanese cultural nation-building project.

<sup>18</sup> Thanks to Dr. Zheng Meihui (Cheng Mei-hui) 鄭美惠 for the citations. See the Works Cited for her dissertation on interethnic relations in Formosan folklore.

Neither the settler folklore or the official tale from Qing era Taiwan is conventionally romantic, but there was in traditional China a tradition of literary romance, the tales of ‘wits and beauties’ (才子佳人) popular from the sixteenth century onwards (McMahon, “The Classic ‘Beauty-Scholar’ Romance”). This tradition was applied to Taiwan by the first ‘modern’ Chinese writer on Taiwan to ‘romance’ the Formosan aborigines, Li Yitao. His tale of a Chinese adventurer and an aboriginal princess named Qimei 奇美 (‘extraordinary beauty’) was set in the Hengchun Peninsula in post-1874 Taiwan, when the Qing state was attempting to ‘pacify’ the entire island. Given this historical background, we might have expected an assimilationist treatment. Li’s tale was serialized in a major newspaper in Taiwan in literary Chinese in 1914 and 1915. It is reminiscent of the ‘adventure’ novels that accompanied or as some suggest facilitated the New Imperialism of western European powers (Dixon, *Writing the Colonial Adventure*) or at least promoted it in the popular mind (Mackenzie, “Introduction” to *Imperialism and Popular Culture*). The point of the story seems to be disinterested adventure rather than assimilation or profit, though it has been argued (by Hulme 183) that in the west the more disinterestedly adventurous a story seems, the more interested the society of the author that produced it was. The ‘novel’ may have been influenced by European works in translation. That it was written under Japanese rule changes the interpretation of the story considerably. It has only been the subject of a single seminar presentation (Huang Mei-e) and deserves further scholarly attention.

The politicized representation of interethnic romance by Japanese writers and filmmakers in the Japanese era has received a surprising amount of attention in English language scholarship (Ching, “Savage” and *Becoming* 161-168; Tierney 36-134; Kleeman 17-41; Kono “Writing”), though there is a lot of critical overlap. The representation of romance was historically contingent. The Japanese public was first introduced to Taiwan’s high mountain region in the late nineteenth century. Adventurers who married aboriginal women, such as Kondō the Barbarian, Kondō Katsusaburō, who married a headman’s daughter named Iwan Robau, were reported on in the media (Barclay, “Cultural Brokerage” 341).<sup>19</sup> Paul Barclay has found a “florid description” of another couple’s “mutual attraction and emotional entanglement in a Tokyo newspaper” (343). While the colonial authorities initially encouraged intermarriage as an initial

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<sup>19</sup> The importance of translation on the frontier came out very clearly in the story of La Malinche and Hernan Cortez, as it does in Paul Barclay’s brilliant article on the relationships between Japanese adventurers and later state subalterns and Formosan aboriginal women in the first few decades of the Japanese colonial period (“Cultural Brokerage”).

strategy of governance, by the 1920s there were concerns about the offense to local mores. Satō Haruo spoke of “dangerously erotic possibilities” (Kono 143 note 62) in his travel memoir “Musha” [Wushe, 1920]. Satō noted the presence of child prostitution in the Atayal village. The sellers were aboriginal girls; the customers were Japanese subalterns. Many of the girls were suffering from syphilis.

Satō was prescient about the danger involved in these possibilities. A decade later, Japanese maltreatment of local women seemed in retrospect to investigating officials one of the instigating factors of the Wushe Incident in 1930 (Ching 141-142), when the Atayal chief Mona Rudao led a slaughter of over a hundred Japanese nationals celebrating a sports day in the local schoolyard in Wushe, the same village Satō had visited. Lai He 賴和’s 1931 poem “Nanguo beige” 南國悲歌 [Southern Elegy] also makes the connection between maltreatment of women and the revenge of the native. In the decade after the Incident, there were numerous stories by Japanese authors about the terrible consequences of romance between Japanese and aborigine, in which Japanese men go native or worse. In Ôshika Taku’s “The Savage,” a Japanese subaltern becomes a headhunter. In these works, the alpine romance has gone gothic; the landscape itself has become bloody and haunted.

In the 1940s, the romance is toned down. In “Passionflower,” a story by a female Japanese author, the identity of the dominant party in the union is switched from Japanese man to Japanese woman, and the imperial civilizing mission not mutual attraction draws the couple together (Kono, “Passionflower”). As Kimberly Kono has argued in an article based on her doctoral dissertation on imperial romance à la Doris Sommer, “[t]hroughout the Japanese empire, marriages between Japanese and colonized subjects, primarily Han Chinese and Koreans, appeared in literary and popular discourse as an allegory for colonial union” (“Passionflower” 59). In the much-discussed film *Sayon no kane* [Bell of Sayon] (e.g., Ching, “Savage Construction” 810-815 and *Becoming* 160-168; Kleeman 34-36), a young aboriginal woman yearns for the Japanese administrator of her village, while her aboriginal admirers yearn for her: the film encourages aboriginal braves to prove their love by going to fight for the emperor in the South Seas (南洋). Sayon, or Shayang in Chinese, is carried to her death by a night flood as she waves goodbye to the departing administrator. The landscape is bucolically sunny for most of the film; the flood which carries Sayon to her death is but an opportunity for a humble aboriginal woman to demonstrate her devotion to the emperor, becoming a posthumous symbol of that devotion in imperial propaganda.

In the Japanese era, the prostitution of the aboriginal maiden in the public sphere was a note in a travelogue. We know that aboriginal Formosan aboriginal women were among the comfort women during wartime in the 1940s (Barclay, “Sexual Slavery in the Tribal Zone”), but the Formosan aboriginal comfort women did not appear in any public media. Aboriginal prostitution does appear in Republican Chinese cultural production, with a very different meaning.

#### 2.5.5. Republican China

In Republican China, the equation of an aboriginal woman’s body, often an aboriginal prostitute, with the landscape is explicit. We can begin to trace in settler (or Mestizo) representations two of the three phases of the modern fate of the aboriginal maiden: assimilation and prostitution, which in this period were associated with Nationalist and Romantic positions respectively. In Republican China the issue of ‘national confidence’ is paramount, and I will indulge in a tangent on this issue in the next few sections, including the final section, on postwar Taiwan.

Alone among Republican writers, Shen Congwen romanced the aborigine, specifically the Miao aboriginal maiden of his homeland of West Hunan. He did not romance her because he wanted to colonize her or assimilate her. Part of her tragedy in Shen’s mind was that she herself wanted to assimilate, not knowing what her fate would be. Tim Oakes has argued in this regard that “the contradictions of modernity” in early twentieth century China have been played out “upon the bodies of frontier women” and upon a “gendered frontier” (93). Oakes argues that “describing landscape through the metaphor of a woman’s body was an especially potent strategy in New Culture China, for in celebrating a woman as aligned not with culture (which was Confucian and male and civilized) but with nature and primitiveness, was a way to undermine the repressive structures of Confucian society” (99). In Oakes’s account, Shen tapped a tradition of “radical pastoralism” (96) and gendered symbolism in bourgeois European fiction, particularly represented by Hardy but also going back to Goethe and Rousseau, in which a woman associated with locality and tradition comes to stand for the traditional essence which modernization, which in Rousseau and Goethe meant urbanization and in Hardy meant industrialization, was ravaging. Oakes assumes that under Hardy’s direct or indirect influence, Shen creatively transformed the traditional Chinese conception of “the frontier as a landscape of fear and discrimination” (94) where the women performed *gu* magic into a ‘matrix’ of rebirth.



Some of the Miao maidens in Shen's stories had been deflowered; some were actually prostitutes. But somehow they were as yet not lost in the way that Margaret in the first part of Goethe's *Faust* was lost. Their lovers or customers, after all, were mostly Miao, too, neither Chinese comprador nor foreign imperialist. But their lovers were still mediative, bringing news about the outside world that the young Miao maidens were, tragically in Shen's mind, all too eager to hear.

Shen, who was himself part Miao and Tujia, was appropriating the Miao as a way of talking about his own anxiety about the impact of modernity upon tradition. It is a case of 'indigenous identification', a concept I discussed in Chapter 3 in connection with indigenizing settler nationalism. But for Shen 'Miao culture' was code for authentic Chinese culture. Wen Yiduo, while exiled in Kunming, articulated the idea that the minorities were bearers of authentic culture forgotten by the Chinese (Spence, *Gate* 381). Shen was appealing to the same idea. Shen's audience in the treaty ports may have read the stories nationalistically, by equating traditional ways of being with Chineseness. Shen's relationship to modernity was of course rather different from Hardy's, and, as I will discuss in a moment, from the PRC's, and from the ROC's in postwar Taiwan. In Hardy's England, the power of free-market industrialists and state political economists was emanating from Manchester to Wessex, Hardy's fictional rural land. In Shen Congwen's China, by contrast, modernity was associated with China's national humiliation (國恥) at the hands of the western powers. Modernity seemed at the time to be Western, and communists and nationalists alike worried that its inward flood could not be controlled.

In this regard, in *Sovereignty and Authenticity* Prasenjit Duara discusses the same association – of maternal, domesticated womanhood as the guardian of tradition – in Japan and Manchukuo. The association was made in the writings of conservative Japanese intellectuals who abhorred the Westernized 'new woman' but who wanted national strength via industrialization. In China, the war over the control of women's bodies was between nationalist reactionaries and Shanghai trend-setters, and the struggle has been seen as between a repressive modern state and an expressive people (see Edwards, "Policing"). Partha Chatterjee's *The Nation and Its Fragments* discusses a similar cultural formation in nineteenth century Bengal. Japan, China and Bengal might be compared in terms of state control over the process of modernization, Japan relatively competent and thus confident, Bengal somewhere in the middle, and China relative incompetent and anxious, and China's relative chaos is reflected in Shen Congwen's stories, which are certainly not confident foundational fictions. What is distinctive about Shen Congwen is that only in his fiction does an aboriginal maiden become a guardian of tradition,

though, not surprisingly, she does so as a maiden, sometimes as a prostitute, not as a mother. In the late teens and early 1920s, May Fourth intellectuals had repudiated tradition and embraced Science and Democracy with the confidence that in these ideals lay China's salvation. For Shen Congwen, upon his return to West Hunan in 1934, during he found most of his old friends in the opium or flesh trades (Oakes 94), modern maturity did not seem so healthy.

But there was in the Republican era a politics of representation of the aboriginal maiden. Shen's position was Romantic; the Nationalist government's position was Progressive: the nationalists represented the transformation of the aborigines to demonstrate national competence. After the Northern Expedition ended in 1926, the Nanjing administration tried ineffectually to domesticate the heartland and fortify the border; but the success achieved in the two nationalist 'indigenous romance' films made during the Republican period seems hollow. The nationalists gave an award to *Yaoshan yanshi* 瑤山艷史 [Romance on Yao Mountain] (1934), a romance flick about the domestication of aboriginal peoples and landscapes. One critique of the film relates to the failure of the film's visual symbolism. Although the chieftain's daughter in the film was available for romance, in William Schaefer's opinion, "the landscape resists altogether the making of images serving the interests of the semicolonial metropolis" of Shanghai ("Savage Shanghai" 123), a comment on limitations of transportation and film technology. Another critique was advanced by Lu Xun, in one of the last pieces he ever wrote. Lu Xun was offended by the ideal of 'civilization' (開化) the film promoted and accused it of insulting 'minority ethnicities' ("Dianying zhi jiaoxun" 電影之教訓 [The lesson of film]). Lu Xun was surely informed of Lenin's reevaluation of national difference in 1917; Lenin had offered a gradualist, socialist alternative to the liberal approach of aggressive assimilation. Lu Xun also saw that the real nationalist aim was the control of territory and exploitation of resources not concern for aborigines, and by this time the great writer, now in the last year of his life, was on the other side of the debate.

Mount Yao was an internal frontier, and the nationalists tried to project the same successful territorial domestication onto the edge of the nation: already in the 1930s, the nationalists were vainly promoting the Chinese settlement of the periphery through journals like *Zhibian yuekan* 支邊月刊 [Border Development Monthly]. In the film *Saishang fengyun* 塞上風雲 [Storm on the Border] (1940), there is Han-Mongol romance, but not between settlers and natives. This was a romantic spy movie, a battle between Chinese and Japanese agents for the

hearts and minds of the Mongolian people, figured as a Mongolian woman. Confined to Chongqing by this time, the KMT could not contemplate the actual settlement of the periphery. The achievement of this vision of the Sinification or Hanification of the greatest extent of the territory of the Qing would have to wait until after 1949.

#### 2.5.6. The PRC

Here, I account for a puzzling absence of interethnic romance in the national minority films of the 1950s and 1960s. I then comment on the significance of the emergence of interethnic romance and aboriginal prostitution in critical works of the 1980s.

After 1949, China shut the door on the past, on the ‘free world’, and, after the Sino-Soviet Split, on just about everyone else. In Communist propaganda a radical socially and technologically progressive vision was disseminated, a Communist sublime in which all antagonisms, including gender, class and ethnic differences, were transcended. It was a period of supremely confident ‘socialist realism’.

The use of the image of the ‘minority’ maiden in minority film from the postwar period has attracted a lot of scholarly attention.<sup>20</sup> In these progressive minority films, the frontier peoples and landscapes tend to be represented as feminine, as in the Republican Era. Scholars have naturally been drawn to an Orientalist explanation of the representation: the frontier woman was feminine so that the Han Chinese and symbolically male majority could dominate and exploit the frontier and at the same time establish itself as progressive. There is something to the argument, but, as I argued in Chapter 3 in my discussion of ‘internal Orientalism’, the cultural production is likely more complex than the Orientalist interpretation would lead us to believe.

In the present discussion, I want to confront the fact that there is no interethnic romance or marriage in these films. None of the scholars cited have remarked upon this absence, which I have confirmed with two of them.<sup>21</sup> Minority women are oppressed, and in some cases raped, by minority men of the landlord class and by KMT agents. There is a lot of romance, and it has been suggested that the image of minority female satisfied a popular desire for romance that

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<sup>20</sup> See Chris Berry, “Chinese Film and the Politics of Nationalism,” Paul Clark’s “Ethnic Minorities in Chinese Films: Cinema and the Exotic,” Dru Gladney’s “Tian Zhuangzhuang, The “Fifth Generation,” and “Minorities Film” in China: A Review Essay” and “Representing Nationality in China: Refiguring Majority Minority Identity,” Louisa Schein’s “Gender and Internal Orientalism in China,” Esther Yau’s “Is China the End of Hermeneutics? Or, Political and Cultural Usage of Non-Han Women in Mainland Chinese Films,” and Yingjin Zhang’s “From “Minority Film” to “Minority Discourse”: Questions of Nationhood and Ethnicity in Chinese Cinema.”

<sup>21</sup> Paul Clark and Esther Yau, the writers of the two best articles, both by e-mail.

mainstream cinema did not (Yau 283).<sup>22</sup> But all the romance is very tame and intraethnic, whether the films are set in the past, as in *Liu sanjie* 劉三姐 [Third Sister Liu] (1960), or in the present, as in *Bingshan shang de laike* 冰山上的來客 [Visitor to Ice Mountain] (1963), a frontier security film in which the party cadre, who goes to Xinjiang to fight Soviet spies and Uyghur collaborationists as well as to find his childhood flame, turns out to be a Uyghur named Amir.<sup>23</sup> There are Chinese cadres in some films, but they are protective or tutelary figures, as in the approved version of the story about the ‘two little sisters of the grassland’ in Mongolia, in which there are damsels in distress and a Han Chinese saviour (Bulag, “Models and Moralities”) but no romance.<sup>24</sup> The absence is not due to racism, as it might have been in the mid-to-late nineteenth century in the United States. It has something to do with the CPC policy of gradual ‘ethnic fusion’ (融合) to a Han Chinese ethnic norm, in contrast to the KMT’s policy of aggressive ‘assimilation’ (同化).<sup>25</sup> It may simply be that intermarriage was extremely rare, though demographic research on the first few decades of the postwar period is lacking.<sup>26</sup> At any rate, interethnic romance does appear in the 1980s in the works of ‘sent-down youth’.

In 1967, in an effort to reign in the energies of Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao sent a generation of young people out into the countryside. It sounds like a reprise of the ‘support the border region’ programme of the KMT in the 1930s, but now the ‘sent-down youth’ were to learn from the folk, not the folk from the Chinese. At least in theory: in practice the program had an obvious nation-building function. It was assimilationist in effect. A decade later, China began

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<sup>22</sup> Romance was not to be found in ‘mainstream’ Han Chinese works. As Meng Yue has argued, the unsexing of the Revolution involved a gender role reversal: overbearing androgynous female characters were fabricated in works of socialist realism to produce docile males (“Female Images and the National Myth”). Romance was bourgeois, exclusive, antisocial, associated with private property and passion and thus with liberal nationalist-style domestication.

<sup>23</sup> In regard to the historical films, Esther Yau mis-speaks in stating categorically that “[t]he national minorities films invariably set up a triangular relationship that consisted of non-Han men and women and a Han cadre” (283). Despite the fact that so many scholars have tilled this field, very few examples are actually discussed.

<sup>24</sup> There is a similar lack of interethnic romance in early PRC representations of Central Asia. As James Millward notes, post-1949 retellings of the story of the Fragrant Concubine, a Uyghur maiden in the Inner Chambers of the Qianlong emperor who bathed in musky milk, were totally cleansed of interethnic eros (“A Uyghur Muslim in Qianlong’s Court: The Meanings of the Fragrant Concubine”). While the personification of the northwestern frontier remained female, it was no longer feminine but now Amazon: the new personification of Xinjiang was a fragrant concubine who has become a woman warrior and who will stab the emperor if he comes too close. Why the change from feminine to mannish and from fragrant to fierce? Because resistance to the Manchus as feudal overlords was to be praised from the communist perspective.

<sup>25</sup> The PRC national minority policy was developed under Soviet influence. Lenin declared in 1917 that national distinction was to be respected, though eventually the differences between nations would erode as a result of free choice. In the Soviet system, each republic had a president, a national language, and the right to secede. In the PRC, national minority rights were protected, though the right of secession was not granted constitutionally. See Dreyer’s *China’s Forty Million* for discussion.

<sup>26</sup> See Mamet et al. for discussion; as early as 1978, the state encouraged interethnic marriage.

reopening itself to the world and to the past. It began introducing economic liberalism. Many of the writers and filmmakers of the ‘return-to-roots’ (尋根) movement in film and literature in the 1980s were sent-down youth. In regard to Meng Yue’s thesis about the reversal of gender roles in cultural production during the 1950s and 1960s, Kam Louie has argued that emasculated Chinese masculinity rediscovered its power in the 1980s on the frontier. But in the examples he discusses, which all seem set in the past, the frontier seems masculine. It was a northeastern frontier. There is the tough frontiersman and the rough indigene in Zheng Wanlong’s fiction, for instance, but few women and no romance. The same can be said of the celebrated and recently translated novel *Lang tuteng* [Wolf Totem] by Lu Jiamin. Sex and romance were prominent motifs in other ‘roots’ works. It has been suggested that this motif embodies the theme of the resistance of human desire to state control (Chow, *Primitive Passions*). Some roots works were primarily nostalgic, like Dai Sijie’s 2000 novel *Balzac et la petite tailleuse Chinoise*. In other roots works the paradigm of Romantic tragedy reappears in a Goethian rereading of the relation between city and country as rape-and-abandonment, as in the film *Tianyu* 天雨 [The Sent-Down Girl] (1999), in which Margaret is a sent-down girl and Faust is a series of party officials. But in all these examples the relations are intraethnic, in this case Han-to-Han.

There are at least three works of ‘interethnic romance’ by sent-down youth. The first example is Bai Hua’s *Yuanfang you ge nü'er guo* 遠方有個女兒國 [The Remote Country of Women] (1988), in which a youth is sent down to learn from the Moso, famous in the anthropological literature for supposedly lacking an institution of marriage. In this novel, a Chinese man marries a Moso maiden, who leaves him for her old flame because she cannot learn the habits of the married heart (Litzinger 232-234). It seems an allegory of the failure of the Communist civilizing mission. The second example suggests the environmental failure of progressive communism. The film *Qingchun ji* 青春祭 [Rite of Spring] (1984) is about a Chinese woman who competes with a Dai maiden for the attentions of an attractive Dai man, a competition she could have won, if only she had overcome her Han chauvinism. She leaves and returns years later to find that a landslide has destroyed the village. Tim Oakes’s reading of the film is that “this landscape must be destroyed at the end of the film for us to appreciate its worth” (105), but to my mind the landslide, a natural disaster, is a device that absolves the state of responsibility for the deleterious effects of development. Compare Goethe’s *Faust*, in which, as Marshall Berman reminds us, the work of evicting two elderly tenants from a piece of land desired for development is actively murderous (*Solid* 67). In actuality, aboriginal culture on the

frontier had not disappeared; thanks to liberalism with Chinese characteristics, it had only been commodified into “some kind of Chinese theme park” (Oakes 105). Tales of Dai maidens bathing in streams like Greek nymphs, which had been in Chinese colonial discourse for at least a thousand years (Teng, *Imagined Geography* 184), drew Chinese tourists, including sex tourists, in increasing numbers from the late 1980s on. This background seems relevant to a third example of interethnic romance in sent-down youth fiction, a novel published in France in 1990, Gao Xingjian’s *La montagne de l’âme*. The novel seems to have won the author the Noble Prize in 2000 by emplotting a theme now familiar to Western readers: the fruitless search for existential meaning. But the novel actually reads like a parody of the solipsistic masculine search. Having survived a false diagnosis of cancer, the protagonist flies from the centre to the frontier, where he searches for the Wild Man, the primeval forest, and minority women. He does not find the Man, but he does meet – and sleep – with multiple minority women. But unlike Goethe’s Faust and Alec d’Urberville in Thomas Hardy’s novel, Gao’s narrator never stays long enough in one place to find out what happens to his lovers.<sup>27</sup> He displays no awareness of the larger nationalist pattern (Harrell, “The Role of the Periphery in Chinese Nationalism”) – the domestication of the frontier via tourism and settlement – of which his trip and his novel are a part, so if there is a critical tone to the text, it has to be imputed, on the basis of no internal evidence, to the author.

To summarize: in the first three decades after the Chinese Civil War romance, especially interethnic romance, was suppressed, probably because of the national minorities policy. Settler-indigenous romance has been a motif in several critical (or possibly critical) works by sent-down youth published since 1980.

### 2.5.7. Postwar Taiwan

In this section, I discuss the historically peculiar predicaments of the Chinese and the native Taiwanese nationalists in postwar Taiwan. There is ample evidence of the three phases of the modern and postmodern fate of the aboriginal maiden, who appears as a settler bride, disappears, and then reappears as a whore (or a bride-for-purchase) and more recently as a modern Amazon.

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<sup>27</sup> Gao’s attitude towards the minority woman has been criticised. Sylvia Li-chun Lin wrote that “feminists might find his treatment of women in *Soul Mountain* bordering on male chauvinism” (“Between the Individual and the Collective: Gao Xingjian’s Fiction” 12-18).

Starting in 1945, the KMT moved to crush socialist and Nativist resistance on the island. There was likely initially some concern about aboriginal resistance, given knowledge of the Wushe Incident. But by the early 1950s, the territory of Taiwan, the new, much reduced, national body of the Republic of China, was secure and intact. There were no longer any untamed frontiers on the island; the aborigines had already been subdued, thanks to the Japanese. In the 1950s and 1960s, the KMT government confidently embarked on a program of modernization. The state was the active agent of modernization, though the American presence cannot be discounted as an irritant, a reminder of dependency. At any rate, by the late 1960s, there seemed a lot to be proud of: highways across the mountains and apple orchards at 2500 meters above sea level at Lishan (梨山).

When the R.O.C. finally became nationally competent and confident, the Nationalists displayed no scruples about interethnic romance in cultural production. Romance was attractive to the nationalists. In her article “For Love and Money,” Doris Sommer has argued that children were domesticated, trained for lives as liberals and nationalists, by reading national romance. The point is not whether ‘romance’ is a function or a precondition of capitalism, but rather whether it was associated by cultural producers with capitalist domestication. I think her argument applies in postwar Taiwan. The romance in the cultural production from Taiwan was remarkably tame, as in the minority films from the PRC in the same period, the 1950s and 1960s. Communists and Nationalists alike would not let romance get out of hand, because romance is antisocial when it is passionate. Nationalists wish to harness the private sphere, not to let it get out of hand. I have described nationalism and liberalism as being in tension, the former referring to family, the latter to the market, but they are also in tension in the sense that the desire of the individual does not always harmonize well with the needs of the nation.

In the rest of this dissertation I explore these tensions in interpretations of romances involving Chinese men and Formosan aboriginal maidens from the beginning of the postwar period to the present. Initially, the Formosan aboriginal maiden symbolized the availability of the land and its fruits. She was an alpine flower (山花) or a winsome stream (‘美如水’) in a popular song. She was always a maiden, a *guniang* (姑娘), regardless of her social status.<sup>28</sup> She was usually wooed by a Chinese suitor. China had been lost; the mountain maiden was a metonym for the mountain region of Taiwan, which was a synecdoche for the whole island, which was a

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<sup>28</sup> Traditionally, a *guniang* would have been from a family with a surname. A servant or slave would not have been termed a *guniang*.

substitute for China. The mountain region of Taiwan became stage on which the state could perform Progress on its own terms – modernization without Western modernity. Recent history was disastrous, and the obsessive return to the Civil War in anticommunist novels during the 1950s was beyond a certain point simply obsessive self-castigation that might end in melancholia. Interethnic romance set in Taiwan’s high mountain region seemed symbolically more constructive. The region was according to government policy to be modernized. There were contemporary authors such as Zhu Xining who were willing to produce culture in support of state aims in the alpine region, and to some extent their support was sincere. These writers were, in contrast to Shen Congwen, mostly liberal nationalists, Friends of Progress, convinced of the rightness of the project of modernization, which seemed less contradictory to them than it did to Shen Congwen: they believed that modernization and tradition were not mutually exclusive, that states could pick which aspects of modernity they wanted and which they did not. Tradition to them meant Chinese and not aboriginal tradition, and the national allegories in this body of cultural production were told stories about Pocahontas turning into Rebecca and settling down. They were assimilationist and domesticatory. Through them the state represented the achievement of national development without cultural loss, without the loss of traditional Chinese culture as constructed in the postwar period by the KMT. But though the aim was to project confidence and success, the performance of alpine domestication was touched with notes of mourning and melancholia, notes which are most pronounced in stories about by the Formosan aboriginal maiden by native Taiwanese writers like Ye Shitao, who like Shen Congwen was a Romantic. In various ways, then, the contradictions of nationalist modernization were played out upon aboriginal women’s bodies in representations of a gendered Formosan frontier along the unique trajectory of postwar Taiwanese history.

The aboriginal maiden was attractive in a financial sense as well, and, though this is not a prominent theme in Chapter 5 of this dissertation, one can relate interethnic romance to liberal desire, in particular to capitalism. In several films of the late 1950s and 1960s, *Alishan zhi ying* 阿里山之鶯 [Nightingale of Alishan] in 1957 and *Hei senlin* 黑森林 [Black forest] in 1964 being examples, the daughter of an aboriginal chief is romanced by a logger. In these films, the girl represents capital. She is transferred from aboriginal to settler. This transfer accords with her own heart’s wish. Free intercourse between settler men and Formosan aboriginal maidens is symbolically related to free intercourse in the economic sense, as in the Samuel Purchas quotation cited by Peter Hulme, which I mentioned above in my discussion of the changing



meaning of the story of Pocahontas. However, she would only be so attractive in this way for a limited period of time.

In 1969, a newspaper editorialist complained about the excessive number of television dramas about aboriginal maidens and Chinese men (“Meikuang yuxia” 每況愈下 [Worse and Worse]). But while a prominent place had been heretofore for the Formosan maiden in the cultural production of national development in the 1950s and 1960s, she drops out of sight in the 1970s in the works of Nationalists, Modernists (who tended to write about urban life) and Nativists alike. One scholar who has looked at this material, Yang Huanhong, has noted two high periods of Chinese cultural production about the aborigines, 1950s and 1960s and the 1980s (55), without accounting for the peaks and troughs. It seems easy enough to provide an account. The 1970s was a decade of diplomatic and oil shocks: Taiwan was forced to withdraw from the UN. The focus of development was no longer in the mountains in reality or representation. This was the decade of urbanization and industrial ‘deepening’. Symbolically speaking, the Formosan maiden was less attractive now than she had seemed earlier: she was less desirable as the value of everything the mountains could produce, from apples to camphor, was becoming insignificant in a new era of nuclear power plants and naphtha crackers. Nationalists lost interest in the mountains, the last domestic frontier and attacked the Modernists and Nativists as well as the foreign devils. For the Nativists, the plain, not the mountain heights or the industrial depths, seemed a more fitting Canaan for an egalitarian mentality.<sup>29</sup> The state did not totally neglect mountain and aboriginal development in the 1970s. The ‘national salvation club’ (救國社團) program in Taiwan was a local version of the sent-down youth movement in contemporary China. Both were to some extent about national cultural homogenization and therefore about national development. The Taiwan program began in the early 1970s and involved sending university students to volunteer in aboriginal villages. The point is that the aboriginal maiden no longer appeared as much in cultural production. While Hakka writers like Li Qiao maintained an interest in the aborigines and the mountains in the 1970s, most notably in the *Hanye* 寒夜 trilogy, the aboriginal maiden would not return in Chinese film and fiction until the 1980s, by which time she was no longer a symbol of the success of the national project of modernization. Now she symbolized the failure of aboriginal domestication into the liberal economy. She became a vessel for national critique.

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<sup>29</sup> Thanks to Mr. Stuart Thompson of the LSE and SOAS for this insight. It is ironic that the plain only became egalitarian because of the KMT’s land reform in the early 1950s.

In both the constructive and critical national allegories of the 1980s, KMT-directed modernization is driven by desire for the aboriginal maiden. As love, desire synthesizes: Chinese-aboriginal unions still transcend class and ethnic distinctions and thereby produce the nation, while retaining in the gender difference a symbol of national hierarchy, as in the film *Lao Mo de dierge chuntian*, which I discuss in Chapter 6. This had been the formula of the assimilationist works of nationalist romance in the 1950s and 1960s. But as lust, desire masters, and the national synthesis is exposed as a sham, desired by one – an increasingly decrepit hero of the Chinese Civil War – but not by the other, a girl who is barely twenty. In the 1980s, the aboriginal maiden is commodified, as a prostitute or a bride-for-purchase. She is domesticated in the wrong way. She disturbs the discourse of domestication and interrogates the nation.

Yet the desire of the maiden remains. While there is no dialectical necessity for hierarchy or exploitation to be transcended, in the national romances in a settler society there tends an ongoing negotiation, especially given the Amazonian association in settler colonial discourse. In the fierce figure of the Formosan aboriginal female, then, is the symbolic potential for an overturning of the body politic (翻身), a new synthesis that represents a renegotiation of the power structure of society, a general social reconstruction. Has this potential been fulfilled? It was apparently fulfilled several years after the Martial Law was lifted in 1987, when, in Ye Shitao's nostalgic Taiwanese nationalist and petty-capitalist appropriation of the Formosan aboriginal maiden, *Eros Vincit Omnia*, 'eros conquers all'. The maiden, Silverflower by name, was now the putatively natural ideal, her every impulse fortunate, in no need of correction or cultivation, as under the old Chinese Nationalist dispensation. It was a Taiwanese liberal nationalist reconstruction, not an aboriginal one. The novelist Wu He would have reservations about the appropriation of the aboriginal maiden for the cause of Taiwanese ethnonationalism. In *Yusheng*, Wu He offers no inspiring utopian visions of what the aboriginal maiden's fate might be, so that the question of Amazonian reconstructive potential is deferred, left up to the aboriginal Maiden herself.

### 3. Conclusion to Chapter 4

In the present chapter, I have tried to 'historicize the cultural' in my argument that certain associations attach to the figure of the aboriginal maiden in the colonial or settler imagination in certain phases of historical development – the aboriginal maiden as Amazon, as colonial figure, as colonial bride, as assimilated settler bride, as commodity, and as agent of national

reconstruction. I argued that as an idea in the context of a settler nation, the fate of the aboriginal maiden is pregnant with national significance. I noted in Chapter 3 that in hierarchical and homosocial narration, national allegorists tend to shy away from bringing aborigines into the family. Aborigines remained students and friends, not sons and brothers.

But facing the aboriginal maiden the settler nationalist was overcome. Settler nationalists tend to fight over the representation of the aboriginal maiden, who tends to become a settler's lover in literary production. Assimilationist settler nationalists tend to represent the maiden as becoming 'settler', while indigenizing settler nationalists tend to represent themselves as becoming indigenous, often by cleaving to or identifying with the aboriginal maiden. Yet settlers get more than they bargain for when they make nationalist use of the image of the aboriginal maiden. It often happens that settlers simply romance the aboriginal maiden without marrying her or fathering Mestizo children upon her, in which case, the maiden tends to disappear and return, either in abjection or as an Amazon. The maiden returns to haunt the settler as a demimondaine or as a ghost. The settler becomes, as it were, hag-ridden. Now the aboriginal maiden is a symbol of the failure of national domestication. Now she disturbs the discourse of domestication. Drawn into the urban realm, she becomes a sign of sin or of economic exploitation. She is now *unheimlich*, a threat to settler domesticity.

Women tend to disturb the discourse of national domestication, especially the figure of the prostitute, because prostitutes confound class distinctions as well as the liberal separation of private life and the private sector. They offer intimacy, for a price. They are commodity and seller wrapped into one. As Mufti wrote, the prostitute "exposes the claim of purity of the 'national family', of the 'chaste maternity' of the nation, and for this reason can become a site for opening up the question of identity precisely where nationalism would close it up" (Mufti 33). In the colonial city, as Claire Wills has noted in her article "Joyce, Prostitution, and the Colonial City," the prostitute in a colonial context also traverses the boundaries of race and nation. The aboriginal prostitute crosses both these boundaries domestically and thereby becomes a transgressive figure. As a sign of exploitation, the aboriginal maiden's failure to become part of the national family seems a mark of shame on the nation. And in some sense it is. Liberalism has not been kind to her. But the modern aboriginal maiden still partakes of the spirit of the Amazon. As a modern Amazon, a modern, independent woman, to the extent that anyone can be independent, she challenges the notion that the 'family' is the best metaphor for national belonging and suggests that the challenge of liberalism for the subaltern is not insuperable. At

any rate, she invites national discussion; ultimately, like the character Jianxu Yugui in Li Yongping's novel *Haidongqing*, discussed at the end of Chapter 2, she participates in national discussion. In addition to being eternally young, the aboriginal maiden is always politically significant.<sup>30</sup>

The following three chapters expand the analysis of the romance of the Formosan aboriginal maiden in postwar Taiwan. In each chapter I demonstrate saming and othering as two modes of representation. In the works of the 1960s, she assimilates to the Chinese norm in nationalist works and fails to assimilate in works critical of Chinese nationalism. In works of the 1980s, she still assimilates to the Chinese norm in nationalist works, while in critical works she remains an other, a commodity, a prostitute. In the works of the 1990s, she assimilates to the Taiwanese national norm in a work of Taiwanese nationalism, while in a critical work she remains an other, in a very complicated way – Maiden in Wu He's *Yusheng* is a former prostitute, proud to be an Atayal aborigine, yet in a way she has willingly assimilated to the norms of liberal individualism.

Tying the whole discussion together is a single thread – aboriginal 'domestication', which brings together nationalism and liberalism, the family and the market, the aborigine as a family member or a domestic servant. Chapter 5 is about the thesis of nationalism, Chapter 6 about the antithesis of liberalism, and Chapter 7 about a possible synthesis of the two. In these three chapters, I tell a story of the attempted domestication of the Formosan aboriginal maiden, a narrative of the still undecided fate of the aborigine in modern and postmodern settler society.

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<sup>30</sup> One might imagine that the character in Li Yongping's novel was modeled on Kao Chin Su-mei, the Chinese-Atayal biracial actress in *The Wedding Banquet* whose Atayal name is Giwas Ali and who has become a prominent legislator, but she was not elected until December, 2001.

## **Chapter 5: From aboriginal maiden to Chinese matron: Romancing the Formosan aborigine in the 1950s and 1960s**

This chapter deals with works from the late 1950s and 1960s, by which time the state had tacitly given up on its mission of retaking the mainland and focused its energies on developing Taiwan's high mountain region, making the hills like the plains and the mountain aborigines like the Chinese. The mountains became a bastion against both savagery and modernity, though, ironically, as we shall soon see, one aspect of Western culture, Christianity, was an essential part of the postwar Chinese project of civilization on Taiwan.

The national representative in these works, an aboriginal maiden, becomes a Chinese wife in works of cultural production which toed the government line. The girl is extracted from her traditional aboriginal context, reengineered as a Chinese, returned to her community, where she functions as an apparatus of Chinese cultural reproduction. The key emotion of these works, felt by the maiden as part of her transformation into or confirmation as a Chinese, is limerence, a feeling of 'being in love', of aspiration for identity with a Chinese lover, who also represents the state.

The aboriginal man is not entirely absent from the works in this chapter. He appears in two of them. As I mentioned in Chapter 3, drawing on the researches of Emma Teng and Henrietta Harrison, contemporary paternalistic aboriginal policies aimed at assimilating the aboriginal women and giving them a livelihood, under the assumption that aboriginal men would follow. That seems to be the pattern in the two works in this chapter in which aboriginal men appear. But while the men do not cause fear, as they do in Commonwealth literature about the Indian according to Terry Goldie, they at least have to be dealt with.

In each of the next three chapters, I demonstrate a national debate carried out in terms of transformations of the Formosan aboriginal maiden and to a lesser extent of the aboriginal man. In the present chapter, in works critical of the state assimilationist settler nationalism in theory or in practice, the transformation fails, either because the maiden is prevented from Sinicizing by the national community, or because she refuses to do so.

The first work I discuss is the reference work of the chapter, a work of Chinese nationalist realism.

1. A road runs across it: Plainizing the hills in *Hehuan shan shang* 合歡山上 [On Mount Hehuan] (1958)

*The film begins with a short documentary. Soldiers trudge up a snow-covered road. For some members of the audience, even the sight of snow was new; the film functions partly as an introduction to Taiwan's geography. A panorama of the alpine area in spring is shot from a helicopter. Chiang Kai-shek and Soong May-ling survey the roadwork and walk across a suspension bridge. The main character of the film appears in the documentary and describes the building of the highway past Mount Hehuan as a great national achievement. Then the film proper begins.*

*A helicopter flies over a field. The protagonist, a man of about thirty-five years old looks up, his expression seemingly apprehensive. A bodacious woman of about twenty-five dressed in a cheongsam comes out of a shack to see what is going on. We see the man's face again: the rest of the film is a flashback.*

*The man is Liang Jinhao, an explosives engineer working on the Hehuan highway. He is committed to self-improvement: he lifts weights and reads the writings of the National Father in his spare time. He also goes hunting on his days off, and one day he discovers a sleepy valley, in which there is a surprisingly lively village. In the village the camera explores three artificial spaces: the saloon, the church, and the residence of the heroine. The saloon is where aboriginal men sit around in traditional costume drinking, smoking and listening to the Banana Boat Song. The church is where Jinhao falls in love at first sight with Ailan, an aboriginal schoolteacher and his future wife, the woman in the cheongsam at the beginning. The house is where Ailan and her fellow schoolteacher Aiwei live.*

*The rest of the movie is divided between romance and intrigue. Ailan and Jinhao go walking across the grassy knolls of the local landscape. They sing duets. Jinhao teaches her, 'if there is an empty piece of land it should be developed'. But there are problems with the aboriginal men. A brute tries to take advantage of Ailan as she washes clothes in the river. On a different occasion, the same man is bitten by a snake while hiding in a grove spying on Ailan. Luckily, Liang Jinhao arrives just in time to save him with an antidote pill. Then there is Afu, Aiwei's boyfriend. Aiwei asks Jinhao to get Afu – 'fu' suggests both 'submission' (馴服) and 'well-being' (幸福) – a job on the road crew, and all seems well: Afu has discarded his traditional skirt; he now wears a proper working man's shirt. But a misunderstanding over a*

*letter leads Afu and Ailan to think Jinhao loves Aiwei. Whether by accident or design the jealous Afu falls upon the detonator while Jinhao is setting up an explosion. At that very moment, Ailan reads the letter from Jinhao, which says, 'I will love you forever'. Ailan says, 'I'm not good enough for him!' (我不配!). Afu runs into the village yelling that he has done a terrible thing. Everyone runs to the worksite, where Jinhao lies unconscious. He wakes up, sees Ailan by his side, and smiles. Overhead a helicopter appears. A doctor arrives and treats Jinhao's luckily minor injuries.*

*The next scene returns to the narrative present. Ailan walks over to stand by her man: they look up at the helicopter, smiling and waving.*

In October 1953, the Soviet critic Ilya Ehrenburg published an article urging the humanization of Soviet literature (Medish 153). The 'boy-meets-tractor' motif had to give way to stories of family life and love. The former epic material appealed to men, while the later romance material appealed to women. One can imagine a socialist realism in which epic and romance were united in one work designed to appeal to everyone. The first work I discuss, *Hehuan shan shang*, is such a work, but it is a work of nationalist realism. *Hehuan shan shang* was made by the Ministry of National Defense's own film studio (中製) to celebrate the completion of the most dangerous leg of the Central Cross Island Highway. It must have cost a fabulous amount of money to make; the film itself was a heroic nationalist project. The TNT and road building in Taiwan in 1958 seemed impressive enough. Jinhao's profession suggests the creative destruction of modernity. There was even a helicopter, a prop no private movie company could afford. The helicopter made possible the national panorama, the setting for romance in the film. The film unites opposites, epic and romance, boy and girl, Chinese mainlander and Formosan maiden, but it does so by assimilating the girl and domesticating the boy. My criticism of the work is in two parts: first I continue to elaborate on what the effect of the film was supposed to be, and second, using the notion of the 'nationalist fetish', I propose that what the film really creates is cognitive dissonance.

Though not the highest mountain in Taiwan, Mount Hehuan has a certain symbolic value. It snows over during the winter and is called 'snow mountain' (雪山) for purposes of tourism. Reaching an elevation of over three thousand meters above sea level, the Hehuan Road, on the Wushe branch line of the Central Cross Island Highway, is Taiwan's highest. Some of the soldiers who conquered the mountain, who built the highway settled down like the protagonist

on farms at Mount Hehuan.<sup>1</sup> It is also a mountain about which romantic associations linger. *Hehuan* (合歡) means both happy meeting and connubial union. In the story “Hehuan shan de qingge” 合歡山的情歌 [The Love Song of Mount Hehuan], published in a newspaper literary supplement in 1958 by one Han Yi, a mountain maiden tells the Chinese man she wants to marry a story about an aboriginal husband and wife who lived on Mount Hehuan. The hunter was killed fighting a bear, and the wife killed herself to join him in the afterlife. Hunters found them and named the mountain in their honour. The frame story is in this case the main one, and presumably the maiden goes on to marry the Chinese man.

Not surprisingly, there are aborigines, particularly aboriginal maidens, on Mount Hehuan. This is where the KMT wanted aboriginal women to stay. The aboriginal ‘maiden’ at this time, the late 1950s, was frequently a figure of fun, in a politically incorrect way that would be inconceivable today. There is a *United Daily News* article from 1956, two years before *Hehuan shan shang*, in which a witty writer jokes that talk of ‘mountain lasses’ always reminds him of ‘tits and asses’.<sup>2</sup> Another example of this irreverent amused attitude is in apparent in a comic in what is now the *China Times*. The customer is a preening runt, and the man who may be the girl’s pimp watches her from behind, keeping her under surveillance. There is an accompanying poem entitled “Song yuchun de shandi guniang” [Ode to Ignorant Mountain Maidens]:



Mountain maids've also got a sense of vanity:  
 They flock down from the hills in droves to shake the money tree.  
 Ignorant, they're fond of life 'long Smoky Blossom Lane,  
 Not knowing, though, back home to go and brand new brides to be.  
 山姑也有虛榮心，  
 紛紛下山來淘金，  
 無知竟戀煙花巷，  
 不知還家做新人。

Aboriginal prostitution is interpreted as a function of the greed of the women themselves. Prostitutes were called ‘smoke flowers’, and ‘smoky blossom lane’ became a metonym for

<sup>1</sup> They also settled at Lishan, Mount Li. The movie *Lishan chunxiao* 梨山春曉 [Sunrise Over Lishan] (1968), for instance, was about veterans of the Hehuan Road.

<sup>2</sup> “Renjian shihua” 人間詩畫: 永無知山姑. *Zhongguo shibao* 19 May 1956. Note the rhymes on *u* 又 and *ang* 尤: 突的女郎，胖的小姐，我不作分別想，統稱之曰山地姑娘。



brothel. The original Chinese translated as ‘new bride’ above does mean bride, but it also, more literally, means ‘new person’, a phrase which is reminiscent of the New Life Movement, a combination of Christianity, Neo-Confucianism, and Fascism initiated by the Nationalist government in 1934 to reform its citizenry.<sup>3</sup> While poking fun at the undomesticated aboriginal maiden the wit also seems to be trying to shame her into going back to the hills and marrying and domesticating an aboriginal man.

On the Chinese side of the romance of *Hehuan shan shang*, most of the military personnel who worked on the road were unskilled. They were coolies. Some are still alive today, speaking accented Mandarin and living on aboriginal reservations. There were not many engineers like Liang Jinhao, and the upper crust of this kind of road crew was the least likely to marry an aborigine and eke out an existence in the mountains. This was the implausible material out of which the Ministry of National Defense wove a national romance.

The assimilatory or domesticatory messages of *Hehuan shan shang* are blatant and today seem offensive: native belief yields to Christianity, shamanism to modern medicine; aboriginal languages to Chinese, idleness to the Chinese work ethic, drunkenness to continence, the aboriginal to the Chinese, the foreign to the domestic, hunting to agriculture, polyamory to monogamy, and the natural lay of the land to the straight line, of the road or of the bounded field. Of course, the mountains had to yield to the plains according to the policy language of the time, which was literally ‘levelling the mountains’ and figuratively ‘making the mountains like the plains’ (山地平地化).

In this regard, characters and landscapes in the film take on an allegorical significance. In this national or Nationalist allegory, Ailan is Taiwan. The KMT was blasting Taiwan into the form it wanted, while Ailan’s psyche has already been made over in the Chinese image. She speaks impeccable Chinese and teaches her students to do so as well. Yet as an elementary school teacher, she is also ‘receptive’. It is she who is taught by Liang Jinhao the value of high mountain agricultural development. In this way, she becomes a conduit of nationalist ideology. Her body is also a field of development. She wears a cheongsam. Perhaps out of place in the classroom or on the high mountain farm, it was supposed to be “Taiwan’s national costume” (Lu, *The Politics of Locality* 1). Like Taiwan Ailan is shapely and attractive. The protagonist Liang

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<sup>3</sup> It was fascist in the sense that it represented an attempt by a modern state to reorganize the daily life of citizens, but, as Arif Dirlik points out in “The Ideological Foundations of the New Life Movement,” the emphasis was not on racial purity, as in Nazism, or on national greatness, as in Italy or Spain. The rhetoric of the New Life Movement was designed to induce a sense of shame in the populace.

Jinhao, a heroic explosives engineer, is the KMT or the Chinese people in relation to Taiwan or the aborigines. For most of the film Jinhao assumes that he will leave once this stretch of the highway is done – in order to blast across some other part of Taiwan, no doubt. There may be an element of developmental mania in the mystique attached to the TNT, which almost kills Liang Jinhao.<sup>4</sup> But he is able literally and figuratively to settle down. It is the prospect of the love of Ailan and the vision of the transformation of the land that leads him to stay and plant his seeds. Both parties in the romance desire its consummation, and in the end there seems to be no impediment to the formation of a new ethical and ethnical order. The film combines this ideologically freighted romance with epic technological achievement in order to capture the imagination of the audience. Yet perhaps it captures the imagination in a dangerously unhealthy way from a Chinese nationalist perspective.

The panorama around Mount Hehuan and the maiden associated with it may be related to what Anne McClintock has called a national “fetish spectacle” (“No Longer a Future Heaven” 100). McClintock’s spectacular theory of nationalism is a complement to Benedict Anderson’s emphasis on the nation-building function of novel and newspaper reading in *Imagined Communities*. Nationalist sentiment can be conveyed privately through the novel and publically through the national film. Exciting nationalist sentiment is related to the fetish. A fetish in Freudian terms is a substitute for the loss of what never existed: the maternal phallus, the lack of which is misinterpreted as a sign of castration. The neurotic latches on to an inappropriate object to assuage castration anxiety. In his 1927 article (*SE* 21.152-159) “Fetishism,” Freud was discussing the psychology of the bourgeois individual, but his idea can be adapted for nationalism: national belonging is figured images of togetherness or ‘the land’ offered to the atomized urbanite to substitute for a traditional local rural community or an extended family. This is McClintock’s insinuation. Nationalists, on the other hand, would hardly describe their nationalist attachments as fetishistic. To nationalists, nationalist attachment is healthy and enduring. Cosmopolitan liberals or communists would say that the nation is a temporary object some people cling to in order to shore up ego and that normal adults give up nation for a mature, unimpulsive relationship with humanity. But the universalists do not have a monopoly on the term. The particularists, including the nationalists, can use it as well. Yet I will be arguing that

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<sup>4</sup> In Freud’s “Mourning and Melancholia” (1917), mourning is a normal reaction to “the loss of a loved person” or “the loss of some abstraction which has taken the place of one, *such as fatherland, liberty, an ideal, and so on*” (italics mine), melancholia is a pathological identification of the ego and the lost object in which libido is drained out of the ego, and mania results after energy returns to the ego but before the ego has found a new object.

the attachments encouraged by *Hehuan shan shang* may become fetishistic from a nationalist perspective – evoking a misplaced attachment that interferes with the formation of national attachment – in two respects.

First, Mount Hehuan is not clearly indicated as a temporary object, and if Mount Hehuan represents Taiwan – as alpine island – the viewer might get the impression that he is supposed to attach himself to Taiwan. Clearly, in Taiwan is an interim object from a Chinese nationalist perspective in 1958. A thirty-five year old mainlander like Liang Jinhao, who is representative of many mainlanders in Taiwan in 1958, would have experienced the loss of ‘China’ (or whatever represented China to him) and likely his wife and children in his mid-twenties: his memories of the mainland would have been relatively fresh. In this regard it is striking that in the film there is not a single reference to mainland China, the recovery of which is supposedly the larger context or aim of any local development. If Jinhao represents the KMT and Ailan or Mount Hehuan represents Taiwan, the implication is that until committing itself to the development of the mountains in the mid-1950s, the KMT was still actively planning to return to the mainland. Which it may not have been: the Americans had made it very clear to Chiang Kai-shek that he was not to cross the Strait. But the main message of KMT propaganda was that retaking the mainland was a national mission. Perhaps after the Kinmen Artillery Barrage in August, 1958 (八二三炮戰), the impossibility of fulfilling this mission seemed incontrovertible (though, on the other hand, the KMT had survived the barrage without losing Kinmen). At any rate, Liang Jinhao settling down in the mountains seems tantamount to forgetting the ‘sacred’ national mission. The final explosion in the film seems less a sign of the danger posed by aboriginal males or technology itself and more a staged rite of passage, a rebirth in the wilderness, in this case a wilderness being transformed into a rural place. From the nationalist perspective, the reborn Liang Jinhao should be thinking of his ‘former incarnation’ on the mainland. Taiwan should be but a temporary substitute. Liang Jinhao is fetishizing Taiwan. The strangeness of the erasure of the past and the mainland in this film becomes apparent in comparison with Li Yongping’s *Haidongqing*, in which the city becomes a substitute for the mainland, a substitute that through its street signs constantly reminds urbanites of the great cities and even of the shape of the territory of mainland China.

Second, the film makes foreign novelty too attractive. A viewer might well fetishize the American trend rather than cleave to national tradition. Consider the saloon in comparison to the farm. The saloon is the source of the bad modernity, of foreign popular music – Harry

Belafonte's Banana Boat Song (1957) playing on the radio is at once ear candy and a sign of foreign influence. Ailan herself is ambiguously attractive: she is eye candy, a sign of domestic corruption. What was she doing before she came back to the village, one might wonder? She makes the film watchable, as Belafonte makes it listenable. The film stages a retreat from modern American influence and traditional urban depravity, but the effect is to make both forms of decadence seem compulsively attractive.

Then there is the farm. Liang Jinhao insists that any 'unused space' (空地) should be developed, which suggests a progressive 'development mentality'. But the result of development is *unheimlich*.<sup>5</sup> At the end of the film Jinhao is working a levelled but arid piece of land. It is not much to look at, and certainly not as scenic as the green hills where he and Ailan sang duets during the middle of the film, or the alpine groves in which he went hunting alone. As yet, they have no children. Jinhao's seeds have not sprouted. It is not a homey scene, not an object to which anyone would want to cathect. By finishing with farming, this seemingly 'progressive' film retreats away from modernity and depravity to an ancient Chinese ideal without creating a Peach Blossom Spring (桃花源), an ideal community. The church and the school have vanished without a trace. There do not seem to be any fruits of modernization in their daily lives: they live in a shack, though Ailan still wears a cheongsam. The image at the end of the film is meant to suggest a blank slate, pure national potentiality, but it seems like the semantic and sentimental nothing that follows the sound and the fury.

The ending is also *unheimlich* because of Liang Jinhao's facial expression at the beginning of the film. At the beginning of the film he seems suspicious when he looks up and sees the helicopter. Though it might simply be the sun in his eyes, I think the expression was deliberate, in order to add suspense. The flashback narrative technique defuses most of the drama the film might have had. We know, for instance, that Jinhao is not going to die in the explosion and that he is going to get the girl. For the sake of watchability, something had to be left ambiguous. But Jinhao's expression was risky, in that it left ambiguous whether the helicopter, in addition to being an assurance of paternalistic or Hippocratic care, was not also a sign of surveillance. In other words, there is a strong sense of state presence in *On Mount Hehuan*. It is hardly the Panopticon, a contraption of Bentham's in which one never knew when one was under

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<sup>5</sup> Freud wrote an essay in 1919 on the experience of the *unheimlich*, the un-homely, translated as "The Uncanny" in English. The concept has an obvious relation to a dissertation on domestication and the failure of domestication. I deal with it properly in Chapter 7, in which I discuss the motif of haunting in the works I interpret in chapters 4 to 6.

observation (Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* 195-228); on Mount Hehuan one can hear the helicopter coming. But it does give the viewer the unpleasant sense that Jinhao and Ailan are being watched.

## 2. The national slippery slope in Zhu Xining's "Shewu" 蛇屋 [Snake House] (1962)

*"Shewu" is the story of Xiao Xuan, a soldier from mainland China. He is heroic but he bites his nails. He has just helped finish a massive flood control project, the Stone Dragon Embankment, built to funnel mountain flood water across the plains. He is now assigned to join his schoolmate Old Miao in an aboriginal village in the hills above the embankment, where he will be teaching an adult Chinese reading course. Old Miao has arranged a welcome line led by his student surnamed Lin, a noncom, an impeccably trained young aborigine. Xiao Xuan feels uncomfortable, because he thinks Old Miao is insisting on keeping a distance between the aborigines and the Chinese. Xiao Xuan by contrast wants to participate in community life, and at the Beautiful New Festival – the name sounds nationalist, but the extravagance of the festival, which goes on for days, seems aboriginal – he throws himself into dancing and drumming with the aborigines.*

*But over the next few months he becomes disturbed by certain aspects of life in the community. First, the house he is staying in was built by the Japanese and is reputedly haunted by the ghost of a girl in the guise of a snake. Having been raped by a Japanese policeman, the girl gave birth to a deformed child named Akalu and committed suicide by jumping off the hanging bridge over the river whose floods Stone Dragon Embankment is designed to control. Second, Xiao Xuan, a married man, realizes he is sexually attracted to a girl in the community, named Kalaluo as well as Du Lianzhi. Third, and worst of all, he discovers that the local police officer, a married Chinese named Liu, has raped a local aboriginal teenager named Xiuyu and left her pregnant. Xiao Xuan confronts Liu, but rather than mete out vigilante justice he ends up listening to Old Miao's advice to turn the case over to the local 'mediation committee'. Officer Liu is replaced with Officer Xu: all seems right in the world!*

*But all is not quite right: during a storm a guard house at the edge of a slippery slope collapses. Xiao Xuan goes rescue the guard, who turns out to be Xiuyu's older brother. Xiao Xuan is a hero! The aborigines are no longer angry at the Chinese. Xiao Xuan's wife, an army physician, comes up from the plains to treat his infection and brings cloth for new clothing (as well as detergent to wash it) for Du Lianzhi: all seems right in the world!*

*But all is not quite right: Du Lianzhi's father, the local chief, offers his daughter's hand in marriage to Xiao Xuan. Before, he opposed unions with flatlanders, but out of gratitude to Xiao Xuan he has changed his mind. Du Lianzhi is so ashamed when Xiao Xuan refuses that she rushes off to jump off the bridge. Though she is the faster runner, Xiao Xuan somehow manages to catch her and save her: all seems right in the world!*

*But all is not quite right: when Xiao Xuan returns to his house, a snake bites him on the thumb. He brains the snake and, to stop the poison, shoots off his own thumb with his handgun; he will not be biting that nail again. Luckily, Du Lianzhi hears the shot and runs to get medical help. Finally all is right in the world: after Du Lianzhi finishes high school, she will come down to the plains to study nursing and then return to the hills to serve her people. Xiao Xuan has left the community a better place.*

Zhu Xining, today the most respected of Taiwan's postwar 'military authors' (軍中作家), started the story "Shewu" in 1953 and published it in 1962. During this period, the nationalist government settled some of the veterans of the civil war by deploying them as workers on massive infrastructural projects (like the Hehuan highway) and as teachers as well as military and police officers in the mountains. The content of the sort of class Xiao Xuan teaches would have been the *bo po mo fo* Mandarin phonetic transcription system and basic patriotism, such as recognition of the new national flag (Bullard 163; Harrison, "Changing Nationalities" 72). Out of such modest materials Zhu Xining composed an epic with mythic and allegorical resonance, an epic much more interesting than *Hehuan shan shang* because of the extent to which Zhu Xining opened himself up to the national anxiety.<sup>6</sup>

Indeed, Zhu Xining gives mountain administration a mythic significance. Like the Great Yu, who left wife and family for a decade while he mastered the floods on China's Central Plain, Xiao Xuan tames the flood by shaping its flow:

The Stone Dragon Embankment swept down from the foot of the mountain towards the plain. It was made of piled iron mesh bags filled with rocks. But the embankment was something more. It was the crystallization of an unimaginably vast flow of blood and sweat, shed or sweated as Xiao Xuan and his numberless soldier-worker companions had toiled under the white heat of the sun. (Zhu Xining 104)

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<sup>6</sup> Though Zhu Xining was in the army during the 1950s, he never served in the mountains. Zhu Xining may have visited a mountain village or read about or heard about the situation in such villages through the newspaper or a friend. None of Zhu's critics has done more than mention the story. His daughter Zhu Tianxin had never heard of it.

The two main mythic motifs in the story, conspicuous in this passage and both Chinese in provenance, are rain and dragon. Zhu Xining takes advantage of the common pun in Chinese on ‘rain’. The Chinese words for ‘rain’ and ‘desire’ are both *yu*.<sup>7</sup> The desire that is to be sublimated is for most of the second half of the story figured as a typhoon, a recurrent natural force that resists any effort at permanent domestication. There are still landslides every year up in the mountains. The Cross Island Highway, a leg of which was so triumphantly completed in *Hehuan shan shang*, is regularly impassable. Like rain “desire rains down” (150) in vast quantities – “a hundred tons, no a thousand tons of water” (153) – and carries people away. During the course of the story, the storm causes the collapse of admittedly flimsy artificial construct, the guard hut, but with that kind of recurrent force, even the Stone Dragon Embankment seems flimsy: the river that in the dry season before the construction of the embankment merely snaked across the plain threatens during the typhoon to overwhelm the Stone Dragon, climbing high up its banks (139). The Dragon, of course, is an imperial animal, associated with water, rain and sexuality. The Stone Dragon, by directing the flow of desire, is a structure of sublimation (139). Sublimation transcends simple repression. Xiao Xuan asserts that repression is necessary (111) but also that people have an innate artistic desire (117). Sublimation of course suggests Freud, with whose ideas we know Zhu Xining was familiar, because when Xiao Xuan is fevered while recovering from his infection with his wife at his side, hordes of snakes slither through the garden of his “unconscious” (潛意識) (158). To sublimate desire is, as Tim Oakes put it (“Gendered Landscape” 93), to transform the traditional Chinese frontier of anxiety and discrimination into a frontier of creativity and progress. This process of coming to age culturally speaking is symbolized mythically. Aboriginal membership in the Chinese nation is also symbolized as the evolution of their symbolic animal into a Chinese dragon: “The montagnards worshipped the spirit of the snake: but from the snake to the dragon represents a cultural transformation, a progression and not a regression” (123). As if it seemed like cultural evolution was going to take too long, Zhu Xining added human agency to seal the nation’s fate: Xiao Xuan brains the snake that bites him.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> 雨 *yǔ* and 慾 *yù*. When 雨 is verbal it is pronounced *yù*, the same as 慾. Rain as a noun (*yǔ*) is the name sound as the Great Yu (*yǔ*).

<sup>8</sup> Zhu Xining was a Christian. Clearly, the snake in the story might be a Christian symbol. I have decided to bracket this issue, because to examine it would mean delving into Christian and Chinese mythology, into Wen Yiduo’s researches in Kunming for instance, and because further research would not change the meaning of the snake in the story: it represents desire, and desire is a positive force if properly harnessed.

If mountain administration in the story has a mythic significance reinterpreted in psychoanalytical terms, the objective of mountain administration is rather less romantic, in that it can be related to govern-mentality in Foucault's sense of the term. In the course of a year, the daily and customary life of the aborigines is reorganized. They now have new clothing to wear. They wash regularly. They no longer spend all their time dancing and drunk. The Beautiful New Festival, a consolidation of the native festivals that in certain tribes, the Bunun for instance, were celebrated every other day, reflects the reordering of ritual life by the state. At the activities Xiao Xuan hosts, tea is a substitute for wine (138). The aborigines no longer call themselves by their aboriginal names: Kalaluo 卡拉洛 becomes Du Lianzhi, though her identity as a Chinese not yet secure. They no longer sing traditional songs in their own language, nor Japanese folk songs like Sakura, which Xiao Xuan hears when he first arrives, nor Mandopop, which Old Miao has tolerated or even introduced. When the hero finally leaves, Lianzhi sings a song she composed herself, the lyrics of which Xiao Xuan has "corrected" (175). The lyrics evidence the aborigines aspiring to learn self-regulation from the state, so that the state will no longer have to regulate them:

Oh ancestral land!  
 Night's departed; now it's day.  
 Teach us songs to sing and play;  
 Teach us self-command.  
 Favouring neither short nor tall,  
 You love us each, you love us all.

At the same time, the song is an expression of Du Lianzhi's creativity. Clearly, to Zhu Xining, the aborigines had the same potential for artistic creation as anyone else. Rather than see the transformation of aboriginal culture as a matter of governmentality, Zhu Xining would rather see it, again in Freudian lingo, as the sublimation of libido into creativity.

By 'allegorical resonance' in this dissertation, I mean that the characters in the story represent the nation or constituencies there in, and Xiao Xuan is to Kalaluo/Du Lianzhi in "Shewu" as the Chinese settlers are to the aborigines in Taiwan. Kalaluo's destiny in the story is to transform into Du Lianzhi, but she represents both the aborigines and the landscape of Taiwan. In this regard, the landscape is subtly associated with a woman's body: the mountain peaks are "flesh-coloured" (104) and "rouge" (112), as are breastlike boulders which seem ready to burst open during a storm (150). The story is about the transformation of the landscape as well,



through the building of bridges and levees. But the human interaction in the story is more interesting, and our idea of the relation between Xiao Xuan and Du Lianzhi may become more distinctive by comparing it to the allegorical relations in both *Hehuan shan shang* and *Wu Feng* – the latter film, like Zhu Xining’s story, appeared in 1962. On the one hand, in *Hehuan shan shang*, the treatment of the relation is shamelessly romantic. The relation between Chinese and aborigine is heterosexual. In *Wu Feng*, on the other hand, the treatment is stably tutelary or hierarchical. Wu Feng is a teacher, a kind-hearted but resolute lawmaker, and a father figure in the 1962 film. In Zhu Xining’s story the interethnic relation is more interesting because it begins uneasily in the middle of the two modes of narration, romantic and melodramatic or heterosexual and hierarchical. Like Zhu Tianwen’s “Xiangnian wo juancun de xiongdi men” and Li Yongping’s *Haidongqing*, Zhu Xining’s story comes dangerously close to national incest. Xiao Xuan should serve as a teacher, but he is surprised by lust and ends up being offered Du Lianzhi, one of his pupils, as his second wife. Xiao Xuan, of course, refuses to either act on lust. He turns off the tap, as it were, and ends the pattern of the abuse of aboriginal maidens that, in Zhu Xining’s simplified historical understanding, began in the Japanese period and continues in the postwar period because of subalterns like Officer Liu. “Shewu” ends with a national harmony: lust has been sublimated into the love that includes the aborigines in the ‘national family’. The national romance remains unconsummated, but we know that Du Lianzhi’s marriage is on the horizon, that she will be free to choose according to her heart’s desire, montagnard or flatlander, CPO Lin or Officer Xu, Officer Liu’s replacement. Du Lianzhi will do her part for national development. She will go down to the plain, take nursing, and return to serve in her native community. She will, like the hero and heroine of *Hehuan shan shang*, like Xiao Xuan and his wife, and like Zhu Xining himself, go on the state payroll as a civil servant. The lotus branch (*lian zhi* 蓮枝) for which she is named is, given the Buddhist background in Chinese culture, a symbol of interconnection: the message is ‘only connect’ (聯之). In this sense, the story is prophetic of the fulfillment of the national romance.

“Shewu,” though, is not propaganda. It is a serious work. Zhu Xining’s stance may have coincided with that of the KMT, but Zhu Xining was intellectually independent. There is obviously an uninformed openness to the aborigines in the story. Zhu Xining even, in a certain respect, contrasts the Chinese unfavourably with the aborigines. Xiao Xuan’s is an ancient, exhausted civilization (117). The Stone Dragon is after all made of rock. It is a ‘crystallization’ and not a living form. Xiao Xuan himself is described as carved. His name sounds like flute

melody but it Du Lianzhi who composes the new song, not him. He only corrects it. The brimming creativity of the aborigines, related to their physical vitality, is acknowledged. This openness can be called internal orientalist, but it is a healthy contrast to works like *Hehuan shan shang* in which there is nothing good in the aboriginal. Furthermore, there is obviously a note of critique in “Shewu.” There is an explicit identification of Officer Liu with the actions of the ‘foreigners’ (異族), the Japanese. But such stories were in the newspapers in the 1950s, and Zhu Xining was only critiquing the misdeeds of KMT subalterns, of the lower-downs (下面) not the higher-ups (上面). I would suggest that the true distinctiveness of “Shewu” is that it channels the national anxiety and thereby suggests the incompetence of the KMT. For a military writer like Zhu Xining, who would have been closely watched by the government, it is the degree to which the story is anxious (rather than critical) that, in retrospect, impresses the reader.

To begin with, the fixed moral foundation in the story is absent. Xiao Xuan’s wife, the strong feminine figure behind Xiao Xuan, comes to the mountains to as it were conduct an audit (153) on Xiao Xuan’s achievement. One is reminded of Meng Yue’s thesis about the CCP as dominant woman. His wife corrects her husband’s nail-biting (105), for instance, just as her husband is supposed to correct Du Lianzhi. But Xiao Xuan’s nervous habit implies he is not even capable of managing his own excessive libido, let alone of teaching anyone else to do so. Is it not rather worrying from the point of view of propaganda that the active force of decency in the story is himself radically unstable, that the novella seems like a *bildungsroman*, a sentimental education? Though, very objectionably, the aborigines are childlike or childish in the story, so is Xiao Xuan.

The national anxiety is inscribed in the very structure of the story. Zhu Xining borrowed features from anti-communist and anti-Japanese literature – melodramatic morality, the romance-structure of serial repetition and the overwrought style of physical and aesthetic extremes – and transferred them to the mountains of Taiwan, where, one would think, the state would encounter no formidable problems. Zhu Xining’s excess becomes excessive. A story with four intensely dramatic climaxes, in several of which the hero is out of control of the situation, can hardly be described as conveying a sense of the inevitability of the achievement of nationhood. Unlike *On Mount Hehuan*, the whole of which is a flashback, “Shewu” does not let the reader know what is coming. This narrative strategy, to be sure, increases the drama of the story – perhaps too much. And from the point of view of propaganda, the future perfect ending is also part of the problem with this story.

In *Hehuan shan shang*, the aboriginal male was a comic, absurd figure, but in “Shewu” no fun is poked at aboriginal masculinity and there is even a suggestion of a potential for violence. Moreover, in contrast to *Hehuan shan shang*, the aboriginal maiden in “Shewu” is unstable: Du Lianzhi is still partly Kalaluo. She is in danger while CPO Lin has already assimilated. At least at the literal level of the text. I have emphasized the problem of desire because the story emphasizes it. But the story also gives violence the status of a natural principle: blood as a fluid is symbolically associated with water, and water overflowing with bloodshed. The *force majeure* of the typhoon is described as an irresistible violence (不可抗拒的暴力) (155). Although there is no suggestion of aboriginal violence in the present of the story, in its recent past is the aboriginal hero Bulaeryang 布拉爾揚, who killed eleven Japanese in retaliation for the Japanese police officer’s rape of Akalu’s mother. That Xiuyu may be fated to repeat the story of the syphilitic suicide and her unborn child another Akalu is strongly implied; but that one of the aboriginal men in the village might be a postwar Bulaeryang is also implicit. Du Lianzhi’s father may no longer have an act of violence in him, but Xiuyu’s brother surely does. Bulaeryang to the Japanese is Xiuyu’s brother to the Chinese. NCO Lin might have violence in him. In NCO Lin, we may have a case of mimicry in Homi Bhabha’s sense. Bhabha argued that the ‘almost but not quite’ of mimicry often seems suddenly menacing. NCO Lin might seem menacing because like Bhabha’s Indians, he has been taught military skills and discipline and might become “turbulent for liberty” (“Of Mimicry and Man”).<sup>9</sup>

Finally, Zhu Xining is not usually thought of as an ironic writer, but there are ironies in “Shewu,” ironies perhaps at the expense of the author and of the KMT. Like the anxieties I have discussed in the preceding paragraphs, these ironies challenge nationalist self-confidence. First, unlike *Hehuan shan shang*, “Shewu” mentions the national situation. By 1962 the conditions for the symbolic unity of opposites in the national frame had changed. In the first line of the story, Xiao Xuan is reminded of home in the northeast, where now, he thinks, it would be snowing. The territory of the land of my ancestors is truly vast (104), he thinks; which is true, but not entirely convincing given the recent loss of the mainland. Second, the KMT was hardly writing on a blank slate in Taiwan. In many ways the KMT built on Japanese institutional and infrastructural foundations. This dependence is reflected in “Shewu.” Though the embankment

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<sup>9</sup> In this regard, ‘Teach us self-command’ (教我們做主人) in Du Lianzhi’s poem might also be translated ‘teach us to be masters’. This line was an allusion to the policy, which would not be fulfilled until the 1990s, of turning local governance over to the aborigines. Of course, Zhu Xining was not considering offering the indigenes sovereignty (自主權), nor did he mean that the aborigines were now ‘hosts’ (also 主人), which would make the Chinese guests.

on the plains was nationalist, the bridge to modernity over the river of desire was Japanese, as was the national ‘house’ in the story.<sup>10</sup> Though the snake might be exorcized and the house renovated, this national dependence on the Japanese is an irony no act of snake braining could defang.

Next I turn to two Nativist authors, Wang Zhenhe and Ye Shitao, both of whom are more profoundly critical of the state approach to nation building, of both technological progress and domesticatory assimilation.

### 3. Hot then cold: The unassimilated aborigine in Wang Zhenhe’s “Xiari” 夏日 [Summer Sun] (1961)

*An Amis woman named Bana 芭娜 married to a Chinese tells a day in the life. She lives in a Japanese-style house, number 31 in a Taiwan Power Company workers’ dependents’ village. Her husband Qiangming has abandoned her and taken up with prostitutes. When she confronts Qiangming, he tells her to count her blessings: she does not have to work and has enough to eat. She remembers how attractive he once was, and how charming. He learned a bit of Amis, drew her out of the breadfruit grove where her tribespeople were revelling, and seduced her. She also remembers her mother-in-law rejecting her appeals for help, blaming her for marrying above her station in the first place: “It’s not like you didn’t know you’re no match for (配不上) our Qiangming!” Her husband has told her to take a look at herself in the mirror: she is no longer young. So Bana goes home, takes a bath, looks at her middle-aged body in the mirror and, feeling her social isolation as oppressive as an airless house in summer, tries to get the window open. When she cannot, she punches and breaks it and bloodies her hand. She feels a chill and faints.*

Wang Zhenhe published the story in the ninth issue of *Xiandai wenxue* 現代文學 [Modernist Literature] in July 1961, becoming, at the age of one and twenty, the first writer of fiction in history to write honestly, if mostly out of a perceptive youthful imagination, about the reality of Formosan aboriginal ‘romance’. What he produces is Modernist rather than Realist, but

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<sup>10</sup> The maiden in danger of falling from a bridge is a frequently appearing motif in Taiwanese cultural production. To my knowledge, its first appearance is in Wen Xin’s novella “Qiansui kuai” 千歲檜 (1957). Naturally, we cannot assume that the bridge is a bridge to modernity. The aborigines themselves built makeshift bridges. But in the postwar period, the meaning of modernity is suggested.

his story serves as an exposure of idealizing treatments of the aborigines. It is realist in the way that much modernist writing was realist; by foregrounding the psychological instability of the modern subject, the modernists aimed to be more realist than the writers of the great nineteenth century realist novels. The story mixes humane concern and Modernist literary techniques – the stream of consciousness, the first-person experiential narrator, the flashback, and the anti-epiphany – that Wang Zhenhe had no doubt recently learned reading *Dubliners* in his classes in foreign languages and literatures at NTU. The story is tragic in Northrop Frye's sense (*Anatomy* 35-43): Bana's situation is hopeless because she has been taken from the aboriginal communal social order, drawn out of the ring of breadfruit trees and confined to a house in an orderly but 'empty' community in which she will always remain an outsider. She is a social atom. Her husband is working class Taiwanese, of fairly low social status, low enough to take an aboriginal wife but high enough to have a sense of his own superiority. Bana's crisis is existential, but her predicament is representative of a social problem. It would be a stretch to read the story politically, but in the light of the first work I discussed in this chapter, *Hehuan shan shang*, it is interesting that "Xiari" describes a failure of assimilation or of domestication. Unlike Ailan, Bana still has an aboriginal name. According to *Hehuan shan shang*, for the aboriginal maiden to accept Chinese domesticity results in happiness. In Bana's case there were a lot of heartwarming promises, and then the cold shoulder. Clearly, Wang Zhenhe is throwing acid at 'society', at people like Qiangming and his mother. The total absence of a civilizing project is also striking, given that Bana lives in a village for workers at a government corporation. One assumes that the corporation would have gotten involved in the daily lives of the workers and their families in some way. It seems as if the corporation was not doing anything besides producing power. Taipower did not even build the worker dormitories, merely inherited them from the Japanese. The dormitories are like the house in "Shewu." Though 1961 is three dozen years before Taiwan became a welfare state, perhaps the lack of any state presence in the story is meant as an ironic comment on the gap between government rhetoric in works such as *Hehuan shan shang* and the social reality.

#### 4. Mimicking the national romance: Ye Shitao's critical romanticism

By the term mimicking I am again alluding to Homi Bhabha's theory of mimicry. Ye Shitao can be described as a romantic writer, one who depicts reality as better or other than it

actually is by idolizing the old and ironizing the new. It is in his idealization of the primitive that he in certain stories seems critical, though on the surface they may mimic the national romance.

Ye Shitao and Zhu Xining were on opposite sides of the field of cultural production. Zhu Xining had enormous social capital as a military man and a mainlander, though his cultural production was undoubtedly closely monitored by the authorities for ideological infelicity. Ye Shitao, by contrast, had a trebly suspicious past. First, he was a member of the local elite, a scion of a declining Tainan absentee landlord family. Second, he had published in Japanese during wartime and had been a protégé of the Romantic Japanese writer Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川滿. Third, after the war he had gravitated towards socialism, into the orbit of Yang Kui and other prominent leftist writers. For his attendance in a socialist reading group, he was put in political prison, where he remained from 1950 to 1953. After 1953 he picked up the pieces of his life. His family was now poor; Ye Shitao had to go to work. The job he chose was elementary schoolteacher. Ye Shitao maintained a publishing silence from 1950 to 1965, when, heartened by the new journal *Taiwan wenyi* 台灣文藝, founded in April 1964 by Wu Zhuoliu with the participation of major Taiwanese authors like Zhong Zhaozheng, he reappeared on the literary scene. As one would expect from a good schoolmarm, Ye Shitao's works are filled with the patriotic discourse of self-sacrifice. Ye Shitao was always straining to write national narratives. The three stories I discuss below are obviously national allegories. One suspects Ye Shitao of trying to curry favour with the KMT by writing stories that seconded the KMT's interpretation of the national reality. Indeed, Ye Shitao wanted recognition, and he is notorious for changing his allegiance to suit the times: he was a weakly imperialist romantic in the early 1940s, a socialist in the late 1940s, a nationalist in the late 1960s, an ideologically weak Nativist in the 1970s, and finally a Localist from the late 1980s on. He did not get the recognition he felt he deserved until the 1980s, and then it was more as a literary historian – as the writer of *Taiwan wenxue shigang* 台灣文學史綱 [Outline of Taiwan literature] – than as a writer of fiction. However, Ye Shitao's middle period (1965-1970) fiction is, I think, his best. It gives the reader a sense of a conflicted pair of critical romantic eyes peering through a Chinese nationalist mask.

Below I will interpret two works from 1967, when Ye Shitao was teaching for a year in an elementary school in Yilan County, having left his wife and two sons behind in Tainan, as well as one work from 1968. The first two are about love affairs between native Taiwanese men and Formosan aboriginal women. Both bear an obvious allegorical significance, but ideologically they are quite distinct. The first, “Xingyi ji,” seems to toe the nationalist

government line while insisting upon a heroic place for the Native Taiwanese in the postwar Chinese nation of Taiwan. The second, “Yiluka Molai,” seems to embrace primitivism more than liberal modernity and to accuse the KMT of neglecting the aborigines. As in the Wang Zhenhe story “Xiari,” what is striking about the state is its absence rather than its presence. Finally, written in 1968, “Sulphur Extraction Diary” sustains the note of primitivism in “Yiluka Molai”; and interrogates a vision of nationalist development from the distant past.

#### 4.1. Schweitzer in Taiwan: “Xingyi ji” 行醫記 [A Doctor’s Diary] (1967)<sup>11</sup>

*A rich gentry woman gives birth in her old age. She gives the child to be raised as Li Wenxian by a sharecropper couple who work her estate. The orphan does not know his mother, but there is always a benefactor helping him from afar. After the war, the benefactor sends him to medical school in Taipei. After graduation, rather than stay in the big city, the orphan chooses to go to Luodong in Yilan County to do his residency at a Franciscan hospital.<sup>12</sup> He falls in love with a nurse there, Wu Xuelan, an aborigine, and decides to minister with her to the aborigines in the mountains. The Franciscans give them medical supplies to set up a clinic to treat the aborigines for encephalitis, appendicitis, and alcoholism. In the dramatic climax of the story, though about to give birth herself, Wu Xuelan stays up all night attending by her husband’s side as he operates on a patient with a burst appendix, only to collapse from exhaustion after the surgery is completed. Li Wenxian is frantic, but his wife is alright and the baby is fine. Several years later, they return, in a final homecoming, to the house of his birth mother.*

“Xingyi ji” by Ye Shitao is the story about an individual struggling with his environment in order to contribute to national development. It begins before and ends after the Retrocession, and the first issue I will attend to is the nature of the orphan’s struggle in these two periods. His struggle is initially partly against colonial rule, for it is during canings at the hands of his Japanese schoolteachers that he realizes that,

...in order to acquire the beautiful fruits of life one has to undergo a grinding training, tighten one’s jaw and do battle with the terrible environment. For life is a path overgrown with thorns not covered over with flower petals. And from this

<sup>11</sup> Ye Shitao. *Ye Shitao quanji* 2.83-108. Published in Lin Haiyin’s journal *Chun wenxue* 純文學 [Pure Literature] 1.2 (Feb. 1967).

<sup>12</sup> There is a hospital in Luodong, where the orphan does his residency and out of which Ye Shitao was stationed, but it is run by Camillians not Franciscans.

realization there sprouted in his character a firm and resilient sense of wilful purpose. (2.85)

In this passage, though, anti-colonialism does not seem to be the main point. The fact that his school teachers are trying to assimilate him, to make him an imperial citizen is not emphasized. What is emphasized is the value of education and development, of self-improvement and mastery of the environment. The struggle is very general: it is with the environment, with oneself, with nature (2.84). In these respects, the orphan's struggle is consonant with postwar nationalist developmentalism or transformationalism.

The struggle before and after Retrocession is basically the same; what does seem to change, at least initially, is the emphasis on collective struggle. Even in the liberalism of such noted liberals as Hu Shi 胡適 there was a collectivist or nationalist tendency. Hu Shi is well-known for his position in the late 1910s that each individual small self 小我 should fulfill his responsibility to his big self 大我, the country or the nation.<sup>13</sup> Nationalist writings often included militaristic rhetoric in which the individual vanishes into the group. Ye Shitao includes this kind of discourse, which might be called a nationalist sublime, in “Xingyi ji”:

[He] wanted to become part of the ranks that were rebuilding the homeland, by contributing his youthful blood and by powdering his body and splintering his bones in hard work, in order to become an atom in the hard core of national society. (2.91)

In order to contribute to national development, Li Wenxian brings modern medicine to the highlands. Schweitzer's medical mission in west Africa was described for readers like Ye Shitao in the Chinese translation of his autobiography, entitled *Feizhou xingyi ji* 非洲行醫記, part of which Ye Shitao may have taken as the title for this short story, “Xingyi ji.”<sup>14</sup> This story is a nationalization of Schweitzer, whose aims were to some extent anti-colonial but better described as Christian and humanitarian and therefore universalist. There is thus a tension in Ye Shitao's story between Schweitzerian universalism and Chinese nationalism. We can understand this tension better by attending to the function of love in this story. Love crosses boundaries. Indeed, as Li Wenxian notes, love transcends “differences of race, skin color and religion” (2.100). But the context of this remark is Li Wenxian's wedding. His foster father does not mind that Wenxian is marrying an aboriginal girl. Nation is conspicuously absent from the list of

<sup>13</sup> An idea expounded in the essay “Buxiu” 不朽 in *Xin qingnian* 新青年 [New Youth] in 1919.

<sup>14</sup> The first translation to use this title did not appear until 1977 (Trans: Lin Miaoling. Taipei: Zhiwen), but I am still assuming that this phrase was informally current in the 1960s when Ye Shitao wrote the story under discussion.



differences to be transcended. Ye Shitao helps the local authority – the KMT – by using the chemical reaction of romantic love to overcome internal social differences and bind people into a modern, which is to say culturally and linguistically homogenous, national society. This was the objective of the love affair in *Hehuan shan shang*, in which the aboriginal girl was assimilated from the start. This story by Ye Shitao fits the same pattern. Though aboriginal clichés hang about Wu Xuelan’s name – her last name means shaman, her first snow orchid – it is a Chinese name.

In this heterosexual national allegory, there is a hierarchical gender relation. “Xingyi ji” is Wenxian’s story not Xuelan’s. Xuelan is nothing more than a symbol of successful assimilation. Clearly she can speak, but she has nothing noteworthy to say; no word of hers is recorded in this story. In this respect, a comparison with a contemporary story of Huang Chunming’s may be illuminating. That Wu Xuelan gives birth in a dangerously remote circumstance (2.104) should remind readers familiar with Taiwanese literature of Huang Chunming’s story “Kanhai de rizi” 看海的日子 [Days of Looking at the Sea] in which the Nativist heroine almost dies during childbirth.<sup>15</sup> Despite the plot detail in common, though, the stories are quite different. In Ye Shitao’s nationalist story, the subaltern figure, both in terms of culture and gender, is totally subservient, literally and symbolically, to the culture bringer. In the latter, the subaltern, a prostitute no less, decides herself to return to her rural village to farm the land, to rejuvenate the homestead, and to give birth to her child, the seed of a sailor, alone. At the end of “Xingyi ji,” when we learn Li Wenxian is not an orphan after all, Wu Xuelan gets assigned a decidedly minor role. It was not her inspiration or her religion that was the guiding light for the orphan, but rather his mother – “there had always been a light, a lamp illuminating his road, showing him the right way...” (2.107). Earlier the same imagery was used to talk about the light of science that the doctor shines into the mountains when he takes over from the shaman healers lurking in the shadows (2.99).

The help Xuelan gives Wenxian, though, is not denied, and the other sources of help on which the orphan’s success depends makes the story less individualistic than it might otherwise have been. It is very interesting, however, where the help he gets comes from. His foster parents help him. His benefactress, who turns out to be his mother, provides money for him to go to medical school after the war. The Franciscans, who were Western missionaries, give him the

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<sup>15</sup> Ye Shitao’s story was published five months earlier than Huang Chunming’s. Huang’s story was published in July, 1967 in the *Wenxue jikan* 文學季刊.

equipment he needs to set up the clinic. And his helpmeet is an aborigine. It may seem strange that while the initiatives he serves are state initiatives, the state is totally absent from his life. He gets no help from the KMT. None of his benefactors represent the state in a direct way. Allegorically, on the other hand, there are two possibilities for the meaning of the benefactor's mother. First, if the orphan represents Taiwan – Ye Shitao had come out of literary exile to answer the call of the great literatus Wu Zhuoliu, whose canonical work *Yaxiya de guer* [Orphan of Asia] defined Taiwan as Asia's (China's?) lost child – then his birth-mother represents China, who had never forgotten her child but had looked on in kindness from afar and helped him anonymously. Second, the birth mother represents the Taiwanese gentry; on this reading Ye Shitao was asserting the local elite's contribution to Taiwan's development, and representing the local elite's transfer of capital from the older forms like land and Confucian learning to new forms, including the specialized knowledge of doctors, engineers, and even schoolmarmms like Ye Shitao. That his mother had him in her old age recalls the Biblical Sarah, an association suggesting that a conception of national identity based on lineage – a Taiwanese lineage – persists in the story, in contrast to the more abstract notion of the 'big self' of the Chinese nation. Li Wenxian on this reading is a Taiwanese answer to Xiao Xuan in Zhu Xining's "Shewu."

It may be that the story affirms the Western and Taiwanese contribution to Taiwan's development, if the aging mother in the story represents the local gentry, but as a whole the story seems to toe the KMT's postwar liberal nationalist, assimilatory, developmentalist line, which is surprising given that it was published in a journal – Lin Haiyin's *Chun wenxue* [Pure Literature] – that was supposedly above politics. Li Wenxian is colonized and colonizing – colonized by the KMT and Western modernity and colonizing the aborigines. The next story of Ye's I will discuss is far less progressive – it might well be described as Romantic – and the contrast in attitude is reflected in a different kind of relation between the Chinese man and the aboriginal maiden.

#### 4.2. National 'resentment': "Yiluka Molai" 伊魯卡·摩萊 (1967)<sup>16</sup>

*Weng Lufu 律夫 ('man of discipline' or 'disciplined man'), a medical student in Tokyo during the war, gives up his studies to come home to Taiwan. Upon arrival, he gets a draft notice. He takes an exam and becomes a rare Taiwanese NCO in the imperial army; but when a conflict with one of his Japanese subordinates turns ugly, he flees into the hills. There, he stumbles upon*

<sup>16</sup> Ye Shitao. *Ye Shitao quanji* 2.147-179. Published in *Xiaoshuo chuanguo* 35 (Apr. 1967).

*the cabin of Yiluka Molai, an Atayal princess whose brother, her only living relation, is an Atayal chief. Together, Weng Lufu and Yiluka Molai fight the Japanese and then flee farther into the hills, to a mountain cave. Yiluka conceives a child. When word of the retrocession reaches them several months later in November, 1945, Weng Lufu returns to his fiancée Su-e, an alluring, corrupting urban material girl. He has a successful career, but his marriage falls apart because Su-e does not have the authenticity Weng Lufu loved in Yiluka Molai. He goes back to Yilan and recognizes Yiluka Molai on a passenger bus. Prematurely aged, she is going to see their daughter, Minlan, who is performing at a ‘cabaret’ in the city. Initially she claims that her name is Zhang Xueying, but after Weng Lufu proves who he is, she admits who she is. He insists that he has the right to see his own daughter, and Yiluka Molai takes him to see her, following several steps behind.*

Like “Xingyi ji,” “Yiluka Molai” is a story of before and after, in this case before and after Modernization as well as before and after the Retrocession; but the former story is Progressive while the latter is Romantic. In the former, Ye Shitao looks towards the future, while in the latter he valorizes the primitive. The former story upheld reason and progress – Ye Shitao even alludes to Pascal’s thinking reed<sup>17</sup> – while the latter longs for passion and exposes the reality of progress. Both stories are about the transformation of the frontier, but Ye Shitao’s attitude towards transformation is in this story highly negative. As a frontier story, Yiluka Molai can be regarded as an anti-western, a postmodern western or a revisionist western. In a typical western, civilization is brought to the frontier or evil is battled. Taiwan’s prototypical western is the story of Wu Feng. In “Xingyi ji,” civilization was brought to the frontier. Like Wu Feng according to Lian Heng, Li Wenxian is even deified. After the Japanese left, there was no opposing force of evil for good to battle; there was only primitive ignorance to be transformed. In “Yiluka Molai,” by contrast, there is in the past time of the story no project of civilization, though there is a clear enemy, the Japanese. The two main characters in the story, Weng Lufu and Yiluka Molai, are initially united in hatred for the Japanese. After the Retrocession there is no longer any worthy cause to support. The cause for which Weng Lufu abandons Yiluka Molai, national development-cum-personal success, turns out to be hollow. He leaves her several

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<sup>17</sup> Ye Shitao alludes to a following passage in the *Pensées*: “L’homme n’est qu’un roseau, le plus faible de la nature; ma c’est un roseau pensant” (v 347).

months pregnant at a fateful hanging bridge, here a symbol of parting but also of going across a dangerous divide, perhaps between primitiveness to modernity.

Japan's surrender and Taiwan's retrocession were major steps in history, before which all romantic love seemed too insubstantial, not worth holding on to. The waves of the times were breaking over the field of his heart. He cruelly left Yiluka in the mountains; she would just have to fend for herself. (2.175)

...

After the Retrocession he felt the supreme happiness of a newly acquired freedom, the ultimate joy of escape from alien rule. It was like a mighty torrent, sucking him into a whirlpool. It forced him to struggle wholeheartedly, to succeed, to become part of the ranks that were rebuilding the *patria*. And he had not wasted any effort. He had won a niche for himself in a liberal, competitive society... (2.176)

The riverine imagery here suggests disaster, as in Zhu Xining's "Shewu." The national flood released by great events in history is not cathartic but destructive. Ye Shitao was not a total Romantic. He could not be opposed to some aspects of development. In the present time of the story, Yiluka Molai looks old because of the harsh life – the rough food and barbaric customs (2.150) – of the mountains. But participation in the nationalist nation building project leads to a superficial success for Weng Lufu and a deeper failure. In "Xingyi ji," success meant making a real contribution and the focus was on the culture bringer; in "Yiluka Molai," success is driven by greed, and the focus of the story is on the suffering subaltern, the one who loses the most in the process of modernization.

In this story, it is the aboriginal princess not the Taiwanese hero who is the nationally symbolic orphan. Yiluka Molai comes from Wushe. Her grandfather died during one of the Japanese reprisals following the Wushe Incident in 1930. Her parents spirited her and her brother away to Yilan County, dying soon afterwards. In this story it is also the aboriginal princess not the Taiwanese hero who is idealized. She is even deified: for Weng Lufu she is a "tender goddess." In her youth, Yiluka Molai is fierce, proud, courageous, her eyes flashing electricity, her limbs smeared with deerfat (2.151), like a wildcat (2.164), like a spirit crystalized from the numinous essence of the hills and valleys (2.151). She is the flower of the Atayal! With her ample breasts and dark skin, she is also a "brown Venus" (2.167) like the ones painted by Paul Gauguin in his primitivist Tahitian pastoral paintings – Gauguin had left France in 1891 to escape the artificiality and conventionality of modern life, ending up by mid-decade in Tahiti. Gauguin's masterpiece "D'où venons nous? Que sommes nous? Où allons nous?" – questions Ye Shitao is very obviously asking about the modernization of Taiwan in this story – is from 1897.

Yiluka Molai embodies all the positive values of the story, especially natural and passionate sexual relations: Weng Lufu notes that sex was such a taboo (2.153) in his youth that he and Su-e had not even touched hands, following the ancient Chinese custom. Yiluka Molai was an exotic sexual fantasy for Ye Shitao, but she also represents his romantic resistance to the repressions of traditional Chinese society.

As someone who suffers under the new dispensation, Yiluka Molai may also be Ye Shitao's way of criticizing the way the KMT was handing modernization, a reading that we can explore by comparing "Yiluka Molai" with the Japanese story "Maihime" 舞姫 [Dancing Girl] by Mori Ogai, published in 1890, the year of the new National Constitution that asserted the right of the state to override private passions in the name of national development. "Maihime" has been interpreted as an allegory of the damaging subjective effects of this transition (Hill, "Mori Ogai's Resentful Narrator"). In Mori's story, a Japanese medical student in Germany falls in love with a dancing girl. He gets her pregnant and leaves her in the midst of a nervous breakdown, perhaps on the verge of madness. He leaves her for the sake of career and country. Christopher Hill argues that the resentment the narrator mentions is an instance of cosmopolitan (though certainly not Nietzschean) resentment against Japanese nationalism, which demanded loyalty of Japanese nationals, who were supposed to transcend universalist ethical values. The job the medical student is offered working as an assistant to a prominent Japanese politician is certainly lucrative; it is a good career move. But at the same time he feels forced into it. In "Yiluka Molai," similarly, there is an interethnic or interracial affair resulting in a child, for whom the father takes no responsibility. Ye Shitao's story is also an examination of ambition and career in a modernizing strongly national society. There is even a dancing girl – Weng Lufu's daughter. Yet the love affair in "Yiluka Molai" is intranational not international. What "Yiluka Molai" has is the primitive material, and what lacks is the cosmopolitan context of "Maihime." The contrast in "Yiluka Molai" is not between cosmopolitanism and nationalism as in "Maihime," but between settler and primitive in a modernizing society. Reading Ye Shitao's story against Mori Ogai's elicits an allegorical reading from the story, and the resultant allegory seems to accuse the Han majority of exploitation and the state of neglect of the indigenous peoples. The contrast between a pro-KMT work of cultural production like *Hehuan shan shang*, in which people remain safe under the watchful gaze of the state, at least by the end of the story, and "Yiluka Molai," in which the state is totally absent and people are left to fend for themselves in a competitive society, is stark. Has there been dereliction of spousal and paternal duty that is

symbolic of a national failure to take responsibility? That Weng Lufu is aware that he is blameworthy would explain why he rationalizes the abandonment, as well as all the events in his life, as being beyond his control. The mountains and rivers themselves conspire against humanity, blocking people's hopes and longings (2.147). Dice are thrown (2.168). Success or failure lie in the hands of capricious Destiny, who will either take pity upon you or abandon you (2.179). At any rate, the sexual union of Weng Lufu and Yiluka Molai fails to fulfill the formula of the national romance: 'eros equals polis'.

Rather than see the national allegory in the story as simply a national romance, we might consider the bus as an allegorically national community. The rustbucket of a bus Weng Lufu gets on at the beginning of the story may, like a field or a house, be viewed as a national enclosure. That the bus is an Isuzu suggests that Taiwan's modernization was in some way on the strength of Japan's. The bus is out of control, like an unbridled bronco (2.168). It almost runs over Yiluka Molai (1.149). Yiluka's brother, who by the present time of the story has become a casualty of modernization, was also a driver: he drove a logging truck. There are several other people on the bus, each of whom has participated allegorically in national development. The bus driver himself is overworked and irresponsible – he is drunk – though probably the bus company does not give him enough time to rest. Weng Lufu was a manager of a factory that manufactured dye, dye being something used to change the color of fabric, so that Weng Lufu's profession is associated with the artificiality that Ye Shitao is critiquing in this short story. There is also a logger on the bus, who has ironically become a critic of national development. The logger remembers when the valley they are driving through was beautiful, with lots of sky-scraping trees (2.154). Now the primeval forest has been destroyed. There is also a greasy businessman, the sort of person that was subjecting the aborigines to exploitation or outright commoditization, who for some reason stares greedily at the package Yiluka Molai holds in her lap. The package contains smoked squirrel meat for her daughter, the kind of gift a child from a minority background both resents and appreciates. Finally, there is Yiluka Molai herself, an aboriginal princess living in abject poverty, not a casualty but certainly in some sense a victim of modernization.

Or is she? Is it not rather patriarchal for Weng Lufu to decide in the end to play the saviour to Yiluka Molai and his daughter Minlan? Let us consider the shifting relations between Yiluka Molai and Weng Lufu. Ye Shitao explicitly draws out conflicting feelings in Weng Lufu about relations between the sexes, for though Yiluka Molai as a maiden is tender as a lamb in private she becomes an Amazon in public; Weng Lufu subdues Yiluka Molai in bed, but outside

of it she is more capable than he. Yiluka orchestrates their retreat from the Japanese and talks to him as if he were a child (2.171). He stabs the throat of the attack dog that locates them, but it is her face that gets splattered with canine gore (2.172). She is more active, positive, and assertive. All this changes at the end of the story. In the old aboriginal society a woman could be fiercely independent, at least in Ye Shitao's understanding; under the new dispensation of national capitalism, the desirable woman becomes a commodity, while the undesirable woman is discarded. All Yiluka Molai can do is survive, having been unable to adapt to the liberal, competitive society by assimilating and learning the new rules of the game. She follows obediently behind Weng Lufu. Clearly now he means to take care of his dependents, and has the means to do so. The reconfiguration of gender relations at the end of the story is a patriarchal normalization, which on some level is reminiscent of the patriarchal relation of the party-state to the people and landscape of Taiwan, both of which Yiluka Molai, in her exhaustion, allegorizes.

But then there is always Minlan, who unlike her mother seems to have successfully made the transition from aboriginal to Chinese, at least in terms of her name. Her name means 'tender orchid', but it is a Chinese name and tender or not she is obviously surviving in the big city of Li Yongping's novel *Haidongqing*. She is conceived in the year of the Restoration; it is hard not to take such a birth as nationally symbolic. She too is in a sense an orphan. But we do not in this story find out how she is faring.

Yiluka Molai is a primitive unable to adapt to modernity; in the final story I discuss in this chapter, "Cailiu ji," Ye Shitao imagines an aboriginal maiden in a prehistorical paradise, yet one that is already showing signs of disturbance.

#### 4.3. Romanticizing imperialism or ironizing development? "Cailiu ji" 採硫記 [A Record of Sulphur Extraction]<sup>18</sup>

*Yu Yonghe, a historical figure famous for his 1697 travel memoir about a visit to Taiwan to get sulphur after the local stockpile – in a warehouse in Fujian – exploded. The route he took on Taiwan was up the west coast from Tainan to Danshui. The memoir covers the whole trip; Ye Shitao focuses on events near the sulphur pits on Yangming Mountain in northern Taiwan. The sulphur Extraction party crosses the Danshui river and reaches the site where the sulphured soil is collected and processed. One evening he is visited by a Lamana, a young aboriginal woman. She seduces Yu Yonghe; though a married man, Yu Yonghe cannot resist.*

<sup>18</sup> Ye Shitao. *Ye Shitao quanji* 2.371-394, originally in *Taiwan ribao* 22-24 Aug. 1968.

Ye Shitao turns Yu Yonghe's trip into a debate about progress. The terms of the debate are Confucian, but the agonistic positions are recognizably Romantic versus Progressive. Yu Yonghe is the Confucian moralist who is extracting chemical resources from a colony. While Confucianism is not usually thought of as being progressive – Confucius hearkened back to the age of the sages, for instance – but in the course of the story Yu Yonghe vocalizes a Confucian confidence in the power of Chinese culture to transform the frontier people and environment (教化). First, the Formosan aborigines. Yu Yonghe is especially disturbed by the bad custom (陋習) (2.374) practiced by the Siraya plains aborigines of abortion by belly pounding for all pregnant women below the age of thirty-five.<sup>19</sup> For a moment he wonders, “Can it be that civilization and culture are no match for darkness and savagery?” Then he affirms that the aborigines *can* be tamed into Chinese people through Confucian education. Second, the landscape. He imagines the fertile farmland that would result from the efforts of the settlers. Soon, Yu Yonghe imagines, the “violent and erratic climate” of the untamed frontier would be transformed into picturesque (2.381) and poetic (2.382) scenery resembling that on the mainland. The aborigines and the landscape are symbolically linked, for the wind “caresses” his cheek just like Lamana does.

Indeed, Taiwan and Lamana are both exotic and feminine. Taiwan is anachronistically “a virgin land yet untamed by man” (2.372). The virgin land ends up being Yu Yonghe's undoing. He is thinking one evening of his wife gazing at the moon and thinking of him; when in walks a young aboriginal girl named Lamana, smiling a charming smile (13). She is “innocent and ingenuous,” a term of approbation from the *Analects*. But if her character is Confucian, her laughter is wanton (放肆). No matter: what matters is that she is nubile:

Wild explosive desire shook his body. His throat went dry.... His spasmodic hand grasped her supple breast. His brain went blurry and indistinct. She had caught him as a wild animal is caught for a ritual offering. (2.383)

When later informed of the local sexual mores, Yu Yonghe is not sure whether this is a “good custom” or an “evil practice” (2.386). Having been overwhelmed by desire, Yu Yonghe is no longer so certain of his own value system. Lamana is a spirit of place. She is the landscape of Taiwan supposedly eager for a foreign lover. She plays the same role in Ye Shitao's private fantasy as Yiluka Molai, but in this story there are no symbolic marks upon the aboriginal maiden of the effects of modernization.

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<sup>19</sup> This bizarre custom was described first by the Dutch pastor Candidius in 1623. John Shepherd has written a monograph on it, suggesting that wives aborted until husbands retired from hunting.



Yet despite Yu Yonghe's initial developmental confidence, two types of exploitation, labour and environmental, have already appeared. First, labour exploitation. The aborigines are treated worse under the Qing than they were under the Dutch or the Zhengs (2.387). They have been drawn into the regional economy, so that an explosion in Fujian ends up meaning that the local representatives of Qing authority make increased demands of them. At this point in history, at least, the state's control over the frontier is not firm. The supply side of extraction is still handled by the aborigines themselves. Within decades the corrupt officials Yu Yonghe worried about would become more of a problem for the wild aborigines of northern Taiwan, to say nothing of the settlers. Second, environmental exploitation. The sulphur pits on Yangming Mountain are not, one might imagine, aesthetically pleasing. When Yu Yonghe first smells the sulphur, he thinks, not surprisingly, of what sulphur is used for: he smells a battlefield (2.388). This is hardly an argument for 'civilization', though Yu Yonghe finds the experience 'invigorating' (2.388). But when they go to where the sulphur is extracted there are no trees or plant life. If one of the eighteen levels of hell were here on earth, Yu Yonghe thinks, this would be one of them (2.391). Yu Yonghe claims that Taiwan is still a "young land, which has not yet been devastated by the hand of history" (2.381), but signs of degradation are already apparent.

The mixed messages about nationalist development in the story are brought to a climax in the ending. Talking to a colleague who doubts that all trouble has been justified, Yu Yonghe insists that it has:

We are but a light shining briefly. We shine for a moment over this undeveloped wilderness. We brighten the darkness and [as it were] open a road. Even though we only brighten a small space, that paltry light has lighted up a road, so that when we are gone others will follow in our footsteps, one after another, down the same road, forever and ever. This place of 'buried resentment' one day will become prosperous urban and rich rural, giving the Chinese nation a space to stay and build paradise in. (2.394)

The colleague's reply to Yu Yonghe's spiel is a deafening silence.<sup>20</sup> Thus, Ye Shitao very heavily-handedly capsizes any confident Confucian interpretation of the story into an ocean of ambiguity.

Though the ending does not, in image and theme the story recalls Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. There is in both the imagery of rivers – the extraction party ventures in "Cailiuji" up a

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<sup>20</sup> This moment of silence contrasts with the dirge that plays in "Yiluka Molai" (2.149) and in "Cailiu ji" (2.372). It is a dirge of development, and also a contrast with the 'romantic modern' melody in "Shewu," the nationalized Japanese folksong whose lyrics have been corrected.

river to a lake.<sup>21</sup> The overwhelming temptation that causes an imperialist to lose himself in desire for an indigenous woman who represents the resources of a place is a feature of both plots. Colonial desire is figured not as a man's active desire for a woman but as something the woman does to the man by drawing him in. In Conrad the indigenous woman is a majestic African Queen, while in Ye Shitao she is the cartoonish Lamana. It is to Ye Shitao's shame to put his story beside Conrad's novel, but at least in his own self-indulgently romantic way, Ye Shitao questioned the confidence in progress and the value of development.

#### 4.4. Conclusion to Mimicking the national romance

The ideologically correct position in Ye Shitao's day was developmentalism: nature must be transformed; the aborigines must assimilate. The hierarchical order here is clear. Desperate for institutional recognition, Ye Shitao supported state developmentalism in "Xingyi ji." But I have argued in this section that, in two other stories he wrote about the Formosan aborigines in the late 1960s, underneath the mimicry of progressive, nationalist discourse there is an enduring attraction to the primitive and a profound unease concerning the reality rather than the romance of development.<sup>22</sup>

In Ye Shitao's autobiographical essay on his teaching experience in Yilan County, written three decades after the fact, we get much more of what seems like hard realist detail about the conditions of aboriginal existence in the late 1960s than we do in the stories themselves.<sup>23</sup> In 1968, a nationalist anthropologist would publish a celebratory essay praising mountain maidens for successfully adapting to capitalism.<sup>24</sup> Ye Shitao's own essay tells a very different story, probably partly because it was written in retrospect, when there was no longer any ideological pressure to be positive. The school Ye Shitao was posted to was near Luodong, Yilan County. There were students at the school from an Atayal village. The people there were so poor that they ate fish innards (73) because fish flesh was out of their price range. The Chinese busdriver called them "lowlifes" 賤人. They also ate taro roots so pathetically thin and dry that pigs would have refused them. The aborigines also planted rice, but would sell the future

<sup>21</sup> The river in Africa in Conrad's novel is snakelike. The river in Zhu Xining's story "Shewu" is snakelike, but not the river in "Cailiu ji."

<sup>22</sup> My use of mimicry in my criticism of "Shewu" was closer to Bhabha's meaning, where mimicry is momentarily re-visioned as menace, than is my use of mimicry here. What I mean here is an apparent agreement behind which is disagreement.

<sup>23</sup> Ye Shitao. "Wo he Taya zu" 我和泰雅族 [Me and the Atayal]. In 從府城到舊城. 台北：翰音, 1999. 71-82.

<sup>24</sup> Yang Baiyuan 楊百元. 進入文明領域的本省山地婦女. *Taiwan wenxian* 臺灣文獻 [Taiwan Historica] 19.4 (1968).

crop for a pittance and blow the money on liquor. The local store sold liquor by the ladle to keep the supply going in times when the aborigines were short on cash. Ye Shitao's colleague was a young Atayal teacher whose two elder sisters were in Taipei. Ye writes he did not ask the colleague what the sisters were doing in Taipei, as the colleague had also told him that most of the students he was teaching, eleven and twelve year old girls in grades five and six, had already been deflowered: all the nubile girls were gone to Taipei to work as prostitutes.

## 5. Conclusion to Chapter 5

The transformation this chapter has dealt with is from aboriginal to Chinese in the human realm and from wild to idyllic in the natural world. The aborigines and the island were domesticated. The aborigines were supposedly brought into the national family. But each of the works represents this transformation in a different way, as if participating in a quiet debate on the issue of national domestication. One point of representative disagreement is the strong state presence in the works by mainlanders and the absence thereof in the work by native Taiwanese. The works by mainlanders not only represent the success of transformation but also credit the KMT, the party that was a state and which sought to encompass society and landscape as well into an all-encompassing political order, in which the aborigines became state-employees and the land was nationalized. In the works by native Taiwanese authors, there is a strange official absence, as well as a passionate longing for the past, for the unrepressed sexuality of the primitive, as in Ye Shitao's "Yiluka Molai," or for communal existence, as in Wang Zhenhe's "Xiari."<sup>25</sup>

In the following chapter, I discuss works in which the aboriginal maiden is commodified, either prostituted or sold into marriage. Given the obsession with aboriginal prostitution in the 1980s, and given that in an autobiographical essay Ye Shitao claimed to remember signs of aboriginal prostitution in the 1960s, we might look back for suggestions of prostitution in the literary works of the 1960s. In *Hehuan shan shang* prostitution was merely signalled in the sultry allure and bodacious body of the heroine. In "Shewu," there is an explicit reference to prostitution, though as a metaphor for a basic human failing not as a dramatic example of a social problem. Xiao Xuan compares the passivity of Old Miao to the easy way out a prostitute takes in order to avoid the effort of meaningful work. But the reference to prostitution, in my

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<sup>25</sup> It is perhaps rather surprising that Wang Zhenhe idealizes communal life – if he does – given that his most famous short story, "Jiazhuang yi niuche" [An Oxcart for a Dowry] is an anti-Romantic parody of the idea of the virtuous folk.

mind at least, acquires a resonance in the context of the actual social situation, which involved aboriginal girls prostituting themselves or being prostituted in the city. Zhu Xining portrays the victimization of Xiuyu as a rape, but we know from news reports girls were being sold into prostitution with the collusion of men like Officer Liu. There may have been prostitutes in the communities themselves.<sup>26</sup> And who could blame the local women? They had precious few means of livelihood. The only suggestions of a local women's livelihood in "Shewu" are gathering firewood to sell below on the plains in order to buy supplies (122). The sale of firewood is the sale of a commodity and thus a sign that the aborigines were being drawn into the modern capitalist economy.<sup>27</sup> There is an interesting scene in "Shewu" in which the issue of the gift versus the commodity seems to be thematized. Du Lianzhi brings a big bunch of bananas as a gift for her teacher, but Xiao Xuan refuses to take them and recommends that she sell them. Xiao Xuan then asks her why she does not use some of the money she makes selling firewood to buy detergent and keep her clothing clean. He even offers her money to do so. Du Lianzhi initially does not respond.

Lianzhi could not decide what to do. She sat slouching on the edge of a wicker stool, as if it would be somehow wrong to sit up straight. She looked out the window: outside was a vast and impenetrable darkness.

"My grandfather is old." She trembled as she spoke. "My father and mother have to work in the field. I don't have an elder brother. My little brother is too young. There's only me to chop wood to sell and buy wine and tobacco for grandpa and father and mother, and then there's also salt and ... so many other things. Ah! – I don't have any money."

One almost wonders if to her it might seem as if Xiao Xuan is propositioning her. In a different story, he might be. There is a way out for Du Lianzhi in this story: she will become a nurse at state expense. But for the average aboriginal maiden there was no way out. Xiao Xuan blames the prostitute for choosing the easy way out, but the choice the typical aboriginal maiden faces is not Xiao Xuan's – between a life of difficult art and fallen ease – but between selling firewood – surely not, like composing melodies, an activity with much artistic potential – and, at least by implication, prostitution. Finally, there is Minlan, the bi-racial daughter of a Han settler-

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<sup>26</sup> The prostitution in Wushe and the resultant social problems – local resentment and syphilis – was noted in a famous travel memoir from the early 1920s. There might even have been prostitution in Yu Yonghe's time. There was village prostitution in the movie *Dong zhi ji* (1991).

<sup>27</sup> Not to say that the process started only now. The Formosan aborigines have been history-makers in the economic sense since the fourteenth century. See Eric Wolf's *Europe and the People Without History* for an attack on the lingering idea that aborigines have always been acted upon or are in some sense ahistorical.

Formosan indigene union. She is the dancing girl in Ye Shitao's "Yiluka Molai." She likely works as a prostitute on the side, but Ye Shitao does not say and Yiluka Molai does not know.

In all these works there is not a single aboriginal prostitute. The works I have discussed in this chapter romance the aboriginal maiden, while the works I turn to in the next chapter rub the reader's nose in the aboriginal maiden's commodification.

## Chapter 6: From maiden to demimondaine: Aboriginal commodification in the 1980s

In this dissertation national domestication is symbolized by the transformation of an Formosan aboriginal maiden, who is to leave behind a premodern, aboriginal communal existence and embrace a modern Chinese one. In Chapter 5, the nature of modern Chinese existence was collective. The individual was to live a life of service, losing herself in the state as an employee of the state. But in works about the Formosan aboriginal maiden by Nativist writers, the state is absent, the maiden alone. When we turn to the works of the 1980s, we may well feel that the more critical of the writers of the 1960s were prescient, because the transformation the Formosan maiden actually underwent exposed the problematic gap between ‘ideal and actual’. The figure of the maiden, as I argued at the end of Chapter 4, dropped out of cultural production in the 1970s because people had other things on their minds besides high mountain development. But in the 1980s, by which time Taiwan’s economy had taken off, she reappeared in the cities and in works of fiction and film about the cities as a whore.

Many stances can be taken on the figure of the prostitute. Disparagement, as in “Shewu,” is ancient. In traditional China, the courtesan’s allure and talent was emphasized, along with her sad fate of abandonment when her candidate lover passed the examination. In the late Ming story “Du Shiniang nu chen baibaoxiang” 杜十娘怒沉百寶箱 [The Courtesan Sinks Her Jewel Box in Anger], however, a more familiar theme is developed, the theme of commodification: a courtesan helps her suitor, an examination candidate, buy her out of the brothel, and when loverboy tries to sell her on the riverboat home to the south, she jumps into the river with her chest of precious jewels, which are many times more valuable than the price he had put on her. Prostitution is a kind of exploitation and has become a metaphor for exploitation. For the early Marx, “[p]rostitution is only a *specific* expression of the *general* prostitution of the labourer...” (in “Private Property and Communism” in the *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*). In this chapter, I will be dealing with the valuation of aboriginal women. The Formosan aboriginal maiden is in the works in this chapter sold either into marriage with an aging mainlander soldier or into prostitution. Either way, she disturbs the Chinese nationalist discourse of domestication, in which national belonging is supposed to be family membership not market participation.

The encounter of aboriginal peoples with capitalism has been studied. For instance, “Capitalism and the Dis-empowerment of Canadian Aboriginal Peoples” (Mann), “Resistance is

Futile: Aboriginal Peoples Meet the Borg of Capitalism” (Newhouse), “Should Australian Aborigines Succumb to Capitalism?” (Grant et al.) “Modern Aboriginal Economics: Capitalism with a Red Face” (Newhouse), and “Capitalism and Autochthony: The Seesaw of Mobility and Belonging” (Geschiere and Nyamnjoh).<sup>1</sup> It has also been studied in Taiwan. Adaptation to capitalism became the general thrust of the Taiwanese anthropological literature on the Formosan aborigines from the 1960s. The anthropologists, often writing for pseudo-scientific state-sponsored cultural publications, were wearing glasses more rose-coloured than the people who made *Hehuan shan shang* in 1958. In 1966, Wang Jen-ying celebrates rising living standards enabled by aboriginal contact with Chinese people. In 1968, Yang Baiyuan extols aboriginal women, who have been baptized in Sun Yatsen thought and have left behind indolence and gotten on the right track (由懶散進入正軌生活). In 1976, Huang Yinggui periodizes aboriginal domestication. His watershed is 1961, before which there was no change in the economic structure of aboriginal society, but after which aborigines were integrated into the modern economy. He credits state policy as ‘a prime mover’, the policy being gradual domestication. The aborigines were viewed as hothouse plants which would soon be ready for transplantation. In reality, government programs were often inadequate or corrupt, and when the aborigines moved from remote villages to cities they either decided to do so individually or severally, or were sold into bondservice by their parents to Han agents. Aboriginal communities were as a result atomized. A frequent fate for aboriginal women was prostitution. The Han Chinese tradition of adopted daughters (養女), in which the daughters were either forced into prostitution or into marriage with the family heir, became mostly a thing of the past in the 1960s.<sup>2</sup> Prostitution became more a career choice, for Han Chinese women at least. Unfortunately, Formosan aboriginal women were called upon to take up the slack, and throughout the 1980s, especially late in the decade, hysterical, tip-of-the-iceberg reports on aboriginal prostitution were often in the news. In these reports, and in the cultural production of the 1980s, the aboriginal prostitute, who is often sold into the profession by her parents, is the

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<sup>1</sup> The use of the metaphor of ‘incorporation’ is quite common in the literature about the encounter of the aborigine with capitalism (e.g. Dunaway, “Incorporation as an Interactive Process: Cherokee Resistance to the Expansion of the Capitalist World-System, 1560-1763”). For reasons expressed at the beginning of Chapter 2, I have opted for the metaphor of domestication, which is also used in research on aboriginal accommodation to settler ways of life, in the areas of law (Schulte-Tenckhoff, “Reassessing the Paradigm of Domestication: The Problematic of Indigenous Treaties”), economics (Prestholdt, *Domesticating the World: African Consumerism and the Genealogies of Globalization*), and even thought itself (Goody, *The Domestication of the Savage Mind*). Today researchers tend to stress either aboriginal resistance to domestication or self-domestication, as a balance to the earlier tendency to see aborigines as passive.

<sup>2</sup> The state made a movie about the practice in the 1950s, *Yangnuhu* 養女湖.

object of paternalistic pity. Finally, in the Taiwanese context, we should not forget that ‘capitalism’ might not describe the social structure entirely accurately. In *Lao Mo de diege chuntian*, the first work I critique below, the aboriginal maiden successfully enters the petty-capitalist order and brings her mainlander husband with her; in other works, she does not, because Taiwanese petty-capitalists defend family interests, and the aborigines were not family.

Though the focus remains on the aboriginal maiden, I will not in this chapter neglect their lovers. In this chapter, as the setting changes from country to city, aboriginal men disappear entirely, while Chinese men become the figures of farce. Most of the lovers discussed in this chapter are aging mainlander soldiers.<sup>3</sup> One response to the soldiers’ plight is pity, explaining it as the KMT’s failure to take care of its own. Chen Wanyi has shown that in the previous few years, the aging lower-class mainlanders had been identified as a problematic social group. The Li Shike 李師科 bank robbery in 1982 signalled the emergence of this issue in the popular mind. In the following passage, the well-known gadfly Li Ao 李敖 ‘shares the pain’ of the common mainlander veteran:

Most of them were Chinese farmers. They were hard-working, simple, forthright, and stupid. They loved the land, their mothers, their wives, their kids, and their dogs. They loved rice and wheat seedlings. But when the government could no longer protect them, it went and demanded that they protect the government, which could never be protected enough. Some of them went out to sell vegetables and didn’t come back. Some of them were pulled from their newlywed beds. They had to leave everything behind that belonged to them. Now they belonged to the nation! (qtd. in Chen Wanyi)

Li Ao was talking about nationalist impressment in China in the 1930s and 1940s, but his essay is part of a larger trend towards viewing mainland veterans sympathetically. However, I will be arguing that in his decrepitude, an aging mainlander soldier might symbolize a weakened party-state no longer able to dominate society and just barely able to control the economy. The petty-capitalist private sphere now seemed more autonomous, and the logic that drove it was commodificatory.

That logic sometimes seems to leave little room for human agency, but I want to emphasize that while every aboriginal maiden in the works in this chapter is a commodity in the sense that we all to some extent symbolically become commodities under capitalism, she is a commodity with agency and the capacity for speech. She may be commodified, but in many

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<sup>3</sup> *Meigui, meigui, wo ai ni* is an exception. I discuss it in this chapter because the protagonist parodies and in his own way disturbs the discourse of national domestication – “Confucian bombast” (Gates, *China’s Motor* 240) – and because it is about, among other things, the commodification of aboriginal women.



works of cultural production she is self-commodified, and she can articulate reasons – usually not very good reasons – for her decision. With this in mind, this chapter and the following chapter will look at how in works of Chinese cultural production the transformation involved in capitalist domestication is managed by the aboriginal maiden, who, in the allegorical scheme I have developed, is a figure for the aborigines, for the Taiwanese people, and for the land of Taiwan itself. Neither does the logic of commodification seem to leave any room for romance. Rather than nationally significant romance, what we have in the 1980s is exposure of the truth behind the romance, though, as I have been emphasizing, the mode in which truth is presented is by no means necessarily Realism. The first work I discuss is on the surface the most conventionally realist, but I shall argue it is some sense the most romantic. Or perhaps only the jaded have no faith in love, even the painfully contingent kind of love that grows in the soil of petty capitalism.

1. Can buy me love: Successful domestication in *Lao Mo de dierge chuntian* 老莫的第二個春天 [Old Man Mo's Second Spring] (1984)

*Mr. Mo (with a pun on 'end' 末) is a garbage collector living in a comfortable house in a small community in Gaoxiong County called Houzhuang. He is from the mainland and had left his wife and son behind when he joined the army. He has a paternal instinct: he had paid for the overseas education in nuclear science of his former military commander's son, but Mo's 'adoptive son' (乾兒子) has excluded Mr. Mo from his life. Mo visits fellow veteran Ruosong (a pun on 'weak pine'), who shows him the picture of the 'tender' (嫩) young Bunun girl he has paid a 100,000 NTD to marry. Mr. Mo meets the middleman who arranged Ruosong's marriage, and even though Ruosong's bride, named Mana 瑪娜 (a transliteration from the Bunun), appears rather slutty, he decides to pawn his valuables and buy a Bunun bride. He arrives in the mountains and meets his bride to be: Yumei comes in dressed in aboriginal garb carrying her baby brother. The father makes the decision; the mother takes the money. At the marriage ceremony, Mr. Mo's commander presides. Mr. and Mrs. Mo salute the commander and his wife as they leave by train for Taipei. Home in Houzhuang, Yumei has no trouble fitting in. She speaks Taiwanese and gets on well with her neighbours, as well as with Mana: they are both Bunun, and naturally they form a contrast. Mana listens to pop music, does not like her husband, and starts hanging around with hoodlums, who take her money, get her pregnant and hooked on*

drugs, and give her syphilis, which she passes on to Ruosong. After Mana disappears, Ruosong takes a job on a ship. An explosion leaves him blind. Mana's is the worse fate, however: one evening Mr. Mo and Yumei are called to identify her body after she jumps off a bridge with a baby in her belly.

Though Yumei, like Mana, listens to popular music, she also likes Mr. Mo, who indulges her: he even buys her a radio and some pop music cassettes. Naturally, Mr. Mo is worried when Yumei opens a business selling Bunun millet cakes in the market with an attractive fellow who can speak some Bunun and who is named Jinshu 金樹 ('money tree'). Jinshu rides a motorcycle; Mr. Mo's only has a bicycle, which Yumei has to help him push when they go up a hill. Mr. Mo starts thinking Yumei would be happier with Jinshu. He records a message for her on one of the cassettes, telling her she should leave while he is away visiting his ailing commander in Taipei. She sees him off, saluting him as his train departs. While he is gone, Jinshu comes over one night to plead his love and show Yumei his bankbook, but Yumei protests that she is already Mr. Mo's wife: it's just that simple. Jinshu tries to embrace her but she stabs him in the arm. When Mr. Mo returns home, Yumei slaps him and accused him of wanting to abandon her and her unborn child. The first night Mr. Mo had brought Yumei home, he had told her, "You must give me a son tonight!" Now she will be giving him a son. Mr. Mo is overjoyed. At the end of the movie, Mr. Mo is planning to take the whole family – all six family members – back to his home province of Shandong: himself, Ruosong, the commander and his wife, Yumei and their unborn child.

*Lao Mo* wears its social context on its sleeve. The bride's prospects are initially dire. Society, including both her parents specifically and economic disparity generally, has turned her into a commodity. In 1984, a teenage aboriginal girl went for about 2500 USD at the contemporary exchange rate, or 250 grams of gold. She was likely to be sold into a brothel or a marriage. The groom's prospects are also bleak. The film presents the pathos of the lonely retired soldier living a life that is mostly bathos. He is self-supporting but his employment options are either degrading or dangerous. He is not getting any younger.

*Lao Mo* was released a quarter century after *Hehuan shan shang* and the two films seem to invite comparison. Liang Jinhao was a heroic explosives engineer who decides to settle down on Mount Hehuan, while bathetic Old Mr. Mo is making do as a garbage truck man in a town on the plain. The maiden is eternally young in both films, but Mrs. Mo is more assertive. However, despite their differences, both films, I argue, are fundamentally conservative, in line with the

state modernist discourse of Sinification and development. The two films are still interesting, because of the ways in which they betray the national anxiety. We can take them as betraying this anxiety at two points in time, before and after the economic miracle. In the former film the national anxiety inspires a seemingly confident developmental mania, while in the latter film it informs an attempt to maintain the social order.

But the context of *Lao Mo* was different, and, to begin with, *Lao Mo* should be considered in terms of several trends or turns in contemporary cultural production, from rural to urban and from past to present. After the Nativist Literary Debate in 1978, there was a rush of writing and filmmaking about the aborigines, most of it set in the past, often in the distant past before the arrival of Chinese settlers. Cultural production set after the Chinese arrival tended to treat the Chinese-indigene relationship homosocially. Most of this writing exemplifies literary Nativism, indigenizing settler nationalism, and indigenous identification related to Taiwanese nation building. Though the historical cultural production continued in the 1980s and 1990s, in the early 1980s, there was a turn from the past to the present and from the homosocial to the heterosexual treatment of Sino-Aboriginal relations. *Lao Mo* is representative of this turn.

*Lao Mo* was not, however, the first work to make this turn. The first to deal with the material of retired soldiers buying aboriginal brides was Song Zelai's short story "Hai yu dedi" 海與大地 [Sea and Shore] in 1978. In fact, like *Lao Mo*, Song Zelai's story also has a bifurcated plot-subplot structure. One suspects it might have been the model for *Lao Mo*. In "Hai yu dedi," the husbands and the wives are both variables: the more self-confident Chinese soldier chooses the sensible, older aboriginal sister, a widow with a teenage daughter; while his skinny, insecure friend chooses the silly, fickle younger sister to impress his colleagues and ends up paying dearly: the story ends in his abandonment and death. But in this fictional experiment one tries in vain to find a social message. Song Zelai was simply romanticizing life in the alpine hamlet or the seaside hut and naturalizing urban whoredom. His story exemplifies the standard Romantic or Nativist aesthetic valuation of idyllic rural over sordid urban realm.

By contrast, *Lao Mo* has only one experimental variable: the aboriginal wife. Mr. Mo and Ruosong are indistinguishable in terms of character and social status, whereas Yumei and Mana are like day and night. Mr. Mo is simply luckier than Ruosong. *Lao Mo* is in other words a proper social science experiment, from which there are definite conclusions to be drawn and even a message to be learned. The message the screenwriter Wu Nianzhen offered to an aboriginal bride purchased by a retired Chinese soldier decades her senior is to assimilate into

Chinese society and work industriously. *Lao Mo* parallels the government line of aboriginal assimilation to Chinese cultural norms, including the new economic ones. Consider Mana in contrast to Yumei. The former is a failure, the latter a success. Mana does not have a Chinese name, while Yumei – or Mrs. Mo – does not have an aboriginal name; Mana dresses in aboriginal attire, while Yumei clothes herself like a Chinese housewife as soon as she moves in with Mr. Mo; Mana has a funny accent when she speaks Chinese, while Yumei speaks flawless Mandarin *and* Taiwanese. Most importantly, for the most part when Yumei leaves the house it is on the way to the market to buy or sell. And her sales are excellent: she is a successful proprietress. In other words, according to Wu Nianzhen's experimental results, a young aboriginal woman's recipe for success is to adopt bourgeois virtues, practice petty capitalism, and assimilate into Chinese society. In contrast to works of the 1950s and 1960s, in which a clientelistic relationship between the government and the aboriginal maiden was preferred, *Lao Mo* valorizes the private sphere, represented by the enterprising Yumei. It is a petty capitalist private sphere, because Yumei both lives and prepares her wares at home.

*Lao Mo* might seem overly optimistic about the possibility of love in a marriage in such an order. The film represents the petty capitalist sphere as a realm where human commodities are magically transformed into people who nevertheless remain economically productive. Yumei seems to genuinely like Mr. Mo. He is at least nicer to her than her own father. Even though Mr. Mo purchased her, he treats her as his wife. But in the end he seems to have made an exceptionally wise choice, for Yumei is better than a commodity: she becomes a capital asset, without ceasing to be a wife. She is productive of course in the sense that a woman is productive of new life. But she is also economically savvy. She tells Mr. Mo how one summer she and her mother worked as porters all summer long. Her father took all of the money they made, went on a drinking binge, came back and ordered them to go out and make more money. Her mother refused and got beaten up. Her father almost sold Yumei to a 'tea house', a brothel. Clearly, Yumei's mother imparted the entrepreneurial spirit to her daughter; obviously, Yumei's father did not know the true value of the women in his life.

Having internalized the entrepreneurial spirit, Yumei becomes a modern Amazon and therefore potentially threatening to husbandly, and perhaps symbolically to governmental, authority. I have noted that Yumei is the provider as well as the protector in the marriage. When she and Mr. Mo encounter hoodlums in the smoky theatre, she knocks one of them out with one punch while Mr. Mo cowers to the side. Let us read *Lao Mo* in terms of the state-society problem.

If we read the Mr. and Mrs. Mo relation as allegorically the relation between state and society, the disparity in gender capability in the film acquires a new meaning. Reading the gender role reversal in the film writ large as the changed relation between state and society recalls Doris Sommer's thesis in *Foundational Fictions*, that a pairing of strong women and effeminate men in national novels is a sign of a political context of compromise, one in which accommodation is necessary. On this reading, Mr. Mo represents the moralizing, extractive state and Yumei the productive people. In 1984, President Jiang Jinguo was a seventy-four year old diabetic with only four years to live. It was the middle of a decade of overt popular resistance. 1984 was the year of the last political murder, of Henry Liu. The state no longer had the ability to demand as much ideologically of the people as it had in decades past. The limited nature of the state's cultural demands is reflected in what Mr. Mo asks of Mrs. Mo. Unlike Xiao Xuan in Zhu Xining's "Shewu," Mr. Mo has no cultural preoccupations or pretensions. Popular music sounds like dogs barking to him, but he learns to sing along, in order to bridge the distance between himself and his wife, who oddly enough is his bridge to modernity, at least in its popular or fashionable form. On a national level, by 1984, the state had given up on resisting modernity in the form of commoditized culture. The state promoted cultural development in a community context through the Council for Cultural Affairs, established in 1981, but never again would there be a Great Cultural Renaissance, an attempt to nationalize daily life. In my allegorical reading of the film, all the state now hopes for is the productivity in harmony with social stability, the forces of instability symbolized by Mana and the hooligans. The thesis advanced in the film is that the market and the home can coexist in productive and profitable symbiosis. The petty capitalist productive potential of the people is acknowledged in the film. The KMT simply hopes to remain in control of that potential. And in the climax of the film it seems as if Old Man Mo might not.

Consider how mobile Yumei is and how much more mobile she could be. She is transferred from Yumei's father, who did not observe the principle of capital accumulation, to Mr. Mo the mainlander, who almost loses her to Jinshu the Taiwanese, who would have gone who knows where with her. Reading the relation between Mr. Mo and Jinshu as mainlander-Taiwanese relations competition for national resources may seem a stretch, especially given that by 1984 Taiwanization, the cooptation of Taiwanese elites into the government, was already a half-dozen years in the implementation. Economic cooptation began in the 1950s, when local

landowning elites were given stock in government corporations in exchange for land.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, the proportion of Taiwanese-commanded capital had grown immensely through the activity of the SMEs, so perhaps my reading, in which the mainlander almost loses the means of production, is not entirely implausible. Though the scriptwriter was Taiwanese, the producer and director were both mainlanders. It is no surprise, then, that Yumei 玉梅 (‘jade plum’), the jade in the mud, decides to remain with Mr. Mo.



Given Yumei’s dangerous mobility, it becomes easier to understand the extreme conservatism of the film’s most famous scenes, the ‘leaving on a train’ scenes in which an inferior salutes a superior: from the very same platform in three separate scenes, Mr. Mo salutes his commander, Mr. and Mrs. Mo salute his commander, and Mrs. Mo salutes Mr. Mo. The salutations are tongue in cheek, but the respect for authority the film endorses is not. The film was a private production, but institutional support and recognition was available for works that toed the government line, and the obvious ideological message in the film must have helped it win the 1984 Golden

Horse award. The happy ending cannot have hurt.

The ending is from Mr. Mo’s point of view happy, but, all things considered, the film is reactionary for 1984. By 1984 the assumption that the aborigines should assimilate while remaining respectful of their betters had been challenged. Wu Feng had been declared dead as a moral model in 1980. The journal *Gaoshanqing*, founded in 1983 by aboriginal students at National Taiwan University, had reclaimed the idea of the ‘green hills of Taiwan’ from those who would try to nationalize it or profit from it, including the chanteuse Teresa Deng, whose rendition of the song “Gaoshanqing,” which I translated at the end of Chapter 2, was famous. Furthermore, *Lao Mo* only offers advice to the individual, to in particular the young aboriginal

<sup>4</sup> Local landlords were compensated in land bonds as well as in stock in Taiwan Cement, Taiwan Pulp and Paper, Taiwan Industrial and Mining Corporation, and Taiwan Agricultural and Forestry Development Corporation, all of which became joint public/private corporations (Gates, *China’s Motor* 220).

woman, and, as the following work shows, by 1984 it was possible to place part of the blame on society and state.

2. Not all the flesh is willing: Aboriginal critique in *Meigui, meigui, wo ai ni* 玫瑰玫瑰我愛你 [Rose, Rose, I Love You] (1984)

*In anticipation of the arrival of US GIs on R&R from Vietnam, a public school English teacher-cum-scam artist named Dong Siwen 懂斯文 (he who ‘understands this culture’ of ours) trains a group of local prostitutes drawn from the ‘big four’ brothels in Hualian to be ‘bar girls’ who understand the specific linguistic, religious, and of course sexual needs of the US soldiers. His project is supported by local politicians and sanctified by the church – the crash course takes place in Mercy Chapel. The novel ends not with the arrival of the GIs but with a fantasy of their arrival, in which the bar girls are “decked out in gorgeous, shimmering cheongsams or eye-catching aboriginal dress” (Wang 178).*

Half a dozen years after “Xiari” was published, the Vietnam war was raging, and US transport aircraft were flying soldiers on vacation to Taiwan. The rest and relaxation industry sprang up like the proverbial bamboo shoot. The brothels Qiangming had frequented in “Xiari” could service an international clientele if they could but diversify, and opportunists like Dong Siwen in *Meigui*, who works not for a government corporation like Qiangming but directly for the government, for the Ministry of Education, as an English teacher in a public school, had the chance to become ‘self-reliant’ on the side, though they could count on the collaboration of fellow scam artists in local government like Councilman Qian. As a result of this shady public-private partnership, even quiet Hualian, a new kind of treaty port, would experience globalization, or at least pockets of Americanization. Serialized in 1984, by which time Taiwan had been somewhat more thoroughly internationalized in comparison to the time in which the novel is set, the mid-1960s, *Meigui* seems the kind of satirical mixed domestic-international national allegory that Frederic Jameson discussed in “Third-World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism.” It is the only one of this type I deal with in this dissertation. However, in *Meigui*, and unlike in *Xala*, the comprador ends up having the last laugh.

The general atmosphere of crude hilarity in the novel has been criticized, by Long Yingtai, for instance. Wang Zhenhe’s jokes, and Wang Zhenhe does seem to be joking through the narrator, are in such bad taste! Wang seems to be having rather too much fun for his purpose,

if he is a raging satirist in the Jamesonian mould. *Meigui* has even been described as “postmodernist” (qtd. in Kinkley). Given that Linda Hutcheon and Frederic Jameson have disagreed on the political content of postmodernism – Hutcheon (*Politics*) sees political potential in postmodern parody, while Jameson argues that postmodern works can only be political if they perform the service of cognitive mapping (*Postmodernism*) – we might wonder how much political content the work really has, especially when the only overt statement of political critique made by a character in the novel is drowned out by laughter. The critique is, I argue, the critical tether of the novel. It is made by one of the bar girl trainees, an Amis aboriginal girl from Fengbin 豐濱, a seaside town about two hours’ bus ride south of Hualian.

In the scene in question, the councilman for Fengbin, surnamed Qian (meaning ‘money’), proves himself just as willing to expose himself for the sake of profit as most of the aspiring bar girls are: he gets up on stage to perform a strip tease. But

Just then the stern voice of an aboriginal girl rose above the uproar. “Councilman Qian, in your campaign you said you’d have highway buses pass through our town of Fengbin, and I thought you meant it...!”

“What did you expect?” another girl chimed in. “That would be a lot harder than taking off his fucking pants!” (149)

To say that the girl from Fengbin is naïve would be an understatement. To the extent that this is a political critique, it is not a very astute one. It is at any rate, neutralized, or recontained for the benefit of the Councilman and Dong Siwen and all who share their interests by the joke that follows. The Amis girl from Fengbin is the most individuated of all the aboriginal girls in the novel. She makes two further appearances in the novel, each time giving up a little more ground, until finally she knows her proper place. In her second appearance her accommodation is grudging:

The congregation began to applaud, including the aboriginal girl in red who had complained a few minutes earlier about how Councilman Qian had broken his word regarding highway buses in Fengbin, although she clapped unenthusiastically, barely bringing her hands together and making about as much noise as a soft breeze against her face. (151)

In her third and final appearance, she may seem to be disdainful of the American culture up towards which everyone else in the novel is aspiring, but she is in fact simply repeating someone else’s stupid joke:

The aboriginal girl who had attacked Councilman Qian for going back on his word on bus routes shrugged her shoulders and sneered. “Who wants an ugly-sounding American name that means ‘trick your old ma’?” (167)



The subaltern can speak, but it does not seem to make any difference. In a different way, the aboriginal assemblywoman's criticism of Chinese colonialism in *Haidongqing* was drowned out, not by laughter but by the next person who came on stage. I think both works are political. The case is perhaps harder to make for *Haidongqing*, though in Li Yongping's novel there were ears to hear the political message, belonging to the young girls Jin Wu befriends, who typically have more political awareness than the professor-narrator. The problem in both cases is the politics of an ambiguous style.

Jeffrey Kinkley, in his important article on the relation between politics and style in Wang Zhenhe's fiction, "Mandarin Kitsch and Taiwanese Kitsch," argues that, "[t]he sorry state of the aborigines is but a minor subtext in Wang Chen-ho's novel," in which there are repeated "reminders of the pervasiveness of aboriginal girls in prostitution" (92). The novel is indeed not mainly about the aborigines. Wang Zhenhe, or at least the narrator of this novel, seems to know less about the aborigines than he did in 1961. In "Xiari," Bana is a generic aboriginal name, but at least she is named; several whole sentences in Amis were transliterated in "Xiari" with notes in Chinese at the end. In *Meigui* there is none of that. None of the aboriginal bar girl trainees are ever named, in contrast to the Chinese bar girls like Stumpy Courtesan or Red Hair. The one word of Amis in the story, *bochiloo*, has been absorbed into the local lingo, and is described by the narrator as "*probably* an aboriginal word for breadfruit" (3; italics mine). It is in fact a transliteration of the Amis word for breadfruit. There are also plot possibilities that Wang Zhenhe could have followed up. Many aborigines being Christian, one might have assumed that Wang would have written something along the lines of a sexual-religious communion between American client and Formosan aboriginal bar girl. He does not go there, and even, inexplicably, has one of the aboriginal trainees ask what a "cross" is (160). But however minor, I would like to milk that subtext for all the meaning it has, because the only explicit critique in the book is made by an aborigine, and because presumably of the bargirl trainees in Mercy Chapel the aborigines have the heaviest crosses to bear. In my analysis I will focus on the activity and passivity of the aboriginal bargirls, which resonates with an important theme in my dissertation, the representation of the agency of the subaltern.

In a key passage in his article, without entirely meaning to, Kinkley makes exactly this distinction, between passivity and activity.

Do the girls and their pimps, then, represent a salt-of-the-earth, Taiwanese folk culture that is resisting Mandarin cultural hegemony, never mind whether that Mandarin culture is hypocritical high culture or quasi-utopian Mandarin kitsch?

Hardly. They, too, have smugly accommodated themselves to modern times and their worldly place in it, through self-improvements of a more material type. They live a life of Taiwanese kitsch. The aboriginal girls have even been “elevated” into Mandarin kitsch, just as Tung wants to elevate the Taiwanese into Mandarin kitsch. (95)

Kinkley reasons quite rightly that *Meigui* seems to describe a civilizing mission, in contrast to “Xiari” I would add. Clearly, Kinkley is saying that it is a parody of the nationalist civilizing mission. In the first part of the quotation, he distinguishes between action and passion on the part of the Taiwanese bargirl trainees. Rather than assume they have been elevated, he argues that they have elevated themselves. They have ‘smugly accommodated’. They are in other words active not passive. But at the end of the passage Kinkley implies that for the aboriginal girls the process has been entirely passive. There are two points in the novel where Kinkley’s implication seems to be corroborated.

First, the aboriginal responses to the personal data form the girls fill out, especially to the fateful “final question”:

Lots of the girls started writing and scribbling right away, then turned their papers in to the assistant within a few minutes. The questions? ‘What’s your name?’ ‘When and where were you born?’ ‘How far did you go in school?’ and ‘What jobs have you had?’ The last question was, ‘Why did you take up residence in the red-light district?’ Of course that wasn’t the way he worded it, no, he made it sound far more elegant than that, like you’d expect from a college graduate. He asked them, ‘For what reason did you’ – no, no, that isn’t how he put it – he asked them, ‘What motivated you to select your present occupation?’ Pretty fancy, wouldn’t you say? Want to know how they answered that? Most of the Ami [*sic*] aboriginal girls left that question blank. But some of the other girls answered it, and most of them wrote, ‘To help my family.’ Some of the goofier answers were, ‘Don’t know’, ‘Can’t say’, ‘I can’t tell you’, and ‘I’d rather not say’. Honest, that’s what they wrote, I’m not making it up. A few of them actually wrote things like, ‘I thought it would be fun’ and ‘It sounded exciting’. Honest, they really wrote that, I’m not making it up. What fucking imaginations. (130)

Despite the comedy, the responses to the questions are probably sociologically representative. One cannot assume that the prostitutes in this national allegory were all subalterns exploited by Dong Siwen and Yun Songzhu. There are all kinds of reasons for becoming a prostitute, many of them not particularly admirable, however understandable. But in 1984 it was commonly known, or at least assumed, that aboriginal girls from places like Fengbin not only had no options but were also likely to be sold into prostitution or marriage by their families.<sup>5</sup> One can see this

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<sup>5</sup> It is not clear whether this Amis girl is from one of the ‘big four’ brothels. There is a suggestion that she may not be. Yun Songzhu 憚頌主 (Mr. Yun who extols the lord) is a local doctor, homosexual and priest; his aging mother

reference to Fengbin as social mapping in Jameson's sense in *Postmodernism* (ch. 1 sec. 4), though Wang Zhenhe's mapping is only implicit.

Second, concerning the interpretation of the meaning of the *bochiloo*, Kinkley comments that "Once or twice Wang does, perhaps, descend to kitsch. "Nativist" kitsch of Taiwan as the great, unspoiled earth mother makes a disturbing early entrance in the novel through symbolic breadfruits, which offer wholesome nourishment without labour and have an aboriginal name to boot" (103). Let us look at the passage in the novel to which Kinkley is referring:

The courtyard fronting Mercy Chapel was quite spacious, a good 200 square / feet or so. A pair of breadfruit trees, unique to Hualian, stood in the courtyard, one in front, one in the rear. Both were a rich, clean green – dense lotus-sized leaves that spread out in tiers, one on top of the other, to form a thick emerald cloud that all but blocked out the sky. Wonderfully inviting in the summer, the trees had evolved into favorite cooling-off spots for local residents. Clusters of golden yellow decorated the overhead sunshades – from a distance they looked like grapefruits – which the Hualian residents called *bochiloo* (probably an aboriginal word for breadfruit). When the fruit was at its ripest, gusts of wind sent it thudding to the ground, where the scaly golden rinds would split to reveal white fleshy fruit, like manna sent to Moses by God. The fruit was fair game for anyone sitting in the shade below, who would take it home to peel and boil it in fresh water with some dried minnows, which gave it a flavor like it says in the Bible: biscuits dipped in honey. (Goldblatt 2-3)

Kinkley claims that the *bochiloo* "literally provide "theological reassurance" that "Taiwan is good," when Wang Chen-ho's narrator likens them to "the manna that Jehovah bestowed on Moses"" (103).<sup>6</sup> In Taiwan at least, the *bochiloo* are unique to Hualian, but perhaps Wang Zhenhe can be taken as a Taiwanese Nativist disguised as a regionalist. However, there may be a kind of gustatory dissonance here, between the sweetness of honey and the fishy sweetness of boiled breadfruit. At any rate, the fruit thudding to the ground does not sound terribly 'reassuring', and I want to suggest an association between young aboriginal women and ripe breadfruits. An association between breasts and breadfruit is tempting, but the humble pomelo, which also looks like a grapefruit, claims that association later in the novel (63). If the breadfruit

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runs Mercy Chapel. He inspects the prostitutes and reads the Lord's Prayer to them at the end of the training course. Now, like other names in the novel, Yun Songzhu seems like a pun. It sounds like 'master of conveyancing' (運送主); and when Dong Siwen first visits Yun Songzhu at his clinic, the latter whispers something – twice – to his nurse Miss Yang, whether in English or an aboriginal language Dong Siwen does not know (80; 81). The content of what he whispers is not important. On the face of it, the joke simply raises suspicion about Dong Siwen's attainment in the English language, though it might also raise the question of Yun Songzhu's Amis abilities. I am suggesting that if Yun Songzhu knows a bit of Amis he could use it, not for seduction, as in "Xiari," in which Qiangming wins Bana's heart with a few words of Amis. Yun Songzhu is, after all, gay. Rather, he could use his language skills to round up enough aboriginal girls to satisfy Dong Siwen's desire for representative ethnic diversity.

<sup>6</sup> This is Kinkley's own translation from the time before Howard Goldblatt's translation was published in 1998.

falls to the ground involuntarily, their white fleshy fruit exposed for all to see, only to be ‘fair game’ for cooking, then so, by implication, is the attendance of the aboriginal bar girl trainees in the novel – or cooking, which was once in Taiwan implicitly a metaphor of cultural assimilation – was rather less willing. In the image of breadfruit falling to earth, we have pure passion, a total denial of agency, as if an aboriginal girl ending up in a bargirl trainee class is a matter of socioeconomic forces not of individual human action. As a corrective to the suggestion of passivity in this image, we have to keep in mind the girl from Fengbin, who makes the only explicit critique in the novel. Her explicit critique is, I think, the tip of the iceberg of Wang Zhenhe’s implicit critique, or, to extend the metaphor of the tether, a buoy bobbing above the surface of the water that is attached to the stable ground of the bottom of the sea.

The reference to the *bochiloo* may also be part of Wang’s implicit critique. The *bochiloo* is according to the narrator unique to Hualian, but of course it is not. The breadfruit is cultivated in Hawaii. It is a motif in the mythologies of many island peoples. The only thing unique about it is its Amis name. The breadfruit was a staple for the Amis. In “Xiari,” it seems to be a sign of communal social experience, an Eden out of which aboriginal maidens are lured. For the average Hualianite it is simply a treat, something to sweeten (or fishen) up the blandness of the local diet. Aboriginality in this novel at least seems to be the only thing that is ‘Hualian’. The ‘shimmering cheongsams’ from the fantastical climax came into vogue in the 1930s. The ‘eye-catching aboriginal dress’, however vaguely Wang Zhenhe describes it at the end of the novel, is Hualian’s contribution to international couture. At issue here is the awkwardness of settler authenticity. Indigenous identification often has a political motive, as it seems to project indigeneity and justify settler nationalism. In Dong Siwen’s fantasy, the Amis attire is simply packaging for the profit motive. Dong Siwen is a commercial parody of a political pedagogue, but at least as a businessman he understands the value of the superficial trappings of the local. Yet unlike Yumei in *Lao Mo*, who, as we have seen, profits on her own cultural assets, the girl from Fengbin is being appropriated. Dong Siwen is appropriating local, or specifically aboriginal, color. He knows that if he assimilates his pupils (or lets them assimilate) too thoroughly, the products of tutelage would lack any marketable authenticity: the formerly aboriginal bar girl would become a common commodity, like the prostitute in the following story.

### 3. Irrational choice theory: Lu Qiang’s naturalist national romances

Lu Qiang 履疆 is the penname of Su Jinqiang (Shu Chin-chiang). He is a second-generation mainlander born in Yunlin County in west-central Taiwan. He is the only prominent ‘military writer’ of the 1980s. In the social milieu in which he moved, he must have had many chances to observe interethnic marriages. In the 2000s, he joined the cause of Taiwan independence, serving as the chairman of former president Li Denghui’s Taiwan Alliance (台聯), though lately he has retired from politics. It is very interesting to read his fiction about mainlander soldiers and aboriginal maidens from the 1980s in the light of his later political sympathies. The military is still a blue stronghold, and was the bluest bastion in the 1980s. I will be asking whether in his two stories Lu Qiang is critical of the KMT, and I will relate the issue of critique to the mode in which Lu Qiang wrote his stories, which I describe as naturalistic. Lu Qiang does not try to get the reader to laugh through his tears like Wang Zhenhe but to recoil in disgust. Lu Qiang’s naturalism I also related to the issue of aboriginal agency or choice.

3.1. Hot commodity: The psychotic aboriginal wife in “Liang ge baba” 兩個爸爸 [His Two Dads] (1984)<sup>7</sup>

*The narrator is a teacher in a seaside community. One of his students hums ‘aboriginal’ songs and is stupid but full of vitality. The student’s name is three surnames strung together: Ma Yang Lin 馬楊林. The teacher visits his student’s house and discovers that he has two fathers, Mr. Ma and Mr. Yang, both retired mainlander soldiers, the latter very decrepit. When Mr. Yang gets sick and stays in hospital, Mr. Ma takes care of him. The mother, Lin Chunhua is an aborigine from the mountains. Chunhua was a prostitute at 831 (八三么), the army base brothel on Kinmen Island (Quemoy), when Yang and Ma were stationed there. Both men fell for her. Incapacitated by shrapnel during the August, 1958 artillery barrage, Mr. Yang spent all his compensation money at 831, and then borrowed money from Mr. Ma to take Chunhua away. Feeling abandoned, Mr. Ma became psychologically unstable and was himself discharged. He found and moved in with his buddy, Chunhua, and Ma Yang Lin, a foundling who had been abandoned in a nearby grove. When the narrator goes to visit Chunhua to communicate with her about Ma Yang Lin’s academic performance, she tells him her life story: when Ma and Yang were competing for her affections she was only thirteen years old. She is drunk, abusive to her son – she calls him a “little half-breed” (140) – and flirtatious. The narrator panics and runs*

<sup>7</sup> 兩個爸爸 [His Two Fathers] *Taiwan shibao fukan* 31 Mar. - 1 April 1984.

away. The next time he hears news about the 'family', Chunhua has burned down the house and left with Ma Yang Lin. But Mr. Ma builds another house; at least Mr. Ma and Mr. Yang still have each other.

Though the story deals with the same material as *Lao Mo*, aging soldiers and their purchased wives, it also makes sense to read it in the wake of *Meigui*, which had been serialized in United Daily News the previous month, in February, 1984. This story arguably has more in common with *Meigui* than with *Lao Mo*, because both it and *Meigui* have morally moronic narrators and because both deal with the social problem of prostitution. But while aboriginal prostitution remains a subtext in Wang Zhenhe's novel, it is front and centre in Lu Qiang's story. Moreover, much more than Wang Zhenhe Lu Qiang foregrounds the issue of choice.

Lu Qiang does so by treating the characters in the story naturalistically. By this term I am referring to literary naturalism, a movement in fiction that arose in a post-Darwinian context in the late nineteenth century, when it seemed to some that people's behaviour was no longer socially contingent, the basic assumption in literary Realism, but biologically conditioned: naturalists portrayed human behaviour as a function of drives for warmth, food, sex, and so forth. In Northrop Frye's formulation, in naturalism people are depicted as worse than the average reader (*Anatomy* 33-35). The typical stance of a naturalistic writer was disdain or pity. The truly naturalistic passages in the story describe Mr. Yang. When the narrator visits Mr. Yang in hospital, the latter has urinated all over the floor because he misused his catheter: the stench is overwhelming (125). He has bits of metal shifting around in his body from injuries sustained during the 1958 Artillery War (130); he asks the narrator to feel these shards of shrapnel (135), and complains about how they slide around under his skin (138). He has unhealed wounds that add to his body odour (132). The creatureliness or physicality of Lin Chunhua is also almost painful. She breathes her hot, boozy breath on the narrator when he comes to visit. At the end of the visit he has to run out of the house to escape, with her lumbering after him, blouse unbuttoned.

Are these characters simply creatures or do they exercise the power of choice? Lu Qiang makes it impossible for the reader to answer this question unambiguously. Chunhua did not become a prostitute against her will. She informs the narrator that "playing the game" was easier than doing farm work (142), but on the other hand she seems admirably filial: she only went with Mr. Yang only because his love was the most golden, but at least partly she wanted the money to

send back to her “poor mum and dad” (142). In other words: questionable means, admirable goal. She might still be a rational and moral agent. At the same time, Lu Qiang seems to represent Chunhua not as a rational actor but as mentally ill. She is illogical, and her illogicality is related to her self-prostitution: she says she is a prostitute and then denies it in the next breath (141). In other words, she breaks the law of the excluded middle. Her self-contradiction may be psychological, related to a fundamental unease about the way she has led her life, and in this regard Chunhua claims passivity, asserting that her husbands Ma and Yang “dote on me, yell at me, fear me, and want me. They push me this way and that; I am like a ball bouncing back and forth...” (141). She asks, “Am I a thing?,” implying that men are to blame for her predicament. She has certainly become a commodity, one with the power of speech, which she does not put to very admirable use. At least she is very much her own commodity. Her husbands have no control over her. She leaves, and while the story does not specify her future livelihood, she is still young and strong, so that prostitution would still be an option for her. She commodified herself once and might do so again.

As for Messieurs Ma and Yang, they did not choose to come to Taiwan or to be stationed on Kinmen. But in relation to Lin Chunhua, it would seem, they do have a choice. They choose to spend their money on her at 831. However, there is not surprisingly a strong element of compulsion in their behaviour, which seems like a function of desire, of desire for something inflammatory, something that eventually burns down the house. Somehow they manage to rebuild. What in this regard are we to make of the strange “life-and-death” (138) homoerotic relationship between Mr. Ma and Mr. Yang. Mr. Ma is happy to wipe his friend’s bottom (125). The love triangle in the story reminds one of Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick’s theory of “triangular desire” (15): the triangulated woman is the ostensible object of contestation in a competition in which the real attraction is between the two male contestants. In a bizarre parody of the gift economy, Ma and Yang each try to give Chunhua as a gift to the other. Is there some suggestion here of mainlander corruption? Or of a failure of social constituencies – Taiwanese and aboriginal and mainlander – to merge? In regard to this latter question, while there is no way to know the true identity of the child – he is a foundling, found in a forest grove in fact – Ma Yang Lin and his adoptive mother are symbolically Taiwanese. While there is attraction between the mainlanders and the Taiwanese, it is destructive and transitory: Chunhua leaves with Ma Yang Lin, but Ma and Yang remain bonded.

Might there be other ways in which Lu Qiang's story is more clearly critical? Lu Qiang was certainly taken as being a serious writer. He was for instance consecrated by being included in the series of Taiwanese authors put out by the publisher Qianwei (前衛). One of the criteria of seriousness at the time was a critical stance. As I have argued, the characters in the story do not ultimately seem to blame for their predicaments, though there is nobody else within the story who functions as a scapegoat. Is the problem ultimately desire? That seems an awfully old answer, though to some extent perhaps it is true and perhaps Lu Qiang thought so. Might the state be part of the problem, somehow? Army bases all around the R.O.C. on Taiwan had brothels attached to them from the early 1950s until the military dismantled them in the early 1990s. 831 had been privatized by the 1980s (Szonyi 154). The then-future president Chen Shuibian played a part in this process: he submitted a complaint about the legality of the brothels to the Ministry of National Defense. The prostitutes cannot all have been there willingly and freely. At any rate, Chunhua *was* indentured, hence the need for her husbands to buy her out. Part of Chen Shuibian's complaint was that in certain cases the brothels represented a violation of human rights.<sup>8</sup> Given the background on army base brothels, it would stand to reason that Lu Qiang was critiquing the government in the story.

Given my interpretation of *Lao Mo*, in which I argued that the state (Mr. Mo) almost loses control over the means of production (Yumei), it seems to me that Lu Qiang might also be suggesting that the state is somehow out of control. If Lin Chunhua is the economy and her husbands the state, the implication is that the state has lost control of the economy. Unlike Old Man Mo, Ma and Lin do not know where their wife is.

But the critical edge of the story has still not been established. The narrator is no help in this regard. There is a strange dissonance between the flat tone of the narrator and the repulsiveness of the phenomena he witnesses. The narrator is a teacher, as was the protagonist of *Meigui, Meigui, wo ai ni*, the emptiness of whose Confucian bombast is very obviously exposed as kitsch in the process of appropriation. We get nothing of the sort from the narrator in Lu Qiang's story. Like Jin Wu in Li Yongping's *Haidongqing*, he does not know what to think. As I see it, the only way to interpret the story as critical is by taking it as parody. It is not funny in the way that *Meigui* was trying to be funny.<sup>9</sup> But it may still be parodic in the sense of knowingly

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<sup>8</sup> Michael Szonyi's *Cold War Island: Quemoy on the Front Line* includes a history of 831 (149-158).

<sup>9</sup> Or in the way that Vargas Llosa's *Pantaleón y las visitadoras* [Captain Pantoja and the Special Service] (1973) was funny. This novel was about the provision of the Peruvian armed forces with prostitutes as well as a self-conscious parody of Vargas Llosa's own *La Casa Verde*.



augmenting clichés so as to expose them *as* clichés. The decrepitude of the mainlanders is clichéd, as is their homoerotic bond. Lin Chunhua, on the other hand, is obviously a total cliché, in her choice of the easy life and the oldest profession, in her filial gift of liquor money, in her impulsive irrationality, and in her very name – ‘spring flower’, surnamed ‘grove’. This cannot be what Lu Qiang thought aboriginal women were really like. Lin Chunhua is unsympathetic to put it mildly. She is abusive to Ma Yang Lin. For instance, in the only funny moment in the story, which the disgusted reader is likely to miss, she calls Ma Yanglin a “little half breed.” He might well be, but if he is Lin Chunhua knows more than she lets on. At any rate, the clichéd nature of the characterization explains the startling lack of any sympathy for the disadvantaged in the story. One does not sympathize with clichés. And when an author shoves clichés in the reader’s face, especially clichés about drunken aboriginal maidens, the reader might well reflect on their accuracy by thinking about what might be masked by the cliché, the socioeconomic position of the aborigines and the corruption or even incapacity of the state.

3.2. History or herstory? “Lao Yang he tade nuren” 老楊和他的女人 [Old Man Yang and His Woman] (1989)<sup>10</sup>

*Old Man Yang was once a herder on the mainland. Drafted by the Communists, he fought the South Koreans in the early 1950s, until he was captured, and eventually made to fight for the other side, for the Chinese Nationalists, who were assisting the Americans. He was injured in action and discharged. He went wandering in the hills of the Hengchun Peninsula in southern Taiwan, because the terrain there reminded him of his home on the range in mainland China. He met his wife after he collapsed drunk, covered in abrasions, outside her doorstep. He awoke to find her embracing him, keeping him warm and licking his wounds. She had once been a local beauty but had had a series of dead-end jobs in Taipei and had been gang-raped. She had returned home to the Hengchun Peninsula, where she had been raped now and again by local drunks, stationed soldiers, and traveling salesmen. Now she is mute and dependent on Old Man Yang for protection. Together they herd cattle and sheep. He is the richest man in seven or eight counties, just about the whole of the Hengchun peninsula. Old Man Yang gets a letter from the wife he had left behind in China, who has waited for him for forty years. Learning that his*

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<sup>10</sup> A prize-winner in 1989, the story was published in *Wo yao qu dang guowang* 《我要去當國王》 [I want to be king], Taipei: Lianhe, 1991. Trans. Nancy Tu in *The Chinese PEN* (Spring 1993): 69-79. Page references are to Lu Qiang, *Lao Yang he tade nuren*, pp. 200-207.

*mother has just died, he returns home to organize the funeral and see his family. While he is gone a forest ranger rapes his woman, who survives by eating yams, civets, snakes and squirrels. Though his family on the mainland do not want him to leave, he is too worried about his woman and his animals in Taiwan. In the end he returns to their side.*

The immediate historical context for this story is that in 1988 mainlanders were allowed to visit China for the first time in decades. Many were disillusioned, because the China they remembered had vanished forever. A common story was that relatives in China turned out to be grasping: hearing that people in Taiwan were rich, they wanted financial support not emotional reunion. Lu Qiang, himself a second-generation mainlander, idealizes Old Man Yang's return to the mainland. There is no suggestion of greed on the part of Old Man Yang's family. His choice to come back to take care of his Taiwanese wife makes the story poignant, and seems significant in a context of contending nationalisms, Taiwanese and Chinese. It at least comments on the territorial and personal identification of the members of the social segment Old Man Yang represented. If his aboriginal Taiwanese wife represents Taiwan, then Old Man Yang, like Jiang Jingguo a few years earlier, chooses Taiwan. In this respect, this story is as a national allegory the opposite of "Liang ge baba," in which the mainlander homosocial bond is stronger than the bond between mainlander husbands and Formosan aboriginal wife.

The idealization of Old Man Yang goes all through the story, which seems to partake of the traditional Chinese genre of *chuanqi* (傳奇), meaning literally 'transmitting marvels'. We would say it has a touch of the legendary. Yang had once been master of a "limitless range" on the mainland (202). The fact that his war injury has left him with a permanent stoop in no way detracts from his spiritual stature. He is the richest man in Hengchun because people both love and fear doing business with him. In his range on the Hengchun Peninsula, he is like a king, his Taiwanese woman a queen (200). Old Man Yang is the ideal ruler out of a distant time. At the beginning of the story, Lu Qiang emphasizes his manner of rule. He does not pierce the noses of his animals to fit in rings, nor does he attach ropes to them to drag them along. He needs only wave a reed to direct them. The allegorical implication is that the people may be governed with minimal restraint. However, an extrapolation of this reading to a national context fails, because Old Man Yang's woman was rendered abject in the first place because of a lack of social restraint. Her abjection cannot be blamed on the city, because it continues after she returns to the country. Lu Qiang's theory of rule is premodern, reliant upon the personal moral charisma (德)

of a ruler such as Old Man Yang. In a way, the story seems nostalgic, set long, long ago in the deep, deep country without anything substantial in the way of political wisdom to offer to the present.

The change in Lu Qiang's representation of the retired mainlander soldiers is a puzzle: Ma and Yang are grotesque, while Old Man Yang is dignified, impressing the narrator, a young soldier, the reader, and no doubt Lu Qiang himself. This is the kind of story is what we would expect from a second generation mainlander who was himself a soldier. The puzzle relates to the way his representation of the mainlanders changed, from a low style to a high one, which reverses Marx's quip in the *Brumaire* that tragedy returns as farce. Lu Qiang's latter story was a response to a specific historical and existential circumstance, the legalization of flights to China after decades of separation; the suffering of the mainlander soldiers had been so awful, and their reunions with their loved ones so poignant, that an irreverent attitude seemed inappropriate. The story seems filled with nostalgia for a world, perhaps an imagined world, that had passed away, or for what, in 1989, also the year after the death of Jiang Jingguo, the larger-than-life leaders of the past meant to Lu Qiang.

Also puzzling is the story's modal dissonance. While in its idealization of Old Man Yang, this story seems a modal contrast to "Liang ge baba," which I described as farcical and naturalistic, Lu Qiang only treats the mainlander man like royalty; his aboriginal wife is, like the characters in "Liang ge baba," treated naturalistically, though not farcically, because she is the object of the reader's pity. Old Man Yang's woman is almost totally dependent upon him. If he is a figure out of a heroic past, she is an idea out of a primitive one. Like Yiluka Molai, a character in the *Ye Shitao* story of the same name I discussed in Chapter 5, she can survive in a pre-capitalist order; she would be able to survive in the wild. But economically she is totally incompetent, unfit for the new order of the Taiwanese economic miracle. The jobs she had in Taipei – she had worked as a factory worker, a serveuse, and as a 'coffee girl' (202), though not as a prostitute – were all exploitative, and in the latter two positions she was living on her looks. Neither is she at home in a pastoral setting; she cannot herd the animals on her own. Beyond a basic subsistence, she can manage little else. She is literally mute, whereas Wu Xuelan, the wife in *Ye Shitao's* "Xingyiji," was only figuratively so. She does not even have a name. She is Old Man Yang's woman. If she represents the aborigines, the allegorical implication of the story seems to be that the aborigines desperately need help. Help is not forthcoming from

representatives of the state like the forest ranger. But it does radiate out from Old Man Yang, a national father to a childlike people.

### 3.3. Conclusion to Irrational choice theory

Reading “Lao Yang” was one of the key moments in the development of this dissertation. It planted a seed, and I have woven strands from the resulting vine into a pattern. To begin with, the story is fantastic in both senses of the term; it is no wonder that it was prize-winning. It might have been what the judges were looking for in 1989, but twenty years later its romantic mood still carries the reader away. It is the second best work of art I discuss in this dissertation, the best I have discussed thus far. The story is somewhat underdetermined, a quality which in fiction is associated with ambiguity. In a way, Lu Qiang is more radical narratologically than Wang Zhenhe, who tethers *Meigui* to critique. It seemed to me conducive to but not conclusive of philosophical political debate. The crucial issue in the story, it seemed to me, was the abjection of Old Man Yang’s aboriginal woman. In her abjection, she is become’s the object of the reader’s pity. But she is also in the story to demonstrate by means of pathetic contrast Old Man Yang’s humane grandeur. Upon reading the story, I asked myself what, in the politics of aboriginal representation, Lu Qiang’s position might be. Assuming he really thinks that aboriginal women are all as helpless as Old Man Yang’s woman, in need of protection, then he might seem to be a socialist or even an authoritarian statist. In this regard, it is interesting to read “Lao Yang” against “Liang ge baba,” which represents a world that is out of control but still somehow alright – Lin Chunhua still somehow manages to take care of herself, as do we all in the modern liberal economic order. I doubt that an aboriginal reader would find either story very flattering, but Lin Chunhua’s irrational agency does seem better than Old Man Yang’s woman’s total dependence. It seems to me we might take “Ma Yanglin” as a neoliberal or libertarian vision of society, though certainly not as a utopian one. On the other hand, a contemporary neoliberal dystopia might seem better than a nostalgic statist utopia.

It would be interested to read a more recent story about a Formosan aboriginal maiden by Lu Qiang, perhaps from his days as a Taiwan nationalist, as such a story might shed some light on these concerns; but for better or worse, “Lao Yang” was the last national romance Lu Qiang wrote. Lu Qiang left it to Ye Shitao to use the figure of a Formosan maiden, Pan Yinhua by name, to envision a new, Taiwanese nationalist moral order. I will deal with Ye Shitao’s Pan Yinhua stories in Chapter 7. But there is one last writer to discuss in the present chapter on the

commodification of the Formosan aboriginal maiden in the context of Chinese nationalism in the 1980s. This writer, Shih Chiung-yu, makes the critic's job easier than Lu Qiang does, in that Shih declares a clear humanitarian stance in the Introduction to the series of stories she wrote on Formosan aboriginal maidens and mainlander soldiers, *Qiutian de hunli*.

4. Controlling the flow: Aboriginal initiative in Shih Chiung-yu 師瓊瑜's *Qiutian de hunli* 秋天的婚禮 [Wedding in Autumn] (1994)

Like the mainlander characters in her stories, Shih Chiung-yu's father is from Yunnan. He joined the nationalist army to fight the Japanese; within several years he was fighting the communists. He followed the nationalists to Taiwan. The Shih family lived for several years in a Yunnanese dependents' village (*juancun*) (眷村) in northwestern Taiwan, but when Chiung-yu was four, her father moved the family to the southeast, to Taidong, supposedly because he wanted a better environment for his children (vi). Shih grew up in Taidong, went to Taipei for higher education, and wrote the stories in *Qiutian de hunli* while at university or shortly after graduation. Soon she would leave Taiwan behind as well, en route to residence in Ireland and travel to several dozen countries, experience which she has turned into three works of travel writing.

Shih wrote the stories in *Qiutian* from 1989 to 1992. It was a time of political protest and of the changing of the guard. When the stories came out, critics did not know how to place them. There were many attempts at categorization – all of which, Shih felt in retrospect, in the Introduction she wrote for the second edition (2005), missed the mark. Her writing was not urban, nihilist, or absurd. It was not imitative of either Eileen Chang or Edgar Allen Poe. The stories were not ghost stories (vi). One senses the lady protesting too much, that Shih Chiung-yu was trying to insist upon her own uniqueness. The influence of Eileen Chang, for instance, and for that matter of Shih's teacher Li Ang at Chinese Culture University (文化大學), may be evident in the brutal honesty of Shih's writings, surprising in such a young woman writer. Li Ang's influence may also be detected in Shih's regionalism, and the obvious categorization for her writing was regionalist or native place literature. The stories are full of the sights and sounds of Taidong: Witch Hill, the Eastern Coastal Range, the Mawuku and the Xiuguluan Rivers, the whistling pine windbreaks, the Amis aborigines and the Harvest Festival (豐年祭); and also the social problems of the day, such as Amis parents selling their daughters into prostitution and

using the money for home renovation. Taidong is part of what made Shih's fiction distinctive and topical.

But what sort of regional or native place literature was Shih writing? *Qiutian* is not nostalgic native place literature, of the sort Lu Qiang was writing in "Lao Yang" and which Lu Xun criticized (Duara, *Sovereignty* 218) for lack of progressiveness. I am tempted to describe her interconnected stories about Taidong County as a kind of southeastern gothic, reminiscent of William Faulkner's interconnected stories about the county of Yoknapatawpha. Shih's fiction recalls the sense of claustrophobia of Faulkner's writing, of grotesquely stifled and perverted desire. Yoknapatawpha is a portmanteau of two Chickasaw words: this was once Indian country. The aboriginal presence in Shih's stories is similarly also inscribed in the landscape. Both authors introduce the motif of incest into their stories. Like Faulkner's stories, Shih's stories interconnect; main characters from one story appear as minor presences in another. And just as one would not say that Faulkner is simply a southern author, one should not describe Shih Chiung-yu as only a Taidong regionalist. Her stories are also national allegories.

Though I intend to tease out the national implications of the relations between mainlander men and aboriginal women in Shih Chiung-yu's short stories, reading the political into the personal may, however, seem questionable in the light of Shih's subsequent novel, *Jiamian wawa* [False Faced Dolls] (2002). Shih went to Ireland in her mid-twenties because her boyfriend was Irish. Her choice in romance became an issue in Shih's public literary feud with fellow second-generation mainlander author Luo Yijun. Luo seems to have forced a nationalist interpretation upon Shih's personal life. Shih's response in *Jiamian* was to accuse Chinese men who felt threatened by love affairs between Chinese women and Western men of childishness, as if to say: it's a personal not a national issue. A similar theme appears in a regional context in "Qiutian de hunli," the third and final story of Shih Chiung-yu's I discuss below, in which two adolescent boys who have grown up on the east coast tell Aru's west coast lover not to assume that easterners are easy to pick on just because eastern women are eager to meet western men (13). Thus, it may be that I am forcing a national interpretation on these stories of mainlander men and aboriginal women. The old soldiers may not represent the state because they were discarded by the state, as Shih puts it in her introduction (v). In my interpretations, then, I may be going against the remembered intention of the author. But it does not seem to me that in these stories Shih is trying to depoliticize interethnic romance. It is not as if the lovers would live happily ever after if everyone could transcend politics. The relations between the mainlanders

and aborigines in the stories are sick. The sickness seems symptomatic, and the most obvious context in which to diagnose the symptoms is national.

In the Introduction, Shih is surprised at how powerful the stories still seem after twelve years. They do not seem like juvenilia, labouring under the influence of some great writer like Turgenev – her example. Shih does not reach the same level of intensity in her novel or travel writing. I argue that the power of her early stories is partly a function of the national significance of her imagery. Some of the images are natural. The mountain, river and tree are all images of national collectivity. Many mountains make up a range or even a landmass. Many droplets of rain converge into a rivulet, many rivulets into a river, and many rivers into the sea of nationhood. The symbolic tree in the story is not the breadfruit, as in Wang Zhenhe's fiction, but Casuarina, a genus whose species go by many names – beefwood, ironwood, she-oak, river oak (木麻黃). It is a seashore tree that it often planted in windbreaks. I have chosen to call it the whistling pine. It is another image of collectivity, taking the trees for the forest. Finally, the aboriginal women in the stories are at once national and natural personifications: they may be identified with the hilly landscape, with the effluent and organic growth of the environment – woman as hill, stream, and tree – while the aging mainlander soldiers are may be figures for the KMT in relation to the Taiwanese people and people in relation to the island of Taiwan. The works of man upon the land in the stories are the bridge, the road, the windbreak, and the building.

If Shih had a national concern, what kind of nationalist was she? In her Introduction, Shih recalls identifying, while at university, with the son in Turgenev's *Fathers and Sons*, who wanted to change the structure of society and challenge his father's gentry values (vi). Shih Chiung-yu's father was not gentry, but, like a traditional patrician, he was paternalistic towards the people in the region – Taidong – to which he moved. Indeed, Shih Chiung-yu suspects her father might have had other reasons for moving to Taidong besides peace and quiet and the beauty of the natural surroundings – it is supposedly the land of great mountains and great rivers (大山大水); or bright hills and clear rivers (山明水秀). Her father kept a copy of Albert Schweitzer's *On the Edge of the Primeval Forest* in Chinese translation. She mentions Schweitzer three times in the introduction to *Qiutian* (iv and vii) she wrote for the second edition. At the time, Taidong was, according to the Introduction, not just backward, but also a place of wild desolation (蠻荒) (iii) and primitiveness (原始) (vi). To this primitive land her father brought a television; children would come from miles around for news of the world. Shih Sr.

comes off as a culture bringer, a great man. Shih Chiung-yu herself certainly did not become a child of nature. Her father cultivated her talents rather than leaving her to her own devices. She took piano and drawing lessons after school every day of the week but Sunday (v). With this kind of support, Shih Chiung-yu became the master of her fate, whereas most of the people in Taidong were its creatures (vi), living half as men half as beasts, abandoned by society, marginal (v). Her attitude towards the local people is patronizing. As a local government official, her father was by implication an agent the nationalist mission of civilization, though his function according to Shih Chiung-yu was to teach people their rights and help them engage with the state (v), rather than passing state directives down to the people. As an adult, Shih Chiung-yu is by no means a primitivist celebrating the morality of natural processes. At one and twenty years of age, Shih Chiung-yu was not writing to overturn what her father believed in. Indeed, she found her father's memories of the 1930s inspiring: it was a time when hearing Wen Yiduo give a lecture or Guo Moruo a speech promised to reinvigorate the nation, when education and literature really mattered (vi). The question is to what extent Shih felt that it was possible for the national civilizing mission to succeed. It succeeded for her, but could it, like mass education, succeed on a wide scale? This is one of the questions I will put to the three stories I interpret as national allegories below. The other, related question, is to what extent Shih represents aboriginal agency. The two questions may be related in different ways. Either the aboriginal maiden needs the state or she can make it on her own. A third way would be that the state can help the aboriginal maiden to make it on her own.

#### 4.1. Falling off the white horse in “Zuihou yi zhu mu mahuang, bei linzi yiwang” 最後一株木麻黃，被林子遺忘 [The Last Whistling Pine, Forgotten by the Forest] (1990)

*Long Qima, alias Ama, seems destined for greatness at the age of sixteen. His paramour is an Amis, the most beautiful girl in the seaside village. His father, Dragon Daddy, a nationalist veteran, insists that he go to the military academy: Ama must lead the reconquest of the mainland. So Ama goes off to college but soon drops out, returns home and becomes fat and useless. When gossip about his mother Red Jade's affair with one of his father's war buddies is exposed, the secret of Ama's parentage is revealed. Dragon Daddy could not have children; his penis had been blown off in the war. He had redeemed Red Jade and Ama out of a brothel; but Ama was not even Red Jade's child. His mother was some nameless child prostitute. Ama's decline continues: he takes his Amis girlfriend Wuya – with whom he speaks fluent Amis – to*



*Taipei but returns alone. The local policeman – Azhong – is suspicious but cannot prove anything. After Dragon Daddy dies, Ama uses the modest inheritance to buy a car and go joyriding. He extorts sightseeing money from tourists at the Mawuku River. In the end, he retreats into the whistling pine windbreak, which is also a labyrinth and a graveyard. When the wind blows, it sounds to Ama like Wuya and Dragon Daddy are speaking to him.*

Ama initially seemed destined to become a leader. His teachers were afraid of him because he looked so much like Chiang Kai-shek. He even moved like Chiang Kai-shek in a documentary about the Northern Expedition. His name, Long Qima (龍麒馬), is prophetic. It means ‘dragon unicorn horse, the fabulous *qi* being a prodigy, a sign of the birth of a sage. *Qi* is also homophonous for ‘to ride’, hence a dragon riding on a horse; and in fact Dragon Daddy dreamed of a dragon jumping out of a cloud onto the back of a horse (54). Chiang Kai-shek rode a white horse, perhaps in emulation of Napoleon, and so, for that matter, did Wu Feng.

The idea of a dragon riding a horse raises the problem of how much weight a single horse can bear (82). Ama cannot bear the weight of the Chinese Nationalist dream, neither can his father, and neither could Taiwan. Ama tells Dragon Daddy that nobody really thinks that the mainland can be retaken anymore. Now that ‘Old Jiang’ is dead, the new slogan is that “the three principles of the people will unify China” (75), which represents a substitution for a cult of personality of a cult of ideology; but nobody takes it seriously, especially not Ama. In the end, there are no national dreams, only, it seems, the individualistic ideal of getting rich. The narrator’s father is most proud of being a “self-made man” (白手興家) (56). That is what Ama says he is going to do before marrying Wuya: make some money in Taipei. But his Northern Expedition is to commodify his fiancée so as to avoid having to do the work necessary for financial independence. Ama falls into a lifestyle of crime and leisure; madness that way lies. What Ama retreats into is savagery. As if quoting something, he writes that he hears “the invitation of the far off drums of a tribal rite” (92). Regardless of what he is referring to, what is clear is that Shih Chiung-yu’s view of the reality of indigence, the underworld, and primitiveness is not at all romanticized. Savagery is frightening; desire needs dreams and human institutions to direct it. Early in the story, there is another, antithetical prophecy: Ama sees a broken tub, which he describes as Miss China, as one would a contestant in a beauty pageant. China as a slattern<sup>11</sup> seems appropriate, implying unproductive sexuality. China as a broken container also seems apt,

<sup>11</sup> In one dialect of English, the verb *slatter* means “to spill or splash awkwardly, to waste.”

if the container symbolizes the national dreams and social institutions that give shape to individual lives. Who in the story is the national slattern? Wuya? The narrator of the story, Little Mi, who idolizes the Ama in childhood and obsesses over him in adulthood? Little Mi is raped by one of the old soldiers in Mahjong Village (68) and ends up becoming a nymphomaniac. Wuya was a victim of unrestrained capitalism, Little Mi of the abuse of authority, though nymphomania seems to have something to do with capitalism, as it did in Lu Qiang's "Liang ge baba."

However, not all representatives of authority, the people who are supposed to keep the society and the nation 'in form', in the story are evil. Little Mi's younger brother, the policeman Azhong, is decent. But he is also ineffectual. He neither locates Wuya nor convicts Ama. As represented in the story, the human realm is an existential hell. The fictional realm is a hall of mirrors. In conducting his investigation, Azhong has nothing to go on but rumours (52). Both Ama and Little Mi leave the situation entirely. Ama ends up a dreamy denizen of the windbreak, while Little Mi leaves the country. But in a way, at least from Ama's perspective, they have never been closer together. Ama asks, in a letter, sent long after the writer has disappeared to a recipient at no fixed address, "Little Mi, am I in the end your incarnation in the human realm, or are you simply a pawn in the palm of my hand?" This fictional hall of mirrors is dizzying, and in it we only see Wuya, the Formosan aboriginal maiden, once. She is nothing more than an image. By contrast, in the second story by Shih Chiung-yu I interpret, the narrator's perspective is limited to the perspective of the protagonist, an aboriginal girl, and in the third story, the protagonist is an aboriginal girl, though the narrator is a young Chinese boy – Azhong the future policeman.

#### 4.2. Dirty desire in "Bentao, Mawuku xi" 奔逃馬武窟溪 [Run, Mawuku River] (1990)<sup>12</sup>

*Wang Tong, a mainlander shopkeeper living in an oceanside village in Taidong, lets an Amis woman, Axiang, and her three daughters shack up with him. The father, an aboriginal fisherman, had disappeared. Axiang offers herself to Wang Tong in exchange for a place to stay. She is a drunk, but after she moves in she becomes industrious. Wang Tong takes advantage of the girls, one by one. He sells the eldest two into prostitution and has three children upon the youngest. In the narrative present, Wang Tong has grown old. He can no longer have his way with the youngest daughter, Meizhu. At the beach, Meizhu meets a man named Shark Eyes, who*

<sup>12</sup> Mawuku is a Sinicization of an Amis word meaning 'the place where tide and river water converge'.

*agrees to take her to Taipei. Two months later, after a typhoon, Mawuku River almost inundates the local bridge, leaving detritus, mud, garbage, shit, and Wang Tong's corpse behind. Meizhu returns to Taidong to take care of the funeral. She has a nightmare about her tormentor: his drowned head wails for help; she tries to flee, but she too is swept up in the torrent.*

The story opens with a description of the power of nature, which is at once irrepressible and rather repulsive.

The torrential rains of the previous few days brought the third grandchild-child of grandpa-papa Wang Tong into the world, and at the same time presented many rare treasures to the villagers living at the mouth of the Mawuku River. Detritus, mud, and filth washed down from the Central Mountain Range, and garbage, waste and shit, both human and animal, from upstream communities, had been carried through the Southeastern Coastal Range, all of it converging into the Mawuku River. Mountain villages – Meilan, Shangde, Beiyuan, and Taiyuan – were stations along the way. Finally, the river made a sharp turn through a gorge and entered a village called Donghe ('east river'). Supporting the famous Donghe Suspension Bridge, the snowy gray marble columns, each of which was several stories tall, had become half-covered in twigs and leaves and engulfed in the rumbling muddy water of the Mawuku, which seemed desperate to enter the embrace of the Pacific. (23)

Human presence is signified by the presence of both garbage and a bridge. The garbage suggests environmental degradation. The bridge suggests a heroic effort at transcendence. If the water in the river symbolizes human desire, then human desire is a manifestation of an unruly and unmanageable natural process.

Unrestrained desire leads to the abuse in both the natural and human realms. In this respect, this story is reminiscent of Zhu Xining's "Shewu." Wang Tong's dual role as guardian and father suggests this abuse; there are in the end three victims of his reign of terror: Axiang, Meihua, and Meifeng, the mother and her two eldest daughters. Axiang has a much larger role in the story than her two eldest daughters. She initially threatens to jump off a bridge with her daughters if Wang Tong refuses to take them in (27), yet another suicide off the bridge of modernity. She would have followed Mana in *Lao Mo*. For the sake of her children, she is willing to "sell her cunt" (32). Wang Tong accuses her of riding him in a more figurative sense (32), but in fact she is earning her keep. After moving in she becomes productive: she is healthy and strong. She takes the girls out to fish at the bridge (31). They make tofu. At the end of the argument, Axiang throws up on him, the word describing her vomit – 穢物 (33) – being the same word used to describe one of the bounties of the typhoon, suggesting a kind of natural resistance

to artificial control, or popular resistance to governance. But Axiang lets Wang Tong sell her two daughters – her eldest is named Meihua, ‘plum blossom’, the national flower, while the second daughter is Meifeng, plum phoenix, the *feng* being an auspicious mythical bird associated with the emperor – and abandons her third daughter Meizhu – ‘plum pearl’, the pearl being a token of exchange – when she discovers the latter is pregnant with Wang Tong’s child.<sup>13</sup> It is almost a parody of a Qiong Yao novel.

Meizhu initially seems fated for victimization. She is respectful of authority, always bowing to the statue of Sun Yat-sen, the national father, when she arrives at school (29), which is ominous given that every authority figure in the story is intent on hurting her. Her teacher, a young Chinese woman, is a sadist, who seems determined to replicate sadism: she has one of the other students in the class whip Meizhu. But Meizhu is charmed. She seems to be transported to a realm in which she cannot be harmed:

In that instant, the classroom ambiance became solemn, the only auditory accompaniment being the whoosh, whoosh of the bamboo cane. But it was if all this was happening in some distant and nameless place. She could distinctly hear the warbling of birds; the boats navigating on the Pacific seemed so close she could touch them; the spray of golden sunlight sparkled on the ripples of the ocean waves; and even Witch Hill behind the school had, very unusually, softened the expression on its treacherous, uneven and fissured face. Zhang Meizhu did not feel the least sense of pain. The corners of her mouth unconsciously started pulling up into a smile (35)

If the teacher is a sadist, then the student is a masochist. Meizhu even feels a vague attraction for the girl who beats her. She gives the latter smoked raw meat, an aboriginal delicacy, as well as unripe mango (35). It may simply be that Shih Chiung-yu was writing to be provocative in the sense of titillating, following in the footsteps of her teacher Li Ang. But presuming Shih’s seriousness and the larger, national significance of her fiction, the sado-masochistic relation between the teacher and student, Chinese and aborigine, is suggestive. Clearly, the sort of immunity she has acquired, from the situation or system in which she is trapped, is not necessarily a good thing. It may, on the other hand, suggest tenacity.

Indeed, there seems to be a dialectic, a battle of the sexes in the story, and Meizhu holds her own in the war. As age catches up with Wang Tong, Meizhu seems to prevail in the relationship, at least until the climactic dream. Yet after overcoming Wang Tong, Axiang is faced with another formidable adversary, Shark Eyes. In national allegory one expects prophecy,

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<sup>13</sup> One of the reasons to suspect a Faulknerian influence is that a similar motif appears in “The Bear.” On the other hand, Shih Chiung-yu may well be ‘drawing’ from life.

as in “Zuihou.” The prophecy in this story seems more like a curse. When Meizhu gets her first period, she is sent home from school. She looks up and sees an eagle flying over Witch Hill. She is still bleeding; she fears she is dying. This is the first time Wang Tong takes advantage of her. She also sees an eagle when Shark Eyes is making love to her on a patch of grass by a yam garden behind the school. In both cases, the man presses heavily upon the woman. The metaphor seems to be of dominance. And yet after sex a man is finished, tired, limp: Shark Eyes collapses upon Meizhu’s “soft yet massive breasts” (40). Meizhu overcomes Wang Tong, a ghost from the other side of the ocean (43), but will she overcome Shark Eyes? Does he need to be overcome? Is he a pimp? The ending suggests that Meizhu has been able to take care of herself in Taipei: she has returned from Taipei with her youngest son after Wang Tong’s death, presumably in order to pick up her other two sons. It also suggests that she has not escaped what Wang Tong represents, the stream of unrestrained desire:

Zhang Meizhu really could not escape. The water of Mawuku River kept rushing as before...stories of old soldiers and aboriginal women circulated now and then; but the nightmarish spirit of Mawuku River was implacable. It kept lingering on, gasping for air, following the water of the river, flowing everywhere. (43)

The ending is open-ended. The narrator leaves Meizhu’s life in Taipei up to the reader’s imagination. Perhaps it seemed to Shih Chiung-yu that too many other writers, such as Wu Jinfu, had already written about what happened to the aboriginal maiden in the city. At any rate, the narrator does not leave Meizhu in a dream. She wakes up from her nightmare; the quotation above seems to be a report on her state of mind upon awakening that has a larger symbolic resonance. The bridge, though a nationalist construction, is still standing, though covered in filth. Meizhu may be haunted, but she still has a future; she might still get to the ‘other shore’, as does Aru, the heroine of the third, last, most straightforward and clearly positive of the stories by Shih Chiung-yu I am discussing, “Qiutian de hunli.”

#### 4.3. The national wedding in autumn in “Qiutian de hunli” 秋天的婚禮 (1992)

*Aru is an aborigine from the hills and the purchased adopted daughter (養女) of a mainlander, a former road-crew worker, who is going blind. The narrator is a boy named Azhong who found Aru one evening dying in a seaside windbreak of whistling pines: she is bleeding out of her groin. Her boyfriend, who is serving his national duty at the local naval base, had told her to leave him alone, but she had kept waiting for him to come out and take her into the windbreak for sex. He had agreed to take care of the abortion – which is her third – but did*

*not have any money for a doctor. Aru reaches out and grasps at Azhong, who runs away in fear. Aru survives, wises up, and several years later finds a decent fellow to marry. The present time of the story is the day of Aru's wedding.*

The story begins,

There are lots of weddings in October. October wedding invitations flutter festively in an ocean of flags. October is special. The Wuchang uprising happened in this month, as did the Retrocession, and Chiang Kai-shek's birthday, so that lovers are especially fond of choosing this month to tie the knot. It seems to me that October has been dyed various shades of red: the national flags wave a dignified red in the wind, the firecrackers set off a brilliant red at night, the lipstick and nail polish of October brides glistens a festive red, and the message bombs falling from the sky rain down a vexing red. I've seen another kind of red, thick and gooey, quick with life, trembling on the hot sand, gurgling out of Aru's body, with a musty, raw smell; it crawled on the dried whistling pine leaves, spreading out towards me as if crying for help. Yet, too slow to reach me as I retreated, it slowly seeped into the sand underneath the covering of dried leaves and disappeared... (1)

The title specifies autumn, the season of decline, so that the stress on October as the national month in this passage is ironic. The dried leaves in the passage have fallen from whistling pines in a seashore windbreak, and 'gurgling' recalls the flow of the Mawuku river. In Chinese the *ru* (女) in the name Aru is composed of the water radical and the character for 'woman'. Aru is associated with water, or perhaps with a homonym meaning 'milk' (乳). In the horrific, nightmarish passage above, Aru's lifeblood is absorbed back through the layer of dried leaves into the land, but Aru is a survivor, as the reader knows from the first page: this is a story about a wedding. Aru has a special kind of immunity deriving from the story's handling of time, as did Liang Jinhao, the protagonist of *Hehuan shan shang*.

Aru's development is symbolically Taiwan's development. As the narrator remembers she underwent a "rapid development" (6). Her serial abortions suggest that she is headed for tragedy. The doctor had said: one more abortion and she would not be able to have children. The last, botched abortion almost killed her. Yet in the present time of the story, Aru has found another guy, someone stable and amiable (和氣). And she goes to the altar with a baby in her belly, her productive capacity obviously undiminished. The story ends in the same way as *Lao Mo*. The narrator, Azhong, finds her body even more beautiful than it seemed when he was a child, her breasts still like 'unblinking eyes', a wonderful image, the most wonderful I came across in preparing this dissertation. She is a kind of Earth Mother. That the sailor who was

almost responsible for her death jokes he used to be President of the ROC (13) gives us reason to suppose that Aru is a national figure. While it is unclear what abortion might symbolize in a national sense, the theme of abuse is clear. The abusive relation could symbolically either be regional – west coast to east coast – or national – government to people – but the social realm itself seems more or less sane, in contrast to the first two stories I discussed. Aru’s adoptive father does put her down when she is growing up – he makes fun of her for being stupid and ugly – but he is not another Wang Tong.

It is not clear what livelihood Aru will pursue if any. As a teenager she worked in a variety goods store. As an adult perhaps she will simply be a mother. But at any rate, Aru’s development is not merely physical but also social. Initially, she almost never speaks, just as Wuya in “Zuihou” never spoke. By the end of the story she is become socially self-confident. In this story at least, though her view of the state-society relation remains grim, Shih Chiung-yu seems to have almost Confucian faith in human relations formalized by ceremony, and combined with a confidence in the capacity of the Formosan aboriginal maiden to take care of herself.

#### 4.4. Conclusion to Controlling the flow

The aboriginal maidens in these three stories have three different fates. Wuya is abject and her end likely dire. Meizhu is more self-assertive. Both her and her mother Axiang prostitute themselves in some sense in order survive and in Meizhu’s case in order to escape. The story leaves her fate undecided. “Qiutian” is formally a comedy, in the sense that it ends with a wedding. Aru’s destiny is clearly motherhood, as in *Lao Mo*, and just as clearly most of her future is also undecided, in a seemingly positive way. It is perhaps illegitimate to suggest a progression in Shih Chiung-yu’s representation of the situation of the ‘typical’ aboriginal maiden based on three stories written in the space of three years. At the least, reading “Bentao” beside “Qiutian” suggests that the flood can be controlled, the storm can be weathered.

Writing in 2005, Shih Chiung-yu is still nostalgic, as Lu Qiang was nostalgic in “Lao Yang,” about the ideal of a mission of civilization, an idea that had had been expressed in works I have discussed in the 1960s, especially in Zhu Xining’s novella “Shewu” and Ye Shitao’s story “Xingyiji,” and parodied in 1984, in Wang Zhenhe’s novel *Meigui*. The stories in *Qiutian de hunli* suggest that the person who carries the mission of civilization is likely to fail. This is not to say that the mission in itself is a bad thing, because a consciousness of such a mission would help avoid the monstrous conduct of the teacher in “Bentao” and the navy subaltern in “Qiutian.”

Or, rather, the mission of civilization might succeed not because of the efforts of its carriers, but rather because of the initiative of individuals. People have to help themselves, because the government probably is not going to. And it is a jungle out there. It is especially a jungle out there during a time of rapid modernization, when people are “up to their ankles in money” (金錢掩腳目), as Shih Chiung-yu puts it in her Introduction (v), and tempted to place a monetary value on their ‘loved ones’; and when the difficulty of carrying out a mission of civilization became compounded, because the would-be Civilizer was himself in an unstable state of change. In the end, Shih Chiung-yu is a child of the Enlightenment, but a pessimistic one.

## 5. Conclusion to Chapter 6

In each of the chapters of this dissertation, I have tried to trace a debate in the public sphere that took shape in a politics of aboriginal representation in the context of contested nationalisms. The fundamental question in that debate, I have argued, is aboriginal domestication – whether or the aborigines have found a place in the sunlight of settler nationalism. If works of settler cultural production depict aborigines, they are implicitly marked as relevant to the debate on domestication and interpretable as national allegories of the settler’s awkward place in his adoptive native land.

The aboriginal maiden in my interpretive scheme represents both aboriginal people and land. I also trace a politics of aboriginal landscape representation in this dissertation. In the texts from the 1980, only in Wang Zhenhe’s novel is there no representation of the landscape. In *Lao Mo*, we have the national panorama of the verdant hills of southwestern Taiwan, which Old Man Mo views from the window of his train on the way to purchase Yumei. Similarly, in “Lao Yang,” the landscape, Old Man Yang’s home on the range, is untouched by modernity, unlike the girl who supposedly symbolizes the landscape. In this case, the association of landscape and female form seems to fail. In this chapter, only in Shih Chiung-yu’s stories is the association explicitly maintained. The defilement of the aboriginal maiden is symbolically identified with the defilement of the environment – as in several of Ye Shitao’s stories from the late 1960s. Indeed, there is an environmental consciousness in Shih’s stories, not surprising given when they were written. I will take up this theme in my interpretation of Wu He’s *Yusheng* in the next chapter.

In this chapter the commodification of the aboriginal maiden in a context of modernization was generally represented as a function of human desire breaking through the forms of Chinese nationalism and turning the aboriginal maiden into a whore. Only the state,



human relations based on love, and individual agency stand in the way of the flood, a flood which in this chapter I have explicitly related to capitalism. In some cases individuals are swept away in the flood. In some cases they manage to survive and thrive, rooting themselves in enduring human ties rather than relations based on instrumental rationality. In some cases the state even manages to offer a helping hand, though in others the state is part of the problem. In the following chapter, in the context of Taiwanese nationalism, the aboriginal maiden makes a further transformation, from demimondaine to patron, in *Yusheng*, Wu He's celebrated novel, though the transition she makes in the first work I interpret, Ye Shitao's Silverflower series, is better describes as from maiden to patron. In either case, with the word 'patron' I announce the theme of Chapter 7, the gift as an alternative to the family as the basis for an allegorically national community.

## Chapter 7: From Maiden to patron: Gift economy in the national romances of the 1990s

Many of the stories I examined in chapter 6, written in the 1980s, were stateless dystopias. In these stories, the market created the conditions for the atomization of aboriginal society: one by one, aborigines were domesticated, not in the sense that they became part of the national economy but in the sense that they were tamed, subdued, drawn into the market economy capitalistically, which is to say exploitatively. The aboriginal maiden was transformed into a commodity, though in some cases I suggested that she lost control in the process of transforming herself.

In the present chapter the aboriginal Maiden is rehumanized and domesticated into national society. Her place in the 'new economy' is more advantageous. At the end of the 1980s, Ye Shitao offered a vision of a stateless utopia, a Taiwanese petty-capitalist multiethnic community in which the dominant actor is an aboriginal maiden. A decade later, in Wu He's novel *Yusheng*, the national community falls to pieces again. The aboriginal maiden is left at loose ends. Wu He wonders through his heroine Maiden whether the communal utopia is in the past, in contrast to Wang Zhenhe, who merely suggested it symbolically in the figure of the breadfruit grove in *Meigui*. Community is not rebuilt in the course of the novel *Yusheng*, but there are suggestions as to how it might be reconstructed. I argue that both writers, Ye Shitao and Wu He, were intrigued by the idea of a modern gift economy as an alternative basis for national community, a civic alternative to nationalist appeals to blood, to land and, of course, to family.

This chapter is divided into three parts. In the first part I discuss theories of the gift economy in premodern and modern societies. In the second and third parts I discuss the state of the nation in Ye Shitao's series *Xilayazu de mo yi* and Wu He's novel *Yusheng*.

### 1. Gift giving and community formation

There are two main ideas in this section. First, that a gift economy is theoretically more conducive to the formation and maintenance of social ties than a commodity economy, because in a commodity economy relations (of value) between commodities replace social relations – which was Marx's argument on 'commodity fetishism' in the opening chapter of *Das Kapital* – while in a gift economy exchanges establish and strengthen relations between people. Second, that gift giving persists with the same communogenetic efficacy in an economy primarily based on the exchange of commodities.

Marcel Mauss's *Essai sur le don* (1925) was the first major theoretical consideration of the idea of the gift. Mauss was an intellectual in Durkheim's circle, and the context in which the gift seemed significant was one of social atomization and *anomie* resulting from urbanization and industrialization. In other words, Mauss's monograph on the gift grew out of the same intellectual matrix which produced the problematique of this dissertation. Durkheim's concern was how community might be achieved in the modern world. The nation is one such community, but by no means the only one.

The study of the gift began with Melanesian ethnography. Reading in Paris about the Melanesians, Mauss conceived a typology of 'exchange' in human society. The two types were commodity and gift exchange. Mauss's main insights were that gift giving was competitive, as a display of status, as well as a combination of interestedness and disinterestedness. The Melanesians gave gifts expecting they would return in some form at some time. Gift giving in a society in which the gift economy predominated was thus not the expression of a selfless generosity. The gift economy as practiced in certain so-called primitive societies is not a form of social organization most people today would be able to accept. Mauss did not focus on the exchange of people, but the exchange of women and slaves was a part of the primitive gift economy. Levi-Strauss, in his discussion of Mauss's monograph in *Les Structures élémentaires de la parenté* [*The Elementary Structures of Kinship*] (52-69), focused on the exchange of women, particularly sisters, between males, his thesis being that the practice made the incest taboo possible.

Though gift giving in primitive society may make us uneasy, gift exchange in theory is conducive to the formation of social relations. These ties were bonds of debt, but the debt in question is not like a loan in capitalist society, which would be discharged upon repayment. The object given as a gift was fundamentally inalienable, because the giver was somehow inherent in the gift. In Taiwan people still speak of the *xinyi* (心意), the 'heart's intent' of the giver, as if it is somehow lodged in the gift. Gifts relate receivers to givers. Counter-gifts create new relations and create further debts. Hence "commodity exchange establishes objective quantitative relationships between the objects transacted, while gift exchange establishes personal qualitative relationships between the subjects transacting" (Gregory 41). In a commodity economy, things are quantitatively related in the medium of money, while the social order is constituted by the giving of gifts in a gift economy. Anthropologists have found that people in a gift economy also engage in commodity transactions. They do so with 'strangers'. In exchanges with strangers

there is the possibility of a nascent concept of alienability. In tribal society individuals were more or less related (or ‘tied’) to everyone else. In modern capitalist societies, there were family members and strangers, and family was much more narrowly defined than it once had been. Marshall Sahlins in *Stone Age Economics* makes the related point that “gift exchange tends to be between people who are relatives; as the kinship distance lengthens, and the transactors become strangers, commodity exchange emerges” (Gregory 23).

Gift exchange persists in a modern liberal or capitalist socioeconomic order within the family and between friends. In a modern commodity economy, the meaning of ‘gift’ changes in contradistinction to ‘commodity’. The commodity is a matter of interest, the gift of disinterest or the other’s interest. The commodity is selfish, the gift supposedly pure. Like the commodity, the gift as an object is alienated in the giving; it becomes the recipient’s property; it is bad form to ask for it back. But the gift does in contrast to a commodity tend to remind us of the giver and of the giver’s generosity. Furthermore, in a commodity transaction, reciprocity is a matter of legal necessity. In a gift exchange, it is not. A gift may be reciprocated, and will be if a social connection is established or strengthened by the giving, but it shows a misunderstanding of the nature of gift-giving, as an institution in capitalist society, to insist on or expect reciprocation. One must assume a gift is ‘gone’ in the giving. Paradoxically, it is exactly this attitude that encourages reciprocation and the formation of durable social ties.

To some, writing under the reign of capitalism, it seems that love, the love that infuses the national romance, for instance, cannot exist in a commodity economy. In this regard, Luce Irigaray has reformulated Levi-Strauss’s idea by arguing in a commodity economy men no longer exchange women as gifts; now they exchange them as commodities. In doing so Irigaray was alluding to the idea of the prostitution of labour in Marxist theory and insinuating that the domesticated wife is not so different from a prostitute. This is a jaded idea of marriage to say the least. There is indeed exchange in marriage. The husband gets sex from the wife in exchange for legal and moral responsibilities. But marriage is a gift economy, based on love rather than status. The father of the bride gives the bride away. The bride ‘gives her body’ (or, in Chinese 獻身) to her husband. A wife does not do housework for the same reason that a maid does housework. And today our conceptions of all these aspects of marriage are changing, as traditional gender roles and identities destabilize. At any rate, Irigaray was trying to imagine “socializing in a different way the relation to nature, matter, the body, language, and desire” (“Women on the Market” 189), though, like Marx, she ends rather than begins with the utopian note. To others,

love and the gift economy survive in a capitalist order, remaining conducive to “lasting relations of dependence” (Bourdieu 238). Pierre Bourdieu writes of the gift economy as “an island in the ocean of the equivalent-exchange economy” (“Marginalia” 235) of capitalism, an island one presumes could become a continent through massive land reclamation.

Both Ye Shitao and Wu He explore gift giving as a foundation for national community through the conduct of an aboriginal maiden. Neither rejects liberalism or capitalism as a co-foundation for national community. Wu He is the more wary of the two of the market, of the processes of commodification of people and the environment, but at the same time of the two he is more jealous of freedom; he is more individualistic than Ye Shitao. Each is liberal in his own way. Neither accepts the Marxist critique; to neither does it seem as if the market is all-embracing. Though the notion of the gift obviously relates to New Deal Liberalism, and though in the 1990s, Taiwan became a more actively redistributive state (at the same time as it became more liberal and even neoliberal), the kind of giving explored in this chapter is between individuals, not from the state to disadvantaged individuals. Both Ye Shitao and Wu He are distrustful of the state. Of course, I am not arguing that the state should have no redistributive function, only that neither Ye nor Wu explores the kind of mediated giving welfare represents. I think the state should even have an ‘ideological’ function, that it should promote values like generosity, for instance, in addition to prudence. But in a postmodern state, in a nation where civil liberties are protected, anyone is free to propound his own vision of cohesiveness. Ideally, there should be some kind of debate in the public sphere. What I do in this chapter is to invite two writers with a common ‘interest’ to a debate on the national gift economy. I am not arguing that Wu He’s work is not a conscious response to Ye’s, but rather that the two works can be brought into dialogue by placing them in the frameworks I have created for this chapter and this dissertation.

## 2. Überflower’s search for the figurative foundation of national community in Ye Shitao’s *Xilaya zu de moyi* 西拉雅族的末裔 [Last of the Siraya]

First, in “*Xilaya zu de moyi*” 西拉雅族的末裔 [*Last of the Siraya*]<sup>1</sup> (4.193-4.219), *Silverflower Pan is hauling manure to her family’s three fen of land. Her family also rents two*

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<sup>1</sup> These five stories about Silverflower Pan, the last of the Siraya, were originally published individually in newspaper supplements (*fukan*) or literary publications. They were originally published out of narrative order, then

fen of land from an absentee landlord surnamed Peng, residing in Tainan.<sup>2</sup> Silverflower finds an injured ‘hunter’ by the stream: the landlord’s second son has shot himself. Silverflower’s father takes the young man home. Silverflower is offered a salaried job as the son’s personal servant, and she takes it. Eventually, Silverflower and son sleep together by mutual consent, and she becomes pregnant. Young Master Peng’s parents will never consent to a marriage between their son and a tenant’s daughter, but they would like Silverflower to stay on as a concubine. Silverflower does not desire the life of a concubine in a gentry family; she wants independence. She decides to steal away at dusk with her baby son and survive on the fruits of her own labour. She returns not directly home but to another Siraya community.

Second, in “Ye juhua” 野菊花 [Wild Honeysuckle] (4.175-4.192), Silverflower comes home. Her father tells her that war in the Philippines is not going well. It is 1944. Silverflower plans to marry. She will insist on a large engagement gift (pinjin), so that her parents will be provided for; and she will refuse to provide a dowry (jiazhuang). Even with a child, she is physically attractive enough to make an advantageous match. She has a marriage arranged with a rich fifty year old Taiwanese widower with a retarded daughter. They get married but soon the widower, who is working as a transporter for the Japanese, gets blown up by a bomb dropped from a US B27: Silverflower thereby acquires another dependent, land, a house, and money.

Third, in “Liming de juebie” 黎明的訣別 [Parting at Dawn] (4.233-4.246), Silverflower is twenty-three. A young dissident, a Taiwanese nationalist and democrat named Zhu Wenhuan, collapses outside Silverflower’s gate. He is on the run from the authorities after the 228 Incident. She takes him in for a few days and deflowers him. The police come banging on the door the next morning. Silverflower hides him, but the police discover and haul him away.

Fourth, in “Pan Yinhua de diwuge nanren” 潘銀花的第五個男人 [Silverflower Pan’s Fifth Man] (4.275-4.291), Silverflower is in her mid-twenties. Her parents tell her to come home and find a match among her people, but she prefers to remain independent. One day, while she is working her land, a mainlander soldier rapes her. It does not seem like he is going to kill her, so she stops resisting. Later she realizes she is pregnant and has a marriage arranged with a literate mainlander named Wang Shu-an 汪書安. Her eldest son, whom she had with the scion of the Peng family, is beautiful and smart; her Taiwanese step-daughter, a Taiwanese, is simple;

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republished in two book editions in narrative order. I deal with them in narrative order rather than in order of publication, though all quotations are to the *Ye Shitao quanji*, which follows the order of publication.

<sup>2</sup> In total, then, the family manages on 1/12<sup>th</sup> of an acre.

while her youngest son, by the mainlander rapist, is strong and dull. Wang Shu-an thinks the youngest child is his. At any rate, the child will bear the name Pan, because Wang Shu-an has agreed to ‘marry in’, following the Siraya custom.

Fifth, in “Pan Yinhua de huantie jiemei men” 潘銀花的換帖姐妹們 [*Silverflower’s Sworn Sisterhood*] (5.047-5.064), the Gao sisters, are on the run from the law. They are related to a political prisoner, a dissident like Zhu Wenhuan, Silverflower’s lover in the third story in this series. This story is set during the land reform in the early 1950s. Silverflower is now in her late twenties and very successful. Wang Shu-an sells yams from her farm at the market. Silverflower now owns a store, in which the Gao sisters work. In the end, Silverflower employs over ten people, including servants from gentry families in Tainan like the Pengs. She even takes over two employees from a declining gentry scion, a fellow named Liu Zheming who has married his own servant. Silverflower has plans to build housing for her employees. Silverflower offers the Gao sisters a partnership: half the profit for the sisters, half for Silverflower.

The foremost American scholar of Siraya society, John Shepherd, has described Ye Shitao’s understanding of Siraya culture as stereotyped (“Siraya Marriage Practices” 15). One should not read Ye Shitao’s *Xilaya zu de moyi* to understand Siraya culture, though many readers probably did. Ye Shitao was irresponsible in not bearing the burden of mimesis, though not more so than most Chinese authors and filmmakers who have represented the Formosan aborigines. At any rate, I am not reading this series, or any other works in this dissertation, positivistically, as reliable representations of aboriginal culture or consciousness. Rather, I argue that this series emplotted Ye Shitao’s national vision, complete with a petty-capitalist mode of production and a national identity. His stereotyped understanding of Siraya culture is the inspiration for this vision, particularly the putative cultural features of ‘matriarchy’ and ‘exuberance’, to which he adds another value – a calculating, instrumental and possessive rationality – that seems distinctly modern.

*Xilaya zu de moyi* is a work of Romantic nationalism. It represents natiogenesis, the ‘birth of a nation’, as an organic process. Silverflower is named for a kind of honeysuckle, which in Chinese is also known as *rendong* (忍冬) or ‘winter enduring’. She is also associated with the chrysanthemum, and the uncultivated variety at that. The chrysanthemum blooms in the fall, suggesting the consummation of autumn rather than the potentiality of spring. She is “the daughter of the earth” (4.290) and “earth mother” (“Faxian pingpuzu” 99), the fruits of the earth

and the earth itself. In her latter identity, Silverflower is the “rich land” (4.290) in which the different generations of settlers plant their ‘seeds’. As a Romantic nationalist, Ye Shitao was trying to distinguish Chinese nationalism from Taiwanese nationalism, the former state-imposed, the latter supposedly a natural process rather than a political idea which Ye Shitao was promoting in a tendentious work of literature.

The title of the series, *Last of the Siraya*, suggests the elegiac mood of works in North America like *Last of the Mohicans* or Arthur Kroeber’s *Ishi: Last of His Tribe*. In these works, the Amerindian was the ‘vanishing American’. These were works about a ‘dying race’. The mood in this series by Ye Shitao is not tragic or elegiac but rather triumphalist. The series represents natiogenesis through the mixing of race. Racially, the progeny in this series are mixed, and the mixture is Taiwanese. Natiogenesis also occurs on the levels of identity, class, and language. In terms identity, Silverflower initially insists she is Taiwanese (4.208), but later identifies herself as Siraya in distinction to the *Ibutun*, the Taiwanese or Fujianese. By the end of the series, she still sees herself as Siraya (5.053), but not her husband, who is a Taiwanese (4.289). Her children, presumably, are Taiwanese by identity. Silverflower is the last of the Siraya, but her children are the first Taiwanese. In terms of class, Liu Zheming marries his servant in the fifth story, suggesting that the old society based on hierarchical land tenure is passing into history, gradually replaced by a new, putatively egalitarian order. Finally, linguistically, in the community at the end a *lingua Taiwanica* prevails. Silverflower knows some Siraya words but neither she nor anyone in her community can form a sentence in Siraya. Wang Shu-an speaks a Chinese language or dialect, but by the end he has learned to speak some Taiwanese and has been told he will have to learn more. Knowing that the KMT was just at this time enforcing a national language policy with Mandarin as the national language makes the monolingual complacency of the Silverflower series rather unbelievable, a function of Ye Shitao’s hopes and dreams in 1990 and not of the realities of 1950.

The question I want to put to this series is why Taiwanese natiogenesis is supposed to be a good thing. What ethical basis founds this new allegorically national community? As we shall see descent and consent, ethnic and civic justifications for Taiwanese nationalism coexist rather awkwardly in the series. I propose to address this issue in terms of race, economy, and family. Race is a matter of descent, economy of consent, while family partakes of both.

### 2.1. *Voix du sang*



Is race the source of this sense of communal belonging and of the desire to do good by the other members of the community? For extreme ethnic nationalists, it can be. However, historically, racially-conceived nationalism does not have a great record. It is associated with Nazism. It troubles us still. Does Ye Shitao imagine that the Taiwanese nation he is building imaginatively is founded on race? Based on internal and external evidence, the ‘Taiwanese’ people seem to be to some extent defined by race or lineage in Ye Shitao’s understanding. A racial *voix du sang* does seem to recur in his writing (Chen Fuxing 195), especially in this series. The term *zu* (族), racial or ethnic group, is used in the Silverflower stories, as is *xuetong* (血統), lineage or bloodline. Neither corresponds exactly to the late nineteenth century notion of ‘race’. Characters in the series, however, are identified by external physical markers corresponding to their *zu*, which brings the idea closer to that of race. Silverflower is dark-skinned and has deep-set eyes (2.205) and prominent cheekbones (5.050). Her son by Young Master Peng has the narrow eyes of a Fujianese. Furthermore, there is an unpleasant suggestion of racial psychotyping in the series. Silverflower’s step-daughter by Wang Tugen is retarded, her son with the mainlander rapist is strong but dull, and her son with Young Master Peng, a Taiwanese gentry scion like Ye Shitao himself, is intelligent. But miscege-nation will continue and these types will disappear as a matter of course. Ye Shitao is accepting of such differences, perhaps partly because they will eventually be thrown into the Taiwanese melting pot.

The emphasis here on racial mixing, on the Taiwanese people as racially Mestizo conflicts with Ye Shitao’s ideal of ‘parallel cultural development’ expressed in an essay on Taiwanese literature as ‘multiracial’. The essay was entitled “Kaituo duo zhongzu fengmao de Taiwan wenxue” 開拓多種族風貌的台灣文學 [Developing a multiracial Taiwanese literary scene]. In the essay, Ye Shitao asserts that in order to understand Taiwan’s history one needs to start with the Plains Aborigines. Ye estimates that half the Taiwanese population has Pingpu blood. Ye Shitao wants Taiwanese people to admit that there is Plains Aborigine blood in their veins. He proceeds to analyze Taiwanese society into five *zhongzu* (種族), which usually means ‘race’ but seems here to refer to place of residence or origin: mountain aborigine, plains aborigine, Minnan, Hakka (‘guest’ people) and Mainlander. Ye Shitao hopes the ‘cultures’ thereof may develop in parallel on an equal basis. Does he imagine that ‘races’ have different cultures? If so, the parallel development of their cultures is impossible, because the races have already mixed. It is tempting to suggest that Ye Shitao meant to say ‘ethnic groups’, but in an interview on January 7, 1999, a decade after he published the Silverflower series, Ye Shitao is

explicit on the point of race. He was discussing the ‘foreign brides’ from Vietnam, who began to marry local Taiwanese men in large numbers in the 1990s.

So if there are fraternal countries, it’s not us and the Chinese; the blood of the Han people in China is a long way from the blood of the Taiwanese people. There’s a big difference in the DNA. We don’t have the DNA of the Han Chinese people. I think we and the Vietnamese have extremely similar DNA. When you see Vietnamese people going all out to make money – that’s the way these Vietnamese women are – they’re the same as the Taiwanese people. So if you want to talk about fraternal countries, it’s not China and Taiwan but Vietnam and Taiwan. (“Zi he ziji gedou” 50)

Ye’s vulgar emphasis on DNA makes it seem plausible that by *zhongzu* he meant something like ‘race’ and that he assumed specific behavioural traits were associated with the specific races rather than with the cultures of groups of people who might be of any ‘race’. Going all out to make money from this quotation seems to be a function of genetics for Ye Shitao. One suspects Ye Shitao would be better off writing fiction and holding his tongue on other topics. At any rate, Ye Shitao’s emphasis on racial mixing is less alarming than purist opposition to miscegenation would be, but his assumption that race is part of Taiwanese national distinction is still disturbing. In this respect, Ye Shitao is a contrast to the novelist Li Qiao, who, though a more ardent or even militant Taiwanese nationalist than Ye Shitao, is wary of the danger of racial nationalism:

Taiwan’s ethnicities have always owed the aborigines something, and Taiwanese history should include things related to the aborigines. In current cultural theory, lineage is not important; but for Oriental people the notion of lineage is deeply ingrained. Our friends overseas often talk about Taiwanese nationalism, but I’ve never been in favour of it. To be fooling with this kind of concept of nationalism in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is risible. (“Xiaoyao zizao gudu xing” 逍遙自在孤獨行 33)

Here by ‘nationalism’ Li Qiao is referring to racially conceived conception of nation. Li Qiao’s involvement in DPP political activities is well known, but his concept of Taiwanese nationalism is civic, founded on the notion of sovereignty.

In the end, I do not think Ye Shitao has thought carefully about the issue of race. And ultimately, his fiction – the Silverflower series – is much more interesting on this issue than his statements in essay or interview format. In the Silverflower series, it is Silverflower who is ‘going all out to make money’ and who is strong enough to make a lot of it. It was not clear from the stories themselves whether this was a function of her lineage, her individual talent, her ‘matriarchal’ culture, or her internalization of a principle of independence, or some combination thereof. And the question to put to this series is not whether ‘race’ is significant but whether it is ethically significant. Does Silverflower dish out generosity on the basis of racial considerations?

Kinship does seem to enter into her ethical calculation. She is decent to her parents. She assumes initially that her ‘stranger kin’ 陌生的族人 (4.219) at Danei will help her. And she is nice to her two boys. By contrast, she is not so nice to her step-daughter, who fears her like a mouse fears a cat. On the other hand, Silverflower is also generous to the men in her life, as well as to her workers and her ‘sisters’, with whom she shares only fictive kinship. Thus, even before the final mixing of the lineages, national generosity does not in these stories seem to depend a principle of kinship, lineage or race.

Does it depend, then, on the self-interested cooperative behaviour necessary in a liberal economy?

## 2.2. The kindness of selfish strangers

Economic liberalism is founded on the principle that as long as individuals in a ‘public’ trade fair, a group will benefit from the self-interested behaviour of its individuals. If the public is a national public, then out of the selfishness of individuals a national community might, in a strictly utilitarian sense, bloom. In the Silverflower series, the value void in secular society is filled with a rough-and-ready philosophy of individualism.<sup>3</sup> When at the beginning Silverflower is offered the choice of whether or not to go into service, she says she will follow the wishes of her parents (4.202). They make the decision that she would have made. This is the last time she expresses filiality by a pretence of obeying her parents. When, after getting pregnant by Young Master Peng, Silverflower is offered a place in the family without any need to work, she decides that she wants to live on the basis of her own labour (4.217), not dependent on her parents (4.176), in order to be a “proud and independent Siraya” (頂天立地的希拉雅) (4.218). Thereby, she achieves the freedom of the prototypical unencumbered liberal mother, “without cares or ties, eating the fruits of her labour, supporting herself and her children” (4.281).

Part of Silverflower’s independence is due to her calculative rationality, a psychological hallmark of the liberal economic subject. Silverflower (or Ye Shitao) is obsessed with numbers. The Pans have three *fen* of land of their own and rent two *fen*. They pay five *yuan* a month in

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<sup>3</sup> Religion in the sense of metaphysical belief does not seem to be of any ethical importance in this series. In fact, it seems to function solely as an ethnic marker, and one that is being phased out. The first time Silverflower and Young Master Peng meet, he asks her about the gourd and pig skull worship of the Siraya people. She does not know who the Siraya are, and is offended by the suggestion that she worships gourds and pig skulls. She still consults the local oracle or shamaness, the *wangyi*. I will discuss the two readings the shamaness does for Silverflower in the following chapter. Here, I only emphasize that Silverflower does not take the readings very seriously. Silverflower is also Christian, but her metaphysical belief is not a driving force in her life. She does not need the blessing of the Christian God (4.288).

rent. Silverflower will make fifteen *yuan* per month. Her parents will get a hundred *yuan* in compensation. After Silverflower gets pregnant her salary doubles. The Pengs in total give her one to two thousand *yuan* and lots of jewellery (5.062). She makes enough at the Peng household to buy a *jia* or two of land in a remote area (4.218).<sup>4</sup> She gives the money she has made to her younger brother and tells him to buy a two *jia* mango orchard for her (4.178). Wang Tugen has three *fen* of his own (4.181). He gives a bridal gift of two hundred *yuan* to Silverflower's parents, as well as ten *yuan* a month (4.182). After discovering Silverflower at the train station and visiting her the same night, Young Master Peng gives her five hundred *yuan* (4.191). This allows her to buy two more *jia*. She considers finding a husband among her own people but she cannot bear to leave the three *fen* of land she has at Lumu mountain (4.276). The new sundry goods story makes fifty *yuan* the first day, equal to fifteen hundred a month or twice the salary of a civil servant. Silverflower will take half of the profit. Given Silverflower's numerical inclination, it seems disingenuous of her to tell the Gao sisters, "we're sisters, so there shouldn't be any need to haggle over each and every catty" (5.063) in the final story. Silverflower is quite a contrast with the aborigines in Luodong who, according to Ye Shitao's autobiographical memoir on the topic, could not count: anything above two or three was 'lots'.

The ideal in Smithian liberalism is for everyone to provide capital-based services, but in practice, some master economic rationality more effectively than others, and the system by the end of the Silverflower series seems in some sense 'capitalist', in that Silverflower owns all the capital, while the people who work for her 'own' only the capacities that inhere in their own persons. This is how Silverflower starts out, as a labourer. She treats her body as a kind of capital. "Her body was full and firm: it was her greatest capital" (4.180). The term I have translated 'capital' is literally 'root money' (本錢), the money one needs to start a business, and, by metaphorical extension, one's talent. However, I think the translation is justified given the ways in which she views her body, her *benqian*. Her body allows her to labour productively. As owner of her body and the land on which she works, her labour is not alienated. She uses her sexual attractiveness to get advantageous terms in both the marriages she contracts. I have already traced in detail how she accumulates two forms of capital, land and money. In the fifth story, a mode of production crystallizes. The temporal background here is the land-to-the-tiller program in the early 1950s. The Taiwanese, of course, did not dominate the mainlanders politically at this time, but the program sowed the seeds, so to speak, for Taiwanese economic power. Many larger

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<sup>4</sup> Three *fen* equals 1/12<sup>th</sup> of an acre. A *jia* 公頃 is slightly less than a hectare.

landowners were compensated with government bonds or shares in government corporations. They switched from land to new forms of capital enterprise. Smaller landowners often went on to start small businesses or factories, as Silverflower does. Silverflower literally owns the community she creates. She will own the buildings she builds for her workers. Though she owns the new sundry goods store, she is herself illiterate and needs someone to watch over the new store and keep accounts (5.051). She offers the Gao sisters a profit-sharing opportunity, though the sisters demure, insisting that all they need is food to eat and clothes to wear. Silverflower offers the sisters what seem like generous terms as managers of the sundry goods store, but her offer is after all not all that generous. The profit is twice a civil servant's salary, but Silverflower takes half of that; each sister therefore makes half a civil servant's salary. They are managers who have a cut of the profit but not ownership. Silverflower is supposed to be a benevolent capitalist. Ye Shitao has a sanguine view of labour-capital relations for someone who is supposedly a socialist.<sup>5</sup>

The community at the end is not, however, exactly capitalist. It seems better to characterize it as petty-capitalist. The story is about land reform in the early 1950s, and, as Hill Gates puts it, “[t]he most important long-term result of reform was the expansion of the owner-operator segment of the petty-capitalist class” (*China's Motor* 221), the class to which Silverflower belongs. The basic social unit in petty-capitalism is not the individual but the family.

### 2.3. Family: pleasure, power and generosity

Ye Shitao represents the Taiwanese national community as a family. Silverflower “had always longed for a big lively household from olden times in which many different groups of people live together” (5.052). Though Silverflower owns everything in the community in the final story, she takes care of her workers. Her relations with others in the community are more like family relations than like the temporary, instrumental relations between capitalist and workers. But in this family there is a very clear hierarchy, which is why the use of the family

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<sup>5</sup> In the late 1940s, he ‘armed himself with socialism’ against the exploitative Chinese nationalist Chen Yi regime. In 2000, the future education minister Du Zhengsheng could still wonder whether Ye Shitao was still a socialist (談葉石濤的文學觀). Whether or not Ye Shitao thought of himself as a Marxist by the late 1980s, the community depicted is a nationalist utopia. Ye Shitao makes his Taiwanese nationalist leanings very clear in the story. Silverflower's spontaneous sentiments are on nationalist side of the historical debate between nationalists led by Liao Wenyi and communists led by Xie Xuehong in the Taiwan Democratic Governance League. We learn at the end that Silverflower's third man, Zhu Wenhuan, was a member of Liao Wenyi's faction (5.055).

metaphor in nationalist discourse is disturbing. In the following analysis, I discuss three aspects of the symbolic national family in *Xilaya zu de moyi*, namely pleasure, power and generosity.

First, pleasure. Silverflower *greatly* enjoys sex with each of her five men, including the fourth man, the A.W.O.L. soldier who raped her. Silverflower's healthy sexuality has been noted by almost everyone who has cared to comment, including Ye Shitao himself ("Faxian Pingpuzu" 99). The 'system' in this series is in some sense capitalistic – it does not reveal its petty-capitalist structure until the final story – and yet there is still the possibility of pleasure. Silverflower's pleasure, in the story, seems to be a symbol of humanity, of the 'uncommodifiable', of what cannot be contained by market logic. Sexual pleasure in these stories is beyond the calculation of economic utility. Its supply is not limited like a commodity. There is more than enough love to go around. Money is indeed transferred to Silverflower as a consequence of sex. When Silverflower tells Young Master Peng she is pregnant, he assures her she will be well taken care of. She replies that neither of them 'owes' the other anything (誰不欠誰), that it was never a matter of economic exchange. The money she gets later on from Master Peng is a gift. It was presented (獻出) (4.275) to her. Silverflower is not a mere object of lust like a prostitute but also a subject of desire. She is willing initially to 'offer herself' (獻身) to Young Master Peng "unconditionally," simply because this kind of self-presentation would give her "supreme happiness" (4.210).<sup>6</sup>

We might even relate pleasure as it is represented in the series to the petty-capitalist social structure in the final story. In liberalism, pleasure is partitioned. What goes on in the bedroom is private. In this petty capitalist story, private life has not been partitioned from the private sector. Indeed, the sexual love between Wang Shu-an and Silverflower in the fifth story is semi-public. The Gao sisters notice them disappearing into the bedroom at all hours of the day to make love, without closing the door. It is the expression of a *joie de vivre*, and Silverflower's libidinousness radiates out like moral charisma (德) in theories of rulership in ancient China. The

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<sup>6</sup> Chaucer's Wife of Bath and Defoe's Moll Flanders offer two intriguing contrasts to Silverflower. All have five husbands. All are *feminae economicae* who know the true value of marriage. For instance, in her middle age, the Wife of Bath, in one of the most strangely charming moments in literature, says,

Unto this day it dooth myn herte boote,  
That I have had my world as in my tyme.  
But age, allas, that al wole envenyme,  
Hath me biraft my beautee and my pith.  
Lat go. Farewel! The devel go therwith!  
The flour is goon; ther is namoore to telle;  
The bren, as I best kan, now moste I selle;  
But yet to be right myrie wol I fonde. (472-479).

whole familial community is infused with libidinous energy. It is not, however, without social structure; it is familial and frankly inegalitarian.

Second, power. There is even a power structure in the relation between Silverflower and her Sisters. The relation is one of fictive kinship. The term by which I have translated ‘sisterhood’ is *huantie* (換帖), literally ‘to exchange slips of paper’. This was part of the informal ceremony by which people became spiritual brothers or sisters. On the exchanged slips of paper the two individuals would write their names, ages, places of origin and family histories. The exchange of slips of paper suggests a contractual relationship, and sometimes fictive kinship was reinforced by the exchange of articles of trust (信物) and the cooperative building of ancestral shrines. In the present case, the ‘agreement’ seems to have been simply oral. At any rate, the contract was supposed to be permanent. It was common in frontier era Taiwan for settlers to form such relationships. In this story the suggestion for the establishment of the relation is made by Silverflower, a plains aborigine, who thereby integrates herself into a wider Taiwanese society. And she does so on her own terms. Silverflower forms a Sisterhood in which there are older and younger sisters. The inegalitarian nature of the relations Silverflower forms with others, even her Sisters, mean that there is no space for debate, no public sphere to which all should in theory have access. The Sisterhood seems to be a space for truth talking – Silverflower tells her sisters what she has not told Wang Shu-an, that her youngest child is not his – just as long as Silverflower has the last word. In Silverflower’s utopian world, there is no need for separate spheres for politics and debate and for self-interested and generous exchanges. Silverflower is in charge, and everyone seems to like it that way.

The series also represents inequality by means of sexual relations; there is indeed a war of the sexes waged throughout the series, which Silverflower ends up winning. Silverflower tells Young Master Peng that her parents are equal (4.213), but in all her own subsequent relations there is an ongoing battle of the sexes. Wang Tugen accepts Silverflower’s terms of marriage and descends upon her ‘like a hungry tiger upon a sheep’ (4.184). In the immediate aftermath of the war, Silverflower is raped by a soldier from the mainland, just as Taiwan was in some sense raped by the Chen Yi interregnum. But by the time she gets married to Wang Shu-an, she is on top. Silverflower takes her pleasure by dominating her husband sexually. The expression of the capitalist mentality in the story that may be the most difficult to accept is the way in which Silverflower views her second husband and fifth man, Wang Shu-an, who in her eyes is a ‘cash creating domestic animal’ (5.062). In this metaphor, both economic and political dominance are

implicit. It is the mainlander who is domesticated, not the plains aboriginal maiden, and he is domesticated in a subservient sense. At the same time, the marital relation is not strictly utilitarian. Ye Shitao very generously allows Wang Shu-an into the family.

Third, generosity. The most obvious expression of Silverflower's generosity is her filial conduct. The advantageous terms Silverflower contracted in her marriage to Wang Tugen were, it turns out, for the benefit not of Silverflower herself but of her parents. The parent-child relation can be understood in terms of gift giving, from parent to child initially, and from child to parent later. This relation suggests practices in Bourdieu's sense that create lasting relations (or in this case ties) of dependence based on what Bourdieu would term durable dispositions. Another obvious expression of generosity is the house warming party Silverflower holds at the end, "another day to get roaring drunk besides the festival day of Ali" (5.064), the Siraya ancestral deity. Every time, in fact, the Taiwan Sugar Company train passes through the village, Siraya people, presumably plantation or factory workers come to Silverflower's stoop and enjoy her communal hospitality. The regularity of the visitation suggests the persistence of ritual in a newly secular society. This particular observance is also contrary to prudence and accumulation, the principles of the capitalist. Then there are more questionable expressions of Silverflower's generosity, the ones where relations of power and generosity are intertwined. For instance, Silverflower not only houses but also feeds all the people who work for her: she "felt that by controlling the stomachs of all the family members she controlled their daily lives. She had a sense of supreme satisfaction and authority" (5.063). Is Silverflower truly generous? According to Derrida, "the conditions of the possibility of the gift are precisely the conditions of its impossibility" (Schrift, *Logic* 10), because once something is recognized as a gift to be reciprocated it is no longer a gift, in the modern sense. We cannot decide if she is truly generous in theory, and in practice she does not seem to be. But an obsession with the purity of the gift is fruitless. Silverflower's generosity may be 'adequate' and fruitful. She is rewarded in both economic and symbolic currency, accruing both economic and what Bourdieu might call symbolic capital. Should we be disturbed by Silverflower's empowered generosity? Perhaps not. Silverflower takes satisfaction in doing good by everyone under her authority, and in doing so she becomes a host in Derrida and Dufourmantelle's sense in *De l'hospitalité* of someone with the "power of hospitality" (*Of Hospitality* 5; 149). In the French context, the guest is always a 'foreigner'. Liberal French writings on nationalism by Kristeva and others always address the



issue of the foreigner. How fitting, that, in the Taiwanese context, the host, the one with the power of hospitality, would be an aborigine.

About ten years after Ye Shitao published the Silverflower series, Wu He wrote a novel about, among other things, the development of a similar gift economy based on a regular practice. Through Wu He is even more of a Romantic than Ye Shitao, he was also more honest, more realistic, about the possibilities for national community.

### 3. Why does she do it? Communogenetic ‘sexual healing’ in Wu He’s *Yusheng* 餘生 [The Survivors] (1999)

*In 1998 and 1999, Wu He, went to Qingliu Village, known in Japanese as Kawanakashima 川中島, or ‘island in the stream’, about which Zhong Zhaozheng had published a novel in 1985, the last in a tradition of nationalist writings about the Wushe Incident.<sup>7</sup> Yusheng is the result of Wu He’s stay there. Yusheng is short for jiehou yusheng (劫後餘生), meaning ‘remains of life’ or ‘holocaust survivors’. Qingliu was where the aboriginal survivors of the three Wushe incidents – the original attack at Wushe led by Mona Rudao on October 27, 1930, the militarily overwhelming Japanese reprisal, and an internecine attack probably instigated by the Japanese – were moved. Earlier literary and filmic treatments of the Wushe incident, Zhong Zhaozheng’s included, interpreted it as an act of national resistance against the Japanese, in keeping with a KMT artistic policy that dates to the 1930s. Wu He rejects the nationalist interpretation of the past and focuses as much of his attention on the present. More precisely, he sees history in the contemporary scene. The wounds of history have in some sense not yet healed. In the end of the book, the narrator and a character called Maiden, a former prostitute and a divorcée with two absent children, trek along the river by the reservation up to Mahebo, the site where Mona Rudao and the other ancestors committed suicide by jumping off a cliff. Maiden hopes to commune with her ancestors and learn how to maintain peace of mind in a world of change. When they get to Mahebo they have a Western dinner and watch a movie. They stay in a guest house. They sleep in the same bed. When they get back to Qingliu, the narrator tells Maiden he has to leave. Maiden she doesn’t want him to go but he is unyielding. She sends him off at the bridge.*

<sup>7</sup> See *Wushe yinghua* 霧社櫻花 (1951), *Qingshan bixie* 青山碧血 (1957), *Wushe fengyun* 霧社風雲 (1965), *Maheipo fengyun* 馬黑坡風雲 (1971), and *Chuanzhongdao* 川中島 (1985) in the appendix. See also Berry, *History of Pain* 53-107. Berry’s translation for 川中島 is lovely – Riverisland.

Wu He had come a long way before arriving in Qingliu. In his twenties, in the late 1970s, he became heavily involved in Dangwai activities. Dangwai was a bourgeois fight for democracy concurrent with Nativism in literature. But in the 1980s, when the Dangwai movement radicalized into Taiwanese nationalism, Wu He retired into a decade-long Zen retreat in Danshui. He had published an award-winning story in 1974 but did not really make his mark until he reappeared on the literary scene in the late 1980s. Even when he reappeared he remained in a class of his own. Unlike high modernists like Li Yongping and Wang Wenxing he has no academic affiliation. Unlike Nativist writers like Ye Shitao and Zhong Zhaozheng he is not a schoolmarm. His is a voice from the margins.

His post-retreat writings were bizarre both thematically and formally. Thematically, the main idea was that state-managed modernization was out of control. Formally, the dominant device was the unreliable narrator, emasculated and deranged by modernity. But these stories were still fiction, possessing plot; in the context of twentieth century literature they were not especially avant-garde, formally speaking.

In his aboriginal novels, *Sisuo Abang Kalusi* [Contemplating Abang and Auvini Kadesengan] (1997) and *Yusheng* (2000), Wu He turned over a new leaf. In his stories from the late 1980s and early 1990s, it was easy to identify Wu He with the unstable protagonist-narrator. In the aboriginal novels, by contrast, Wu He seems to be the narrator only. Though distractable, perhaps by design, he is now more or less coherent, as his role is now compassionate observer of individuals and communities in an even worse relation to the state and to modernity than himself. But though thematically these stories resemble his earlier stories, they no longer have much narrative drive. If Wu He did not call them novels, the reader might take them as loosely-written ethnographies and identify Wu He with the narrator. Wu He now avoids narrative in an effort to avoid comprehension of the aborigines in terms of vulgar plot structures he as novelist-researcher might impose upon their lives. As we shall see, he also challenges the aborigines. At least he challenges the aborigine he calls Maiden on the tawdry narrative in terms of which she claims victimhood. Wu He also avoids the structure of a formal ethnography. All he goes onto the reservation with is a few self-imposed research guidelines. If he is writing fiction, as he claims to be, he is writing ethnographic metafiction.

Previous treatments of the novel, by Wang Dewei (*Monster* 37-39) and Michael Berry (*History* 72-81), deal with the Wushe material and the persistence in the present of symptoms of

historical trauma. Wang Dewei takes a Foucauldian tack and emphasizes the role of the state in assimilation, and indeed the legacy of overt and insidious state violence is an important theme in the novel. Berry notes the importance of the novel – “*Remains of Life* garnered more than half a dozen major literary prizes and became arguably the single most important novel to emerge in fin-de-siècle Taiwan” (72) – and discusses it under the heading of “Vestiges of Pain.” Yvonne Chang devotes a few pages to Wu He in *Literary Culture in Taiwan* under the heading of “The Inward-Pointing Reflexivity” (204). Chang describes Wu He’s fiction as decentred, beyond totalizing systems of meaning (205). *Yusheng* ends without “any plausible symbolic resolutions” (205) and serves as an example of “historiographical metafiction” that is ultimately inconsequential, parodic, and “devoid of any intention to validate meaning structures outside of the work” (206). This is nonsense. Chang is reading Wu He as an example of a postmodern writer without reading Wu He, though perhaps her comments apply to Wu He’s *Gui’er yu Ayao* more than to *Yusheng*. Clearly *Yusheng* is reflexive, but as Wang Dewei points out in his introduction the book is not inward-pointing or ‘autotelic’ (“Shiguzhe Wu He” 27). Wu He directs his reflexivity at the aborigine. Part of the problem may be the brevity of Chang’s treatment. In her account, she draws on Linda Hutcheon, who stresses the political significance of postmodern fiction. Had she allowed herself more time to explore *Yusheng* she might have reconsidered her description of the novel.

As Chang implies by discussing the works of the two writers together, Wu He’s *Yusheng* brings to mind Li Yongping’s *Haidongqing*. I think it does so in several ways. Like Li Yongping, Wu He foregoes the usual knee-jerk value judgments; yet like Li Yongping, he does not renounce value judgments or normative appeals. Like Li Yongping, Wu He is both appalled and fascinated by prostitution. But unlike Li Yongping, Wu He makes the aboriginal prostitute the object of his compassion, the focus of his ‘research’ and the centre of his novel.

I will focus on the relationship between the narrator, who like Wu He went to Qingliu village in the late 1990s to do ‘research’, and the character he calls Maiden. Maiden seems to be a real person. Wu He has referred to her in a public discussion of the novel at Columbia University. I argue that the relation between the two has a national allegorical significance. *Yusheng* is, however, not a constructive, nation-building work like Ye Shitao’s Silverflower series. The two works have a diametrically opposed view of the change to people and landscape that is involved in modern nation building. I shall deal with ‘change’ using the term the narrator uses in *Yusheng* – ‘assimilation’. I will focus more on cultural assimilation, especially in relation

to cultural commodification and individual economic behaviour, than Wang Dewei. However, in the context of this dissertation, my goal is not so much to correct earlier scholarship as to explore the national significance of the relation between the narrator and Maiden. In adopting this allegorical approach, I may be neglecting the true worth of *Yusheng* as a ‘thick’ description of the cultural, social, religious and political aspects of the daily life of aboriginal individuals at *fin-de-siècle* in a community near the centre of the island nation of Taiwan. So be it. I offer a frankly limited, perhaps overly philosophical, interpretation of the novel, one that makes sense in the framework of my dissertation.

I divide my exploration of *Yusheng* into three interpenetrating parts. First, I explore assimilation as a function of individualism. I argue that the author’s main concern in the novel is Maiden’s ability to cope as a modern middle-aged aboriginal individual, not whether she has assimilated or to what degree. Second, I explore the dialectic of take and give, of commodity and gift exchange in the novel. My thesis is that the ritualized giving of gifts in the novel is related to community formation in an age of individualism, though the community that forms is hardly as integrated as Silverflower’s utopia. Third, I look at what might be called the assimilation of the landscape, Maiden’s bigger body, in the novel. I argue that while Wu He does not find Taiwanese-ness or an appropriate aboriginality on the island in the stream, he may still be said to embrace a kind of romantic territorial nationalism.

### 3.1. *Yusheng* as an allegory of national assimilation

According to the narrator of the novel, we are living in “the age of assimilation” (*Yusheng* 113). The village pastor tells the narrator that “rapid assimilation” (58) is to blame for the problems the aborigines face. It is also an era of resistance to assimilation or of anti-assimilation. In fact, the narrator pairs assimilation and resistance in his analysis of two periods in recent history. First, there were the aggressive assimilatory practices of the Japanese, who tried to convert the aborigines from a subsistence, expendatory, hunting-and-gathering mode of production and consumption to an accumulative, efficient, and sedentary agricultural one. The Wushe incident, by contrast, is interpreted as an act of “anti-assimilation” (116). Second, after the war the KMT maintained the basic assimilatory policies of the Japanese. The form resistance took after the war was alcoholism and self-destructive violence (115). Interestingly, assimilation was sometimes the accidental effect of another state action. For instance, the state built a highway by the village after the war, not to give the aboriginal villagers access to the outside

world or vice versa but rather to open up access to a forest (59). The road passed by Qingliu Village. The result of course was ease of access for plainsmen to the mountains and montagnards to the plains.

This accidental effect suggests that assimilation was partly or mainly a function of individual economic or life decisions. Assimilation through marriage to retired soldiers was a choice many women made (101-102), though the narrator seems to lament this social phenomenon with a proverbial statement about the attractiveness of power and status to women. The narrator also comments that the 1990s was the decade of the most organized resistance to assimilation and the decade of most rapid assimilation (187). Both resistance and assimilation seem a function of aboriginal agency, perhaps of the agency of two different aboriginal factions. Michael Rudolph's quip about 'elites without people' comes to mind in this regard: the idea is that aboriginal elites stress political independence and cultural preservation, while ordinary aborigines try to get ahead even if that means assimilation.<sup>8</sup> There seems to be inexorability in assimilation, but it should also be seen as partly the expression of individual freedom.

There is also a paradox related to assimilation. While the individual may assimilate substantially, there is a tendency towards superficial exoticization when culture can be capitalized on. There may even be a tendency self-exoticize in a supposedly multicultural age. The reality or negative articulation of multiculturalism in *Yusheng* is described as the 'varietization' (綜藝化) – playing on the 'variety' in 'variety show' (綜藝節目) – of different ethnic groups. In obviously superficial way, Maiden has willingly varietized herself. She has cashed in on the caché of her aboriginality. When Maiden's boss at the high class establishment where she worked as a take-out girl told her that "customers are always interested in other ethnicities" (147), he was using Maiden, objectifying and profiting from her identity, but at the same time she was using herself. She willingly commodified her aboriginality by self-exoticization.

Despite her superficial self-exoticization, Maiden has assimilated in deeper ways, and her assimilation has been partly willing. Maiden and the narrator conduct all their conversations in Mandarin, and there is no indication that Maiden's Mandarin is stilted.<sup>9</sup> Maiden has even

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<sup>8</sup> Rudolph's own career got started with Atayal child prostitution, so one imagines he is someone who cares more about the socioeconomic position of aboriginal people than with cultural preservation. I do not think Wu He would accept Rudolph's interpretation, but it does seem to explain the phenomenon of greatest assimilation at the time of greatest resistance.

<sup>9</sup> Trying to account for the style of *Yusheng*, Berry writes of "Atayal-inflected Mandarin," "linguistic violence," and a "fractured language" that is a "linguistic scar" (73) but does not give any examples. Berry's description of the

become a part of the phenomenon of cultural globalization or commodification. One of the most striking moments in the novel is when the narrator hears Chopin by moonlight. Maiden is playing a tape of classical music on the reservation. Maiden's taste turns out to be pretentious – she is nostalgic about the 'high-class' establishment where she used to work. But in 'Chopin on the reservation' the banality of assimilation on a global scale, as well as the individual decisions that drive it, are both implicit.

At the same time as Maiden reaches out internationally in a cultural sense, she also reaches back into her own tradition, in order to find a rock of stability in the midst of the stream of modernity. Perhaps Maiden belies Rudolph's statement about elites without people, because she is not a member of any aboriginal elite and yet she has an interest in maintaining Atayal culture; perhaps she too is trying in her own way to resist assimilation and maintain an ethnic foundation for self.<sup>10</sup> But Maiden's own conception of the old ways is clearly a construct, one she has constructed in a state of assimilation. "Our bodies have departed too far from nature," she says. The narrator says she could not express it well in Mandarin, but then he cannot know whether she can express herself any more clearly in her 'own language'. On the very first page of the novel, she tells the narrator, "I left everything behind, returned home, and now I'm taking time to recuperate and play with the shrimp and fish..." (43). Just like Zhuangzi by the River Hao. Maiden seems to imply that the shrimp and fish are playing, or at least that harmony with nature is an ideal from which we moderns have departed. The loss of harmony of body with nature is also reflected in sexuality. Maiden seems to imagine that, before the arrival of the Yellow Man, sex used to be a total consummation, especially after the headhunt. Sex used to be a ten out of ten, in contrast to sex in the modern age, which is at best a six or a seven. Maiden's record, with the aid of narcotics and an aboriginal 'sex machine' and fellow paid companion named Black V, is an eight. Maiden is derisive of civilized plainmen for thinking that for a father to 'fuck' (*kao*) his daughter is a big deal (119). Certainly Shih Chiung-yu and William Faulkner thought it was a big deal. For that matter, Levi-Strauss thought it was a big deal. Maiden tells the narrator a myth about how 'primitive' Atayal mother went all out to seduce her own son while her hunter husband was away, and that by the time he returned the woman was pregnant with the child of her son. Later she did the same thing with her grandson, and gave

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language of this novel is not the whole story, and seems to proceed out of the theme of his book, out of his writing not out of his reading. Maiden's Mandarin does not seem noticeably inflected or scarred to me.

<sup>10</sup> Today the people of Qingliu would describe themselves as Seediq, but in his novel Wu He uses both Atayal and Seediq, as in the passage from which I have taken this quotation.

birth to her own great-grandson. She was “the happiest Atayal, the happiest primitive, the happiest woman” (120). It is a good myth, about the consummation of a forbidden wish or the contradiction of a taboo. Of course, wishes like this are forbidden for good reason.

Maiden is probably not unaware, however, that she is a “fallen woman,” as Wang Dewei puts it (*Monster* 38), from a traditional Atayal perspective as well as from a modern bourgeois one. Elsewhere in the novel she discusses “chastity” (性貞節) and how it was lost after the war, “engulfed” under the rush of money and power. Traditionally, Maiden relates, the Atayal were monogamous. One woman watched over one man, and vice versa. Maiden might add that divorce and pre-marital sex were frowned upon traditionally. Even if traditional Atayal life was ‘natural’, it is hard not to see it as in some sense repressive, as any tradition must be: the incest taboo may not be universal, but every society has rules of behaviour and limits to ‘individual’ freedom (see Goody, “The Labyrinth of Kinship” on Godelier’s *Métamorphoses de la parenté*). Maiden does not use the word Gaga, or Atayal tribal law, but Gaga is what she, in her present lifestyle of drinking and promiscuity, as a divorcée with no contact with her two children, is not respecting. At the end of the novel, Maiden goes on the journey to rejoin the spirits of her people and ask them how to find peace in life. But does she not know what they would say – respect Gaga? Maiden believes that the spirits of her ancestors can teach her how to achieve peace within life (203), but the place she seeks is impossible to find, except in death, “[f]or there is no such thing as perpetuall Tranquility of mind, while we live here; because Life it selfe is but Motion, and can never be without Desire, nor without Feare, no more than without Sense” (Hobbes, *Leviathan*). Can the ancestors help her adapt to the present, to the modern world?

In fact, Maiden already has a sense of what her problem is. She has even tried to change. She went off booze for a couple of days but was not able to quit (202). While on the journey, Maiden thinks about calling it off. She tells Wu He she will go if he wants to, admitting that she does not know where her “resolve” (絕心) has gone (203). Maiden makes her own diagnosis of her problem. At the beginning of the novel, Maiden has retreated from the city. She is a failure. Maiden is “not doing anything” (無所事事) and has nobody to care for her (48), as the narrator notes. She claims to have come back to the village “to live the life she wanted, neither depending on nor controlled by other people” (56). Maiden is as committed to individualism and independence as the narrator. Capitalist modernity, which breaks up the old social structures, makes such individualism and independence possible. In a modern liberal order, though, there is

more onus on the individual to self-regulate and to develop his or her own potential rather than taking ‘the easy road’.

The strongest concern in the novel, in my opinion, is not assimilation or trauma but how Maiden copes or fails to cope in her present life situation. Resistance to the mind-numbing homogeneity of contemporary consumer culture is of course to be lauded, but the truth is that in much of what might facilely seem worthy of resistance just because it is new and different from the ‘tradition’ that is constructed in retrospect, such as individualism, cosmopolitanism, Christianity, and even capitalism, there is some good. I think Wu He would agree with the idea that if Maiden decides to live like a Chinese and listen to Chopin, it is her own business. Of course, it would be just as facile to ignore the fact that these trends create their own problems, particularly issues of self-direction, social atomization and identity instability. In a traditional society, one does not need self-direction as much as one does in a modern one, and maiden lacks self-direction. In this respect, Maiden and the narrator are two of a kind in this respect. The narrator tells Maiden that he excels at ‘disorderly dancing’ (亂舞), a specialty (專長) she turns out to share, a specialty which does not, one suspects, demand a great deal of training or self-discipline. It is a charming moment. However, there is a method in the narrator’s madness – which is goal-oriented, directed towards ‘research’ – as there does not seem to be in hers. As for social atomization, the moral of the story might be that no woman is an island, even if she, like Maiden, lives on one. I propose in this regard to try to look at Maiden as an analogue of Silverflower, as generous individual in relation to a community that is constituted by generosity. One of the most important ways for Maiden to cope will be, the novel suggests, to build up a ballast against the buffeting of modernity in her interpersonal relations. When the narrator arrives in Kawanakashima, there was nobody to take care of Maiden. That still seems to be the case at the end of the novel. However, perhaps part of Maiden’s lesson, besides resolution with respect to personal decisions, is the necessity of community participation. I will return to the issue of assimilation and the sense in which *Yusheng* can be described as a national allegory, but in the following section I discuss maiden’s relations in connection with community.

### 3.2. The harlot’s gift: The bases of Maiden’s relations

In the previous section, I was partly arguing that while we cannot expect modern individuals, aboriginal or otherwise, to match a mythic Überfrau like Silverflower, it is patronizing and dangerous to imagine that they are mere functions of ‘the system’. In this section



I will go on to suggest that it is equally simplistic to imagine that ‘individuals’ in a liberal order are freed from the give and take of human relations, as they sometimes seem to be ‘in theory’. In this regard, I am also in this section countering Yang Zhao’s attack on Wu He for writing a “literature of isolation” (孤絕文學) – Ye Shitao had used the phrase to describe Wu He without any disapprobation, in his introduction to Wu He’s collection *Shigu* 拾骨 [Bone Collection] in the 1995 edition published by Chunhui – which Yang Zhao describes as “the ultimate liberal stance” and a hallmark of modernist writing, in contrast to the collectivist or communitarian stance of the folksy Nativist writing Yang Zhao presumably esteems (Yang Zhao 260). The narrator leaves Qingliu at the end of *Yusheng* because his individualist love of space is greater than his need for place (251), but he remains a keen and sensitive observer of the state of the community of Qingliu as well as, in some sense, a part of this community.

A special concern in the present section is personal narrative, on the stories that, according to Paul Ricoeur we tell about ourselves in order to emplot our identity. A personal narrative is not simply the story of the individual.<sup>11</sup> Other people necessarily have roles to play in the story the individual tells about himself or herself. Narrative is the form in which we represent the cause and effect of the give and take of our interpersonal relations with other people. The stories we tell about our lives may be informed by narrative ‘tropes’. Those informing tropes may be facile and are open to criticism.

To begin with, we may say that Maiden’s relations with others are based on either instrumentality or generosity. Some of Maiden’s relations are based on the profit motive, which is related to her modern fate. Maiden’s ‘fate’, like that of many aboriginal women in settler societies around the world, was prostitution. Wu He even compares the fate of the Takasago zoku (高砂族) volunteer soldiers who fought for the emperor in the Second World War to the child prostitutes in the postwar period:

I don’t know how many imperial volunteers died in the jungles of the south seas, and then, going forward in history to the 1970s and 1980s, why of the prostitutes who came out from the brothels in Baodou Neighbourhood [near Longshan Temple in Wanhua, Taipei City] and lined up every evening, the prettiest were Atayal girls, or what kind of assimilatory education this was, what kind of ‘inherent dignity’ this proud group of people had; and I wonder if I ever seen Mona Rudao in the eyes of an Atayal girl in Baodou. (116)

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<sup>11</sup> The lost-in-the-barrens, man-against-environment kind of story of course offers distinctive narrative possibilities, but this is not the kind of story I am dealing with in this dissertation.

In the 1980s, as I have discussed in Chapter 6, discussions of Atayal child prostitution were more or less hysterical, which is as it should be. But aboriginal prostitution in general, if the prostitutes are adults who enter the profession freely, is a different issue. The narrator's position on the issue initially seems more neutral. He points out that in a free market, freedom should mean the freedom to sell sex (136), and though he also caustically describes prostitution as "renting out human flesh by the hour" (136), in general he sounds like a person who knows what he is talking about when he talks about prostitution. At any rate, Maiden chose her fate freely, as she says herself in telling her life story to the narrator. She was once married, and after the divorce she went straight to "a high-class establishment" (147). She was a bit older than most of the girls working there, but she was buxom and aboriginal. There was a market for that. There were rules for her to follow. Her weight had to stay below fifty kilos, and she could not shave her armpits. She accepted these terms. As a high class take-out girl, Maiden was exploited from a Marxist perspective, but arguably she was letting herself be exploited, and the terms of her employment were far from slavery. She agreed to work at the establishment, and even partly founds her identity on her impression that it was 'high-class' because it was a place where Chopin was played. She continued to work at the establishment, until one day a distinguished older aboriginal man took her out to a hotel suite, had her take off her clothes, examined her pudendum, and then reminded her of who she was:

The ancestors shed so much blood at Wushe; one would never have imagined that their children and grandchildren would be selling it on a hotel bed.... (148)

Maiden left the profession immediately.

On an initial reading, I assumed it was a good thing for Maiden to quit prostitution, but in retrospect it seems to me that she makes the decision for the wrong reason, because she has been shamed by an elder of her own people. Naturally, in any society young people do need to be reminded sometimes when they are out of line. But Maiden is an autonomous agent, and a liberal would emphasize that a meaningful resolution should come from within. It is possible that she is simply spinning a good tale. Perhaps she got too old and was expelled from paradise. At any rate, rather than turning over a new leaf, Maiden eventually goes back to prostitution, on a rather lower order of respectability, for lack of any better idea or of any other marketable skill. Near the beginning of *Yusheng*, Maiden leaves for the city to find what she describes euphemistically as a "temp job" (56). She returns twenty pages later covered in bruises (76) and breathlessly tells the narrator her story. A certain Gui Gong (龜公) or Turtle Lord ('turtle head' (龜頭) being slang for

penis) had entrapped her at a nightclub, where she was no doubt innocently minding her own business. Turtle Lord asked her to go with him to a “safe place” (安全的所在) (77). There she was raped with the assistance of the other prostitutes, four hideous old whores, in his stable. A couple of minutes later customers started coming in one after another for the aboriginal “meat” that has “a different consistency.” Maiden is lucky to have made it out alive!

Thereupon Wu He remarks, “Aiya! What an awful story about a nice girl falling into a pit of fire” (78). It is one of the most striking moments in the novel. It is a politically incorrect response to say the least. But Maiden says, “Yes, how did I get written into the plot of such a vulgar novel?” Her reply is brilliant and extremely funny. The exchange is interesting. The narrator has heard the story before, and so has Maiden. The narrator implies that Maiden is embellishing or misrepresenting the passivity of the part she played. She was claiming victimhood, denying her own agency. Maiden seems to agree.

But that is not the end of the story. Turtle Lord soon tracks Maiden down (87), clamouring that she stole from him when she left. Maiden appears on the scene as well. Drunk, she starts hurling invectives at Turtle Lord. A native policeman sends Turtle Lord, who ends up seeming surprisingly harmless, on his way, and reproaches Maiden, telling her she has shamed the village of Qingliu (89). This reproach brings us to Maiden’s ‘gift’ to the men in her community.

Maiden’s relations with the men of Kawanakashima are founded on a principle of generosity. Turtle Lord’s appearance on the reservation becomes humorously known as the “Little Sister Incident,” a contemporary recurrence of the Wushe Incident. In English we often speak of our debt to society, which is a gift-debt rather than a commodity-debt. Relatedly, we also speak of giving something back. The latter formulation seems closest to the one Maiden uses herself – *huikui* (回饋). In fact, Maiden gives herself back. She agrees to ‘marry’ and make love to one of the local men after church every Sunday.<sup>12</sup> Though the practice is obviously *ad hoc*, not based in tradition, it is also ritualized, described as “the secret ceremony of intercourse” or “the ceremony of giving something back.” The relation between Maiden and man resembles the relation between courtesan and customer in Shen Congwen’s short story “Baizi” 柏子, in

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<sup>12</sup> Unexpectedly perhaps, Wu He is the only writer of all I have discussed in this entire dissertation to sincerely respect the communogenetic function of the Christian religion of the Formosan aborigines. There is a glowing Christian presence in many works of state propaganda, while other works have disparaged Christianity as an imperialist ideology. In the present chapter we have seen Silverflower’s (and Ye Shitao’s) rather infantile rejection of the Christian god. Wu He is more mature, his understanding more profound.

which virtuous prostitutes are ‘paid’ in the form of gifts, or not paid at all. Maiden tells the narrator, “I give them the consolation of sex, and herein is neither transaction nor shame: the things they bring me are gifts, given in order to please me” (168). It is not clear why Maiden agreed to this kind of recompense. Perhaps it is the only way she can be useful. One might imagine that she was coerced or shamed into it; but in accounting for herself Maiden describes herself as willing: though unsure if her way of being generous is “right and appropriate,” she has learned to give something back (89).

Hilariously, the narrator is drawn into the Little Sister Incident. Maiden announces an end the ritual on Christmas, in order to make a fresh start in the New Year. She feels she has given back enough (168). The local men try to get the narrator to convince Maiden not to cut them off, explaining that they cannot go whoring in the city because they would only meet their own relatives (169). All of this is partly to highlight the “sex problem” of aboriginal men, who are less competitive sexually or socially than Chinese men, even Chinese men who might seem like unmarriageable losers. The narrator wants the men of Kawanakashima to set her free, but he agrees to talk with her on their behalf. In the end, his mediation is ineffectual. As a last resort, the local men use a deontic discourse, the language of obligation, in order to try to talk Maiden into continuing, but, very much her own woman, she retorts, “...what ‘duty’ do I have? I did it out of pity...” (183). At the ceremony marking the ending of Maiden’s recompense (189), the men return to the vocabulary of gratitude and the logic of giving, according to which the recipient has no right to demand a gift or imply that gift giving is a matter of duty. Since Maiden has refused to show up at the ceremony, they use a loudspeaker so that she will hear them as they express their thanks. They ‘tell it’. One of them says Maiden gave him the confidence to start a business, another the determination to find a marriage prospect (191). They leave a pile of counter-gifts for her in the courtyard (192). Maiden never counters these counter-gifts, but gifts tend to beget gifts and in the process build and maintain social relations. This is the nature of a gift economy. The image of the pile of gifts may well remain with the reader for the rest of the novel and beyond, as a symbol of communal possibility.

The friendship between Maiden and the narrator is also based on generosity. This friendship actually comes to seem intensely meaningful to the narrator, perhaps as the first friendship he has ever known. “At a very young age,” he says, “I realized that inside me there was a kind of indifference or even coldness” (161). This coldness seems to be realized in Wu He’s writing in general as anti-sentimentality. Emotional coldness does not of course inhibit lust.

The narrator's sexual attraction to Maiden is a recurrent theme in the second half of the novel. For instance, he sees her wearing a transparent silk dress, with a few black tulips growing on her "important parts" (119). He is intensely aware of her body. But then, beyond sexual desire, the narrator is surprised by love. On the trek to Mahebo, Maiden 'reaches out' to him:

I was not ashamed that the smile in her eyes warmed me; in my compromising middle age I had never needed to compromise for the sake of a helping hand or this kind of human warmth, so very self-contained and self-sufficient had I been in my loneliness; but now these woman's hands were so very insistent and real....

Though the narrator comes for research and leaves for freedom, he almost stays for love. The narrator falls in love with Maiden (251) but does he sleep with her, one more aboriginal woman and one more Chinese man – the same old story? Having reached Mahebo, the narrator and Maiden spend the night at a guesthouse. Maiden takes a shower, and when she gets into bed with narrator she is naked. She asks if she can sleep a bit closer (245). He does not reply and instead loses himself in thoughts of

Maiden's existence among the mountains and rivers, and then of a kind of simple, natural life...I don't know when I fell asleep, and maybe when I was melting into Maiden's eyes, I felt the streamwater flow over my body, softly and incessantly. (245)

This is euphemistic, but inconclusive. Just before sleep he sees in her eyes "the sadness of life, that kind of sadness that...no, not just sadness, but rather a long accumulated sense of life's desolation, of an endless insecurity about the future, and despair; a sense of life that was inconsolable, not even temporarily, by any act" (245), certainly not by a night of lovemaking.

And so, after completing their ritual return to Mahebo, the narrator and Maiden return to Qingliu. He tells her he is leaving. She holds his legs and begs him not to go (247). She sends him off from the bridge. "Think of me when you smile," she says (248). These are clichés of romance fiction, but somehow they work here. They leave the reader profoundly sad, but also moved. What are we to make of the narrator's experience in Qingliu and of his departure at the end?

*Yusheng* can be profitably read as a national allegory, in which Wu He's narrator represents the Han Chinese Taiwanese and Maiden represents the aborigines. I have argued that there are two types of settler nationalism, assimilationist and indigenizing. According to Chinese assimilationist settler nationalism, the maiden should assimilate towards a fixed point of Chineseness. *Yusheng* is clearly not a work of assimilationist settler nationalism, because in the middle of his stay the narrator starts "feeling the happiness of assimilation" (126) from Chinese

to Atayal.<sup>13</sup> He imagines what it would be like to live on the reservation permanently, to “immigrate” (170), marry an Atayal wife and have Atayal children. From the assimilationist point of view he is assimilating in the wrong direction. On the other hand, he might be an indigenizing settler nationalist. As the narrator identifies himself as a Plains Siraya-Great Han Chinese (133), the reader might imagine that he is appealing to appeal to the nationalist discourse according to which the Taiwanese people in being Métis are more local and native than the Mainlanders. Or in becoming Atayal: tellingly, perhaps, the narrator looks upon his hypothetical children as Atayal and not as, say, Plains Siraya Great Han Chinese-Atayal children. Wang Dewei has noted that the aborigines are “tokens to be invoked whenever the slogan of Nativism is invoked” (Wang Dewei, “Shiguzhe” 32). But this is just what the narrator refuses to do. The meaning of the narrator’s assimilation, as he sees it, has nothing to do with a process of natiogenesis or ethnogenesis, as in the *Silverflower* series. If Atayal assimilation was conceivable for him, it would have been individual and difficult – he would have had to learn the language, and his failure to do so is a source of regret to him at the end of the novel – not a simple identification for the purpose of Taiwanese nation building. The narrator refuses to let Atayal identity be politicized for the sake of the Taiwanese nationalist cause.

If the narrator refuses both assimilationist and indigenizing settler national discourse, what kind of a settler is he? He is a settler, it seems to me, who backs off from the aborigines in order to give them some space. There are two issues in particular that have a national significance, the narrator’s tendency to correct Maiden and whether he sleeps with Maiden in Mahebo. The narrator corrects Maiden at least twice, first when she tells the men of her community that she slept with them out of pity not, as the narrator would have it, out of “compassion” (同情) (183), and second when she uses inappropriate language – the words “orgasmic” (爽) and “fart” (屁) – in a public place, a sundry goods store (205). Maybe Maiden should be corrected, but the narrator is all too aware of what it means for a Great Han man to correct an Atayal woman in a context of patriarchy and Chinese dominance. He is also aware of

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<sup>13</sup> Historians have studied a number of Chinese men who married aboriginal princesses and ended up becoming chiefs. Zhang Dajing brought medicine and irrigation to the Anli aborigines around modern Taizhong City and ended up running the tribe (Chen Chiukun 153). Antonio Tavares has shown that while many Saisiat aboriginal chiefs profited from the camphor trade until 1895, many of the chiefs were in fact Hakka (“The Japanese Colonial State”). Did these Chinese chiefs ‘go native’? Presumably some of them did to some extent. More research needs to be done, but it seems as if the cultural aspect of going native was not of as much concern as tax evasion and trouble-making. See in this regard Pat Giersch’s “Social Change on Southwest China’s Early Modern Frontier, 1700-1880” for an example of a Chinese man who married a tribal girl in eastern Burma and ended up participating in rebellions against Chinese forces in Yunnan.

what it means for a Great Han man to make casual love to an Atayal woman, to treat her as a disposable object of desire. As a national allegory, *Yusheng* is not a comedy or a tragedy. It refuses to end in a conventional way. The narrator has not, I do not think, left her with the potentially disturbing memory of a night of sweet passion, which she might mistake as a source of meaning in her life. The narrator and Wu He leave Maiden poised on the edge of a community that she has begun to help create, and on the edge of the nation to which she has the possibility of contributing. While in Qingliu, the narrator corrected Maiden; now that he is gone she will have to correct herself. By leaving, Wu He allegorically leaves the relationship between the aborigines and the Chinese up in the air. It might have been tempting to end this ‘novel’ happily, with the narrator married to Maiden, each domesticating the other, the latest in a long series of unions between fictional aboriginal maidens and Chinese settler men. But such an ending would have been, one senses, intolerably vulgar, a facile and unconvincing resolution of everyone’s problems.

Now I turn to the third and final part of this criticism of *Yusheng* in which the association of Maiden and the territory of Taiwan yields a whole other plane of allegorical meaning out of Maiden’s relations.

### 3.3. Landscape occupation and transformation

In the Silverflower series, it seemed, everything was flowers and rural bliss. There is never any sense of the ugly. Even the cow shit Silverflower shovels in the first scene of the first story is conventionally beautiful in this kind of rural writing. The representation of the landscape is much more interesting in Wu He’s work. In the climax of his novella “Beishang” (悲傷), for instance, a psychotic man, imagining that his body has turned into a penis, commits suicide by burying himself in the earth, which is not only female but also maternal; he dies having returned to the ‘fold’ of Mother Earth. Without being quite so disturbing, *Yusheng* continues this association between the virginal or maternal body of a woman and the earth itself.

Broadly speaking, the metaphor of Maiden as Taiwan pervades the novel. Maiden is Nature Maiden, the “Maiden of mountains and rivers.” In the symbolism of the story, what happens to people – assimilation and aging – happens to the landscape. Middle aged maiden is post-development Taiwan, mature and scarred but still attractive. The Little Sister Episode, in which Maiden gives herself to the men of Kawanakashima, has a special significance in this regard. This significance is related to the return of land. The allegorical, territorial meaning of

the episode is that Maiden, the symbolic body of Taiwan, is returned to the aborigines. The narrator's abstinence has a related meaning. No return of land has occurred. The aborigines still have whatever reservation land they had in 1950 minus whatever has been appropriated in the mean time. No breakthrough has been made in the area of self-governance. The struggle is ongoing. This issue of the failure to return land or in some other way address the issue of historical injustice will concern us in the following chapter of this dissertation.

The relation between Maiden and the narrator also seems significant in a territorial way. The narrator's desire for Maiden, on this allegorical plane of the novel, is expressed in terms of nature imagery. Wu He keeps fantasizing about the "secret grove" (90) of trees and mysterious valley (118) at the centre of the island. Maiden's armpit hair is also a secret or mysterious grove (162-163), as is by implication her pudendum. The mountains are like large breasts (90), and Maiden's "breasts outcompete the peaks" of the mountains in the distance (165). The whole journey to Mahebo is described in terms of sexual consummation. They have been walking all day along the river 'bed'. Returning to the source, to the cliff off of which her ancestors jumped to their deaths into the river, is for the narrator returning to the womb. The streamwater that flows over the narrator as he gazes into the limpid but deep pools of Maiden's eyes is a natural image with an obvious sexual association.

In another splendidly abrupt moment in the novel, the narrator disturbs this discourse, claiming that the old cliché "the humane take pleasure in mountains is hot air, just Han chauvinists lusting for the mountains in their imaginations" (仁者樂山個屁是大漢人對山的意淫) (135). In this case the pleasure the Great Han man takes in the mountains goes un consummated, and the narrator's refusal to act on lust may relate to the neoromantic commitment to antidevelopmentalism he seems to espouse. For him there is an aesthetic contrast between "the natural beauty of mountains and rivers and the artificial wasteland" (122). The banks of the stream he and Maiden walk along towards Mahebo have been concretized (232). However, all is not lost: "the mountains and rivers are so great that they cannot be taken in by the word 'sublime' " (237). There are still many peach blossom springs left on the island, as the narrator puts it, waiting to be explored. The peach blossom spring was a rural paradise, but by it the narrator seems to mean untouched, virgin land. There is hope even for land that has been developed, or exploited. In one passage, late in the novel, the narrator imagines the environment doing what people do as a matter of course: resist when abused. The very environment resists. The narrator offers an apocalyptic but all too real vision of rockslides and mudslides (232), one



of the legacies of the overdevelopment of Taiwan's slopeland. The most adamant antidevelopmentalist in the novel is Maiden's little brother Wanderer. The narrator had assumed that Maiden was, like him, of the unpropertied class (無產階級), but it turns out that Maiden and Wanderer own six *fen* of land. However, they have let the land go fallow (177). They have been offered three hundred thousand NTD per *fen*, but Maiden's little brother Wanderer retorted that he would not part with the land for three million. His position may be paradoxical: he suggests that the land is priceless while insisting it is *his* private property.

There is a related contradiction, in the fact that developing the environment is something that aboriginal people do as well or dream of doing. The narrator does not seem disapproving of their productive schemes. After all, Maiden's productive schemes may be part of her future livelihood. She has considered turning her land into such as turning it into a chicken farm or a sightseeing orchard, or building a weir for fishing and shrimping along it (202). Wanderer opposes these schemes, especially the idea for the sightseeing orchard, but significantly the narrator does not. He knows that Maiden has got to have a way to survive. Perhaps there is a distinction here between development and abuse, between a peach blossom spring and environmental exploitation. To continue the metaphor of Taiwan as Maiden, it may in some sense be unnatural to remain a virgin in maturity, even if one remains a Maiden in name.

At any rate, *Yusheng* can be described as a territorial national allegory. The narrator keeps returning to the phrase *daoguo* 島國, island nation or country, the object of his desire and love. It may be objected that the village in or reservation on which he spends two years is only a single village, not the whole island, and that what goes on in the village is a local matter; but the village has such a pivotal location "in the deep mountains close to the centre of the island country" (173) that it is fair to assume that what is going on here is of national significance in some sense, especially when the Japanese name of the village is Kawanakashima 川中島, meaning 'island in the stream'. This 'island', which is really a pseudo-island, suggests the island of Taiwan. There are other terms Wu He could have used besides *daoguo* (島國), both less and more politically neutral. More neutrally, he might have called it the 'island of Taiwan' (台灣島). By using the graph *guo* (國) he is referring to a political entity, to a territory with a state. Less neutrally, he might have used the blue or green republican terms, the Republic of China or the Republic of Taiwan. In his usage, Wu He refuses to take sides, or to advocate a certain cultural content for the nation. Since the publication of *Nation and Narration* in 1990, specifically of

Homi Bhabha's essay "DissemiNation: Time, narrative and the margins of the modern nation," the importance of the marginal in the definition of national identity has been generally insisted upon. The marginal has become central. Wu He goes to a marginal village, an aboriginal reservation at the centre of the *daoguo* that is itself a kind of *daoguo*. Does Wu He find Taiwan there? Does he even find the 'flower of the Atayal', to modify the meaning of a phrase of Ye Shitao's? He does not. What he finds are signs of aboriginal, Taiwanese, Chinese and Western cultures all mixed together, and all potentially reinterpreted in the process; and he finds traces of human action upon a landscape whose generative and regenerative power remains. Though the content, of the *daoguo* as of Maiden, may be hybrid, the form is, as a *guo*, sovereign. In the end, Wu He's nationalism, if it can be called 'nationalism', is a barely sublimated desire for the territory of Taiwan.

#### 4. Conclusion to Chapter 7

The framework in which the two authors I have studied in this chapter are working is some sense liberal. Neither Silverflower nor Maiden expects any help from the state. To get what they want, they will have to practice self-reliance. They would not have it any other way. Silverflower seems to be a textbook case in 'economic learning' by aborigines (see Simon, "Learning and Narratives of Identity"), and in the course of the series wins back a symbolically sizable chunk of the land out of which her ancestors were cheated. But even Maiden has various productive schemes for her six *fen* of land, schemes that might succeed if she would only apply and better herself. What both heroines definitely do is reach out beyond themselves and make contributions to their respective communities. Through an idea of gift giving, both Ye Shitao and Wu He seem to be exploring a possible ideological foundation beyond or complementary to liberalism of a national community of individuals. The nationalisms of the two authors are clearly very different. Ye Shitao's Taiwanese nationalism is much more confidently ethnic than Wu He's. Writing in the late 1990s about the late 1990s, Wu He has none of Ye Shitao's national cultural complacency, as the motif of 'Chopin on the reservation' shows. Another telling moment is when the narrator laughs at the name of a brand of instant noodles – 'true local' (真本土). No longer a way of life, the local has become a political slogan or a way to sell a commodity. But their nationalisms do have commonalities. For instance, both associate the aboriginal maiden's body with the national territory. Both embrace the national territory as Nativists.

Their respective writings also share the metaphor of the family, which, as I discussed in Chapter 1, is a common motif in nationalist writings around the world. Not surprisingly, however, they use the family metaphor in very different ways. In *Xilaya zu de moyi*, the symbolically national family at the end was hierarchical, though it was a pseudo-Sirayan feminist reversal of the traditional Chinese order. Closest to Silverflower in status are her blood sisters, but economically and politically Silverflower has the upper hand. In *Yusheng* the family metaphor is not exactly egalitarian, but not exactly inegalitarian, either. What is emphasized is not power but ‘roles’ that people need to ‘play’ in each other’s lives, the same theme I noted in several of Shih Chiung-yu’s stories. The family ties in question are Maiden’s. They are peripheral to the novel, because of the degree to which Maiden’s personal identity is related to her sexuality. For instance, when she and the narrator visit a sundry goods store on their pilgrimage, she brings the narrator a magazine to look at, a skin rag, in order to show him what she used to look like: a centerfold. Her way of relating to others is also sexual, both in her economic behaviour and her way of giving back to the community. This part of her life, one senses, is slowing coming to an end. Maiden is older now. She might start to explore or construct other dimensions of her identity by playing some kind of role in her children’s lives. She is a negligent mother, to say the least. She might also take some responsibility for her little brother Wanderer, as her poor dead mother had wished. Wanderer receives one of the most fascinating of many fascinating character sketches in *Yusheng*.

[Maiden] said the only schooling her brother had received was through the study classes offered by the reservation church, where he’d helped out for awhile, this brother being the only young person in the village who doesn’t drink or smoke, instead going around incessantly in the mountain forest on a motorcycle, “My little brother is the most kindhearted person on the reservation,” Maiden said emphatically, “not like Bakan, the first one on the reserve with a higher education but also the one who ‘fools around the most with women and wine’.” (47-48; based on Michael Berry’s incomplete translation)

‘Wanderer’ is more a symbol of something than a realistic representation of a person. He rides for personal liberty, though unlike a hunter or a capitalist, Wanderer wanders for no purpose, following the Way of his inclinations, a kind of techno sage of the primeval Formosan forest. He stands for kindheartedness, though in his total freedom his kindheartedness is totally undirected. He is almost unsocialized. One wonders about the possibilities for Wanderer as a member of the community and for the Maiden-Wanderer sibling relation. But most importantly, the family metaphor in the novel is not national, whatever it may mean in the context of Qingliu. As I

argued, there is inevitably a national significance to the friendship between Maiden and the narrator. Friendship is the best word for it, and perhaps, containing implications of equality and helpfulness, friendship is a safer metaphor than family for the relations between aborigines and settlers in a modern settler society. Friendly relations are equal, but all friends know that no two people ever meet in a relation of perfect equality. Sometimes everybody needs a helping hand.

## Chapter 8: Haunted island: The sense of the uncanny in settler society Taiwan

In this chapter I review the works discussed in chapters 5 through 7 and introduce two new works by looking at motifs of haunting and prophecy. Haunting and prophecy relate to two temporal orientations from the perspective of the present, an orientation towards the past and an orientation towards the future. Crudely, the orientation towards the past is traditional, while the orientation towards the future is modern or progressive. Both of these orientations are present in nationalism, which is, as Tom Nairn argued, Janus-faced. The present chapter offers an analysis of national temporality. The motifs of haunting and prophesy are interpreted as nationally significant. I will argue that a sense of the national uncanny prevents nationals from experiencing the nation as *heimlich*, as a domestic place. Instead they experience the national home as ‘unhomely’, as *unheimlich*, a word which, as Freud noted (17.221), can be translated into English as ‘haunted’, as in ‘a haunted house’. A sense of the uncanny is a sense of the failure of domestication. In a settler society it may well relate to a sense of the lingering injustice of the fate of the aborigine.

There are three sections in this chapter. In the first section I discuss the connection Jacques Derrida makes between the motif of haunting and the theme of justice as well as the appropriation of Derrida’s ‘hauntology’ for the study of haunting in the cultural production of settler societies. Then I trace instances of haunting and prophecy in the works I discussed in chapters 5 through 7. In the third and final section I look at two works by the well-known feminist writer Li Ang. The first work, *Miyuan* [Beguiling Garden], has already been interpreted as a national allegory, and I wish to look at its aboriginal subtext, in the same way that I looked at the aboriginal subtext of Wang Zhenhe’s *Meigui, meigui, wo ai ni* in Chapter 6. That the novel ends with a gift of land creates a resonance between this chapter and Chapter 7; but here the gift appears in a new framework of haunting, in which what haunts is a sense of the injustice of land acquisition. The motif of haunting is subsidiary in *Miyuan*, so I delay analysis of it until dealing with a more explicitly haunted work, “Dingfanpo de gui” [Ghosts of Dingfanpo], which tells the story of an aboriginal woman who becomes an aboriginal ghost and haunts Taiwan for two hundred years. She makes us more conscious in retrospect of the motif of haunting in *Miyuan*, which I link to unresolved issues relating to the domestication of the Formosan aborigines.

### 1. Summoning the ghosts of Marx and Freud in settler society

In the Exordium to *Spectres de Marx* [Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, and the New International], Derrida wrote,

If I am getting ready to speak at length about ghosts, inheritance, and generations, generations of ghosts, which is to say about certain *others* who are not present, nor presently living, either to us, in us, or outside us, it is in the name of *justice*.  
(xix)

In *Spectres*, Derrida proposes a field of study, hauntology, a portmanteau of ‘haunting’ and ‘ontology’. The word is related to Derrida’s longstanding concern with the metaphysics of presence, with which the Western philosophical tradition, according to Heidegger in *Sein und Zeit*, had or has been obsessed. This obsession is supposedly related to the suppression of the ‘other’ as non-being in relation to being, that which does not exist in relation to that which exists. The ghost’s nature is between non-being and being. It does not exist except as a figment of the imagination. But as a figment it has real-life effects, like a self-fulfilling prophecy. The ghost is thus a liminal category useful for the discussion of the co-dependence of being and non-being and in general the relationality of seemingly separate things. If we can regard our present reality as phantasmal in this way, it loses its opacity; we then see, as if through a glass darkly, the absent others whose labours and pains were implicit but hidden in it.<sup>1</sup> Marx and Engles had claimed that money, liquid capital, was spectral, that in one person’s buying power, which he ‘owns’, are the contributions of many others. As Derrida points out, the first noun of the Manifesto is ‘spectre’ – the spectre of capital. In Marx’s writings, money is spectral, ghostly. Derrida claimed that in a neoliberal age at ‘the end of history’ – the Hegelian idiom in which Fukuyama misrepresented his prophecy as a present reality – we are still haunted by Marx, by the sense of Marx’s enduring relevance. The mention of the spectre, however, also brings to mind Freud. One thinks immediately of Freud’s writings on the uncanny as the aesthetic of ghost

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<sup>1</sup> This argument, it seems to me, is inspired by a Marxian reading of the Hegelian parable of the master and the slave or lordship and service. In this regard, Frederic Jameson has written that

...the slave is called upon to labour for the master and to furnish him with all the material benefits befitting his supremacy. But this means that, in the end, only the slave knows what reality and the resistance of matter really are; only the slave can attain some true materialistic consciousness of his situation, since it is precisely to that that he is condemned. The Master, however, is condemned to idealism-to the luxury of a placeless freedom in which any consciousness of his own concrete situation flees like a dream, like a word unremembered on the tip of the tongue, a nagging doubt which the puzzled mind is unable to formulate. It strikes me that we Americans, we masters of the world, are in something of that very same position. (“Third World Literature” 85).

In note 26 (86-87) of the same article, Jameson argues that the argument about the poverty of bourgeois epistemology goes back to Lukács in *History and Class Consciousness*. It also seems to me Jameson is right about this, that the bourgeois may be unaware of the pain implicit in the products he purchases, but that liberals may endeavour to become aware and conduct themselves in a more enlightened, more just manner while remaining liberals.

stories and thus of the return of the repressed. The repressed revenant must be mourned, and Derrida has even written the ‘work of mourning’ into the subtitle of his book. As an illustration, Derrida quotes *Hamlet*: “Rest, rest, perturbed Spirit!” (Act I scene v; qtd. in *Specters* 3). For Hamlet mourning really does involve work: he has to kill his uncle before his father’s spirit will rest in peace.

There is an unstated assumption underpinning Derrida’s use of Freud, that haunting is a matter of conscience. In his essay on the uncanny, Freud does relate haunting to the operation of conscience (17.235). Freud goes on to offer an account of conscience formation in which conscience was originally a fantastic double in the imagination of a primitive or a child. This double may seem to a child or a primitive to be a separate being, but in the adult bourgeois individual it is internalized as an agency of psyche. As a psychic agency, it retains great power. It was originally friendly but can become “a thing of terror” or “uncanny” (17.236). As an aspect of self, the conscience is related to the repetition compulsion, a compulsion “powerful enough to overrule the pleasure principle lending to certain aspects of mind their daemonic character” (17.238). In fact, it is a compulsion to return to what bothers us, the uncanny, which Freud redefines as “...something which is familiar and old-established in the mind and which has become alienated from it only through the process of repression” (241). A sense of the uncanny is thus related to repression. It is a return of the repressed. It is in the nature of the repressed to return, and when it does a person becomes a neurotic. To work through neurosis, one might assume, given that haunting is a matter of conscience, one has to deal with guilt, perhaps by taking responsibility. In this regard, Habermas wrote that

Because analysis expects the patient to undergo the experience of self-reflection, it demands ‘moral responsibility for the content’ of the illness. For the insight to which analysis is to lead is indeed only this: that the ego of the patient recognize itself in its other, represented by its illness, as in its own alienated self and identify with it. (*Erkenntnis und Interesse* (1968), trans. *Knowledge and Human Interests* 235-236)

Habermas elsewhere in the same work discussed the return of repressed as inevitable. He spoke of the causality of fate. The causality of fate is a notion of Hegel’s to which Habermas has returned many times. He discussed it for the first time in *Theorie und Praxis* [Theory and Practice] in 1963. The text from which Habermas borrowed the notion was Hegel’s *The Spirit of Christianity and Its Fate* (see Habermas, *Theory* 180). Hegel had written of

The illusion of trespass, its belief that it destroys other’s life and thinks itself enlarged thereby, is dissipated by the fact that the disembodied spirit of the

injured life comes on the scene against the trespass, just as Banquo who came as a friend to Macbeth was not blotted out when he was murdered but immediately thereafter took his seat, not as a guest at the feast, but as an evil spirit....In his arrogance he has destroyed indeed, but only the friendliness of life; he has perverted life into an enemy. (qtd. in Flynn 68)

Hegel's concern was justice and the law. The causality of a life of crime is punishment. In the third chapter of *Erkenntnis und Interesse*, however, Habermas offers a Marxian interpretation of the "punitive causality of fate," which "is executed upon the rulers as class struggle coming to a head in revolutions" (*Knowledge* 57). Life was perverted into an enemy by the original sin of capitalism, the disproportionate appropriation of the surplus of another's labour. Capitalism is guilty as charged.

But Freud does not say that a person necessarily has to take responsibility for the content of his illness. In an important paper arguing that Habermas wilfully misinterpreted Freud, Bernard Flynn reminds us that Freud emphasized that neurosis often results when the ego takes responsibility for what is not a matter of responsibility. Indeed, Freud wrote of

a pathological condition, the obsessional neurosis, in which the poor ego feels itself responsible for all sorts of evil impulses of which it knows nothing, impulses which are brought up against it in consciousness but which it is unable to acknowledge. ("Moral Responsibility for the Content of Dreams" 226)

Both Derrida and Habermas offer a productive Marxian misreading of Freud. We can compare their misreadings by comparing their respective use of Shakespeare. Derrida quotes from *Hamlet*, while Hegel, from whom Habermas derived the idea of the causality of fate, alluded to *Macbeth*. Macbeth has done something wrong, Hamlet has not. Macbeth has to be punished, Hamlet must act. Macbeth's fate is ultimately passion, Hamlet's action. Reconciliation is beyond Macbeth but not Hamlet. Hamlet has done nothing wrong himself but has inherited an injustice. He becomes the instrument of revenge. Perhaps a truly productive move, analogous to the fruitful pairing of Marx and Freud, would be to amalgamate Macbeth and Hamlet into Maclet, a character who has committed – or perhaps, like the descendent of pioneers in a settler society, inherited – and is able to atone for a wrong. In atonement, Macbeth would achieve "reconciliation," a word Habermas uses in connection with the split society in Marxism (to be resolved in revolution) (*Knowledge* 57), the split between self and other in Hegel (to be resolved in love) (59), and the split between conscious and unconscious in the Freudian neurotic (to be resolved in therapy) (245).



Scholars have applied Derridean hauntology to the representation of aboriginal ghosts in the cultural production of settler societies. At the beginning of their article “Talking with Ghosts: Haunting in Canadian Cultural Production,” Marlene Goldman and Joanne Saul quote Derrida on haunting and justice. The settler society context changes the identities of the haunting and the haunted. Rather than capital in general, the issue in a settler society is land. Aborigines in all settler societies have been in some sense dispossessed, whether or not the dispossession was in some sense legal. Settlers on some level know this, and the knowledge has an emotional aspect, which sometimes manifests itself as a sense that the land they occupy is haunted. One might also say that the settlers themselves are haunted. The motif of haunting in settler cultural production has been studied for the Anglophone white settler colonies.<sup>2</sup> As Warren Cariou puts it, there is in many settler texts a

neocolonial uncanny, a lurking sense that the places settlers call home are not really theirs, and a sense that their current legitimacy as owners or renters in a capitalist land market / might well be predicated upon theft, fraud, violence, and other injustices in the past. (727-728)

The sense of the *unheimlich*, of course, predated Freud or even Marx. No less a national allegorist than James Fenimore Cooper felt such uncanny presences, or at least had his fictional creations feel them. In *The Pioneers*, Cooper planted the European gothic in the American grassland when he had the character Bessie Temple say, “I grieve when I see old Mohegan walking about these lands, like the ghost of one of their ancient possessors, and feel how small is my own right to possess them” (268; qtd. in Cariou). The sense of haunting is the psychological manifestation of a nagging sense of historical injustice, perhaps a settler’s sense that his or her right of ownership is does not ‘exist’ in such a clear-cut way and is therefore in some sense illegitimate.

## 2. Prophecy and haunting in settler film and fiction about the Formosan aborigines

Can these references be transferred to Taiwan, a supposedly Chinese cultural matrix with its own tradition of ghost stories? I believe so. In the final story I will be discussing in this chapter, haunting accompanies a sense of “injustice” (Li Ang, “Dingfanpo de gui” 17), the same theme for the same motif. The story may be generically a Chinese ghost story, but ghosts in the traditional Chinese worldview haunted the living not only because there was nobody to perform

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<sup>2</sup> For instance, for the United States see Bergland, *The National Uncanny*; for Australia, see Gelder and Jacobs, *Uncanny Australia*; for Canada see the essays in the *University of Toronto Quarterly* 75.2 (Spring 2006).

the proper burial rites for them but also because of some kind of ‘injustice’. The term *yuan* (冤), which I am translating as ‘injustice’, is in fact ambiguous on exactly this point, meaning either improper burial or injustice. Whatever the ideological content of the traditional genre of the ghost story, Lu Xun, the father of modern Chinese literature, put new wine into old bottles when, in *Yecao* 野草 [Wild Grass], he used ghost stories for political critique. I will be arguing that, almost a century after Lu Xun’s work, Li Ang’s “Dingfanpo de gui” is a work of political critique that, through the figure of an aboriginal ghost, raises the issue of the historical injustice perpetrated by the Chinese settlers on Taiwan.

Taiwan is a country of many unresolved injustices. One of the results of this is a richly haunted popular religion. Unmourned victims of interethnic violence or natural disaster, the *wangye* (王爺), had, it was thought, to be propitiated. There are still many temples devoted to these spirits in Taiwan. Hill Gates wrote that in the neighbourhood in which she lived in Taipei in the 1970s, there were temples to the spirits of those who had died in the 228 Incident. This was about a decade before it was possible to speak publically about 228. “Taiwan is full of such ghosts, haunting neighbourhoods and memories, some of later date and of other ethnic origins” (Gates, *China’s Motor* 211). Gates does not discuss the ghostly grudges of these other ethnic groups.

In this section I deal not simply with the phantasmal but also with the prophetic. What do these terms mean in a national context? By national prophecy I mean the formulation of progressive or even utopian images, images of national destiny, in order to direct present collective action. As a future-oriented, self-confident trope, prophecy also seems appropriate to natiogenesis. But becoming or remaining future-oriented is contingent upon working through what has been repressed, haunting memories which conscience tells us – via uncanny images that bubble onto the surface of national consciousness – are a matter of ethical concern. As a past-oriented, guilty trope, haunting seems appropriate for the discussion of groups who have not fared so well in the process of natiogenesis, whose national domestication has in some way failed or has been in some sense unfair.

These reflections on the Janus-faced orientation of nations originated not with Tom Nairn but with Ernest Renan. Renan famously described nationalism as dependent on forgetting. In his view, a nation is a group of people that forgets the times they were at each other’s throats. But let us psychoanalyze the forgetful national. Memories are often repressed rather than forgotten, and the apparition of the past may well return to haunt, to expose or to complement the confident

nationalist narrative. A nation that confronts – or ‘mourns’ – the things it might rather just forget would seem to have a better prognosis, a better chance of ‘working through’ a national neurosis that might split the nation apart or at least interfere with the imagination of collective futures. A Freudian would expect a talking cure, in which the public sphere is filled with poignant complaints of pain and pious declarations of regret, to suffice. But to satisfy a materialist, mourning would mean some kind of substantial, rather than simply symbolic, redress of the historical injustice at issue. In traditional Chinese poetics, when something is unbalanced it calls out (物不平則鳴). The call continues until balance has been re-established.

In Taiwan the obvious incident to forget is 228. Clearly, there are many locals who disagree with Renan, because over the past two decades, the memorialization of 228 has become an industry that presents the incident as a founding moment of postwar national life. In so far as the aborigines are concerned, the obvious incident to forget is Wushe. In the following paragraphs, I look at instances of aboriginal haunting and national prophecy in the works I have discussed in chapters 5 through 7. I may seem in some analyses to be stretching the meaning of prophecy and haunting, so I should define precisely what I mean by prophecy and haunting: a forward and a backward temporal orientation respectively. Generally speaking, nation-building works will tend to be forward-looking, critical works backward-looking.

Chapter 5 was about works in which aboriginal maidens were transformed into Chinese wives and the landscape into productive fields or spaces for modern human habitation. I read *Hehuan shan shang*, “Shewu,” and “Xingyi ji” as constructive, in contrast to relatively critical works such as “Xiari,” “Yiluka Molai,” and “Cailiu ji.” The nationalist works I discuss in this chapter were the most confident, and this confidence is reflected in a preponderance of prophecy. The critical works, on the other hand, had to be subtle to survive in the ideological atmosphere of the time.

In *Hehuan shan shang* (1958), the final goal of both uniting settler hero and Sinified aboriginal heroine as well as levelling the landscape in preparation for planting is shown in the first scene, in relation to which the main action is a flashback. This opening scene can, in a way, be described as prophetic, and though the film may stage a crisis of confidence when the hero Liang Jinhao is caught in an explosion, the realization of the prophecy, which pertains both to people and to land, is never in doubt. As Jinhao says to Ailan, the land should be developed. It is a self-fulfilling prophecy.

In “Xiari” (1961) by Wang Zhenhe, Bana, the aboriginal wife of a Taiwanese man who works for the Taiwan Power Company, is haunted by memories of communal life in the breadfruit circle, out of which she was so sweetly drawn by her future husband. The anti-epiphany at the end of the story shatters her bittersweet remembrance and cuts her with the shards of the awful reality of her current alienated, isolated and atomized existence.

In “Shewu” (1963) by Zhu Xining, the protagonist Xiao Xuan is haunted by the tragedies of the Japanese era – aboriginal girls infected with syphilis by Japanese policemen, aboriginal men taking revenge, suicides, and deformed children – which seem to be types for tragedies under KMT governance. Though KMT governance is supposedly absolutely morally superior to Japanese colonial rule, the nationalist antitype to the colonial type, certain KMT subalterns behave just the same as their Japanese predecessors. In one way or another, however, Xiao Xuan prevents history from repeating itself, very dramatically, four times. In doing so, he lifts it to a new level, as in the transition from Old Testament to New Testament in the Bible. He masters his own desire and controls the desire of others, just as he had mastered the environment itself by completing a monumental levee. After the excitement of the story has ended, the ghosts of the Japanese era disperse, both the aboriginal boy who took revenge as well as the syphilitic aboriginal girl who had transmigrated into the body of a snake, the phantom in the house. In other words, Zhu Xining transmutes phantom into prophecy: Du Lianzhi will get training as a nurse and will return to serve her people in the mountain village.

In “Xingyi ji” (1967) by Ye Shitao, though the harsh environment of the protagonist’s youth forced him to fight, the environment of his maturity yields willingly to his civilizing touch. The protagonist is troubled by the knowledge that his birth parents gave him up for adoption, but he manages to overcome the past and fulfill his dream of bringing medicine to the mountain primitives, with the help of the Franciscans, an aboriginal helpmeet and a benefactor who turns out to be his long lost mother. It is not surprising that the story ends with a family reunion, at which the newest members of the family are introduced. A sense of haunting yields to the most homely ending imaginable, a family reunion.

In “Yiluka Molai” (1967), Weng Lufu is haunted by the memory of the pregnant aboriginal girl he abandoned in the first year of the Retrocession. This girl, now prematurely aged, is herself haunted by the memory of the deaths of her chiefly family members in the Wushe Incident and in national development after the war. Their deaths are not her fault, and so her haunting seems to be the expression of a yearning for lost community in which she was an

elite. Her abandonment is most definitely his fault, and he returns partly because he has a guilty conscience, which he tries to assuage, at the very end of the story, by claiming that everything was ‘a matter of fate’. Rather ironically, though the hills themselves are accused of being the authors of his fate, they have been scarred in the course of national development, as has Yiluka Molai. The story ends with Weng Lufu and Yiluka Molai en route to the city to see their daughter. She imagines their daughter is doing well, but he may suspect otherwise.

“Cailiu ji” (1968) ends with a confident prophecy of national development, of environmental though not of aboriginal transformation. Now, Ye Shitao’s readers at the time knew that the prophecy had come true or was in the process of coming true. Taipei had already been built, and Taiwan was about to undergo industrial deepening, in the 1970s. But the deafening silence which greets the prophecy is blatantly ironic, which is perhaps Ye Shitao’s way of suggesting that the result of development in the late 1960s was not quite as beautiful as Yu Yonghe had imagined or the KMT had prophesied. It may be an early example of environmental consciousness in Taiwanese literature.

Chapter 6 was about works from the 1980s in which an aboriginal maiden fell into commodification of one form or another. I read *Lao Mo de dierge chuntian* and “Lao Yang he tade nuren” as constructive works, still within a Chinese nationalist framework, and *Meigui, meigui, wo ai ni*, “Liang ge baba,” “Zuihou yi zhu mu mahuang,” “Bentao, Mawukuxi,” “Qiutian de hunli” as critical, though some cases were ambiguous. The constructive works in this chapter were much less confident than they had been in the 1960s, unsurprising given that Chinese nationalism was by the 1980s in Taiwan besieged from within. The critical works are flagrantly critical, exposing the failures of the nationalist prophecies of transformation of landscape and people in Chapter 5.

*Lao Mo de dierge chuntian* (1984) ends on the happiest note imaginable, under the circumstances. By the final scene all problems have been resolved and, we are assured, all wishes will come true, Mrs. Mo will have a half-breed baby who will grow up Chinese, while Mr. Mo will lead the whole family, including his comrade and commander, back to China, achieving what Chiang Kai-shek never did. Mr. Mo has held out hope of going home for over three decades, while Mrs. Mo, in contrast to Bana in Wang Zhenhe’s short story, never thinks about the past again after she gets married, except to recall an episode in which her mother was rudely awakened from her entrepreneurial dream by her father. Mrs. Mo is living the dream, without asserting any autonomy from Mr. Mo. She is blissfully domesticated.

In *Meigui, meigui, wo ai ni* (1984), the reader may be haunted, but probably not very much, by the failure of a local politician to make good on his promise to send buses to the small, seaside community of Fengbin. The prophetic vision at the end, which Dong Siwen evokes in his audience, including the reader, of Taiwanese and Formosan aboriginal bar girls parading themselves before US GIs is obviously parodic of the nationalist prophetic imagination. The parody was clear at the time: the reader in 1984 knew what had really happened when the GIs had arrived.

In “Liang ge baba” (1984), Messieurs Ma and Yang are haunted by memories of when they were stationed on Kinmen island, of the artillery barrage in 1958 and of their competition for Lin Chunhua, an aboriginal prostitute in 831. Lin Chunhua also seems haunted by her life as a prostitute, though haunted may be an understatement for her psychosis. What is striking about the ending, in which Lin Chunhua burns down the house and takes off with Ma Yang Lin, is that Ma and Yang do not seem in the least bothered by the disappearance of their wife and son. The reader, however, is likely unable to share in their sense of homosocial togetherness, which is Mainlander not national.

In “Lao Yang he tade nuren” (1989), if there is any haunting, there is nobody to speak of it, because Old Man Yang’s woman, an aborigine from Hengchun, is mute. Old Man Yang seems to have done pretty well for himself in Taiwan, where he is lord over a great demesne, so that he does not need the consolation of happy memories of the mainland. When he receives word that his first wife, who has waited for him in China all these years, has died, he returns home, reunites with his relatives, handles the funeral, and returns to Taiwan without major emotional incident. There is no prophecy in the story, in which the only question is whether Old Man Yang will return. His woman’s relief upon his return is almost palpable. It must feel good to him to be loved: no stronger sense of a Mainlander cathecting to Taiwan is to be found in all of Taiwanese literature.

The dream prophecy in “Zuihou yi zhu mu mahuang” (1993) by Shih Chiung-yu, that the character Ama will turn into a great generalissimo like Chiang Kai-shek and restore the fortune of the Republic of China, is proven false in the course of the story, which traces the pathetic downfall, beginning at age sixteen, of Ama, which seemed somehow fated given his dubious beginnings, which the writer conceals from the reader until the end of the story. The dream of the green dragon riding on the white horse is Ama’s adoptive father’s. Who knows who got a nameless child prostitute, probably an aborigine, with this ill-fated child?

In “Bentao, Mawukuxi” (1993), Meizhu is haunted in a dream by the memory of the man who was supposed to be her stepfather but became the father of her three children. She wakes up from the dream, but has the sense, as she prepares to return to her life in Taipei, which Shih Chiung-yu does not represent, that the nightmare is not yet over, that she will never escape. She has in the course of the story seen signs in the environment, especially a bewitched mountain above which fly birds of prey, that do not exactly foretell her doom but do create a sense of foreboding. We may reassure ourselves that Meizhu was only having a bad dream and that her future will be free from the symbolic filth which clogs the Mawuku River, a sign of upstream human habitation, but Shih Chiung-yu makes it difficult for us to do so.

In “Qituan de hunli” (1993), by contrast, the story ends happily, with a wedding. The aboriginal heroine, an ‘adopted daughter’ (養女) manages to get herself married to a genial older man from western Taiwan. It is a marriage of east and west, of aboriginal and Chinese. The wedding is certainly a relief for the narrator, who has for many years been haunted by the memory of his failure to act in confronting the bride in the underbrush while her lifeblood gurgled out of her after a botched abortion. The lifeblood signifies wasted productivity, while the heroine figures female fecundity. In this regard, it is a symbolic resolution that the bride goes to the altar pregnant.

Chapter 7 was about works in which an aboriginal maiden, or an aboriginal prostitute who is still Maidenly, tries to achieve independence and become capable of giving and thereby fostering community. I read *Xilaya zu de moyi* as a constructive work and *Yusheng* as a critical one. The former represents Taiwan as being a late bloomer, as silverflowers bloom in autumn. Without foreclosing on the future, the latter dispels nationalist prophecy and exposes the land and the people as haunted.

In *Xilaya zu de moyi* (1989; 1990) by Ye Shitao, the heroine has one haunted moment. In a superegoic instant, Silverflower feels bad about, or worries that she might be accused of, having profited financially from her romantic involvements. But in this case, that which might haunt her disappears without a trace: Silverflower decides there is nothing to trouble herself about, because the men in her life all gave their fortunes or even sacrificed their lives to her willingly.

There are by contrast two prophecies in the series, both fortunes told for Silverflower by the local Siraya shamaness. In the first fortune telling, the shamaness says,

I see [Silverflower] in an opulent room with a male child and a man in western dress. Suddenly there is a sound of wings beating! A spangled eagle swoops in and snatches the baby up. The room goes up in flames. (4.203)

This prophecy is realized when Silverflower leaves the Peng compound at night: she looks back, thinks the mansion is on fire, and then realizes that what she sees is the color of dusk. Either way, by inferno or by night, the old order is symbolically coming to an end, and a new order is dawning. In the second fortune telling, the shamaness has a vision of five penises (4.191), like the fingers of the Tathagata Buddha and belonging to the five men with whom Silverflower has had or will have sex (4.290). Prophecy would seem to imply the passive aspect of personal fate, but in this case it seems very much to be self-fulfilling. Indeed, the shamaness says that a reading is a matter of ‘fate’ (4.204), a matter of inevitability, but Silverflower does not agree: Silverflower has her own, self-empowered idea of the nature of fate. She does not need anyone’s help, not even God’s.

The two prophecies have both a personal and a national significance. The personal meaning is clear: Silverflower will leave the Peng household and become independent, and, all in all, she will ride five men en route to her destiny. The national meaning of the first prophecy is the decline of the Taiwanese gentry through land reform and societal modernization and the rise of the petty-capitalists, while the national meaning of the second prophecy is that the Taiwanese people will come into being through ‘interracial weddings’ or ‘interethnic weddings’, as Ye put it in a later story, “Yizu de hunli” 異族的婚禮. Once existent, the Taiwanese nation is ‘thus come’ (自來; *tathagata*), self-realized and self-aware like the Tathagata Buddha. The Silverflower series has a special significance in the context of the late 1980s. Set in the past, it is retrospectively prophetic. The context of publication was the rise of Taiwanese nationalism, the recent formation of the Democratic Progressive Party, and the lifting of Martial Law. By setting his story in the 1940s and 1950s, and writing before “the post-democratization *triste*” (Gold, “Taiwan Society at the Fin de Siècle” 1108) set in, Ye Shitao managed to write a natiogenetic story about the golden age of the Taiwanese people.

*Yusheng* (2000) by Wu He is rather less reassuring. The novel brought a long filmic and fictional tradition came to an end, a tradition of interpreting the Wushe Incident as an instance of failed but glorious anti-Japanese resistance. The ghosts who had haunted the mountain landscape in earlier gothic and gory versions of the story had died seeking noble revenge against the Japanese; they had no grievance against the Chinese nationalists. To Wu He, by contrast, it



seems that the survivors of the Incident and their descendents are still haunted, haunted by the collective memory of the Incident itself and of what has happened to them since the Retrocession. Wu He identifies Japanese colonial and Chinese nationalist governance by characterizing both as assimilationist: this is his most important move in the novel. Mona Rudao's wife Mahong is the most haunted and haunting figure in the book: she threw her children off the cliff at Mahebo but did not herself jump; for the rest of her life she would wander up to Mahebo to try to commune with the spirits of her people. Maiden, who makes the impossible claim that she is the granddaughter of Mona Rudao, is not so much haunted by her ancestors, in the sense of wishing their spirits would stop appearing in her thoughts and dreams, as she is hopeful that they can instruct her on how to attain peace within the chaos of life. Maiden lives too much in the past to be capable of prophesying for herself or for anyone else. The narrator of the novel does not really make any prophecies for Maiden, but he does represent environmental apocalypse as a kind of active resistance of which the aborigines are incapable. Maiden has a few ideas of what she might do with herself. These ideas are modest prophecies, which, as in *Xilaya zu de moyi*, will have to be self-fulfilling.

In the last part of this chapter, I turn to two national allegories by Li Ang in which the same dialectic of national haunting and prophecy operates. I read the former as constructive and the latter as critical, arguing that the main issue in both is the unaddressed injustice of settlement.

### 3. National prophecy and aboriginal haunting in Li Ang's fiction

Li Ang is the most acclaimed and translated author of any discussed in this dissertation, for various reasons. One is that she became *the* representative Chinese woman writer of the 1970s, a decade in which for the most part mainland Chinese writers, women included, had not yet opened up to the world. Another reason is that she has always had a sense of the dramatic, if not the scandalous – she has always been pushing the limits, especially as defined by the norms of women's behaviour. It is no surprise that, of all the writers who have in the postwar period compared the island of Taiwan to a woman's body, Li Ang's in a story from the 1990s would be the most difficult to bear for a reader with a sense of traditional decorum: to Li Ang Taiwan is formally reminiscent of a woman's labia majora. One may never look at a map of Taiwan in quite the same way again. Pushing the limits may be Li Ang's greatest importance as a writer, and with the liberalization of society her importance has declined; people are simply harder to shock now than they were in the 1970s. But for a contemporary critic, the greatest reason for

respecting Li Ang is her critique of traditional ethics and practices, especially patriarchal ones. Her sense of scandal often gets the upper hand, in which case she lowers her fiction to the level of pulp. But when she is intelligently critical in addition to scandalous, the result is stimulating.

As for Li Ang's relation to the Formosan aborigines, a feminist who feels and stands up for the supposedly weaker sex might, it stands to reason, have the potential to sympathize with the disadvantaged in general and to even see things from an abstracted subaltern standpoint. In this regard, in the Introduction to *Kan de jian de gui*, Li Ang describes herself as a medium channelling historical voices marginal to "the central subjectivity of the great nation" (大國中心主體) (8), which is presumably male, Chinese and urban. Clearly, women, aborigines and rural or montagnard folk are marginal based on this understanding of the centre. The aborigines do appear implicitly and explicitly in two of Li Ang's works, *Miyuan* (1991) and "Dingfanpo de gui" (2004). It remains to be seen whether Li Ang is sympathetic, sensitive, intelligent and critical when it comes to the Formosan aborigines.

### 3.1. National redemption? The provenance of the donated garden in *Miyuan* 迷園 [Beguiling Garden] (1991)

*Miyuan is set in the 1970s and 1980s, but there are two important historical storylines that constitute two larger contexts for the action in the present. First, in the distant past, there was a pirate named Zhu Feng who married, had four children with, and finally abandoned a Taiwanese woman named Mrs. Chen, who had Dutch, Chinese and aboriginal blood. Her grandson, Zhu Jiancheng, established the family fortune under his grandmother's direction. Mrs. Chen cursed (107) her husband Zhu Feng, declaring that whosoever identifies the pirate as ancestor will ruin the family. A grim prophecy indeed. Second, in the near past, centuries later, Zhu Feng and Mrs. Chen's descendent, a Taiwan nationalist dissident under the Japanese, was persecuted by the KMT. Confined to the family garden – the Han Garden – he spent the rest of his life frittering away the family fortune converting the garden from a traditional Chinese garden to an idealized representation of Taiwan's floral, as opposed to faunal, heritage: he uproots all the Chinese trees and replaces them with ones that only grow in Taiwan. By the 1970s, in the present of the story, the garden has had to be sold to his wife's uncle, with a twenty year redemption clause. The dissident's daughter, Zhu Yinghong, restores the garden in the main action of the story. She restores it in both senses of the term – the garden is redeemed and then restored to its formal vernal glory – by marrying a parvenu land speculator or developer named*

*Lin Xigeng, a man who got rich by riding the real estate bubble of mass urbanization in the 1970s. Lest Lin Xigeng try to 'develop' the garden the way he has developed his landholdings around Taipei, Zhu Yinghong donates the garden to the "twenty million people of Taiwan," to be operated by a private foundation.*

Angelina Yee has written that the "allegorical intentions [of *Miyuan*] are overtly displayed" (98). It is a Taiwanese national allegory. After the father replants the garden in Taiwanese flora, he renames the garden, from the Han Garden to the Fenghuang Garden, so named both for the flame trees (*fenghuang shu*) and for the phoenix (*fenghuang*), a symbol of transformation. The Fenghuang Garden becomes a bastion of Taiwanese-ness protected from the corrosive action of American-style capitalism or the insidious influence of Sinocentric state policies, in the same way that the mountain landscape became a bastion of Chineseness in *Hehuan shan shang*. But the garden, Yee argues, recalls the Dagan ('Great Prospect') Garden (大觀園) of the *Honglouloumeng* [Dream of the Red Chamber]. The garden is even described as "dreamlike" (Li Ang 267). The suggestion of this allusion is of lost grandeur and nostalgia. Li Ang tries to project Taiwanese confidence at the end by having Zhu Yinghong donate the garden to the people of Taiwan, just as the Qianlong emperor, stirred by Jia Baoyu's renunciation of worldly glory, restored the Jia family fortune and granted a general amnesty at the end of *Honglouloumeng*. Li Ang had only to allude to the general amnesty granted by Jiang Jinguo after his father's death in 1975 to make the connection more complete, and one suspects she chose not to include such an allusion because she respected and feared the state less than whoever wrote the last third of the *Honglouloumeng*.

The relationship between Zhu Yinghong and Lin Xigeng proceeds within the frame of the garden, which stands for Taiwan, and Li Ang even makes a connection between Zhu Yinghong and the land of Taiwan. The relationship between Zhu Yinghong and Lin Xigeng therefore symbolizes the relation between the island and the people of Taiwan. Lovemaking is described in terms of the occupation of land (166; 205). A piece of land is described in the same terms as a beautiful (水) woman (207).

But in the human realm, the feminine principle is not passive. It is, for instance, not passive sexually. Zhu Yinghong initially has a sense of joy at being mastered (83), while in another episode she turns over and presses down on the man (161). It is also not passive socioeconomically. Though Zhu Yinghong does not become the secret of Lin Xigeng's success,

she certainly makes his life easier professionally, just as Mrs. Chen was behind the original land-based family fortune and just as Zhu Yinghong's mother managed the Zhu family property (235). The novel, then, is an explicitly feminist allegory of Taiwan's history that seems dualistic or binary.

In fact, Li Ang has been attacked, by no less a critic than Wang Dewei, for reducing all of Taiwan's problems to feminist formulas, as if the struggles for women's liberation, social equity, and gay rights – Li Ang even sneaks AIDS into the prologue – all shared a common front. As Liao Chaoyang puts it, Wang Dewei loses his patience when Li Ang “seems to be measuring the complexities of politics and history by a reductive ‘logic of binary oppositions’ taken from simplistic feminist resistance strategies” (“History, Exchange” 351). In the novel, social equity and women's liberation clearly do not share a common front. Zhu Yinghong belongs to what was once the local elite, the Taiwan gentry, which was still a force to reckon with in postwar society. This was the class that possessed the land, which the self-possessed Zhu Yinghong as a woman symbolizes.

Wang Dewei is right to point out the dual structure of the novel's symbolism, but he might also note the singular nature of the relationship between Zhu Yinghong and Lin Xigeng as well as Zhu Yinghong's hybridity. The singular nature of the national romance in this novel is that both protagonists are Taiwanese, rather than a Taiwanese girl and a Mainlander boy, as in the national romance the KMT made in 1955, the film *Huangdi zisun* [Children of the Yellow Emperor]. Though Taiwanese-Mainlander tension is an issue in the recent history of the novel, in Zhu Yinghong's father's time, it is not an important issue in the present. Though Lin Xigeng has to consider the state in his development schemes, the state of the economy is much more important. The novel is symbolically the marriage of Taiwan old and new, of the Taiwanese cultural heritage and newfound Taiwanese economic muscle. It is as if to say that the movers and shakers in Taiwan in the 1970s are all Taiwanese. This is another reason why, in addition to the replanting and renaming of the garden, the novel is a Taiwanese national allegory.

The hybridity of Zhu Yinghong lies in her racial heritage. For Zhu Yinghong is Taiwanese in a very interesting way. Whereas Ye Shitao's Silverflower stories had as a heroine a Pingpu aborigine whose children were Mestizo, Zhu Yinghong is Mestizo to begin with. She

...had a pair of Eastern eyes, slightly deep-set, calm, beautiful and large, so that although her nose was not high her features were clear-cut. Her lower lip was thick, but because her upper lip was thin she had an unmistakably carnal air. (15; see also, eg., 57 and 106)

Zhu Yinghong shares these features with her father and with her ancestress, Mrs. Chen. Li Ang seems to be invoking one version of Taiwanese nationalism, one that appealed to race as a distinguishing feature of the putative Taiwanese nation, as in Ye Shitao's *Xilaya zu de moyi*. The feature of the deep-set eyes is code for aboriginality in the settler discourse on the Formosan aborigines.

Yet, Li Ang is not necessarily endorsing the racialist discourse, not because Zhu Yinghong senses she may never have a child with Lin Xingeng – as Liao Chaoyang points out, her prophecies have been wrong before (360) – but because her act of giving the garden away at the end more conclusively endorses a gift economy as a founding or redeeming national act than any act undertaken by Silverflower: Li Ang, by this gesture, seems to be saying that nationhood is in generosity not in genes. We seem to be in the same territory I tilled in Chapter 7.

Indeed, Liao Chaoyang has looked at how Zhu Yinghong's gift seems to go against the grain of the commodity economy. It does so both in regard to land and in regard to women, which, as I have argued, share a symbolic identity. First, the gift of the garden interrupts or symbolically reverses the commodity economy, the trade in land. Second, in addition to decommodifying land, Zhu Yinghong also does her part in the war against prostitution. She insists that businessmen bring their wives to business dinners and go straight home afterwards instead of going out to the nightclub (214). In liberal fashion, she tries to force the businessmen to respect the institution of the family, the intimate sphere in which the logic of altruism prevails over market logic, in which people are to be cherished not purchased.

There are, however, reasons to feel uneasy about this gesture of decommodification of women and of land. Zhu Yinghong's marriage to Lin Xigeng raises the question of whether a social institution has been respected, or whether their marriage, "the marriage of the century," is not just one more transaction. Lin Xigeng's love for Zhu Yinghong is impure. As a parvenu, he craves the social caché of the Zhu's family. He wants to enter the gentry, to maintain Taiwan's stratified social system several decades after it had supposedly been replaced by a new egalitarian order. As for Zhu Yinghong, she feels "the ultimate love" (177) for Lin Xigeng, until he finally asks her to marry him, when she realizes she had "never really loved him" (294), a melodramatic cliché *par excellence*. Yet she marries him anyway. As Peng Xiaoyan has observed, Zhu Yinghong seems to sell herself. Thus far in the novel, she had identified herself with (47), but had also been differentiated from, the courtesans of Taiwan's crass business culture, the take-out girls who charge 5,000 NTD for an hour and 8,000 NTD for a night. Maiden

in Wu He's *Yusheng* was this kind of girl. Zhu Yinghong never charges a fee for her sexual company. But by marrying a man she does not love – or does she? – she seems to prostitute herself, all for the sake of the garden or for the people of Taiwan. Regardless of the impurity of Zhu Yinghong's motives, perhaps in this case giving the land to the people of Taiwan was just the right thing to do.

But we cannot be comforted by Zhu Yinghong's gift of the Taiwanese garden to the Taiwanese people if we inquire into its 'provenances' proximate and ultimate. Lin Xigeng's money, which restores the garden, is in a sense impure. It came 'from the people'. After the foreign relations crises of the early 1970s, many investors left Taiwan. Lin Xigeng took the opportunity to buy a *lot* of land around Taipei City (127), having realized in his youth that "in an island country like Taiwan, land was the most precious resource" (70). He bought the land for well below its normal market value, because the diplomatic crisis resulted in a crisis in investor confidence. We are far from the Smithian ideal of myriad small suppliers and buyers. Possessing a kind of monopoly, Lin Xigeng can control the supply of land and cause the price to skyrocket, fuelled by the demand generated by mass urbanization. Lin Xigeng also invented the advance sale system (125), so that developers no longer need much start-up money to begin new developments. The new system allows bidding, which Lin Xigeng encourages with high pressure advertizing, because it is in his interest for a housing bubble to form. Two decades after the land to the tiller program was implemented in the 1950s, people wanted urban real estate. During the bubble, the price of real estate becomes a nightmare for ordinary people (246), but a dream come true for Lin Xigeng. Thus, the gift of the garden is no longer so obviously a 'donation' but seems rather more a 'return' to the people. Effectively, the people's money has been used to develop a tourist attraction which they probably have to pay to see, braving traffic jams each way.

But we can go further back, to the basis of the family wealth in *Miyuan*. Proximately, Zhu Yinghong's father's wealth derived from the same process of urbanization that benefited Lin Xigeng. When Zhu Yinghong's father was persecuted by the KMT after the war, the family decided to divide (分家). Zhu Yinghong's father got the worst land, the least productive agriculturally and farthest 'out of the way'. But after the war the town got bigger and bigger, and the land the father was assigned eventually became commercial and residential gold. Thus, ironically, the KMT was part of the reason why Zhu Yinghong's father became so rich. At any rate, ultimately, we must go back to Zhu Jiancheng, to the great eighteenth century land grab, in which Chinese settlers outcompeted Formosan aborigines for land. Li Ang is content to

complacently present Zhu Jiancheng as a heroic pioneer, or rather to present Mrs. Chen as a capable Mestizo matriarch. The novel is therefore implicitly about the triumph of a group who retrospectively identified as Mestizo – they certainly did not identify as Mestizo until the late 1980s, and in this respect Li Ang’s emphasis on Zhu Yinghong’s eyes is anachronistic for the 1970s – and about the defeat of the aborigines. Perhaps Li Ang, writing in the early 1990s, imagined herself an Indian lover. If we take Zhu Yinghong as a symbolic aborigine, the pattern of the marriage between Lin Xigeng and Zhu Yinghong is reminiscent of the practice in which Chinese settlers marrying plains aboriginal women to get at aboriginal land, bringing it into the Chinese land regime of petty capitalist property ownership. In giving away the garden, Zhu Yinghong, symbolically at least, disrupts this pattern as well: Lin Xigeng does not get the land. But a hard-headed appraisal of history makes it hard to see Mrs. Chen’s success as an aboriginal one.

This history of dispossession is only implicit in the novel; but there is a sign of it, in the place of origin of the person who manages the restoration of the garden. Zhu Yinghong’s father makes the decision to restore the Han Garden in the early 1950s, but he does not himself lift a finger. He only ‘has the work done’. Under the father is a long-term hired employee, the Chicken Castrator (閹雞羅漢). It is the Chicken Castrator who shares the family lore with Zhu Yinghong, stories about the dangerous crossing the settlers made from China to Taiwan (109), about relations between settlers and aboriginal women, and about the curse Mrs. Chen put on her wayward husband. The Chicken Castrator does some of the renovation work himself, but he also hires temporary labour when some major project is undertaken. These temporary labourers are analogous to the construction workers who build the projects Lin Xigeng sends up in the cities. Lin Xigeng’s name implies ‘cultivating the west’, presumably western Taiwan (or perhaps California, as he hatches a plan to buy up prime American real estate), which is ironic given that he has never done any manual labour himself. His first job upon coming to Taipei was not in construction but in advertizing. Li Ang seems interested in the capitalist who makes things happen, not in the people whom the capitalist uses instrumentally. But more to the point is the fact that the Chicken Castrator comes from a community in Lugang called Dingfanpo, which as we will learn from Li Ang’s story “Dingfanpo de gui” relates to the disinheritance of the aborigines. It is now time to turn to “Dingfanpo de gui,” in which Li Ang focuses on the aboriginal material marginalized in *Miyuan*.

Li Ang's symbolism in "Dingfanpo de gui" is similarly dualist, but the identities of the duality have changed. Unlike Wang Dewei, I do not mind if Taiwan is allegorized in terms of a logic of binary oppositions; though Taiwan's problems are not reducible to "simplistic feminist resistance strategies," they can be profitably, and dialectically, explored using a binary logic. In "Dingfanpo de gui," the dualism of Li Ang's formula – aboriginal or Mestizo woman against Chinese men – allows her to confront the issue of historical aboriginal disinheritance more directly than she did in *Miyuan*, in which the opposition was Taiwanese man against Taiwanese or perhaps specifically Mestizo woman. *Miyuan* is comparatively confident and constructive. It is a Taiwanese nationalist work. "Dingfanpo de gui" is more critical. I shall argue, however, that Li Ang fails to deal with the issue of postwar aboriginal domestication. After my discussion of "Dingfanpo de gui," at the end of the chapter, I will return to the motif of haunting in *Miyuan* and attempt to account for the fact that, though Mrs. Chen the Mestizo Matriach's curse is lifted in the moment it comes true at the end of the novel, an uncanny feeling stays with the reader.

### 3.2. Closure of poor, poor, dumb vaginas in "Dingfanpo de gui" 頂番婆的鬼 [Ghosts of Dingfanpo] (2004)<sup>3</sup>

*A Mestizo woman has the aboriginal name Yila Yifanlian Wana (11) and the Chinese name of Yuezhen 月珍 'moon treasure'. She is a prostitute in a brothel at Dingfanpo, located to the east of Lugang, at the edge of a valley leading into the mountains. One day, when the brothel, a covered platform on stilts, collapses, Yuezhen unluckily falls on a rock below, breaking both her legs. Unable to work, she applies for cultivable land in the area, out of which she claims her plains aboriginal ancestors had been cheated. When the mandarin in Lugang receives her application, he decides to make an example of her. He has her tortured. The torturer hones in on the organs by means of which she had formerly made a living. He cuts up her breasts, and makes ten slits in her groin, ten invaginations, marks of shame and pain. She dies in prison and is dumped somewhere in Dingfanpo. To appease her ghost, local residents follow the local custom and throw salt on her body. The salt hardens into an armour in which her ghost is imprisoned.*

*Centuries pass.*

<sup>3</sup> "Guoyu zhi dong: Dingfanpo de gui" 國域之東：頂番婆的鬼 [The national eastern: ghosts of Dingfanpo]" (2004). For the term 'eastern,' see Leslie Fiedler's *Return of the Vanishing American*. Fiedler provides a geographical typology – the Northern, Southern, Eastern and Western as genres – that, like Li Ang's in this collection of short stories, has no center.



*Finally, in a flood, the salt dissolves, and her ghost is set free, free to come and go. She witnesses the subjugation and modernization of the local population under Japanese rule. She also sees the preserved body of a Chinese mandarin dug up and chemically destroyed.*

*Decades pass.*

*In the wake of the 228 incident, a dissident fleeing into the mountains finds a hardened and shrunken 'idol', which is actually Yuezhen's preserved physical body. A temple in honour of the Goddess is set up, with Yuezhen's body as the idol.*

*Years pass.*

*An illegal lottery has swept up Taiwanese society, and the marks of pain and shame inflicted on Yuezhen two centuries before are reinterpreted as lucky signs of the jackpot numbers. There is a new historical interest in Yuezhen. When the true story is finally told people have nothing but admiration for Yuezhen and disapprobation for the mandarin who rejected her application and had her tortured. Her temple becomes well-frequented, and enterprising individuals provide various services: there is food and drink as well as entertainment, including erotic dancing (37). After the state shuts down the lottery, the services and entertainments disappear, and the people leave. One night, when all is quiet, the moon casts a carpet of silvery light on the ground, which becomes Yuezhen's stage. She does an erotic dance without an audience. As she is dancing, the vaginal incisions, "like poor dumb mouths," drop down to the ground. She is healed! Her ghost dance comes to an orgasmic conclusion, and Yuezhen departs for good; finally, it seems, she is free.*

In the forward to the volume in which "Dingfanpo de gui" appears, *Kandejian de gui* 看得見的鬼 [Visible Ghosts], Li Ang sees Taiwan as a "ghostly country" (8), and in the afterward she describes the five stories in, as "parables of a ghostly country" (鬼國的寓言) (237). "Dingfanpo de gui" is a national allegory that lodges criticism in the motif of haunting.

The story begins not with haunting but with a poem Li Ang records on the first page of the story.

Hills ring the rivermouth; the seafloor meets the riverbed.

Squaws rock the boat by night, standing up, their legs outspread.

The hunting's done, the deer are won, it's time now to return.

Their song resounding past the peak, the moon is shining overhead.

山環海口水中流。番女番婆夜盪舟。打得鹿來歸去好。歌喧絕頂月當頭。

Li Ang very helpfully describes the author as “someone who once came here” (10), and the poem is indeed not a folk production. It was published in 1883 by Huang Fengchang 黃逢昶, not a settler who knew the landscape but rather a traveler with a vivid imagination. In his poem he was writing about ‘cooked aborigines’ hunting deer. 1883 was over a century and a half after the settlement of the Lugang area and the near extinction of the Sika deer. It is an idealized poetic image of happy hunting-grounds. Then, as if to expose this kind of ahistorical, idealized poetic image, Li Ang tells the ‘true story’ of Dingfanpo and its denizens.

For instance, Li Ang exposes the environmental representation of Huang Fengchang’s poem as nostalgic. And her descriptions of the surroundings of the brothels paint a very different picture of the settler impact on the local landscape than do the descriptions of the garden in *Miyuan*. In this respect, “Dingfanpo de gui” is to *Miyuan* as *Yusheng* is to the Silverflower series. *Miyuan* is relentlessly floral and beautiful, as so much of it takes place in the Han (later the Fenghuang) Garden. The result of human presence in “Dingfanpo de gui,” by contrast, is disgusting. When Yuezhèn falls onto a rock underneath the brothel at Dingfanpo, her colleagues and their customers fall onto the soft sand of a river bed stinky with piss and shit. General hilarity results. Another brothel is located by a collection facility for the shit from all the public urinals in Lugang. It is no longer a happy hunting ground. Although there is no explicit identification of land and woman, as in *Miyuan*, the ugliness of the fate of the land is symbolically similar to the ugliness of the fate of the aboriginal women.

There is also a contrast between the freedom of the aboriginal men and women in Huang Fengchang’s poem with the fate of the heroine (or heroines, Yuezhèn and Yuezhū) in the story.<sup>4</sup> Dingfanpo, marginal in *Miyuan* and central in this story, means something like the ‘end of the line’ (頂) for ‘savage women’ (番婆) (11). The place name is explicitly related to the history of Chinese settler land acquisition. The aboriginal women in question were Babuza, a plains aboriginal tribe. When the Chinese arrived, in Li Ang’s account, the Babuza were pushed farther and farther from the centre until, at Dingfanpo, there was nowhere else to go except into the hills. When they left, they left behind women who were too old or young to make the journey. Some

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<sup>4</sup> The heroine in the story, Yuezhèn, is as a single individual representative of the female aboriginal population of the Jianan Plain in the eighteenth century. But in addition to Yuezhèn there is also Yuezhū, who is luckier than Yuezhèn, in that she is a ‘red card’ in a brothel in another village – Fanpo zhuang, literally ‘squaw village’ – closer to Lugang. However, Li Ang often pairs the two names – Yuezhèn / Yuezhū – and sometimes seems to talk about ‘them’ as if ‘they’ are a single individual.

of these women became prostitutes directly, while others became prostitutes indirectly; they got married first:

Han grandpas married uxorilocally by taking savage grannies as wives. But when the relatives of those grandpas arrived, they felt that the land belonged to the grandpas and occupied it. They not only hounded out the grannies, but also sometimes sold them to the ‘Myriad Springs Mansion’ 萬春樓. (14)

The Myriad Springs Mansion was a brothel. Sooner or later, the aboriginal women who had been left behind were prostituted. They were actually economically exploited in another way. The shit at the collection facility near the brothel where Yuezhu works, including Yuezhu’s own shit, is sold as nightsoil, as fertilizer. It is a dirty business. This was the settler impact on the local aboriginal population.

But Li Ang emphasizes that Yuezhen is not just aboriginal but also specifically Mestizo. In other words, she is returning to the idea of the Mestizo lineage of the Taiwanese people, which added an allure of sensuality to Zhu Yinghong in *Miyuan*. Li Ang is thus reconsidering her representation of the historical experience of the plains aborigine or Mestizo woman, which was anything but romantic. In *Miyuan* Li Ang used ‘deep-set eyes’ as a sign of aboriginality in Zhu Yinghong; while the corporeal description in this short story ranges over the whole body. Yuezhen, the unlucky one, is “not a great mix: the flat nose and thick lips of a Chinese, though she had the eyelid folds and large eyes of a Babuza. She was squat and powerful” (12). Yuezhu, by contrast, was “definitely from a Dutch seed” (13). With “a head of curly brown hair, [she] had the professional moniker of Red Haired Savage. She had striking features – big eyes and a high nose – a tall, well-proportioned body, and her skin was creamy, like milk with brown sugar mixed in” (14). The two aboriginal women here suggest a range of possibility, but neither came close to Zhu Yinghong, whether in beauty or in social station.

This new conception of the aboriginal background adds a new layer of depth to the familiar story that goes back at least to Su Beng (史明)’s *Taiwan sibainian beiqing shi* (1962), of the colonial suffering of the Taiwanese people, which Li Ang invokes in the introduction: the island has endured the rule of the Dutch, the Spanish, the Qing, the Japanese and the ROC (7). One imagines a unitary ‘Taiwanese people’ enduring a series of oppressions, until finally becoming postcolonial when Chen Shuibian was elected president in 2000. But this historical narrative is problematized by “Dingfanpo de gui,” in which the Han Chinese, both state officials and settlers, oppress the Mestizos and the aborigines politically and economically – the person who gave Yuezhen her Chinese name was the manager of the brothel, a Chinese Madame.

“Dingfanpo de gui” cannot, therefore, be described as a ‘feminist’ parable, as *Miyuan* was on the front cover. Whereas gender was foregrounded in the former, ethnicity is emphasized in the latter, and with the change in emphasis the racialist plank in Taiwanese nationalist discourse is ripped out. That a few drops of aboriginal blood flows in Taiwanese veins implies a historical injustice still to be atoned for. The reference to racial hybridity now seems critical rather than constructive.

However, the story seems to lose its way in the Japanese period. Initially, the theme changes from domination to revenge, for when Yuezhen escapes from her salty confines, she immediately rushes into town to get even. But the score is settled almost immediately: she sees the ghost of a Qing mandarin, who may or may not be the official who persecuted her, imprisoned in a mummified body (陰屍) dug up by the Japanese. When the mummy is destroyed, Yuezhen’s desire for justice is all-too-quickly satisfied, as if this particular official (or his proxy) was the only one she had a grudge against.

The satisfaction of revenge implies closure; and when the story enters the postwar era closure becomes an explicit metaphor for the theme of voicing historical injustice. As a medium channelling marginal voices (8), Li Ang is speaking out on behalf of Yuezhen, because the latter cannot speak for herself. Yuezhen’s inability to speak is symbolized intertextually. Li Ang likens the slits in her groin to “poor dumb mouths, complaining of eternal sorrow” (32), referring to the dead tyrant’s wounds in Shakespeare’s *Julius Caesar*. In the scene in question Mark Antony is using artful rhetoric to sway the mob against Brutus, under the pretence that he has no such art. The more immediate and relevant reference is to Chen Yingzhen’s story “Qican de wuyan de zui” 悽慘的無言的嘴 [Poor Dumb Mouths], in which the wounds belong not to an assassinated autocrat but to a nameless murder victim, a child prostitute who had been stabbed with a screwdriver by the man, one of the labourers at the local warehouse, who had sold her. Though the mentally disturbed narrator in “Qican” is uncomprehending, the suggestion of the episode is of economic exploitation, in this case of a subaltern by someone who is himself, as a labourer, exploited. The mouth-wounds also recall Gayatri Spivak’s notorious claim that “the subaltern cannot speak” (308) in the documents of the elite, as Ranajit Guha and others in the subaltern studies movement wanted her to do (see Green 16). In the case of “Dingfanpo de gui,” Li Ang’s relation to Yuezhen is analogous to Mahasweta Devi’s relation to the bonded tribal prostitutes in India in the story “Douloti the Beautiful,” and I suppose my relation to Li Ang is analogous to Gayatri Spivak’s to Mahasweta Devi – Spivak was Devi’s English translator and critic.

Mahasweta Devi allows the silent abjection of the bonded tribal prostitute to speak louder than words. Similarly, in “Dingfanpo de gui,” without Yuezhen having to or being able to say anything, her story comes out by virtue of Li Ang’s authorial agency. Thus, it is no longer Yuezhen who is considered shameful and shameless but rather her persecutor (29) and other agents of the state, like the “dog of an official” Wu Feng who rode hither and yon on his white horse, marking out territory for himself (29). As I discussed in Chapter 3, Lian Heng portrayed Wu Feng as an avenging angel, as a ghost who haunts the aborigines.<sup>5</sup> But nearly a century later, in this short story by Li Ang, the aborigine has the last laugh. Unfortunately, Li Ang does not capitalize on the possibilities for aboriginal laughter.

Once Spoken in the public sphere, the Word should be transformational, but it is not in this story, in which injustice is voiced but not addressed:

The exploits of this ‘savage woman’ whose corpse was abandoned at the mouth of a valley [to the east of Lugang] were retold again several centuries later, but this time nobody cared about her struggle with the official from China in the Qing dynasty, except to excoriate his cruelty. Nobody minded that she was a ‘working girl’. The only issue they pursued now was whether her original vagina should be added to the ten invaginations the official had cut into her: should the total count be ten or eleven? (35)

The incisions were originally signs of shame. Now they are counted, quantified, abstracted out of history and reinterpreted in the context of a lottery, “the national occupation [全民運動] of the over ten million people on the island” (33). The term I have translated ‘occupation’ is usually reserved for mass political movements, which in postwar Taiwan up to the 1970s were organized by the state rather than by the populace itself. This movement, by contrast, is of the people. The impression one gets is of the people of Taiwan very genially making instrumental and rational use of one another. There do not seem to be any ‘values’ here to speak of. Folk religion might be a source of value, and Yuezhen becomes an icon in folk religion; but all folk religion represents in this story is a quantificatory mentality and a logic of interested exchange. People do make offerings to the religious idols, which seems like a practice in a spiritual gift economy. However, they worship in order to get a specific benefit, information that has a quantifiable value because it will cash out as lottery winnings. When the illegal lottery is shut down by the government, the folk idols, now worthless, are summarily discarded (43).

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<sup>5</sup> Once it was Wu Feng who haunted the aborigines; now an aboriginal or Mestizo woman haunts Wu Feng’s people. The ghost of Wu Feng has not been appeased, however, and in Wu He’s recent novel *Luanmi* (volume 1) he appears, this time to haunt the Taiwanese reader.

This official act might seem like closure, to this lottery episode at least, but the true moment of closure in the story is a closure of wounds. After everyone has left, Yuezhen begins dancing to a distant music:

As the tempo of the music increased, the dance of the girlish ghost intensified. The path of salt [on which she danced] was like a long red carpet...in the midst of the most extreme contortions, the female spirit felt a thrill of giddiness she had never felt before in flesh or spirit. It was a limitless happiness, an intoxicating consolation. (39)

Thereupon, her wounds “shoot out” onto the ground (41), where they are “accepted, received, and encased within the path of salt” (42). Dominated in the past, Yuezhen experiences in the present, in a ghostly form, a *kuaiyi ziyou* (快意自由) (42), a (political) ‘happy liberty’ or an (economic) ‘fortunate freedom’. The sense of *ziyou* here, however, seems to be neither political nor economic but rather spiritual emancipation: her spirit turns to light (42) and her ‘golden body’ (43) disappears, a golden body being an idol, often a Buddhist idol. Finally Yuezhen has escaped the cycle of death and rebirth that is in the Buddhist or Liberal schemes of things driven by desire, and she has done so through the final consummation of her own desire.

Many issues remain unresolved, despite the narrative and vaginal closure. The story gives the reader a ‘sense of an ending’, but fails to analyze Subaltern Female Desire into the desires for political liberty, economic freedom, and spiritual emancipation. The only suggestion of the political undercurrent of the 1970s is of Dangwai activities held at the ‘squaw’ shrine (36). Dangwai was a Taiwanese political movement that at the time had not yet analyzed ‘the Taiwanese people’ into a complex of classes, whose inequities politics ideally exists to ameliorate. The national economic life in the story is thoroughly pointless, as a lottery produces nothing but hope, which it dashes in all but a few of the participants. But Li Ang seems to view this efflorescence of popular political and economic activity positively because it is popular rather than imposed, bottom up rather than top down. In fact, what Yuezhen escapes from is the economic and spiritual economies in the 1970s, in which she is exploited. Why is it that Li Ang makes her exploitation in the 1970s seem so harmless in comparison with her exploitation in the 1770s? Why the change in narrative mode from gothic to glitzy, from an exploitation tragedy to a disco dance, with a revenge thriller as a kind of glitch in the middle? Yes, the story is set in the 1970s, before the aboriginal movement got going, but given that it was written in the early 2000s about an aboriginal maiden who was the victim of historical injustice, one might have expected

more from Li Ang than an orgasmic ghost dance that ends all-too-easily in spiritual transcendence, in happiness outside history.

The erotic ghost dance that ends the story is an unintentional parodic allusion, to the Ghost Dance of 1890, the popular and overtly political movement of peace prophet Jack Wilson. Wilson was a utopian pacifist, but, as traveling theory has a way of transforming when it crosses borders, the Ghost Dance became militant. Sitting Bull, chief of the Lakota Sioux, refused to obey a U.S. Army order to stop his people from doing the Ghost Dance, and two weeks later, on December 28, 1890, the movement ended in the Massacre at Wounded Knee. The next year, according to Frederick Jackson Turner, the Western frontier closed, decisively, once and for all.

“Dingfanpo de gui” represents a prominent novelist coming to terms with the history of the early settlement of the island. It is significant that the settlement is no longer described in such epic terms. We are a long way aesthetically from the heroic pioneers of *Tangshan guo Taiwan*, discussed in Chapter 3, or, for that matter, *Miyuan*. However, the final freedom of the aboriginal maiden comes too easily, and suggests the continued national exclusion of the aborigines, the national failure to include them ethically or ethnically into the Taiwanese nation. There is certainly no attempt to “re-indigenize” (Cariou 733) the Formosan landscape or to deal with contemporary aboriginal political, economic or spiritual issues. The maiden escapes into a more ethereal existence, but perhaps not into nothingness. Li Ang asks, “Where is she now?” (43), suggesting that ‘Yuezhen’ is still relevant, perhaps to debates on justice in the settler society of Taiwan. Li Ang might have asked “Where are they now?” in reference to the mouth-wounds encased within the path of salt, within the land itself, on which Yuezhen danced. One imagines that as mouths, rather than as signifiers of ‘pain’ or ‘shame’ or as signs of the lucky numbers in the lottery, they might have quite a lot to say. It is to Li Ang’s shame that she did not probe their significance further.

#### 4. Conclusion to Chapter 8

Now that we have Li Ang’s explicit treatment of aboriginal or Mestizo dispossession in 2004 in mind, it is time to return to the significance of the motif of haunting in *Miyuan*. For Lin Xigeng and Zhu Yinghong are both haunted. At one point, after a long separation, Lin Xigeng meets Zhu Yinghong and tells her lately there have been a lot of lonely ghosts around (128). Moreover, Lin and Zhu make love twice in the garden, and both times they feel haunted. The first time, Lin has the uncanny sense that Zhu’s ancestors are watching them. The second time is

after the donation ceremony at the end of the novel. They turn on all the lights, and the garden looks like something out of the *Liaozhai zhiyi* (277), the most famous collection of ghost stories in the Chinese tradition. They again feel the ethereal presence of Mrs. Chen and Zhu Feng. But what reason have they to haunt the living? The living have done them no injustice, though they living may have failed to atone for the wrongs committed by their ancestors. The original antagonism was between Mrs. Chen and Zhu Feng, whose ghost seems to have realized a posthumous concern about the family fortune, his ghost roaming Taiwan and not the roaring sea. Mrs. Chen's concern was to keep Zhu Feng out of and not to end the family line of which she is the matriarch. In the end, I think, they haunt the living because they have the power to do so, because their stature in the otherworld is related to the socioeconomic superiority they once enjoyed in the real one. And for a contemporary reader, I think, it is hard to find this kind of national narrative of family fortune extending beyond the grave very compelling or meaningful. I think the novel is rather more compelling, and more haunted, if the non-elitist, materialist background to the novel is emphasized, as I tried to do in my criticism. The ones who really haunt the novel are those 'certain *others* who are not present' because they live elsewhere, in remote communities and in urban ghettos, those who are still in some sense excluded from the symbolic national garden of contemporary Taiwan. For Li Ang to allow this repressed to return would have given her story more power and more to say. But she does not go there, and consequently her story is a shadow of the national allegory it could have been.

If *Miyuan* fails to be uncanny, might "Dingfanpo de gui" achieve the aesthetic effect of haunting? Freud argued that "...doubts whether a lifeless object might not be in fact inanimate" (17.226) are associated with the uncanny, and that to the neurotic there is something uncanny about the female sex organs (17.245). Yuezhen fits the bill on both counts. I am not extremely impressed by Li Ang's story, but though it is trying too hard perhaps here and there it gives one the shivers. There have, it seems to me, been some more effectively uncanny moments in the other works I have dealt with in chapters 5 through 7. In particular, there are a number of images I have pointed out that might keep returning to haunt the reader: Liang Jinhao's look up at the helicopter in *Hehuan shan shang*, the revenant snake in "Shewu," the image of Yiluka Molai waiting at the hanging bridge and of aboriginal maidens who have thrown themselves off of bridges in "Shewu" and *Lao Mo*, Meizhu's nightmare of engulfment in a flood, the image of the sticky waste gurgling out of Aru in the seaside windbreak after a botched abortion, and, in *Yusheng*, Monamahong throwing her children off a cliff but being too afraid to follow.



What does it matter if a ghost story about aborigines is uncanny? It matters because uncanny stories bother us, because they draw us out of individual, self-interested, complacent bourgeois domesticity. If the meaning of the stories is perfectly obvious, if the reader anticipates the equation of justice and haunting in a story, the reading will leave not an emotional ripple behind. An aboriginal ghost story has to be haunting, hopefully enough to get people to debate the issues in the public sphere and act on the basis of shared understanding. And there is more to a shared understanding than making intellectual connections intersubjectively. There is an enduring place for literature in the public sphere. There is a place in the public sphere not simply for literary 'rationality', which relates to "literature's exceptional capacity to articulate ways of considering matters of generalizable concern" (Colclasure 35), but also for literature's power to grip, to engage readers as complex political, spiritual, economic, emotional and intellectual beings. That, it seems to me, is why uncanny or otherwise powerful works of fiction and film have a role to play.

## **Conclusion: The national significance of aboriginal writing in settler society**

I dwell in Possibility –  
A fairer House than Prose –  
More numerous of Windows –  
Superior – for Doors –

– Emily Dickinson

The Formosan aboriginal maiden was represented as assimilating to the Chinese national norm in works of film and fiction in the 1950s and 1960s. She disappeared in the 1970s. But she returned in the 1980s as a commodity. The nationalist familial promise had not been kept. Neither had the liberal market economy been kind. There is an obvious political significance to her return, as it seems to expose the national community into which the aborigines had supposedly been welcomed as a market not a home. In this way, the revenant challenged the discourse of national domestication. She had become a family domestic, not a family member. In the first part of this Conclusion I discuss the when and the how of her return in relation to her continued political relevance. In the second part, I deal with the emergence of the Formosan aboriginal writer as an event of the utmost significance in a democratizing settler nation. Both parts fit within the rubric of ‘aboriginal writing’, including writing both about and by aborigines.

### 1. The return of the vanishing Formosan

When does the repressed return? It seemed to me at one stage in my research that in many of the settler societies I was researching there was a long delay between the nationalist romance and the exposure of the truth of settler colonial abuse. In the United States, it was three-quarters of a century from Longfellow’s *The Song of Hiawatha* to Crane’s *The Bridge*. In Latin America, it was over a century from the first indigenizing foundational fictions to The Boom. In Taiwan, it was almost three decades from the Chinese nationalist interethnic romances to the anti-romance of aboriginal commodification narratives in the 1980s. The truth will out, it seemed to me: the repressed will be dredged out of the national unconscious by the agency of conscience, sooner or later. I dwell on this point because I was accused in a talk I gave at the London School

of Economics in late 2007 of thinking ‘teleologically’: my accuser argued – contra the position he thought I was adopting – that everything is contingent. I gave in on this point at the time, but in retrospect I think I should have stuck to my teleological guns. I would now say that there is a teleology of truth; truth telling in Habermas has been described as “a telos” (Abizadeh, “Historical Truth” 299), a function of human rationality. Historically it is only a tendency, but in recent history it seems to be a pretty strong tendency. There may be an equally strong tendency towards avoidance, as in the Li Ang story I discussed in the previous chapter, but in that case other writers have to insist upon confronting the truth.

How does the repressed return? According to Franz Fanon in *Les Damnées de la Terre*, in a colony (of exploitation) the repressed must return violently, in anticolonial revolution. For Fanon, the colonized Algerian people *were* the repressed. Perhaps as individuals they had to repress their desires, which were interdicted only because of the colonial situation. At any rate, Fanon saw the violent expression of this desire positively. There was to be no talking cure. Not surprisingly, in settler societies, since the 1960s in America, aboriginal militancy and resistance has been valorized. In Taiwan, Mona Rudao has been celebrated. Even Tang Yingshen has (in the 1999 film *Chaoji gongmin*) been represented as a noble albeit tragic figure. In settler societies, violent resistance on a large scale is simply not possible, nor is it to be encouraged. The talking cure and peaceful, communicative action based thereupon are the only sane avenues in today’s world. Doris Sommer has in a recent article described as “a return of the repressed” a scene in Mario Vargas Llosa’s novel *El Hablador* [The Storyteller] when an expatriate Peruvian in Florence sees a picture of a member of a desperate aboriginal minority of his home country, the Machiguenga of Amazonia (“About Face: The Talker Turns” 12). In Sommer’s analysis it is the expatriate who has repressed the truth of colonization. The return of the aborigine gets the talking cure started.

Sooner or later, the repressed returns, but how then is the settler to respond? One aspect of the response to the aboriginal revenant should surely be recognition of the other, and not recognition of the other *as* an incarnation of the national identity of the settler, “a reformed, recognizable Other” as Homi Bhabha put it in a different kind of colonial context. Chinese settlers on Taiwan can no longer legitimately recognize the aboriginal maiden as a Chinese or a Taiwanese. In her article on *El Hablador*, Doris Sommer uses the very beautiful philosophy of Emmanuel Levinas to describe the “shocking recognition” (91) the expatriate experiences. In his recognition, his subjectivity is established, by a photograph of the face of the Other. And it is not

the Other who is defenceless but, “facing an unknowable but inescapable Other who demands recognition” (92), the privileged expatriate:

Transfixed and helpless in their derivative identity and in their humbling mortality, Levinas’s subject and Vargas Llosa’s character practically shudder at the awful impact of a human face that issues divine demands. (92)

Recognition, in other words, is no longer aggressive, as in the Hegelian parable of master and slave. Neither is it governmental, as in the ‘halt’ or the ‘hey you’ of Althusser’s policeman. Recognition now has awesome ethical entailments. But recognition is complex, because the settler for the aborigine is also an Other. To the extent that Levinas emphasizes the helplessness of the other, in this case of the aborigine, he needs to be complemented. In this regard, in a brilliant chapter in his brilliant monograph *Colonial Encounters*, Peter Hulme shows how the agency of the aboriginal maiden was negated when her story was reread as a sentimental romance. The story he discusses was of Inkle and Yarico. Inkle the Englishman sold Yarico the Mulatto slave, and sold her together with her child. In the original story, Yarico was already a slave and the child was not Inkle’s. The original story is “an impressive cameo of an Amerindian slave woman coping.” In the sentimentalization of the story, which was taken up by the anti-slavery movement, the child was Inkle’s. The retelling patronizingly “freeze[s] the forsaken woman in the sentimental tableau of her abandonment” (Hulme 237). The reimagination of the story had sentimentalized Yarico into helplessness.

Wu He’s response to Maiden is the most interesting of any fictional settler’s response to any fictional Formosan aborigine in all of the works I have studied. It is complex, with desire, compassion, awe, and respect intermixed. There is even judgment in his response. As I have argued, he judges Maiden. At least he corrects her in public. In doing so, he seems to retain some nostalgia for norms of behaviour. Charles Taylor’s article “The Politics of Recognition” is on the issue of the suspension of judgment in the face of the other. In Taiwan the issue would be headhunting. Why should we suspend our judgment and recognize the legitimacy of headhunting? Wu He examines the legitimacy of the Wushe Incident in terms of the norms of 1930 and 1990, as well as the legitimacy of Maiden’s embarrassing public conduct. In neither case can he convince himself of the legitimacy of the aboriginal action in question. Surely this is not necessarily wrong of him. Surely there should be a politics of recognition. Not all cultural practices can be sustained in the modern world. Not all are defensible according to any formulation of the principle of concern for the other. Most significantly and admirably, it seems to me, there is no pity in Wu He’s response. The way he ends the novel does seem pessimistic.

The last scene in the novel is not the narrator leaving Maiden at the bridge but rather the narrator visiting a survivor of the Wushe Incident. The survivor had married a girl from another Atayal tribe involved in the internecine attack against the perpetrators of the Wushe Incident. It was a marriage of reconciliation. Now the survivor is very old. An invalid, he lies in bed, not a thought in his head (250). This is how the ‘remains of life’ (餘生) are, for him, to be lived. He is not long for this world, and life has become a matter of passion. His fate is almost complete. I focused on Maiden in my criticism of the novel because she is not going to spend the rest of her life in bed, though once she made a living there. Though traumatized, she is a survivor. She can cope. She does not want anyone’s pity. Wu He’s narrator has not abandoned her, for they remain friends. Maiden just wants Wu He’s narrator to remember her ‘when he smiles’.

The writers and filmmakers I have discussed in this dissertation have helped keep the Formosan aboriginal maiden in the Chinese settler mind. They have done so even when they have romanced her, even when they have appropriated her for settler nation-building. Even in the constructive works, sometimes inadvertently, there were uncanny moments, which became all the more unsettling in the critical works. The obvious charge to level at these cultural producers, constructive or critical, is that they failed to bear the burden of realism. Most of the writers and filmmakers I have discussed had only a hazy idea of the ‘cultural’ differences among the various groups of aborigines. But I think it is better to get something wrong than not to speak of it at all, as mistaken or mendacious representations tend to get corrected in the public sphere through the agency of communicative reason. Ye Shitao gave us a cartoonish Überaborigine whose individual competence was supposedly related to the ‘matriarchal’ social organization of Siraya society. Wu He gave us, as a corrective, an all too human Maiden, a girl with problems, many of them self-imposed, who nonetheless still dwells in possibility, a Maiden of hills and streams (山水姑娘), six *fen* of land her property, an island her home.

To say that the settler should keep the aborigine in mind is to assert a value. Liberals might question this ‘should’. As every native knows, ‘I didn’t do it’, ‘it’s not my responsibility’, ‘it happened long ago’, ‘the Indians have got to take responsibility for themselves’, ‘I pay my taxes, so let the government worry about them’ are obvious answers to these issues. Some natives may realize that these are typically liberal answers. There is indeed a lot of truth these answers. Liberals pursue their private lives and leisure activities. They enjoy domesticity. They develop their individuality. There is a lot that is beautiful in the valorization of freedom, privacy, and even solitude. This dissertation is indeed partly a defence of liberalism. Among fellow

liberals I count the Wu He and Maiden. But modern bourgeois domesticity, it seems to me, tends to isolate people in a very unhealthy way. I am not calling for the walls to come down, as Marxists like Fredric Jameson sometimes do, waxing lyrical or even orgasmic about ‘communal existence’. I am simply asserting that settlers should keep the aborigines in their minds and hearts as a matter of justice and humanity. For no man (or Maiden) is an island. Liberal individuals are members of larger communities, one of which is the nation. This is certainly not to downplay the significance of the local community, to ignore the ways in which Taiwan is politically, economically, and ecologically a part of the world parish, nor is it to insist that national belonging is necessarily more important than other kinds of belonging. It is simply to assert that the nation is still important as a transpersonal level of analysis for human concern and action. It draws individuals out of themselves.

The nation must be imagined to be meaningful, and the Formosan aborigines are now essential to any honest emplotment of postmodern Taiwanese national identity. Indeed, Taiwan has been reconceived as a multinational nation in Chen Shuibian’s rhetoric of the nation-to-nation (國對國) relation between the Han people and the Formosan aborigines. A nation-to-nation relation is just a political slogan or a policy directive, and while lawyers and technocrats hash out the relevant legislation, cultural producers should set to work ‘humanizing the abstraction’ in works of film and fiction combining rationality and sensibility in the narrative articulation of memory, predicament and possibility. Moreover, the narrativization of national identity can now no longer be exclusively top down. This is not to say that there should be no hierarchy in society, no honoured place for the wisdom of age, just that for Taiwanese nationalism to be postmodern and no longer simply a kind of ‘settler nationalism’, it has to be a bottom up, collective, communicative venture, in which, according to the ideal of democracy, everyone must have the right to participate.

## 2. The appearance of the aboriginal writer

In stating the limitations of this dissertation in the Introduction, I explained my rationale for a study of how the Han Chinese settlers of Taiwan have represented the Formosan aborigines rather than how the Formosan aborigines have represented themselves. But even to me, the lack of an aboriginal voice in the national debate seems an unpardonable flaw, especially given my emphasis on Habermas. More than any other writer, Wu He lets Maiden, and all the other residents of Qingliu, speak. But it is his novel, not Maiden’s. She was still a spoken being, not a

speaking one, still Wu He's *énoncé* rather than her own *énonciation*, to use Lacan's vocabulary filtered through Homi Bhabha. Perhaps she should also be described as written rather than writing. She is no longer exactly an object of pedagogy, but she is not yet a performative subject.

To begin to address this lack of attention to aboriginal writing, I discuss several works of national romance by aboriginal authors, asking what national allegorical significance they might have. Most of these stories are by male aboriginal authors, in which case a Han Chinese man usually appears as an interloper, one who becomes implicated in either the romance or prostitution of the Formosan aboriginal maiden. I am also relating these works to the theme I claim in some sense underlies all debate on the aborigines in the public sphere: national domestication. National domestication may not be the best question to put to aboriginal literature in general, but I think the nation will tend to loom large in aboriginal writing. These are also stories about the fate of the aborigine, which is in some sense domestication. In some works the experience of passion is emphasized, while in others the possibilities of action are stressed. In stories of action, domestication is no longer a regulatory regime to which aborigines are subjected but a creative process productive of alternative aboriginal modernities.

Aborigines may envision alternatives in narrative form in the public sphere for the benefit of other aborigines or for a wider audience. In a very limited way, I am trying to do what Sneja Gunew did in "Denaturalizing Cultural Nationalisms: Multicultural Readings of 'Australia'" (99-120), one of the essays in Homi Bhabha's *Nation and Narration*. Gunew describes a set of alternative public spheres in which the myth of White Australia is dismantled. The most important alternative public sphere Sneja Gunew discusses is the aboriginal public sphere. Whereas Sneja Gunew discusses the formation and deconstructive function of the Australian aboriginal public sphere, I think in terms of the entry of Formosan aborigines into the national public sphere. An aboriginal public sphere would be a forum for aborigines to discuss their issues amongst themselves. But it seems to me that the audience of the stories I discuss below was not supposed to be limited to aboriginal people.

I choose these particular works because they were anthologized in the two volumes of fiction in the most important anthology of Formosan aboriginal literature, the *Taiwan yuanzhu minzu Hanyu wenxue xuanji* 台灣原住民族漢語文學選集 [Selection of literature in Chinese by Taiwanese aborigines]. None of the works in John Balcom's *Indigenous Writers of Taiwan* except "Zuihou de lieren" are relevant.

## 2.1. Topas Tamapima: Hard to be a hunter

“Zuihou de lieren” 最後的獵人 [The Last Hunter] (1987) is by Topas Tamapima (田雅各), a Bunun doctor.<sup>1</sup> It is considered representative, the most discussed and probably the best known story by an aboriginal writer. The story is about a man who is physically a giant but socially a midget, a man who towers over his superiors. The mood of the story is despairing. It is set in winter. The protagonist’s wife had gotten pregnant and miscarried the previous year. In Topas Tamapima’s writings generally, there is a failure of aboriginal unions to produce fruit. He also often returns to the motif of the ancestral curse. The wife blames her husband for the loss of the baby, because she thinks he has been cursed by his ancestors, who were shamans (8). Now, Topas Tamapima is a doctor not a hunter, and I doubt that having received a modern scientific education he believes in ancestral curses. Though as an explanation of the wife’s feelings the trope is appropriate, it seems to me that what the wife really blames him for is what he cannot help, the accidents of his birth and his lack of opportunities. She represents Formosan aboriginal womanhood angry at Formosan aboriginal manhood, whose skill set has no place in the modern world, in which hunting is not a way of life but rather a sport or a sideline – the wife suggests he sell whatever he catches to the local Hakka proprietor in order to repair the walls of their house (11), whereas in the past it was customary for hunters to share meat communally. It is said that one way to lift an ancestral curse is to make a gift of meat (18), but now a commodity economy has replaced the old gift economy. He hopes to bring home a goat to make his wife happy and help her recover from the miscarriage (27), but one senses she would not be that impressed. At the end of the story the hunter is caught with game by a forest cop, who corruptly pockets the illegal take of forest products. The hunter appeals to the cop man-to-man when he explains why he went hunting:

It’s not because I’m a glutton, but because I had a fight with my wife. She doesn’t respect me because I can’t find a job. (32)

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<sup>1</sup> Topas Tamapima has worked as a doctor on Orchid Island and published a book of essays based on his stay called *Lanyu xingyiji*, which recalls Schweitzer, the 1965 film *Lanyu zhi ge*, and Ye Shitao’s story “Xingyiji” from 1967. It would be interesting to compare Ye Shitao’s and Topas Tamapima’s treatments of the issue of modern medicine on the reservation. Topas Tamapima has another story on this topic, “Wushi de mori” 巫師的末日 [Last day of the medicine man] (1992), which might also be relevant. It stands to reason that Topas Tamapima’s feelings might be more mixed about the last day of the medicine man than Ye Shitao’s were.



The forest cop, being a retired soldier originally from mainland China, is clearly a guest in Taiwan. Instead of behaving as a guest, he, representing the authority of the state, treats the aboriginal hunter as unruly, if not criminal.

## 2.2. Cai Jinzhi, Yubas Naogih, Atas Ta-os: Losing the maiden to the market

“Qingren yu jinu” 情人與妓女 [A lover and a whore] (1992) is also by Topas Tamapima. In this story, aboriginal manhood loses aboriginal womanhood to the market, to prostitution and not to the marriage market. The narrator is a young Bunun doctor working in a very temporary (five day) clinic in a Taroko aboriginal village in Hualian. He falls in love with a Taroko girl, a substitute teacher he meets during who works alongside him. They become pen pals, but after he goes into the army and her father dies they fall out of touch. One day on leave, the doctor sees her again in Taipei around the Longshan temple in Wanhua, where she is working as a prostitute. Rather improbably, even though only a few years have passed, they do not recognize each other. When he realizes who she is, he wants to save her. She refuses: by doing this work she lets her mother enjoy a comfortable life and her brothers go to school. She’s making more than she would have done as a substitute teacher, especially now that she has redeemed herself out of bondage. His judgment of her refusal to be saved is that she is insane. He wants to save her from herself, and from settler lust, by committing her to a psychiatric institution. She refuses his appeal, which she interprets as national not personal. To her mind, despite their past together, they are now no longer part of the same moral community:

Whores have no country. Whoreland is hardly a country. Even if we had a country, we would still be whores. This is our country, but if I had it to choose I would choose America. (86)

To her, America represents equal opportunity and the chance to become a self-made woman. Ideologically, perhaps, she is insane, because she identifies herself as a member of an exploited working class in the Marxist sense but longs to be a citizen of the land of the free. Whether or not Topas Tamapima is a liberal, he has no faith in an aboriginal woman’s capacity to take care of herself, to make meaning out of the worst living conditions and experiences – even prostitution. Topas Tamapima’s position might seem a little patronizing. The story might have been more interesting and successful if it had been written from the woman’s perspective.

“Qingren yu jinu” is the first story in what can be seen as a genre of fiction by male aboriginal writers that might be termed the bordello rescue narrative. In this story, the rescue

attempt fails because of the girl's refusal to be saved. In "Hua hen" 花痕 (1995) by Cai Jinzhi 蔡金智, a Taroko aborigine, the rescue attempt is successful, and the ending improbably happy. There is no drama to the story because in the opening scene we know that the worst is behind the protagonist, who is now back home, living happily with her husband and son. She had been tricked into prostitution by one of the local girls and a pimp after her father had been blinded while hunting. One of her customers, Mr. Xie, is an aboriginal. When he recognizes that she is also an aborigine and from a neighbouring village, he resolves to save her. He very dramatically rescues her from the brothel by breaking the window and climbing through.

"Chiluo shanmai" 赤裸山脈 [Naked Range] (1999) was written by Yubas Naogih (Tian Minzhong 田敏忠), an Atayal man, when he was in his mid-50s. The title of the story is the most explicit instance imaginable of the symbolic identification of woman and landscape, both being bared and possessed by Han Chinese manhood. A young man takes one of the village elders to find his daughter in Taizhong. The grandfather thinks his daughter is doing well in the city. He thinks she is a movie star. But along the way they see a poster from a seedy sideshow mixing strip tease and comedy in a bus shelter with her image on it. When they get to Taizhong they never do manage to find the daughter. The young man, who lives in Taizhong, lies to the old fellow, telling him his daughter is 'touring' southern Taiwan. The father had brought a rope to tie his daughter up and force her to return to the hills. It would not have been a rescue from the perspective of the daughter, who no doubt is enjoying the benefits of her lifestyle. Though she makes a living off her appearance, performing in a low class show is a cut above prostitution. The old fellow never sees his daughter. Elders are supposed to represent wisdom and tradition, but in this story the elders are sadly shown to be unable either to command authority or to even understand what is going on in the symbolic social landscape of modern Taiwan.

Finally, "Lieren" 獵人 [The Hunter] by Atas Ta-os (Gen Jian 根健), a Saisiat man, is very much a romance of aboriginal masculinity. From the point of view of narration, it is the most interesting of all the stories in the collection edited by Sun Dachuan. The narrator and protagonist is, as we gather by the end, piecing together memories in prison, where he awaits execution. The memories are presented as vignettes and are not all in temporal order. It seems he had been employed as a coolie in junior high school. It is suggested he was tricked into it, but by the end his employer seems nice enough. He starts getting into trouble. He gets the reputation as a local tough and starts frequenting prostitutes, who know him as the violent sort (195). Later he

becomes a frogman in the navy, an outstanding special forces soldier. Most of his comrades are aborigines; perhaps the author is appealing to the stereotype about aboriginal physical excellence. The rescue motif appears in the middle of the story; he rescues his sister from out of a brothel. She had been forced into the business. He manages to see her during the day, and arranges to come back in the middle of the night. His former employer is driving the getaway car. By the end of the story, he is awaiting execution because he has murdered a real estate agent and taken a police officer hostage, fleeing into the mountains. His violent outburst had two causes. First, his mother had shacked up with a flatlander, who had sold off all her property and abandoned her. It is for this reason that the protagonist-narrator kills the real estate agent. He takes the police officer hostage because he had forced himself on the protagonist-narrator's mother. The story is in some sense about aboriginal masculinity asserting itself in a self-destructive way. The exploitation of the aborigines by the Han Chinese is presented in an overly dramatic and stereotyped way. The irony of the contrast between the news report of the narrator-protagonist's capture and the congratulations to Chiang Kai-shek on his birthday is also a bit obvious. But if the critique of the Han Chinese nation-state is stark, the story is still compelling.

### 2.3. Rimui Aki: A woman's choice

In none of these stories by male aboriginal writers does one get a clear idea of a woman's perspective. The male aboriginal writers treat the prostitution of aboriginal women in the same way as Chinese nationalist writers and filmmakers tended to treat Chinese prostitution to foreign men on the mainland in the 1930s and on Taiwan in the late 1960s and 1970s, as a matter of national shame. It stands to reason that aboriginal women writers would tend to portray aboriginal women less figuratively, by which I mean less allegorically and more realistically.

There are unfortunately few female Formosan aboriginal writers on whose writings this hypothesis could be tested. The only aboriginal female writer of fiction included in the collection edited by Sun Dachuan is Rimui Aki (Zeng Xiumei 曾修媚), an Atayal woman and Montessori school teacher. Rimui Aki will have to serve as the representative voice of aboriginal womanhood. Liglave Awu, who has a Chinese father and a Paiwanese mother, is the most famous female aboriginal writer, but her works are all lyrical essays and thus outside the scope of this dissertation.

Prostitution is not a theme of either story I will discuss by Rimui Aki, in which the nature of a woman's choice is not whether or not to go into or make the most of the flesh trade but

rather connubial: exogamy or endogamy, to marry a flatlander or a fellow aborigine? First, “Xiao gongzhu” 小公主 [Little Princess] (2000) is the story of a well-off young Atayal woman narrated by her friend, who initially seems less fortunate in the material sense. The story has a ‘coat-of-many-colors’ moral, that being poor and being happy are not mutually exclusive, and that being rich does not guarantee a happy family life. The little princess marries exogamously. Her husband is a Hakka. They have several children and live in a traditional three-wing house with a courtyard (三合院) in a traditional Hakka village in the hills. She ends up getting a divorce. It is harder to make a home than to buy a house. Socially, the story traces the modernization of Atayal social mores, though the author, a Catholic, seems rather traditional – or conservative – in her outlook. Divorce is no longer impossible. It is even common. But it is still frowned upon. The narrator’s own marriage is to an Atayal man.

Second, endogamous Atayal marriage is in the foreground in another story of Rimui Aki’s, “Huai Xiang” 懷湘 (2001). In a way, this story is about the modernization of Atayal mores. The two Atayal tribes represented by the heroine and hero are ancestral enemies, but after the girl gets pregnant in junior high school they have to get married (151). The most interesting aspect of the story is the deconstruction of Gaga, a catch-all Atayal word meaning social order. Gaga is the reason the youngsters have to get married, but in one episode Gaga is simply a rhetorical tool of patriarchy, used by men to control women. The wife Huai Xiang does not so much question Gaga – the author is also fairly traditional in this story – as subvert illegitimate appeals to Gaga by her husband’s family. Her husband had given her a venereal disease contracted while in the army, and still expects to sleep with her (162). Her father in law says her refusal is against Gaga. She goes home and her father agrees to negotiate with her father in law. Everyone agrees that the husband’s behaviour did not conform to Gaga. A thousand NT dollars as compensation saves the marriage, which ends happily.

Is there any allegorization of an aboriginal woman’s choice in this story? Does it have a national significance? I think it does. Both Huai Xiang’s parents are Atayal, but her name is not. Her father Wadan was a career soldier, and it was his commanding officer, a national authority figure, who chose the name. The commanding officer was from Hunan province in China, as the character *xiang* (湘) means either the River Xiang which flows north and empties into Lake Dongting, or Hunan Province, for which it is a metonym. Huai Xiang means ‘Hunan on my mind’. I imagine that Rimui Aki had friends who were so named. Letting one’s commanding officer name one’s children seems to have been a way to honour him. However, the name ends

up sounding like an ironic honour, because it also homonymic with a phrase meaning ‘to be homesick’ (懷鄉). In other words, an aboriginal character carries a Chinese name that paradoxically reinforces the aboriginality of the story, which is about the transcendence of homesickness for a natal aboriginal village by a girl who moves to another aboriginal village when she marries. Much of the story is about the hardship Huai Xiang experiences after she moves up the mountain to her husband’s village. The reference to Hunan is at any rate ironic. After seven long years, either reading of her name becomes irrelevant, because now she is married, really and truly. I do not think that the story is to be read crudely as an anti-Chinese national allegory, of the sort male aboriginal writers tended to write when they treated aboriginal prostitution. The main issues facing aboriginal women seem to be the negotiation and modern reinterpretation of tradition. In terms of marriage, the aboriginal women in the stories of Rimui Aki have a choice. To the extent that there is national allegory in them, it is in the fact that marrying a flatlander does not bring happiness, even if it allows for a more prosperous material existence. Rimui Aki tends to assert the value of aboriginal endogamy. This may seem a rather conservative stance, but we should keep in mind that intermarriage, even among individuals of different aboriginal tribes in Taiwan, is one of the gravest threats to the preservation of aboriginal tradition, culture, and especially language. Modernity, which vastly increases individual freedom, brings with it a liberal threat to minority languages and cultures.

These two stories by Rimui Aki support my very tentative thesis that aboriginal women writers tend to portray aboriginal women more realistically. It would also be unwise to claim that an allegorical interpretation is therefore invalid, because realism and allegory have never been mutually exclusive. But in some cases one should not let the allegory overshadow the realism, which would be a critical ‘obsession with Taiwan’ that Rimui Aki may not happen to share. Though the national question will likely loom larger in aboriginal fiction as it has in aboriginal lives, we cannot expect the nation to be the true referent of every story by an aboriginal writer. That would be more weight than the brain of any writer should have to bear. While allegorical overtones that disturb the discourse of settler national domestication are clearly present in “Huai Xiang,” Rimui Aki also insists upon a kind of aboriginal domestic realism, a middling mode of writing between romanticism and naturalism in which the aboriginal maiden is neither the author of her own destiny nor a creature of fatality.

### 3. Leaving the Formosan aboriginal maiden domesticated but dwelling in possibility

Having reached the end of this dissertation, it seems a wonder to me that in my obsession with national domestication the image of the aborigine as nomad did not occur to me. For Deleuze and Guattari and their epigones, it is the nomad who challenges the discourse of domestication or of ‘sedentarization’. Aborigines have an important role to play in this discussion. Ironically, aborigines in the modern and postmodern worlds have become very much tied to the land, sequestered on reservations or at least committed to the idea that ‘this land is ours’. In so far as we can know it, the truth of aboriginal existence in the past was more complex, diverse and interesting. It partook of both nomadism and domestication, the twin poles of human experience and human need which Yifu Tuan called *Space and Place* over three decades ago. As nomads, the Formosan aborigines came to the island of Taiwan at various times over the past six millennia. They settled down and tore up roots and replanted themselves elsewhere. Their experience, like that of humanity in general, has been one of punctuated equilibrium, equilibrium being another word for settlement. There is nothing wrong with the current aboriginal attachment to settlement. In some sense, the land was theirs. It was their place, until later waves of settlers came, perceived it as space and turned it into a settler place. One can no longer read Whitman’s “Song of the Open Road,” for instance, which is very much a poem of the discovery of space, without thinking of the deterritorialization of the Indian. The road was only open for the traveling American liberal because of Indian removal. But, one hopes, it does not have to be this way, that one group’s need for space does not necessarily impinge on another’s need for place.

So where do we leave the literary figure of the Formosan maiden, at least as she is represented in works of fiction? We leave her very thoroughly (self)domesticated, settled, and on a tiny bit of territory: Maiden is alone on Riverisle hatching land development schemes and wondering where her little brother is; Huai Xiang lives in a house in the hamlet of her husband in the hills of western Taiwan, except when she hikes up to an even higher altitude to cultivate mushrooms. Neither of them is, like Walt Whitman, going to “sail pathless and wild seas” anytime soon. They are still girls of the hills. However, we may still say, offering a flatlander’s platitude, that their fates, which are already suggestive of alternative aboriginal modernities, are unfulfilled.

And where do we leave the female Formosan aboriginal writer, who has more right to represent the Formosan maiden than anyone? Rimui Aki, the only female Formosan aboriginal

writer I discussed in this dissertation, has begun to write about aboriginal imagined communities in which aboriginal women play important roles. The communities may not be allegorically national, but Rimui Aki's writing is nevertheless part of the democratic process of the literary negotiation of the Taiwanese imagination.

## Appendix: The Formosan aborigines in Chinese settler film and fiction

I have made it my mission in connection with this dissertation to compile an annotated list of fiction and film related to the aborigines. There are over a hundred and fifty works on the list, nearly a hundred and fifty from the postwar period. I do not know if Taiwanese interest in the aborigines can be considered obsessive in the manner that American interest in the Indians has been obsessive, or whether one could compare the literary production quantitatively with that of other settler societies. Not all of the works are worth talking about. But so few works have been talked about, and in such limited ways, that, it seems to me, there is still ample material for further research.

I divide the annotated summaries in section 3 below according to historical and fictional landmarks:

1. The end of the Japanese era (1945).
2. The film *Wu Feng* (1962), which told an assimilationist story about the Interpreter Wu Feng and was put in school textbooks at the height of modern nationalism in Taiwan.
3. *Mahepo fengyun* (1971), the anti-Japanese novel by Zhong Zhaozheng, written just after Taiwan had withdrawn from the UN.
4. The discrediting of the Wu Feng story in 1980, the beginning of ‘postmodernism’ in Taiwan.
5. *Tangshan guo Taiwan* (1986), an epic story of settlement and the last gasp of modern Chinese settler nationalism.
6. *1947 Gaosha baihe* (1990), a major novel in which the aborigines are drawn into Taiwanese settler nation-building.
7. *Yusheng* (2000), the greatest work yet written by a settler about the Formosan aborigines and a postmodern reconsideration of the relation between settler and aborigine that goes beyond either Chinese or Taiwanese nationalism.

### 1. Works

1914	蠻花記	Tale of a Savage Flower	李逸濤	Li Yitao	Novel
1915	搖籃...	Lullaby	宇野浩二	Uno Kōji	Story
1919	哀之曲	Song of Sorrow	技正一郎	Edamasa Yoshirō	Film
1923	魔鳥	Devil Bird	佐藤春夫	Satō Haruo	Story
1927	阿里山狹兒	Chivalrous Man of Alishan	田阪具隆	Tasaka Tomotaka	Film



1931	蕃婦	Savage Woman	大鹿卓	Ôshika Taku	Story
1932	義人吳鳳	Wu Feng the Righteous	安藤太郎	Andô Tarô	Film
1932	折箭	Broken Arrow	*	*	Film
1933	動物園	The Zoo	大鹿卓	Ôshika Taku	Story
1935	野蠻人	The Savage	大鹿卓	Ôshika Taku	Story
1939	蕃界の女	Girl of Savage Land	中村地平	Nakamura Jihei	Story
1939	霧の蕃社	Aboriginal Village in Mist	中村地平	Nakamura Jihei	Story
1940	黃家	Huang Family	龍瑛宗	Long Yingzong	Story
1941	時計草	Passionflower	坂口零子	Sakaguchi Reiko	Story
1942	陳夫人	Mrs. Chen	庄司總一	Shoji Soichi	Novel
1942	採硫記	Sulphur Extraction Journal	西川滿	Nishikawa Mitsuru	Story
1942	海上的豪族	Heroes of the Sea	荒井良平	Arai Yoshihira	Film
1943	沙鷺之鐘	Sayon's Bell	清水宏	Shimizu Hiroshi	Film
1944	波莫之死	Bomo's Death	楊達	Yang Kui	Story
1944	亞細亞的孤兒	Orphan of Asia	吳濁流	Wu Zhuoliu	Novel
1948	花蓮港	Hualian Harbor	何非光	He Feiguang	Film
1949	阿里山風雲	Storm Over Alishan	張英/張徹	Zhang Ying/Che	Film
1950	畫家洛特 萊蒙的信函	Letters from a Painter	葉石濤	Ye Shitao	Story
1952	霧社櫻花	Wushe Cherry Blossoms	陳定山	Chen Dingshan	Novel
1955	笠山農場	Lishan Farm	鐘理和	Zhong Lihe	Novel
1956	日月潭之戀	Love at Sun Moon Lake	莫康時	Mo Kangshi	Film
1957	千歲檜	Thousand Year Old Cypress	文心	Wen Xin	Story
1957	阿里山之鶯	Nightingale of Alishan	王天林	Wang Tianlin	Film
1957	阿美娜	Ameina	袁叢美	Yuan Congmei	Film
1957	青山碧血	Green Hills and Gore	何基明	He Jiming	Film
1958	合歡山的情歌	Love Song at Mt. Hehuan	韓漪	Han Yi	Story
1958	合歡山上	On Mt. Hehuan	番壘	Pan Lei	Film
1959	王哥柳哥遊台灣	Wang and Liu Travel Taiwan	李行	Li Xing	Film
1960	假黎婆(我與假黎婆)	Aboriginal Grannie	鐘理和	Zhong Lihe	Essay
1961	夏日	Summer Day	王禎和	Wang Zhenhe	Story
1961	遍地紅：霧社事件	Bloody Ground: Wushe	張深切	Zhang Shenqie	Script
1962	吳鳳	Wu Feng	卜萬蒼	Bu Wancang	Film
1962	蛇屋	Snake House	朱西寧	Zhu Xining	Story
1963	山之戀	Mountain Romance	李喬	Li Qiao	Story

1964	淒慘的無言的嘴	Poor Dumb Mouths	陳映真	Chen Yingzhen	Story
1964	海濱聖母節	The Day of the Sea Goddess	王文興	Wang Wenxing	Story
1964	多美娜	Duomeina	張彥勳	Zhang Yanxun	Story
1964	黑森林	Black Forest	袁秋楓	Yuan Qiufeng	Film
1965	蘭嶼之歌	Song of Orchid Island	潘壘	Pan Lei	Film
1965	內山姑娘	Hillbilly Lassie	魏一舟	Wei Yizhou	Film
1965	霧社風雲	Wushe Wind and Cloud	洪信德	Hong Xinde	Film
1966	玫瑰項圈	Rose Garland	葉石濤	Ye Shitao	Story
1966	內山姑娘要出嫁	Hillbilly Lassie Gets Married	李泉溪	Li Quanxi	Film
1966	吳沙墾田紀	Wu Sha's Settlement Story	文心	Wen Xin	Film
1967	行醫記	A Doctor's Diary	葉石濤	Ye Shitao	Story
1967	伊魯卡摩萊	Yiluka Molai	葉石濤	Ye Shitao	Story
1967	山上山下	Mountain Encounter	黃娟	Huang Juan	Story
1967	梨山春曉	Dawn Over Lishan	*	*	Film
1968	採硫記	Sulphur Extraction Journal	葉石濤	Ye Shitao	Story
1968	腳痠手軟	Hurting Hands and Aching Feet	*	*	Film
1969	山林的子孫	Children of the Mountain Forest	段彩華	Duan Caihua	Novel
1969	滿天裏亮晶晶的星星	Bright Stars Fill the Sky	白先勇	Bai Xianyong	Story
1970	高山寒梅	Cold Mountain Plums	任真	Ren Zhen	Novel
1970	樂得福之晨	Dawn at Ledefu	李喬	Li Qiao	Story
1970	高山青	Mountains Green	李嘉	Li Jia	Film
1970	苦情花	Flower of Bitter Love	姚鳳磐	*	Film
1970	鬼月	Ghost Moon	葉石濤	Ye Shitao	Story
1971	山園戀	Mountain Garden Love	李喬	Li Qiao	Novel
1971	馬黑坡風雲	Mahebo Wind and Cloud	鍾肇政	Zhong Zhaozheng	Novel
1972	野蠻大地	Wild Land	曾展郎	Zeng Zhanlang	Novel
1973	插天山之歌	Song of Mt. Chatian	鍾肇政	Zhong Zhaozheng	Novel
1973	馬蘭飛人	Flying Man Malan	丁善璽	Ding Shanxi	Film
1976	碧岳村遺事	Biyue Village Anecdote	古蒙仁	Gu Mengren	Story
1977	巴斯達矮考	Test of the Basidaai	李喬	Li Qiao	Story
1978	海與大地	Sea and Shore	宋澤萊	Song Zelai	Story
1978	月夜的召喚	Call of a Moonlit Night	鍾肇政	Zhong Zhaozheng	Story
1978	女人島	Isle of Women	鍾肇政	Zhong Zhaozheng	Story
1978	密密相思林	Grove of Secret Yearning	張佩成	Zhang Peicheng	Film

1979	吳鳳	Wu Feng	楊牧	Yang Mu	Drama
1979	寒夜	Wintry Nights	李喬	Li Qiao	Novel
1979	再見南國	Goodbye, South, Goodbye	王璇	Wang Xuan	Story
1979	馬利科灣英雄傳	Malikewan Hero	鍾肇政	Zhong Zhaozheng	Story
1979	蛇之妻	The Snake's Wife	鍾肇政	Zhong Zhaozheng	Story
1979	矮人之祭	Rite of the Little Folk	鍾肇政	Zhong Zhaozheng	Story
1979	夜流	Night Flood	龍瑛宗	Long Yingzong	Story
1980	源	The Source	陳耀圻	Chen Yaoqi	Film
1980	馬拉松,冠軍,一等賞	Marathon, Champion, 1 <sup>st</sup> Prize	鍾肇政	Zhong Zhaozheng	Story
1980	回山裡真好	Good to Return to the Hills	鍾肇政	Zhong Zhaozheng	Story
1980	斷雲	Through the Clouds	龍瑛宗	Long Yingzong	Story
1981	有月光的河	Moonlit River	吳錦發	Wu Jinfa	Story
1982	孽子	Crystal Boys	白先勇	Bai Xianyong	Novel
1982	馬拉邦戰記	Malabang Battle	李喬	Li Qiao	Story
1982	獵熊的人	The Bear Hunter	鍾肇政	Zhong Zhaozheng	Story
1982	勁風與野草	Wind Through the Weeds	龍瑛宗	Long Yingzong	Story
1982	老師斯卡也答	Goodbye, Teacher	宋存壽	Song Cunshou	Film
1983	燕鳴的街道	Street Where the Swallows Sing	吳錦發	Wu Jinfa	Story
1984	玫瑰玫瑰我愛你	Rose, Rose I Love You	王禎和	Wang Zhenhe	Novel
1984	暗夜的霧	Dark and Misty Night	吳錦發	Wu Jinfa	Story
1984	兩個爸爸	Two Dads	履彊	Lu Qiang	Story
1984	泰母山記	Tale of Mt. Taimu	李喬	Li Qiao	Story
1984	老萊的第二個春天	Second Spring of Old Man Mo	李幼寧	Li Youning	Film
1984	亮不亮沒關係	Don't matter if it's dark or light	朱鳳崗	Zhu Fenggang	Film
1985	川中島	Kawanakashima	鍾肇政	Zhong Zhaozheng	Novel
1985	戰火	Fire of War	鍾肇政	Zhong Zhaozheng	Novel
1985	達瑪倫尤穆	Damalun Youmu	李喬	Li Qiao	Story
1985	我的朋友住佳霧	My Friends Live in Jiawu	葉智中	Ye Zhizhong	Story
1985	台北神話	Taipei Story	虞戡平	Yu Kanping	Film
1986	月黑風高	Cloudy and Windy Night	龍瑛宗	Long Yingzong	Story
1986	唐山過台灣	The Heroic Pioneers	李行	Li Xing	Film
1987	吳鳳之死	Wu Feng's Death	胡台麗	Hu Taili	Story
1987	卑南平原	Beinan Plain	鍾肇政	Zhong Zhaozheng	Novel
1987	赤腳天使	Barefoot Angel	吳乙峰	Wu Yifeng	Film

1987	失蹤人口	Lost Population	李清介	Li Qingjie	Film
1987	報告班長	Report Sergeant	金鰲勳	Jin Aoxun	Film
1988	杜里的故事	Duli's Story	宋擇萊	Song Zelai	Story
1988	月光下的酋長	Chief in the Moonlight	履疆	Lu Qiang	Story
1988	飢餓	Hunger	張大春	Zhang Dachun	Story
1988	最後的先知	The Last Prophet	張大春	Zhang Dachun	Story
1988	戰士乾杯	Braves, a Toast!	黃春明	Huang Chunming	Story
1988	春秋茶室	Spring & Autumn Teahouse	吳錦發	Wu Jinfa	Novella
1988	春秋茶室	Spring & Autumn Teahouse	陳坤厚	Chen Kunhou	Film
1988	紅葉小巨人	Red Leaf: Little Giants	林清介	Lin Qingjie	Film
1989	老楊和他的女人	Old Yang and His Woman	履疆	Lu Qiang	Story
1989	西拉雅族的末裔	Last of the Siraya	葉石濤	Ye Shitao	Story
1989	野菊花	Wildflower	葉石濤	Ye Shitao	Story
1989	黎明的訣別	Parting at Dawn	葉石濤	Ye Shitao	Story
1989	潘銀花的第五個男人	Silverflower Pan's Fifth Man	葉石濤	Ye Shitao	Story
1990	一九四七高砂百合	47 Highland Lily	林耀德	Lin Yaode	Novel
1990	兩個油漆匠	Two Painters	虞戡平	Yu Kanping	Film
1990	西部來的人	Man From the West	黃明川	Huang Mingchuan	Film
1991	迷園	Secret Garden	李昂	Li Ang	Novel
1991	潘銀花的換帖姐妹們	Silverflower Pan's Sistahs	葉石濤	Ye Shitao	Story
1991	命田	Field of Life	葉石濤	Ye Shitao	Story
1991	鳥占	Bird Divination	葉石濤	Ye Shitao	Story
1991	馘首	Headhunter	葉石濤	Ye Shitao	Story
1991	火索槍	Firearm	葉石濤	Ye Shitao	Story
1991	冬之祭	Rite of Winter	王帥	Wang Shuai	Film
1991	陷阱	Trap	葉石濤	Ye Shitao	Story
1992	土地與靈魂	Land and Spirit	王幼華	Wang Youhua	Novel
1992	關於存在的一些信息	Messages About Existence	李喬	Li Qiao	Story
1993	奔逃，馬武窟溪	Flee, Mawuku Stream	師瓊瑜	Shi Qiongyu	Story
1993	最後一株木麻黃	Forgotten Ephedra Grove	師瓊瑜	Shi Qiongyu	Story
1993	秋天的婚禮	Wedding in Autumn	師瓊瑜	Shi Qiongyu	Story
1993	怒濤	Angry Billows	鍾肇政	Zhong Zhaozheng	Novel
1994	異族的婚禮	Intermarriage	葉石濤	Ye Shitao	Story
1994	荒人日記	Notes of a Desolate Man	朱天文	Zhu Tianwen	Novel

1994	警部補的女兒	Policeman's Daughter	葉石濤	Ye Shitao	Story
1994	牽曲	The Qianqu Ritual	葉石濤	Ye Shitao	Story
1995	馬達仙仙/拉荷阿雷	Madaxianxian & Lahe-a-lei	王家祥	Wang Jiaxiang	Story
1995	追獵	The Hunt	許銘義	Xu Mingyi	Story
1996	小矮人之謎	Mystery of the Negritos	王家祥	Wang Jiaxiang	Story
1996	山與海	Mountain and Ocean	王家祥	Wang Jiaxiang	Story
1997	倒風內海	*	王家祥	Wang Jiaxiang	Novel
1997	死河壩	Dam on a River of Death	江茂丹	Jiang Maodan	Story
1997	鴛鴦渡水	Yuanyang Crosses the Strait	葉伶芳	Ye Lingfang	Novel
1998	再會福爾摩莎	Goodbye, Formosa	東年	Dong Nian	Novel
1999	超級公民	Super Citizen	萬仁	Wan Ren	Film
1999	明信片	Postcard	*	*	Film
1999	少年噶瑪蘭	Young Man Kavalan	*	*	Film
2000	餘生	Remains of Life	舞鶴	Wu He	Novel
2000	少年阿霸士	Young Abashi	康進和	Kang Jinhe	Film
2001	瑪雅的彩虹	Maya's Rainbow	鄭文堂	Zheng Wentang	Film
2002	假面娃娃	Masked Dolls	師瓊瑜	Shi Qiongyu	Novel
2002	瓦旦的酒瓶	Watan's Bottle	鄭文堂	Zheng Wentang	Film
2003	風中的小米田	Windy Millet Field	鄭文堂	Zheng Wentang	Film
2004	頂番婆的鬼	The Ghosts of Dingfanpo	李昂	Li Ang	Story
2005	高校有刀	Knives@School	劉吉雄	Liu, Asio	Film
2005	山豬,飛鼠,撒可努	The Sage Hunter	張東亮	Zhang Dongliang	Film
2005	心靈之歌	Song of the Spirit	吳宏翔	Wu Hongxiang	Film
2006	插天山之歌	Song of Chatian Mountain	黃玉珊	Huang Yushan	Film
2006	等待飛魚	Waiting for the Flying Fish	曾文珍	Zeng Wenzhen	Film
2006	霧社人止關	Closing the Pass at Wushe	姚嘉文	Yao Jiawen	Novel
2007	熊兒悄然對我說	Cody Softly Said to Me	張瀛太	Zhang Yingtai	Novel
2007	亂迷 volume 1	Confusion	舞鶴	Wu He	Novel
2009	賽德克巴萊	Seediq Bale	魏德文	Wei Dewen	Film

## 2. Authors

Three authors, Ye Shitao, Li Qiao and Zhong Zhaozheng one Taiwanese and two Hakka, have romanced the Formosan aborigine more than any others. They all more or less became

indigenizing settler nationalists in the 1980s. In my opinion, these are not the most important writers on the aborigines. The most important writer has been Wu He.

#### Ye Shitao

1950	畫家洛特 萊蒙的信函	Letters from a Painter
1966	玫瑰項圈	Rose Garland
1967	行醫記	A Doctor's Diary
1967	伊魯卡摩萊	Yiluka Molai
1968	採硫記	Sulphur Extraction Journal
1970	鬼月	Ghost Moon
1989	西拉雅族的末裔	Last of the Siraya
1989	野菊花	Wildflower
1989	黎明的訣別	Parting at Dawn
1989	潘銀花的第五個男人	Silverflower Pan's Fifth Man
1991	潘銀花的換帖姐妹們	Silverflower Pan's Sistahood
1991	命田	Field of Life
1991	鳥占	Bird Divination
1991	馘首	Headhunter
1991	火索槍	Firearm
1991	陷阱	Trap
1994	異族的婚禮	Intermarriage
1994	警部補的女兒	Policeman's Daughter
1994	牽曲	The Qianqu Ritual

#### Li Qiao

1963	山之戀	Mountain Romance
1970	樂得福之晨	Dawn at Ledefu
1971	山園戀	Mountain Garden Love
1977	巴斯達矮考	Test of the Basidaai

1979	寒夜	Wintry Nights
1982	馬拉邦戰記	Malabang Battle
1984	泰母山記	Tale of Mt. Taimu
1985	達瑪倫尤穆	Damalun Youmu
1992	關於存在的一些信息	Messages About Existence

### Zhong Zhaozheng

1971	馬黑坡風雲	Mahebo Wind and Cloud
1973	插天山之歌	Song of Mt. Chatian
1978	月夜的召喚	Call of a Moonlit Night
1978	女人島	Isle of Women
1979	馬利科灣英雄傳	Malikewan Hero
1979	蛇之妻	The Snake's Wife
1979	矮人之祭	Rite of the Little Folk
1980	馬拉松,冠軍,一等賞	Marathon, Champion, First Prize
1980	回山裡真好	Good to Return to the Hills
1982	獵熊的人	The Bear Hunter
1985	川中島	Kawanakashima
1985	戰火	Fire of War
1987	卑南平原	Beinan Plain
1993	怒濤	Angry Billows

### 3. Summaries

#### 3.1. 1914-1945: Japanese Era

蠻花記 Tale of a Savage Flower, by 李逸濤 Li Yitao

1914 - Novel

A popular 通俗 classical Chinese story of novel-length showing the influence of translated Western fiction about the aborigines of the Hengchun Peninsula in the 1880s. It was serialized from 13 Dec. 1914 to 7 Aug. 1915 in Riri xinbao 日日新報. It's an adventure story and a love story. Similar stories in the West have been seen as part of imperialism. This story might come out of the Chinese colonial imagination. The Qing had only brought this area within the pale in the 1870s, after a Japanese merchant marine crew had been massacred by aborigines at Mudan Village and Japan had sent an expedition to claim the east coast of Taiwan in 1874 when the Qing refused to take responsibility (Eskildsen, "Of Civilization and Savages: The Mimetic<sup>1</sup> Imperialism of Japan's 1874 Expedition to Taiwan" (online)). This serial, however, was written under Japanese rule. Huang Meie 黃美娥 ("愛情、冒險、蕃情：李逸濤〈蠻花記〉的通俗敘事與文化想像" (conference paper)) thinks the work is socially conservative, that Qimei's willingness to die for love exposes the declining morals of Chinese society under western influence. Li Yitao wrote other novels in the same vein, including at least 蕃界奇緣 and 蕃人之傑. Further study is required. The main character of Tale of a Savage Flower is from Quanzhou, a Chinese named Lin Rui 林瑞. He's on the way to Luzon and gets blown out of his way to Taidong. He ends up near Mudan village. At first Lin Rui stays in the house of a young relatively unattractive aborigine named Lin Shou. She wants to marry him but he finds a way to escape. Lin Rui falls for an aborigine maiden Qimei 奇美 after he rescues her and her father Mengjie 蒙結. There are various complicating altercations with the aborigines of other villages. But with the help of Qing troops, a Chinese named Mrs. Wang who can mobilize support from another aboriginal village, Lin Rui and Qimei are able to get married. At the end, Qimei gets killed. It was reprinted in the 1940s by Fengyuebao 風月報 and Taiwan wenyi 台灣藝術.

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<sup>1</sup> The word seems to be used informally to mean imitation. The assumption is that Japan was imitating, that imperialism is not a function of human nature or culturally inflected by Japan's own premodern imperial past – the invasion of Korea in the sixteenth century, for instance.



Yurikago no uta no omoide Memories of a Lullaby, by 宇野浩二 Uno Kōji

1915 - Story

The first story I have by a Japanese. A young girl named Ochiyo is abducted by the aborigines when they raid a Japanese pioneer village in the land of the barbarians. Fifteen rather uneventful years pass. The barbarians still attack sporadically, but the village is able to fend off the attacks. Ochiyo's old cradle is still hanging in the same place, now occupied by the youngest boy Otsuyu. But lately a band of ferocious barbaric warriors, led by a young woman leader, has been raiding Japanese villages and the village is put on alert. When the young girl leading the attack is captured, rumours soon spread that she is the lost baby Ochiyo. But the girl is defiant, insisting that she was born a barbarian, and refuses to admit her origins. Ochiyo's parents try everything they can think of to revive her lost memory, to no avail, until she hears the mother singing a lullaby to the baby and breaks into tears (Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun* 21).

哀之曲 Sad Song

1919 - Film

The filmmaker was Edamasa Yoshirō. 枝正義郎 is an elementary principal in suburbs of Tokyo. His eldest daughter goes missing; people say she was taken by the 'lord of the bog' 古池主人. Over a decade later, his nephew 外甥 named 健三 goes to Taiwan for an artistic holiday. He gets captured by aborigines. The chief's daughter, named Miya 米亞, falls in love with him. He falls in love, too, though he already has a fiancée. Miya's father gets killed by rival chief. Miya and 健三 take revenge. They escape and return to Tokyo. One day, Miya saves a girl who's going to jump in a river and kill herself: it's 健三's fiancée, and Miya's little sister! Miya had been abducted, sold to a circus, and captured by aborigines after escaping from the circus. She had forgotten her identity. At the end, Miya hears the sound of the flute played by her father the principal, which she now remembers from childhood. She gives up 健三 and jumps into the bog (Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun* 21).

魔鳥 Devilbird, by 佐藤春夫 Satō Haruo

1923 - Story

Satō Haruo had written a travelogue about a journey to Wushe, on which he had seen noses deformed by syphilis. A fifteen year old aboriginal prostitute had offered herself, leading him to

imagine dangerously erotic possibilities (Kono, “Writing Colonial Lineage” footnote 62). See Wenyi Taiwan 160 (Dec. 1998): 120-146. In *Devilbird*, a girl named Pira is raped by a Japanese soldier. She ends up bringing the wrath of the whole village upon her family, an instance of scapegoating: the family is accused of using a certain devilbird rite to harm fellow tribesmen. To Tierney this represents Satô’s humanistic liberalism, which I think means his desire to eliminate savage superstition. Kleeman describes this as an adaptation of an aboriginal fable (*Under an Imperial Sun* 36), which it may be, though the intro in Wenyi Taiwan reports that it was told him by a Japanese police officer (issue 159 (Jun. 1997): 130-139).

阿里山俠兒 Gallant Man From Alishan

1927 - Film

Directed by 田阪具隆. The name of the test film 試片 was: 漸漸滅亡之民族 The Vanishing Race, from a novel by the supposedly leftist writer Akira Iwasaki 岩崎昶 based on the film *The Vanishing American* (1925). The race does mostly vanish. A Christian teacher named 青木 at a ‘savage school’ makes friends with a male Tsou aborigine named Aouyi 阿歐伊. Together, they find petroleum (see in this regard the 1980 film *The Source* 源)! Another Tsou, Paduo 帕多, is the local enemy of the Japanese, and in the struggle over oil he kills 青木. 青木’s daughter 信子 continues her father’s teaching work. Paduo tries to instigate a headhunting revolt, but Aouyi thwarts Paduo by sacrificing himself (Li Daoming, “近一百年來台灣電影電視媒體對台灣原住民的呈現”).

蕃婦 Savage Woman, by 大鹿卓 Ôshika Taku

1931 - Story

A conflict between the aborigines and the police is triggered by an affair between a native woman and a Japanese policeman. Many of Ôshika’s stories frame the conflict between colonial rulers and the barbarians through the trope of an aboriginal woman (Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun* 23).

義人吳鳳 Wu Feng the Righteous

1932 - Film

Directed by Andô Tarô 安藤太郎. It was very successful and was even shown in Japan. Local Taiwanese investors had helped set up the 日本和同通訊社電影部台灣電影製作所, a production company of some sort. When the Japanese started building the Alishan railway for logging in Tsou territory, they were not headhunted. They attributed this to the civilizing influence of Wu Feng, an eighteenth century interpreter 通事 who supposedly convinced the aborigines in the area to stop headhunting by giving them his own head. This film was shown at various schools (Ching, *Becoming Japanese*; Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun* 26-7).

### 折箭 Broken Arrow

1932 - Film

Tsou and Maya part at Jade Mountain, using an arrow as a keepsake. One takes the head, one the shaft. It's a pacification story. It's been lost and we don't know very much about it.

### 動物園 The Zoo, by 大鹿卓 Ôshika Taku

1933 - Story

A zookeeper mistreats a female wildcat in captivity and then releases and kills it in anticipation of an aborigine attack (Tierney, *Going native: Imagining savages in the Japanese Empire* 73).

### 野蠻人 The Savage, by 大鹿卓 Ôshika Taku

1935 - Story

It is about the Saramao revolt at Wushe in 1920. Kleeman calls it *The Barbarians*, implying that it is a novel. The story relates the process of transformation of a Japanese man Tazawa who 'goes native' on the Formosan frontier. Tazawa is a rich kid. His father is a coal mine owner. He had criticized his father's treatment of workers and was disowned. So he came to Taiwan. The two nodal points in this transformation are headhunting and sex with a native woman, Chief Taimorikaru's daughter. He cuts off a head during the rebellion thus crossing the line into savagery (Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun* 23). The sex certainly starts out as a rape, but then fear turned to excitement and pleasure. Tazawa is not the first Japanese in the area: there is already a police chief Ino who has an aboriginal wife. Ino arranges for Tazawa to marry native as well, and Ino's wife helps too (Ching, "Savage Construction and Civility Making"; Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun* 23-26).

蕃界の女 Woman of the Savage Realm, by 中村地平 Nakamura Chihei

1939 - Story

Attraction of a Japanese for a married aboriginal woman; the relationship remains platonic. In other words, Japanese on the frontier should respect local social institutions (Kono, “Writing Colonial Lineage” 103).

霧の蕃社 Misty Aboriginal Village, by 中村地平 Nakamura Chihei

1939 - Story

This is the first story to deal directly with the Wushe Incident (Kleeman 27-34), though Lai He’s poem 南國哀歌 Southern Country Dirge, printed in two parts in the Taiwan Xinminbao, on April 25 and May 2, 1931, was about the incident. Misty Aboriginal Village is a more realistic treatment of the aborigines than Ôshika Taku offers, a social understanding of human behaviour, rather than an irresistible lure of aboriginal women and environments. Nakamura Jihei deals with the aboriginal constable ‘brothers’ surnamed Hanaoka – Ichiro and Jiro 花崗一郎 and 花崗二郎 – who turned against the Japanese during the incident (see 青山碧血 Green Hills and Blue Blood below).

黃家 Huang Family, by 龍瑛宗 Long Yingzong

1940 - Story

A short story about the Hakka pioneer experience published in Wenyi 文藝 8.11 (1 Nov. 1940), reprinted in Chinese in the short story collection 植有木瓜樹的小鎮 A Town With Papaya Trees (Yuanjing, 1979), trans. Chen Qianwu. The ancestors are imagined: Those gaunt Chinese visages and the white trophy head swinging in the bamboo grove. He also remembers the aborigines, two of them drinking from the same cup, buying supplies – dried fish, salt, sand, matches, and plain fabric. His father would cheat them and say, you don’t get rich unless you deal dirty (人無橫財不富). Huang Family is online at [http://literature.ihakka.net/hakka/author/long\\_ying\\_zong/long\\_composition/long\\_onlin/novel/n\\_b06.htm](http://literature.ihakka.net/hakka/author/long_ying_zong/long_composition/long_onlin/novel/n_b06.htm). The story only touches on the aborigines. Long Yingzong wrote many suibi or occasional essays about the aborigines. 蕃人 Savages is about the Hakka pioneer experience: his ancestors ran a store where the aborigines would come to buy things. A number of his relatives

were headhunted. Long Yingzong also wrote about his time working in Hualian harbour, his friendship with an Amis aborigine called Labin, and his travels down the east coast: see 台灣一周旅行 A Week's Travel Around Taiwan and 薄薄社的饗宴 Feast at Bobo Village, many of which can be found online at [http://literature.ihakka.net/hakka/author/long\\_ying\\_zong/default\\_comlist.htm](http://literature.ihakka.net/hakka/author/long_ying_zong/default_comlist.htm).

部落的慘劇 Tragedy in the Village, by 張文環 Zhang Wenhuan

1941 - Story

Published in the August issue of the Taiwan shibao.

時計草 Passionflower, by 坂口零子 Sakaguchi Reiko

1941 - Story

A Japanese police officer Gentaro had married an aboriginal in service of eugenic dreams. (The locus classicus for the pro-racial mixing in Japan is Takahashi Yoshio's Theory on the Improvement of the Japanese Race; for similar theories in the context of the Chinese national shame 國恥 from the turn of the century to the 1920s, see Teng, Eurasian Hybridity in Chinese Utopian Visions). Gentaro's mixed-race son's 'identity conflict' is eventually resolved despite two rejections by Japanese women of his marriage offer. When he decides to go back to Taiwan to marry an aboriginal girl, his latest prospect, a Japanese woman named Kinko, begs him to reconsider, sharing her plans with him that they can return to Taiwan to educate the natives together. This story is a good example of role switching because Kinko is the dominant one in the relation, the one with the vision, the one who makes the decision. In this case, the aboriginal can safely mix with the Japanese, as long as the latter is in charge and as long as the goal of the marriage is clearly aligned with the national interest (Kono, "Writing Colonial Lineage").

陳夫人 Mrs. Chen, by 庄司總一 Shoji Soichi

1942 - Novel

A fine novel and the second prize winner of a major literary contest (the first 大東亞文學獎). It was originally published as two separate novels, 夫婦 in 1940 and 親子 in 1942, later as 陳夫人 in a single volume. I've read the Wenjintang Chinese translation from 1999 and think it's great, even if it has a saccharine ending – let our family be based on love – and even though it is clearly

part of the imperialization movement: though set in the 1920s, it shows Taiwanese and Japanese united by marriage. Colonial marriage was legalized in 1921 (Kono 102). In the novel, a rich Taiwanese marries a poor Japanese woman. Both are Christians. He brings her back to live in Taiwan. The corruption of the traditional Chinese family is detailed. The message is that the family must be modernized, nuclearized. The husband starts in the civil service and ends up going into the pineapple canning industry. He tries to be nice to his workers emulating Tolstoy but is not a successful capitalist. The most interesting part of the novel concerns the Pingpu aboriginal concubine of the second son of the Chen family. He surprises her nude one day while bathing. She saves him from snakebite. Her main mission in life is to revenge her father, who was killed by a leopard. She is called Leopard Girl. Second Son keeps coming back to bother her, and finally deflowers her in an inn during a rainstorm. He ends up bringing her into the family, but there are endless troubles. The most interesting scene in the novel is where the girl is looking in the mirror, studying herself. She has a moment of self-realization, in which she remembers doing something ‘wrong’; in other words, she becomes a moral being. The aborigine ends up leaving, because 1) intermarriage with aborigines just doesn’t work after Wushe, and 2) concubinage is a thing of the feudal past. She kills the leopard, finds love with a mountain aborigine, but ends up dying in an epidemic. It’s very interesting, she is also surnamed Chen, so the identity of Mrs. Chen is not clearly the Japanese or the aborigine. Finally, the gender roles in the story are interesting. Mr. Chen only married the Japanese because she was poor, but how interesting that she was a woman, and it is not clear that she is the dominant party in the relationship, as in *Passionflower* (see above), where nationality trumps gender and the Japanese woman dominates the mixed aboriginal-Taiwanese man. By contrast, here second son is a loser and his aboriginal concubine is in the end spiritually noble and competent.

採硫記 Sulphur Extraction Journal, by 西川滿 Nishikawa Mitsuru

1942 - Story

The first fictionalization of Yu Yonghe, on whom there is now a lot of material in English. For instance, Keliher’s translation and commentary *Out of China*. It’s an adventure story/resource extraction story. There’s a famous moment on his trip when Yu Yonghe sees three aborigine maidens working topless. Nishikawa romanticizes or sexualizes this somewhat, having one of the girls disappearing into a tent with a brave. See Ye Shitao’s story of the same name from 1968 below. It was published in *Wenyi Taiwan* 文藝台灣 in March, April and May, 1942.

海上的豪族 Sea Heroes

1942 - Film

This film was shot in Anping (Tainan) harbour and Gaoxiong County, the resident aborigines making cameos. The Dutch occupation is represented, for the first and last time in Taiwanese film. A bushi 武士-directed Chinese-Formosan militia fights the Dutch and drives them out! The movie was supposed to spread the spirit of bushido to maintain the Japanese imperial war effort (Yang Huanhong, “他者不顯影” 36).

沙鷺之鐘 Bell of Sayon Sayon no kane

1943 - Film

Sayon was an Atayal girl from Suao who died apparently carrying luggage for a departing Japanese police officer who drowned while crossing a river in 1938. The story was eventually used for propaganda purposes. It has been discussed by many cultural critics and historians (Kleeman, Ching, and Watan). These are my viewer's notes of the film seen at the National Film Archive in Taipei 國家電影資料館. It takes place in Nanao. It's primitive technically, with no sound for the first ten minutes. The after-dubbing is obvious. Sayon teaches the kids to speak in Japanese: no more aboriginal language. Everything and everyone is very cute. There are ducks walking around. It is a sunny and picturesque idyll. The Japanese police officer is the drill sergeant is the teacher: one man fulfills many roles. The film jokes that the little aboriginal children 'all look the same'. Sayon takes care of pigs and goats. There seems to be a romantic conflict developing. There is Sayon's beau and another aboriginal fellow who is jealous because Sayon's beau gets to go to fight for the emperor in Nanyang 南洋. However, we soon learn this other fellow has a girlfriend. There are scenes of natives dancing around a fire. The movie is trying to overcome aboriginal belief in the river spirit: Sayon thinks the river spirit has blocked the irrigation pipes, but her beau dives down and clears the pipes. Sayon dies crossing a river while seeing off the Japanese officer, who is going off to fight. She slips and falls! She dies wishing him good luck. Both Kleeman and Ching seem to think the movie implies a romantic relationship developing between Sayon and the Japanese soldier, but I do not see it. The main ideological message of the film is: fight for the emperor! A wife tells her husband: forget about me and fight the good fight. A girlfriend tells her boyfriend: your turn to fight will come.

Sayon's bell rings to call the aboriginal soldiers to battle. Sayon was played by the famous propaganda film actress Li Xianglan, who went on to be a senator in Japan after the war. The meaning of the mobilization behind it is terrible, but the choral number at the end – March of the Taiwan Soldiers 台灣軍 – is rousing. The whole of the movie is online in parts at Youtube.

波莫之死 Bomo's Death, by 楊逵 Yang Kui

1944 - Story

A story in Japanese about an aborigine who identifies with the Japanese. It was not published. The aborigine is a favourite of the local Japanese policeman. He discovers Chinese rice thieves in the forest. He wants to make a citizen's arrest but is beaten to death by the thieves. It went unpublished and is listed as unfinished in Yang Kui's collected works (8.151-155).

亞細亞的孤兒 Orphan of Asia, by 吳濁流 Wu Zhuoliu

1944 - Novel

First published in 1946 in Tokyo in Japanese with the first name of the protagonist, Hu Zhiming, later Hu Taiming. Republished under other names, but known as *Orphan*. Published and banned in Taiwan in 1962. Published in English a couple of years back. Wu Zhuoliu was a Hakka, and not surprisingly there are various references to aboriginal raids in the novel, the headhunt being a motif in Hakka collective memory.

### 3.2. 1945-1962: Retrocession to *Wu Feng*

花蓮港 Hualian Harbor

1948 - Film

It tells the love story of an aboriginal maiden and a plainsman doctor. Taiwanese folksongs were used (Yang Huanhong, “他者不顯影” 44).

阿里山風雲 Storm Over Alishan

1949 - Film

The scenes in the copy of this film I saw at the National Film Archive are out of order, and it was incomplete. There's a sequence where an aborigine male with big hair goes swimming while the maidens are washing clothing in the river. Then he takes one of the maidens on a walk through



the palm grove; he teaches her to shoot a bow. It's idyllic. Storm Over Alishan tells the Wu Feng story. The KMT borrowed from Japanese propagandists. The film is very critical of the Han for bullying the aborigines, not just of the aborigines for headhunting the Han. One wonders whether it was thought that there was still a danger of headhunting in 1949. At any rate, the film has a famous theme song, 高山青 Mountains Green: Green mountains stand / Blue rivers rill / Maiden of Alishan, lovely as a stream / Young man of Alishan, solid as a hill. The theme song became famous, even in Japan and China. It was sung by Teresa Deng in the 1970s. It served as the title of a film in 1970, and of the first aboriginal student journal (at NTU) in 1983.

畫家洛特 萊蒙的信函 Letters from a Painter Named Raymond, by 葉石濤 Ye Shitao

1950 - Story

Ye Shitao has written more romance stories about the aborigines than anyone else. This is the first. It is letters from a Dutch painter named Raymond who decides to stay in Taiwan after the Dutch are driven out. He's writing to his sister and his friend William, from 1661 to 1665. This is one of the last stories Ye Shitao published before being incarcerated for three years for being part of a Marxist reading group. The painter sympathizes with the Chinese immigrants for the dangers of the crossing from China to Taiwan and the hardships of Dutch rule. Raymond falls in love with an aborigine. He saves her from being raped and stabbed by a group of pursuers. Her name is Shalai. She is baptized and can speak Dutch. Her skin rubbed with coconut oil. She has a tiny waist, large breasts, hair down to her ass, and large eyes that are savagely passionate and express longing to be caressed. Shalai as a character is basically a libidinous body and an innocent mind. Raymond decides to settle down with Shalai, though he sends his son Johann back to Holland to be raised and educated by his sister.

霧社櫻花 Wushe Cherry Blossoms

1952 - Novel

Serialized in the magazine Ziyoutan 自由談. It is about Hanoaka Ichiro and Jiro 花崗一郎 and 花崗二郎, the improperly assimilated aboriginal brother constables who betrayed their Japanese patrons during the Wushe

Incident. The cherry blossoms are lurid and bloody. This is gothic fiction. It tells the story of the incident from the KMT perspective.

笠山農場 Lishan Farm, by 鐘理和 Zhong Lihe

1955 - Novel

Zhong Lihe was of a landowning Hakka family from Meinong. Not surprisingly, aborigines were employed on the family farm. There is not much on the aborigines in Zhong's novel Lishan Farm, but in one scene three mountain aborigines use oxcarts to haul crates of coffee seedlings. The regular workmen on the farm are intrigued by the aborigines, and the aborigines were intrigued by the coffee seedlings. The episode is a suggestion of mutual curiosity and of the casual work relationship between landowner and mountain aborigine.

日月潭之戀 Love at Sun Moon Lake/山地姑娘 Mountain Maiden

1956 - Film

A silly Chinese-aborigine romance movie, with a famous Hong Kong actress playing the aborigine girl. It's a vehicle for the government policy of developing the mountains without depriving aboriginal men of mates. It seems to be an adaptation of the Western *The Searchers*, though more ambiguous than the John Wayne film. I've not seen it. This summary is adapted from the one at the Hong Kong Film Archive. Wei Hanqing follows his father's wish and goes into the mountains to find a Chinese girl who had been orphaned and raised by aborigines. He meets a girl there named Meiwana. He falls in love with her. But Meiwana already loves Daaluo, while Yuemei loves Daaluo and often interrupts the outings of Meiwana and Daaluo. To raise money for the local elementary school, the mayor of Tai Township 泰鄉 lies to Wei Hanqing and tells him that Meiwana is the girl whom he is seeking on his father's behalf. It is not clear whether Meiwana is in fact the Chinese orphan. Wei brings Meiwana to the city. Meiwana enjoys city life and Wei breaks it off with his own fiancée. But in the end Meiwana can't forget that Daaluo is waiting for her by Mandarin Ducks 鴛鴦 Stream. She refuses Wei's love and returns to the mountains. The ending is happy for Wei as well, for his father agrees to support mountain development financially. Wei will stay in the mountains and serve platonically.

千歲檜 Thousand Year Old Cypress, by 文心 Wen Xin

1957 - Story

A story by a Taiwanese author, Wen Xin, who was a member of Zhong Lihe's coterie 文友會, where the story was first published. It's got a lot of description of natural scenery, and one of the commentators in *Wenyou* 19 complained it was like a travel brochure. The story is a love triangle, a competition between a plainsman Luo Han 羅漢 and a mountain aborigine Snake Eyes 蛇眼 for an aboriginal girl named Anu 阿女. Luo Han has come up with a logging crew. He falls in love with Anu, and she falls in love with him. Luo Han and Snake Eyes fight it out at a hanging bridge. Snake Eyes wins. Luo Han falls off the bridge but is injured rather than killed. In real life Wen Xin was seriously injured several years previously. Perhaps he was in a way writing about himself. However, he does seem to have other ideas in his mind, both interracial romance and resource extraction. First, interracial romance: by 1957 the government had instituted restrictions on marriages between aborigines and Chinese soldiers, which may have applied to plainsmen generally. The critical or oppositional attitude at this time was liberal. Liberals like He Fan 何凡, Lin Haiyin 林海音's husband, said you can't and shouldn't control individuals. Let them decide where to go and whom to marry. In his two editorials on the subject, He Fan ends up sounding very privileged, as the only aboriginal women in his personal experience are household servants (see *United Daily News* May 9 and 10, 1958): he finds aboriginal servants more loyal and well-behaved than Chinese servants. In ending the story without a consummation of the romance between Luo Han and Snake Eyes, Wen Xin seems to toe the government line. Second, about resource extraction the story says nothing conclusive. The Japanese had built the Alishan railway to facilitate cypress logging. It was completed in 1912. So we have a situation of resource extraction and capitalist disruption of tribal life. After the War, though not immediately, the KMT happily sold logging contracts, and in propaganda described logging as part of national development. In this story the local aborigines continue to hold a drunken multi-day festivals, but they are also working as loggers. At the end of the story, Luo Han goes home to nurse his wounds, but logging will continue. There are some other loose ends in the story. There are some class or racial anxieties in the background of the main character Luo Han. His dead mother, from a 'literary family', complains that his father had 'dirty blood'. His father wants him to choose his mate, but he is unable to do so in this story, which thus seems torn between two values, of personal choice and of 'the future of the aboriginal race'. There is also a legend in the past of the story about a mountain village being engulfed in a flood, in which a bard and his paramour drown. When the main character goes up the push car railway to Alishan on a logging expedition, the locals think he is the reincarnation of the bard.

阿里山之鶯 Nightingale of Alishan

1957 - Film

The set is obviously a set. The story is an ersatz myth and feeds the Chinese taste for desolate 淒涼 tragedy. It was financed by the Central Film Studio 中央電影製片廠, but seems to have a less admirable policy behind it than *Love at Sun Moon Lake*: getting logging rights and extracting wealth from the mountains. At the time the KMT was carrying out a rape of Taiwan's virgin forests (Gates 220). The hero is a rather short judo master who lives in a logging camp. He falls in love with an aboriginal maiden. They sing duets on the hills and by the ocean. It's geographically rather improbable, because it's supposed to be set at Sun Moon Lake! The logger convinces the chief of the tribe to let them continue logging, because they've taken care of the land better than the chief has. There's a ridge the chief hasn't visited in a decade, and the Chinese loggers have replanted it. How eco-friendly these Chinese loggers are in contrast to the aborigines! And they also have superior customs: loverboy, named Zhao Hu, gives some medicine to his aboriginal girlfriend to cure her mother with. Unfortunately, the chief's adopted son, a real doofus and about forty years old, is in love with the maiden. He shoots the Chinese logger and kills him while the latter is on his way to meet the maiden's parents. The logger's friend, the captain of the logging camp who also has an aboriginal girlfriend, takes revenge and kills the doofus. In the end one of the other aboriginal maidens in the village testifies to the evil deeds of the doofus. The chief finally accepts that his faith in his adopted son was blind. The movie ends with the bland announcement that things will be better with the mountain people from now on. There is clearly no concern for single aboriginal males here, as there was in *Love at Sun Moon Lake*.

阿美娜 *Ameina*

1957 - Film

A low budget, privately produced feature, a song and dance piece. It was not available at the National Film Archive. I'm relying on a movie review in *United Daily News*. *Ameina* is a beautiful maiden. The movie is the story of a war between two tribes, set in the time before the arrival of the Chinese settlers.

青山碧血 *Green Hills and Emerald Gore*

1957 - Film

Emerald gore means blood shed for justice. He Jiming, a Taiwanese director who worked under the Japanese, directed this Taiwanese language film. This is the first postwar film version of the Wushe Incident. Bashameng 拔沙猛 returns from hunting, meets his lover Aomin 奧敏, and tells his sick mother the Japanese police have forced aborigine braves to do corvée. The Japanese are forcing them to cut down the forest! The Japanese tear couples apart, forcing aboriginal women into unwanted marriage. On October 7, 1930, in Mahebo, at an aborigine wedding, they eat raw heart; an aborigine shakes a Japanese policeman's hand and gets it dirty, leading to a beating. The chief's son drinks in apology to the officer, but the officer gives him a beating too. Mona Rudao the chief says that the braves should get ready to die. They surprise a group of Japanese holding an event at the local elementary schoolyard. They kill 134 Japanese, taking over the Wushe area. Making the film was a Herculean effort on He Jiming's part because of transportation troubles: the road didn't go all the way to the set. A sequel was planned telling of the Japanese reprisal but there wasn't enough money (悲情台語片 103-105).

合歡山的情歌 *Song of Mount Hehuan*

1958 - Story

The style is extreme poeticism. Several cold stars keep company a washed crescent moon. This is another story of an aboriginal girl in her element outdoing a Chinese plainsman, this time with a happy, romantic ending. A young Chinese is visiting an older fellow named Huang Tiancai in the mountains. Huang has been a teacher there since 1945, when he came from the mainland in the first batch of soldiers to arrive. We thus have the virtuous single older Chinese male dedicated to service in the mountains. This service theme relates the government's policy of plainifying the mountains. In this story, the Chinese and the aboriginal girl will stick together, to improve the lives of the mountain aborigines. Aboriginal patriarchy is nonexistent – there is in fact no suggestion of local social life – the two aborigine males in the story being but teenagers and thus safely out of competition. The lovers go on a walk to Hehuan mountain, hehuan being associated with connubial consummation in the Chinese tradition. The Chinese gets injured by a boar. The two aboriginal lads go back for help. The aboriginal maiden waits with him. She tells him the story of Hehuan mountain. A young married couple came here as pioneers. The husband cut wood and hunted, while the wife weaved. A bear appeared, and the husband fought the bear.

The bear died but the husband was fatally injured. The wife killed herself to join her husband in death. Hunters found them and called the mountain Hehuan after them. Back in the real life of the story, she asks him if he's willing to marry her, a mountain maiden. He says yes. He asks, are your tribespeople willing? Yes, they are. He'll stay up there to do the work of mountain development. The story ends with sunrise imagery.

### 合歡山上 On Mount Hehuan

1958 - Film

It was made by Zhongying 中制, the Ministry of National Defense's own studio, to celebrate the building of the Central Cross Island Highway 中橫 by retired soldiers. Chiang Kaishek and Madame Soong Meiling make an appearance at the beginning, in one of the mini-documentaries Zhongying churned out. They cross a suspension bridge and observe. Then the movie starts. A Chinese man is in a field, staring up at a helicopter in the sky. A woman dressed in a cheongsam comes out of a hut to see what is happening. Then a long flashback begins. The hero is Liang Jinhao, a Chinese explosives engineer. He reads nationalist inspirational literature and works out. On his day off he goes hunting in the forest and discovers a village in a valley. He goes into the village and discovers that the aborigines are church goers. There's a church in everyone's heart, the pastor says to Liang Jinhao. While listening to the service, he falls in love with a beautiful woman named Ailan. She is bodacious, but she dresses and talks like a Chinese. We soon discover that she is a teacher. Her friend Aiwei is a teacher as well. They have both very nobly come up back to the village to serve their communities rather than stay down on the plains. However, there is a bad place in the village where the bad people dwell. The bad place is the bar. The Banana Boat Song is playing on the radio, because it was a contemporary pop song. It's a nice suggestion of cultural globalization. It's ear candy, but also a social evil. Most of the people at the bar are lazy drunks who still dress in their traditional aboriginal costume. Of them is Aiwei's boyfriend Afu. Aiwei helps get Afu a job in the Chinese work camp. He now dresses in proper work clothes. He is assimilating to the Chinese clothing norm. Thus far, I have discussed the work camp and village as settings in this film. There is also the countryside. It is a pristine setting for singing duets between Liang Jinhao and Ailan, but Liang Jinhao tells Ailan that any open space should be developed. When Liang Jinhao is not around, the pristine natural space is dangerous for the women. There is another aboriginal man, a brute who tries to abuse Ailan. Luckily, she is able to get away. In another scene, this aboriginal man is spying on Ailan while

she is washing clothes in the stream. He gets bitten by a snake, and Liang Jinhao discovers and saves him with an antidote pill. Clearly modern medicine is superior to shamanic healing! Now for the climax of the movie: Liang Jinhao gives a letter to a little girl to take to Ailan. The little girl gives it to Aiwei instead. Ailan thinks that Liang Jinhao doesn't love her anymore; she takes the letter and rips it up. At the same time, Afu thinks Aiwei doesn't love him anymore; he tries to kill Liang Jinhao by falling on the detonator while Liang is still preparing an explosion. While this is happening, Ailan pieces the letter back together: it is to her and it says, I will always love you. Ailan says, I'm not good enough for him. Afu arrives crying that he killed Liang. Everyone goes to see if Liang is alright. A doctor is flown in by helicopter. Liang wakes up to see Ailan by his side. That is the end of the flashback. We return to the scene in the field, years later. The open space has been turned into a field. They have no children. The people in the helicopter checking up on them, a suggestion of paternalistic care.

王哥柳哥遊台灣 Brothers Wang and Liu Tour Taiwan

1959 - Film

This film is director Li Xing 李行's first feature. It is quite a well-known movie, a story of two friends, a fatso and a skinny guy, winning the lottery and traveling around Taiwan. There are two aboriginal scenes. While evading a thief who wants their money, Wang and Liu go up into the mountains and sleep out in the open. When they wake up they are getting tied up by aboriginal braves, who take them to their queen, a Circe figure and a striptease artist. It's like pulp fiction about an Amazon queen. Liu is horrified. He's thinking of his girlfriend waiting devotedly for him in Taipei. Wang is pleased at the attention he's getting in another room from a gaggle of aboriginal maidens. Liu escapes from Circe and drags Wang away. The scene is pure entertainment, though it's interesting Li Xing would represent this territory beyond governmental control where the aborigines are continuing to live an ersatz traditional life. The second scene in the movie involving aborigines is at Sun Moon Lake. The two friends go to the lake and befriend aborigines. The aborigines give a song-and-dance performance. These aborigines are non-threatening and contained, doing a job, working in the aboriginal entertainment industry, which this movie was promoting. In fact, it was in fact promoting the whole domestic tourism industry.

假黎婆 (我與假黎婆) Aboriginal Grannie, by 鐘理和 Zhong Lihe

## 1960 - Essay

So far, this is the only essay for which I have a separate entry. In 1960, Zhong Lihe wrote an essay about his aboriginal step-grandmother right before he died. The essay was printed by Lin Haiyin in the literary supplement of United Daily News. The essay was called 假黎婆 Injun Granny. The woman was his step-grandmother, his grandfather's second wife. In the essay, he talks about the aboriginal workmen on his farm. He tries to show stereotypes admit exceptions: one of the aboriginal workers is honest and genial, not wild as one might assume. Granny is conscious of her low social status as an aborigine. Her pride is easily injured. When the family wants to let her relatives take rice home, she says that they may be aborigines but they have enough to eat. She lets them take some salt home though. She's also embarrassed by her relatives, worried that they will get drunk at a party to which the Zhong family has invited them. Zhong Lihe loves his granny, because she tended him one time when he was in a coma for three days and three nights. People were ready to bury him, but she was adamant he would live. Granny takes him one time across the border around savage country. There is a valley in shadow. Zhong is no longer so comfortable. Granny is singing savage songs, soft, full of feeling, novel and unfamiliar. She seemed much younger than normal, fleet-footed. He feels that she has become a stranger to him and asks her to stop. I think Zhong overdoes the ending. When the bombs are falling and Zhong is away in China, he imagines Granny lying on her deathbed, asking whether Zhong's letter has arrived.

## 夏日 Summer Sun, by 王禎和 Wang Zhenhe

## 1961 - Story

This story was published in the ninth issue of Xiandai wenxue 現代文學, in July 1961. It's narrated in the first person by an aboriginal wife married to a Chinese. She is telling us about a day in her life in stream-of-consciousness. We should remember the author was 21 when he wrote this, and very recently exposed to modernist literary models. The story is set in Wang Zhenhe's native Hualian, in a village for workers and families of the Taiwan power company. The house she lives in is Japanese, suggesting that Taipower has taken over buildings left by the Japanese. The woman is married. Qiangming, the husband, learned a bit of Amis and wormed his way into the first person narrator's heart. He married and has abandoned her. Now she is utterly alone. She has no contact with her own people. Her husband is whoring and drinking. Her mother-in-law tells her she should have known she was no match for Qiangming. At the climax



of the story, she takes a bath, remembers their first love-making, panics at her social isolation and abandonment. In the July summer heat, she tries to get the window up, cannot, so she punches the window and breaks the glass. Her hand is all bloody and she feels a cool breeze, a feeling of ice and snow. She collapses on the ground.

遍地紅：霧社事件 Blood All Over the Ground: the Wushe Incident, by 張深切 Zhang Shenqie  
1949 serial, 1961 publication - Script

See Berry 58-62. Berry thinks Zhang's is an early Taiwanization of the story (61).

### 3.3. 1962-1971: *Wu Feng* to *Mahepo fengyun*

吳鳳 Wu Feng

1962 - Film

The most famous retelling of the story of Wu Feng, in glorious color. The story is basically the same as the 1932 Japanese film 義人吳鳳 and the 1949 film *Alishan fengyun*, both of which I have discussed above. The Chinese in the movie are bad: they are squatters who bully aboriginal women and kill aboriginal men. The Qing magistrate is unreasonable. Only Wu Feng is decent. Wu Feng saves and cures the chief's son during an aboriginal raid on a Chinese village, where Wu Feng is working as a trader. The son eventually becomes the new chief. Wu Feng thereby wins the respect of the whole tribe. When the position of interpreter (通事) for the area opens up, Wu Feng applies. He gets the posting. Usually interpreters took aboriginal girlfriends, concubines, or wives, but here the Chinese-aborigine romance is displaced. Wu Feng is already married to a Chinese woman. One day, when he is out riding on his big white horse, he discovers that a group of braves has captured Shatalan, a maiden from another village. They have tied her up by her hands on a tree branch. They're bullying her. Wu Feng rescues Shatalan and lets her stay in his house. He lets her choose the man she wants to marry. She's a typical maiden in the Chinese style, not at all aboriginal. Aside from her clothing she behaves like a Chinese maiden. By custom, the aborigines need to sacrifice a human head or the gods will be angry with them. Wu Feng tries to reason with them. He claims that Spirit is greatly compassionate (大慈大悲). Spirit is not vengeful and does not need human heads. The aborigines say that 'the royal law cannot change our custom' (王法不能改我們的習俗). But it can and does. Wu Feng reads his Mencian scroll about the fish and the bear paw, meaning one cannot always have life and justice.

Wu Feng chooses justice (曲義者), which he values more than his life. Wu Feng is willing to sacrifice himself for his educational mission. He tells the aborigines to wait for him at such and such a time. He puts on his red cloak and rides out on his white horse. Shatalan follows on foot. Wu Feng's son follows on horseback. Will they make it in time? No. The braves shoot Wu Feng to death. When they discover what they have done, they all jump off the cliff to their death. Later Wu Feng appears in a vision.

蛇屋 Snake House, by 朱西甯 Zhu Xining

1962 - Film

A Chinese soldier Xiao Xuan, whose name is homophonous with a phrase meaning 'flute melody', has finished building a giant stone embankment to control flooding. Now he is going into the mountains to teach aboriginal children. Xiao Xuan is heroic. And yet he bites his thumbnail. The story is a sentimental education for Xiao. Xiao's friend Old Miao is in the village already. He teaches the young aboriginal men military exercises. The third Chinese man is bad Officer Liu, who has been getting aboriginal girls pregnant! There are eight main aboriginal characters, two in the past, three in the present: 1) A young brave named Laeryang 拉爾揚 rose up against the Japanese in the background of the story. History has not repeated itself, because the aboriginal men have never risen up against the Chinese. 2) In the past of the story is an aboriginal maiden, who after being sullied by the Japanese police officer jumped off a hanging footbridge, but not before having his child. 3) Akalu, a deformed little boy, is the product of a syphilitic union between the aborigine maiden and a Japanese police officer. 4) Laeryang's type in the present is a fine young military man. Xiao Xuan identifies with him when he first sees him because both their fathers fought the Japanese. 5) The tragic maiden's present counterpart – will history repeat itself?! – is Du Lianzhi or Kalaluo, a beautiful girl with unsanitary clothing. Xiao Xuan is sexually attracted to her, but of course he must not give in to lust, especially since he is married to a doctor working at a military hospital in Taipei. Lust and rain are identified. The two words are near homophones in Chinese, both *yu* 雨/慾. 6) Du Lianzhi's father the chief. 7) Xiuyu, a teenage girl whom Officer Liu rapes. 8) Xiuyu's brother.

The first evening Xiao Xuan stays in the village, a snake appears and vanishes in Snake House, in which Xiao Xuan will be living. What place does the snake have in aboriginal mythology, he wonders? Zhu Xining was a Christian and the snake for Christians represents sin, the sin of lust no doubt. In Chinese iconography, the goddess Nuwa has a snake body and a

dragon head. Thus, Zhu Xining Sinifies the Christian symbolism, and treats lust not as sinful, but as something that can be transformed. Xiao Xuan drums and sings with the aborigines. He observes their multi-day festival with disbelief at their energy. He notices the local women gather firewood to sell below on the plains, a suggestion of the local ‘economy’. The aboriginal women make money to buy cigarettes and other supplies for their parents. Xiao Xuan writes to his wife to send fabric for new clothes and shampoo for Kalaluo. Now for the four climaxes of the story. First, Xiao Xuan learns that Officer Liu has raped and impregnated Xiuyu. Xiao Xuan confronts him but Officer Liu is brazen. He tells Xiao Xuan to close ranks and keep the issue quiet. The rain begins falling. They have a showdown, the result of which is that Officer Liu will be tried by a local council. Second, Xiao Xuan rescues one of the young aborigine fellows – the older brother of Xiuyu – on the side of a cliff in the middle of a deluge. Xiao Xuan’s wife comes up to visit him and see what her husband has achieved. She has bought clothes and shampoo for Kalaluo. Bad Officer Liu has transferred. Chinese and aborigine are in harmony. Third, Xiao Xuan goes to Kalaluo’s house and sits on her stone bed. He knows this is part of the ritual of engagement but thinks it’s a joke. Kalaluo’s father tells him to take the betel nut that has been in her mouth. The father does not mind that Xiao Xuan is already married. He thinks Xiao Xuan can have many wives. Embarrassed, Kalaluo runs out with Xiao Xuan in pursuit. Will she throw herself off the bridge? No, Xiao Xuan saves her. Fourth, and all these climaxes make governing the village seem very challenging, Xiao Xuan gets bitten by a snake. Then he shoots off his thumb. He won’t be biting his thumbnail again. The chief takes care of his wound for him with herbal remedies. Xiao Xuan says he admires these people. They say they wish to live up to his expectations. Xiao Xuan says Kalaluo is so much more perfect than himself. Xiao Xuan will be taking Kalaluo to be educated as a nurse so she can help her people develop.

山之戀 Mountain Romance, by 李喬 Li Qiao

1963 - Story

Li Qiao was raised in a village called Fanzailin 番仔林 or ‘savage grove’. The people there were Hakka, but the aborigines lived nearby. Li Qiao has talked about a local aboriginal chief he knew as a youngster. This story is Li Qiao’s first about the aborigines. It is about a medical student Qiao who falls in love with an aboriginal girl Xuezi who is dedicated to a life of service in the hills, in Nanzhuang. The other couple is Qiao’s little sister Yingying who is in love with an

aboriginal man called Jian. Both couples live happily ever after, though Yingying's parents are initially against the marriage. It was published in *Zhongyang ribao* on 24 September 1963.

淒慘的無言的嘴 Poor Dumb Mouths, by 陳映真 Chen Yingzhen

1964 - Story

I would like to be able to discuss a short story by Chen Yingzhen in this context, but he does not seem to have dealt with the aborigines. The protagonist here, a mental patient, recalls a classmate from college who got in not because he had great marks but because he was an aborigine. The protagonist hated this classmate for his male chauvinism.

海濱聖母節 The Day of the Sea Goddess, by 王文興 Wang Wenxing

1964 - Story

Wang Wenxing served in the military at Suao, a fishing port and military base on the east coast north of Hualian, south of Yilan. In this story, an aborigine named Sa Ko-lo is carrying a massive lion head in a festival procession. He and a crew of fishermen were had been caught in a typhoon. He'd prayed that if Mazu saved him he would honour her. The lion's head is fifty kilograms, and Sa Ko-lo carries it until he dies of exhaustion (90). There are vultures flying overhead during the dance. Originally published in *Xiandai wenxue*. Tr. Chu-yun Chen. *The Chinese Pen Spring* 1986: 70-90.

多美娜 Duomeina

1964 - Story

A short story published in *Taiwan wenyi* 台灣文藝. An artist goes to Sun Moon Lake and finds a boy fifteen year old named Huaiwen 懷文 waiting for his father who abandoned his mother before he was born. It turns out that the artist had been there fifteen years previously with his friend Mr. Ji, who had a fling with a girl named Duomeina. The artist asks the boy to take him to see his mother and it is Duomeina. He tells her Mr. Ji has remarried but has never been happy. Duomeina has been waiting all these years, but now she becomes the defender of bourgeois morality in impeccable Chinese. She defends the institution of nuclear marriage. Marriage is not a game, she says: it's the whole of a woman's life!

## 黑森林 Black Forest

1964 - Film

A Shaw Brothers co-production, in cooperation with a government studio, one of the first fruits of the invitation Jiang Jingguo extended to Hong Kong filmmakers. Of local films, it was the tenth biggest money maker in 1964. It is completely capitalist and pro-logging. I wouldn't be surprised if it was partly funded by the Taiwan Daxue Mountain Logging Company 台灣大雪山林業公司. It is a melodrama where the bad guys are the enemies of the logging company, and the hero is an employee at the logging company. The film is set on a rough frontier: there are women of the night and bars and fighting. The hero initially wins a tree climbing competition against the top local logger. The hero has to choose between the daughter of the chairman of the board (大小姐), an independent and very attractive woman, and Meidana, a completely bland aboriginal princess who lives in a flower bower. Meidanan's father has the local logging rights to give or deny. The hero ends up choosing Meidana, perhaps partly because she runs off to jump off a cliff and kill herself. There may be a criticism of local patriarchy in this movie – the chief wants to marry Meidana to the boss's son. An employee of the logging company turns out to be just as good.

## 蘭嶼之歌 Song of Orchid Island

1965 - Film

This is Black Forest of the previous year set on Orchid Island. It is also a Shaw production. It has the same lead actor and a similar plot. A doctor goes to Orchid Island to look for his father, who went missing there researching red ants. The Han captain who ferries him over has a local girlfriend and a bunch of children. The doctor is trying to escape his lady admirer, the rich daughter of a successful doctor and the administrator of a hospital. If the doctor marries this girl he's set for life. The girl and her friends fly in and walk around the beach in bikinis. They go snorkeling to promote local tourism. Soon they leave. The doctor falls in love with a local girl but comes into conflict with a local aboriginal man, a shaman. The doctor discovers that the shaman killed his father, and in a fight with the shaman in his father's hut on the hill, the doctor kills the shaman. The doctor is then free to get together with the aborigine princess. They kiss with their noses. The doctor then teaches the girl to kiss with the lips. The film obviously represents the triumph of Western medicine over shamanism. As well, Christianity triumphs over

Anito, the local word for ‘spirit’. In the final scene, the local aboriginal temple goes up in flames and the church on the hill shines in the sunlight.

內山姑娘 Hillbilly Lassie

1965 - Film

I’ve just found out about this movie and its 1966 sequel, Neishan guniang yao chujia 內山姑娘要出嫁 [Hillbilly Lassie’s Gonna Get Married].

霧社風雲 Storm Over Wushe

1965 - Film

The first Taiwanese film about Wushe was 青山碧血 Green Hills and Bright Gore. A second Taiwanese film about the Wushe incident, this one focusing on Dagus Norbin (花崗一郎 Hanaoka Ichiro) and his brother (not by blood but rather by adoption) Dagus Naui (Hanaoka Jiro 花崗二郎), of whom the Japanese had been proud as examples of successful assimilation. A Japanese policeman goes with his subordinates on an outing. They meet with the beautiful maiden Ameina and try unsuccessfully to rape her. The policeman sickens his dog on her but Ameina gets away. The chief Mona Rudao urges Ameina and her fiancé Chunnan 春男 to get married, but on the night of the wedding the policeman comes and finally succeeds in raping her. He gives her fiancé Chunnan a whipping. Ameina throws herself off a cliff. The fiancé kills the Japanese policeman’s wife and commits suicide. On October 27, 1930, Dagus Norbin and Naui take part in the Wushe Incident, releasing two Japanese women as a humanitarian gesture. The aborigines destroy bridges but get bombed. The three of them, Dagus Norbin, his wife, and his brother Dagus Naui, all kill themselves, while Dagus Naui’s wife is off wandering somewhere. She is captured by the Japanese, tortured, and is about to be killed, when the two Japanese women released by Dagus Norbin arrive and save her.

玫瑰項圈 Rose Necklace, by 葉石濤 Ye Shitao

1966 - Story

This is an anti-Dutch story. A low ranking official for the Dutch East India Company is seduced by a beautiful and buxom young Siraya aborigine. She takes him to her rose garden and sleeps with him. She gives him syphilis, which she herself had gotten from her previous Dutch lover.

The idea was to pass the disease on and thereby rid herself of it. The rose necklace is a symptom. When his symptom is discovered by his superior officer, the low ranking official is advised to use a mercury-based cure. The story is set in the last year or two of the Dutch occupation.

吳沙墾田紀 Wu Sha the Pioneer, by 文心 Wen Xin

1966 - Script

TV was only a couple of years old at this time. Wu Sha was a real person, a squatter who lived in Sandiao in northeastern Taiwan for decades, took two local women as concubines, and then led a group of settlers to ‘open up’ the Ilan plain, thereby pushing the Kavalan plains aborigines south. In this version of his story by Wen Xin, Wu Sha insists that he always keeps his promises and that there are no women in his life. In Wen Xin’s version, Wu Sha’s son Wu Li ‘falls in love’ with an aboriginal princess, the daughter of Wu Sha’s partner Tatala. The princess and Wu Li both end up dying. Wu Sha saves everyone from smallpox with a Chinese herbal remedy, concocted according to the prescription of Lin Hansheng, who’d tried to open up the Lanyang Plain (Yilan) decades earlier and was killed by the aborigines. The first historian who wrote a history of Taiwan, Lian Heng, included a biography of Wu Sha, drawing on previous accounts. The 1986 film 唐山過台灣 The Heroic Pioneers is also about Wu Sha. As of 2002, Wu Sha was still in the elementary textbooks.

行醫記 A Doctor’s Diary, by 葉石濤 Ye Shitao

1967 - Story

The main character has been adopted by tenants on his parents’ land. Ye Shitao himself was gentry, though after he came out of prison in 1953 at the age of 28 his family had been reduced to penury by the land-to-the-tiller program. Ye Shitao ended up an elementary school teacher, and he wrote this story in 1967 when on a teaching stint in Ilan. The main character’s foster father traded with the aborigines and had gotten a traditional Confucian education. The main character does well in school, winning the respect of his Japanese teachers. After the Retrocession he studies medicine at Taida, does his residency in Luodong at a Franciscan Hospital – I’ve checked this and there ain’t no such hospital in Luodong. There’s St. Mary’s Hospital founded in Luodong after the war by the Camillian order. The young man falls in love with an aboriginal girl, a nurse. They get married and decide to run a clinic in the hills. There’s a taut childbirth scene, as in Huang Chunming’s short story Days of Looking at the Sea, which

was written later on. The main character's wife gives birth to a son. Years later, the doctor and his dependents are summoned back to his birth mother's house. This is obviously an attempt to write a story about a Taiwanese Albert Schweitzer. Ye Shitao was also conforming to government policy and rhetoric by bringing Christianity and medicine to the hills to overcome the local shaman.

伊魯卡摩萊 Yiluka Molai, by 葉石濤 Ye Shitao

1967 - Story

The second aboriginal story Ye Shitao wrote in 1967, when he was a teacher outside of Luodong. The story has two times, now and twenty years ago, 1945 and 1965. In 1965, the protagonist is on a bus in the mountains. He recognizes an aging woman on the bus as his Atayal lover of 1945. He confronts her. She is taking smoked squirrel meat to her daughter in the big city – the daughter is a singer or a prostitute, but the woman doesn't seem to realize what it is the daughter really does. The man recollects how he'd become a military officer under the Japanese, but had blown up when he was insulted by one of his Japanese subordinates. After wounding the subordinate, he'd fled the base, with guard dogs in pursuit. He was taken in by Yiluka Molai, who has a connection to Wushe incident. She is the 'flower of the Atayal', a princess related to Mona Rudao. There's an interesting gender dialectic here, by which I mean that Yiluka's aboriginality compensates for her femininity. Even though the protagonist is a soldier, it is Yiluka who defends them when the guard dogs arrive: she stabs them in the neck and is spattered with gore, which drips off her skin larded with deer oil. The run off together and live in a cave as lovers for several months, until after the Japanese surrender. He leaves her pregnant at a suspended bridge and builds a life with his vain, shallow Chinese fiancée and later wife. Twenty years later, his wife leaves him. He returns to the mountains to find the only valuable part of his life, Yiluka Molai. In the end, Yiluka Molai admits she remembers who he is. They get off the bus together and go off to find their daughter.

山上山下 Over Hill and Over Dale

1967 - Story

A weak story, but significant in that it was published in Taiwan Wenyi and was written by a woman. A Chinese couple go up in the mountains and meet a group of aboriginal men. They're



all hard-working seasonal labourers who long to return to their families. The experience corrects the narrator's impression of aborigines as lazy drunks.

梨山春曉 Dawn Breaks Over Lishan

1967 - Film

A movie celebrating cabbage and apple farming on Lishan, a great symbol of national development and economic independence at a time when what would later be called 'dependency theory' was causing consternation among the local literati. Apples at the time were extremely expensive, a sign of Taiwan's dependence on the United States. Now apples can be grown locally. Taiwan is economically independent. ROC agricultural experts are already going to Africa and helping poorer nations at the end of this movie. Eberhard in *The Chinese Silver Screen* reports that mainlanders in the theatre laughed at patriotic scenes, at statements such as I sure do admire their spirit of development, bringing into question whether this movies had any propagandistic effect at all. The only aboriginal content in the film is that the two Chinese lovers take in aboriginal dancing one day. The girl reports that this is a good opportunity for the aborigines. What has happened is that the aborigines have been totally marginalized from the mountains, to which they once belonged in the popular imagination.

採硫記 Sulphur Extraction Journal, by 葉石濤 Ye Shitao

1968 - Story

Ye Shitao's mentor Nishikawa Mitsuru had a story of the same name, for which see above. Ye Shitao makes the story far more titillating. Yu Yonghe reaches Danshui on his trip to gather sulphur. One night he is visited by a ravishing young aborigine named Lamana. Yu Yonghe is married but he can't resist. Yu Yonghe is worried that the aborigine was sent by someone and she didn't really want him; but he is assured that it was all her idea. The meaning seems to that Taiwan really wants to have resources extracted, or that Taiwan is irresistibly attractive to the Chinese. It seems to be a colonial allegory. Yet, in the end Ye Shitao complicates 'the ideal of progress' at the end with deafening silence. Yu Yonghe asks his friend, 'won't it be wonderful when this area is developed into a thriving city?' Deafening silence is the friend's reply.

腳痠手軟 Aching Hands and Feet

1968 - Film

Mr. Chen wants capital from a Taiwanese investor living in Japan for his bikini factory. But when the capitalist arrives in Taiwan, Mr. Chen has escaped into the mountains for an affair with an aboriginal girl. At the end Mr. Chen dumps the aboriginal girl and gets his Han girlfriend back; she is in fact the daughter of the investor (Eberhard, *The Chinese Silver Screen*).

山林的子孫 Children of the Mountain Forest, by 段彩華 Duan Caihua  
1969 - Novel

Published by Youshi shudian, a 320 page novel.

滿天裏亮晶晶的星星 Bright Stars Fill the Sky, by 白先勇 Bai Xianyong

1969 - Film

A wild man aborigine is one of the homosexuals in the New Park. See also Niezi below (1982).

高山寒梅 Winter Plum Blossoms in the Mountains, by 任真 Ren Zhen

1970 - Novel

Published by Shangwu.

樂得福之晨 Sunrise Over Ledefu Village, by 李喬 Li Qiao

1970 - Story

It's about the site of the Wushe incident many years later. The story probably echoes government policy in that it stresses the need for teachers in the mountains. The teacher in the story is middle aged. He had a love affair with an aboriginal girl years before. The girlfriend of years before was his nurse when he was suffering from intestinitis. They were planning to get married, but service was more important to her than love, a decision of which the government would have approved: she left to fill a vacancy for a nurse in some aboriginal village. He ended up marrying a Chinese rich girl. He doesn't feel passionate about her though he loves her and the children. He volunteers to teach in the mountains to revisit old times. He is treated to dinner by someone in the village and told a country or should I say mountain wife can be arranged for him. Nothing comes of it, as he doesn't want a second wife and doesn't meet his old girlfriend.

高山青 Mountains Evergreen

## 1970 - Film

There's only a short section in the middle of the movie where the aborigines appear, to do a song and dance to the song Mountains Evergreen. They do the song and dance at their spring feast. This probably isn't an aboriginal festival at all, but rather commodification. The film is about a strictly Chinese community in the blissful living environment of Taiwan's high mountain region. They have absolutely no social interaction with the aborigines. There are no aboriginal children at the school. It's a kind of apartheid. The main character is a postman about to retire and go down into the city to live with his daughter and her fiancé. Then the daughter, a schoolteacher, realizes she doesn't love her fiancé. She falls in love with her father's candidate, who seems to be a jerk at the beginning but eventually displays a heart of gold. At the beginning we hate him because he rides his motorcycle everywhere, but at the end maybe the motorcycle is part of necessary modernization. After all, you can't keep people in the mountains without modern conveniences. There are several scenes where people are trying to serve the state by inventing, one by hydropower, the other by breeding fast-growing trees for paper.

## 苦情花 Flower of Bitter Love

## 1970 - Film

The actress in this film is an aborigine. There are two pairs of cousins; the one Han and the other seemingly aboriginal. The latter pair are living at an old lady's house up in the hills. The Han Chinese man, Dr. Lin, who was trained by the Japanese, falls in love with the aboriginal girl, Marusha. Dr. Lin's Chinese cousin, his fiancée, is understandably jealous. She tells Marusha, Don't ruin his future. As a result, Marusha pretends to be indifferent to Dr. Lin when he flees the boredom of hospital work in Taipei and visits her in the mountains. Thinking that Marusha does not love her, Dr. Lin marries his cousin. Marusha drowns herself in a pond. The aboriginal cousin comes down to the house with a sword with which to kill Dr. Lin. But he doesn't, and Lin retires to the local monastery. Then the past comes out: Dr. Lin's uncle had sired a son – Marusha's cousin, who we now realize is 'biracial' – on an aboriginal maiden. Dr. Lin's logger baron father had prevented the couple from marrying and both ended up dying. Now the father takes the mixed Chinese-aboriginal cousin and the Chinese cousin – half-brother and half-sister – into his family, in a gesture of restitution. Dr. Lin is out of the picture, in the monastery. It's a typical family versus individual story, recalling both Disney movies & May Fourth novels, combined with criticism of interracial discrimination. There seems not to be any criticism of the

logging industry. No logging activities are actually depicted, though near the beginning of the movie the logger baron father hosts some sort of event up in the hills for the aborigines, giving Dr. Lin and Marusha a fateful chance to meet.

鬼月 Ghost Moon, by 葉石濤 Ye Shitao

1970 - Story

In it the thesis that the decline of the Atayal was caused by interbreeding is advanced.

3.4. 1971-1980: *Mahepo fengyun* to the discrediting of Wu Feng

馬黑坡風雲 Storm Over Mahebo, by 鍾肇政 Zhong Zhaozheng

1971 - Novel

Serialized in the *Xinshengbao*, published by Shangwu chubanshe in 1973. The first Wushe novel I believe, though there'd been a novella in the early 1950s, which Zhong Zhaozheng has cited as an influence. Japan established relations with the PRC in 1971, and the Diaoyutai issue was in the news. In the 1970s there was a lot of anti-Japanese propaganda in cultural production, of which *Mahepo fengyun* is an early example. Berry thinks the novel represents the birth of a Taiwanese consciousness (71).

山園戀 Mountain Garden Love, by 李喬 Li Qiao

1971 - Novel

About girls from the mountains marrying men from the plains and leaving aboriginal men without brides. The mountains are idyllic. The novel promotes returning to one's hometown. Published by the government, by the 台灣省新聞處, in 150 thousand characters.

野蠻大地 Wild Land, 曾展郎 Zeng Zhanlang

1972 - Novel

Published by Taiwan Shangwu.

插天山之歌 Song of Chatian Mountain, by 鍾肇政 Zhong Zhaozheng

1973 - Novel

This novel has been filmed in 2006. It's the story of a hard-working Hakka farmer. This may be the first settler epic since Zhong Lihe's rural novel Lishan Farm. The main character initially fights the aborigines but ends up befriending an aboriginal youth named Daqizi, who brings him into a spiritual communion with nature. The protagonist ends up winning the support of the local aborigines, though his wife is Hakka. They have escaped into the mountains under Japanese rule. There, they create a stateless farming idyll.

馬蘭飛人 Malan Forest Flight

1973 - Film

This is a Shaw film and is marketed in English as Flight Man; it's been reissued. It is set in the Japanese era Taiwan. Yang Apao, a patriotic youngster whose fiancée Teng Feng is harassed by a Chinese traitor. Apao murders the traitor and wounds the Japanese police chief. He flees to the Malan Forest and falls in love with a mountain maiden Yu Sanmei, played by Ivy Ling Po. But the Japanese police are hunting him.

碧岳村遺事 Biyue Village Story, 古蒙仁 Gu Mengren

1976 - Story

Reprinted in the collection edited by Wu Jinfa, *Beiqing de shanlin 悲情的山林* [Sad Mountain Forest]. This is a tale of desire. An Atayal carpenter goes down to Xinzhu (Hsinchu) to buy sexy underwear for his wife, who doesn't love him. On the way back he meets a group of Chinese surveyors at a station by a hanging bridge. The water in the river symbolizes desire, as in Snake House. He offers to help them find aboriginal girlfriends for the surveyors. He's a sympathetic character, and I think offering the local women is his way of ingratiating himself. The carpenter has a nice house. His wife is still beautiful. She is a teacher. She has a daughter. Years before she'd gotten pregnant by a young Chinese music teacher, who'd been hounded out of the village. She'd married the carpenter at her mother's urging. Who else would have her? The name of her favourite song is *Lishan chiqing hua 梨山痴情花* [Hopeless Romantic Girl From Lishan]. She tries to seduce one of the Chinese surveyors when it is raining and her husband is out. The surveyor looks like her lost lover. They end up leaving together, on the pretext of seeking medical treatment. The surveyor checks them into two separate rooms in the hotel. She comes to visit him and offers herself: please take care of me and my daughter. He tells her that is

impossible. The next morning, he finds a note from her saying that she'll go back up to her village and try to love her husband.

巴斯達矮考 The Basaday, by 李喬 Li Qiao

1977 - Story

A story about the Daai 達矮 or Basaday people, the little people, perhaps negritos, of Saisiat legend, and the first story about this legend. A brave and his fiancée are going to get married, but she is raped by a Daai. The Saisiat brave takes revenge by drowning the Daai. The three remaining Daai, an old woman and two braves, pay the Saisiat a visit. She threatens them with magic, and appeals to them to give them the girl they'd raped, for the continuance of my people! The Saisiat agree to let the Daai take the girl with them to repopulate the race. The girl agrees too. But when the skiff they're on reaches the middle of the river someone jumps in the river. In a dream the Saisiat brave becomes a buck with a doe at his side. The Saisiat still hold a ceremony to the Daai every so many years. It was renamed Shanhe lu 山河路 [Mountain River Road] and is available online: [http://literature.ihakka.net/hakka/author/li\\_qiao/li\\_composition/li\\_onlin/fiction8\\_1.htm](http://literature.ihakka.net/hakka/author/li_qiao/li_composition/li_onlin/fiction8_1.htm). It was first published in Renjian 人間 from 2-9 October, 1977.

海與大地 Sea and Shore, 宋澤萊 Song Zelai

1978 - Story

This is the first story about aging mainlander soldiers and their purchased aboriginal wives. There is a pair of soldiers, and thus this story may be compared with The Second Spring of Mr. Mo from 1984. Song Zelai starts with the Song of Songs: I am black but comely. The aborigines come in many different shades, but Chinese people typically imagine them as 'blacker' or darker 黑 than Chinese people. It's set in Hengchun. At this time Song Zelai was a romantic: the mountain village is a place where natural beauty still exists, while the town is bad, like a whore with rouge. The two soldiers know each other but they don't realize they're both buying one of two sisters until they reach the village where the transaction will take place. They fought together in China: every leaf was an enemy's eye. One of the soldiers is skinny, like a shrimp. He's lost his right eye. He feels he has to impress his colleagues, so he chooses the hot younger sister. The girl ends up leaving him broke and sick. He tries to pedal an ice cream cart to make a living

but ends up getting an ice cream stuck in his one good eye by some young punk. The other soldier chooses the older sister, a widow with a daughter. The widow married for love, but her husband, an aborigine, faced racism at his job at the factory and was eventually killed in an explosion. She has to marry again to pay for her daughter's education. The cost 30,000 for the sister, 15,000 for the middleman, 15,000 for her parents. It's a lot of money. Her new husband doesn't rush her into love-making. In fact, she's the one who brings it up: You want me, don't you?, she asks. He says he hadn't thought of it. She starts crying because she feels her family watching her. The soldier says he'll take her to see them, the husband's grave presumably and the daughter's school. It's very touching. In the end, she's going to have another baby. At the party to celebrate her pregnancy – at which there are signs of encroaching tourism – Shrimp shows up. He's now blind and sick. His friend takes him in. Shrimp ends up dying, and his friend buries him. He lays flowers on his friend's grave.

月夜的召喚 Call of the Moon, by 鍾肇政 Zhong Zhaozheng

1978 - Story

Zhong Zhaozheng's daughter volunteered in the mountains as part of a school group, the 'national salvation club' 救國團 and got him thinking about the aborigines in the present. College students began entering the mountains as volunteers in the late 1960s. This is the first of Zhong Zhaozheng's stories about champion aboriginal runners. See Marathon and It's Good to Return Home – both written in 1980 – below.

女人島 Island of Women, by 鍾肇政 Zhong Zhaozheng

1978 - Story

Like the stories in Hero of Malike Bay from 1979 (see above), this story is about an aboriginal legend.

密密相思林 Grove of Secret Yearning

1978 - Film

In the Japanese period, a rich Chinese girl named Yuzhen falls for an aboriginal boy named Naguli. There is a love triangle, two girls, a Chinese and an aborigine, fighting over the boy. The aboriginal girl loses. This is another pro-logging movie, the last of its kind! The aborigine loggers of Alishan love their Chinese boss: he is their 'big brother'. They try to give him the

prettiest girl in the mountains, but he's nearly sixty and has to refuse. His daughter Yuzhen falls for Naguli, the disciple of the owner's old friend from northeastern China, a train driver played by Lang Xiong 郎雄, from Ang Lee movies such as *The Wedding Banquet* and *Eat Drink Man Woman*. Like Wu Sha in Wen Xin's 1965 version of the legend and the 1986 film version called *Tangshan guo Taiwan*, Lang Xiong's character claims celibacy. Yuzhen and Naguli go on walks through the floral forest, with popular music playing in the background. In 1937, the Japanese military nationalizes the logging company. The military people arrive and abuse the aborigines, who resist and get shot. But Lang Xiong has the last laugh. He plants a bomb and blows up the train with him and the Japanese commander inside. Shell-shocked, Lang Xiong ends his days quoting Napoleon: *The Chinese race is a sleeping lion! There's just too many of us! You Japanese will never win!* By this time, the daughter of the company owner is gone. Decades later she returns from Singapore where she's been living and finds Naguli has been holding a torch for her, as she has been for him. He's spent his life selling orchids, because the orchid was 'their flower'. They get married and he teaches her to drive the train. There were in the 1970s lots of Japanese resistance movies and very few aboriginal movies: here the aborigines are mostly for show, for local color. Ideologically, the anti-Japanese message is clear. Though there is still logging, Alishan has now become a tourist destination in the film.

吳鳳 – 四幕詩劇 Wu Feng – Poetic Drama in Four Acts, 楊牧 Yang Mu

1979 - Drama

Published by Hongliu 洪範, Yang Mu's own publishing company. It's the last straight telling of the Wu Feng story. In the Forward Yang Mu compares Wu Feng to Christ, for both were sacrificial heroes. Yang Mu says he found the American Western films he watched as a boy too violent and simplistic. Yet the values he presents in this 'epic drama' are extremely simplistic: Wu Feng is good, Chinese culture is good, education is good, force is bad, and violence is bad. In the movie of 1962 there was some romance, between young aborigines. There was also a sexual tension between Wu Feng and the young maiden Shatalan. This play by Yang Mu is utterly asexual. There are no chief in Yang Mu's play. It is Wu Feng and a bunch of children, like teacher and students. One of the girls in the story is described as Wu Feng's 'disciple' 門徒. The only aboriginal elder is the shaman, the enemy of rationality, a drunkard. In the final scene in Act Four, the final act, everyone chooses to follow the smartest brave and one of Wu Feng's party rather than another, militant, one, who does Wu Feng in. Yang Mu ends with the bland



schoolmarm's assertion that the children of Alishan will be working hard and Wu Feng will live in their hearts.

寒夜 Wintry Nights, by 李喬 Li Qiao

1979 - Novel

The first instalment of Li Qiao's Hakka settler trilogy, set in Fanzailin. A Hakka, who understands Atayal and may be half-aborigine himself, named Three Cuts 剝三刀 leads the settlers against the aborigines after the Hakka suffer headhunting attacks. Later Three Cuts and the aboriginal chief Badu Babo 北都·巴博 team up against the Japanese at the battle of Malabang (see the story from 1982 below). The time is early in the Japanese period. The Atayal chief is young, a champion deer hunter. All the other aboriginal chiefs join the band. And the waishengren Qiu Mei 邱梅, who is also Hakka, helps too. When the Hakka warriors come back from the battle of Malaband, they say they've taken heads. They're dressed up as aboriginal warriors. They seem to have 'gone native'. Actually, this seems like cultural appropriation: settlers pretending to be aborigines to indigenize themselves. This aboriginal material is not a big part of the novel. Li Qiao serialized it in Taiwan wenyi, in issues 57 through 61 and 67 (January, March, June, October, December; June 1980). Wintry Nights is the first in a trilogy. The other volumes are Huangcun 荒村 [Village in the Rough] and Gudeng 孤燈 [Lone Lamp]. John Balcom and Taotao Liu's translation from Columbia University Press includes selections from Wintry Nights and Lone Lamp. Exerpts of the Chinese are online at [http://literature.ihakka.net/hakka/author/li\\_qiao/onlin\\_full\\_length\\_novel.htm](http://literature.ihakka.net/hakka/author/li_qiao/onlin_full_length_novel.htm).

再見南國 Goodbye South Goodbye

1979 - Story

Printed in United Daily News on Christmas Day and Boxing Day. It is a story about Chinese university professors in Hiroshima. One of the professors is the product of a union of a Mongolian princess and a Chinese man, symbolizing Chinese national integration, the Mongols being one of the five ethnic groups in the Chinese nation according to Sun Yatsen. One of the other characters is mixed Amei-Chinese. At any rate, one evening in Hiroshima, the professors visit a bar called Goodbye South Goodbye. They meet a Formosan aboriginal girl there who was tricked into this work. She refuses to engage in prostitution, though she is willing to sing songs

for customers. With the professors is a graduate student named Ning Siqi. His father is a legislator. His major is animal husbandry. He ends up falling in love with the aboriginal girl and returns to Taiwan with her to farm at Lishan. They do not say goodbye to the south – Taiwan. It is now twelve years after the propaganda film Sunrise Over Lishan promoted Lishan as a symbol of economic self-sufficiency and Taiwan as a place to build a career to stop the brain drain.

馬利科灣英雄傳 Hero of Malike Bay, by 鍾肇政 Zhong Zhaozheng

1979 - Story

This book contains three stories about aboriginal legend: Malikewan yingxiong zhuan [Malike Bay Hero],

Airen zhi ji 矮人之祭 [Dwarf Festival] about the Saisiat Festival in honour of the Daai, and She zhi qi 蛇之妻 [The Snake's Wife].

矮人之祭 Rite of the Little Folk, by 鍾肇政 Zhong Zhaozheng

1979 - Story

About the Daai people worshipped by the Saisiat.

蛇之妻 The Snake's Wife, by 鍾肇政 Zhong Zhaozheng

1979 - Story

夜流 Night Flood, by 龍瑛宗 Long Yingzong

1979 - Story

A short story about pioneer experience. It has much more on the aborigines than Long Yingzhong's early story Huang Family (see above). Hakka pioneers and traders get scalped. His father's camphor camp is raided. The main character is Du Nanyuan 杜南遠 (Guo Huihua 27).

This is the first Du Nanyuan story. It was printed in the Zili wanbao 自立晚報 on August 3, 1979 and reprinted in Du Fu zai Changan. Online at [http://literature.ihakka.net:80/hakka/author/long\\_ying\\_zong/long\\_composition/long\\_onlin/novel/n\\_b04.htm](http://literature.ihakka.net:80/hakka/author/long_ying_zong/long_composition/long_onlin/novel/n_b04.htm).

3.5. 1980-1986: Discrediting of Wu Feng to *Tangshan guo Taiwan*

## 源 The Source

### 1980 - Film

The film is about the fearlessness of the Chinese pioneers – who came across the Taiwan Strait and braved the danger of the headhunt while settling the land – and foreign interests trying to capitalize on Taiwanese oil in the nineteenth century. Oil is the economic attraction of the dangerous mountain area. The aborigines are depicted very negatively: they are headhunters, and a Chinese working as a trader or interpreter is likely to go native 變為漢奸, betraying the Han people. In other words, this movie is the first negative filmic portrayal of the interpreter, who in the Qing dynasty sources is described as a ‘village bully’ 社棍, the troublemaker who corners the market on aboriginal girls and thereby deprives aborigine men of wives. This movie is anti-class: class should not get in the way of love, and so the hero falls in love and elopes with the daughter of the family in whose household he is working. But the film is more ambiguous about racial crossing: the Chinese interpreter who marries an aborigine turns against his people. At the same time, the interpreter’s aboriginal wife is taken into the household of the protagonist after the interpreter dies, so probably race is not the main issue for the filmmaker but civilization. Incidentally, the director of this film, Chen Yaochi 陳耀圻, made the first independent documentary in postwar Taiwan, Liu Bijia 劉必稼, in 1965, about a retired mainland soldier reclaiming estuary land. Liu Bijia would go on to marry an aboriginal widow, as recorded in Hu Taili’s 2003 documentary Shitoumeng 石頭夢 [Stone Dream]: <http://www.stonedream.ioe.sinica.edu.tw/>.

馬拉松,冠軍,一等賞 Marathon, Champion, First Prize, by 鍾肇政 Zhong Zhaozheng

### 1980 - Story

Marathon is the inspiring story of a coach who cultivates a talented young aboriginal runner named Shanpuluo. The coach is also an aborigine. The fellow he’s running against is Luoxin 羅辛, which sounds like a Chinese name.

回山裡真好 It’s Good to Return Home to the Hills

### 1980 - Story

Another Zhong Zhaozheng story about an aboriginal runner.

斷雲 Broken Clouds, by 龍瑛宗 Long Yingzong

1980 - Story

This story continues the Du Nanyuan trilogy of autobiographical short stories. Online at [http://literature.ihakka.net:80/hakka/author/long\\_ying\\_zong/long\\_composition/long\\_onlin/novel/n\\_c04.htm](http://literature.ihakka.net:80/hakka/author/long_ying_zong/long_composition/long_onlin/novel/n_c04.htm).

有月光的河 Moonlit River, by 吳錦發 Wu Jinfa

1981 - Story

Youma 幼瑪, a girl from the mountains above Ilan who has lost her dignity as a prostitute in the city, wants to escape the stigma of aboriginality. She ends up killing herself by jumping into a canal. This is the first story on the aborigines by Wu Jinfa. The first person narrator is a Han Chinese researcher who visits Youma's village for his sociological fieldwork on alcoholism. The narrator feels an affinity with the ethnic minorities as his grandmother was Atayal. When he meets her she's been working as a kindergarten teacher in a Christian church. He goes to the city and becomes a regular person and meets Youma again. This time he has an affair with her. He tells the story in retrospect after her suicide in the hotel room where they had their encounters and by the river where she drowned herself (Berg, "Wu Jinfa and the Melancholy Mountain Forests of China's Border Cultures" 210). There was a movie based on this story made by a Catholic foundation (Guangqi), but they don't have it anymore.

孽子 Crystal Boys (Goldblatt), 白先勇 Bai Xianyong

1982 - Novel

There is an aboriginal cameo role very much like the one in Bai's story Bright Stars Fill the Sky (1969).

馬拉邦戰記 Battle of Malabang, by 李喬 Li Qiao

1982 - Story

Malabang is a mountain in Miaoli and the name of an aboriginal village. This is an expansion of the Malabang material in Wintry Nights. It's online at [http://literature.ihakka.net/hakka/author/li\\_qiao/li\\_composition/li\\_onlin/fiction9\\_3.htm](http://literature.ihakka.net/hakka/author/li_qiao/li_composition/li_onlin/fiction9_3.htm).

獵熊的人 Bear Hunter, by 鍾肇政 Zhong Zhaozheng

1982 - Story

Published in the Zhongyang yuekan 中央月刊 and reprinted in the volume Beiqing de shanlin 悲情的山林, edited by Wu Jinfa. This is a story of two Atayal half-brothers, Bilake and Oubilu. Bilake's father Xilang was tall, Oubilu's father Laobuna short. There's no evil step-parent drama here, because Oubilu's stepfather came to be Bilake's spiritual father. Oubilu's father Laobuna had been killed by a bear. Oubilu starts Sinifying: he gets a job on the factory, he works as a taxi driver for tourists and as a guide. He likes to spend money, play guitar, chew betel, play cards and drink. He doesn't like to hunt. He doesn't bring any money home, which from a Chinese perspective reflects badly on him. Before Laobuna died, he had told his half-son Bilake that his blood-son Oubilu is not a real Atayal. One day Bilake spots traces of the bear, the murderer of his stepfather. He tries to get Oubilu to go kill the bear with him using the spear with the crescent moon on the neck, an innovation of Laobuna's inspired by martial arts fiction. We now learn that Laobuna died because of his son Oubilu: one day Oubilu was guiding tourists and got a stomach ache. He rested in a loggers' cabin. Help was sent for. His father and Bilake came to rescue him. They were attacked by a mother bear. Now Oubilu and Bilake are setting out to take revenge. Oubilu says he doesn't feel fully Atayal because he's never gone headhunting. Bilake reminds him they're not savages anymore! Oubilu retorts that his father headhunted the Japanese during the war. It turns out that Bilake's father died in Nanyang fighting for the Japanese, and Laobuna came back to take care of his friend's wife and child. Then the bear appears. Oubilu goes berserk. Though the bear escapes, they become heroes! Oubilu and Bilake both return to work. Life goes on.

勁風與野草 A Gale and Wild Grass, by 龍瑛宗 Long Yingzong

1982 - Story

The third of the Du Nanyuan trilogy of autobiographical short stories. Published in United Daily News on February 15, 1982 and reprinted in Du Fu zai Changan in 1987. Online at [http://literature.ihakka.net:80/hakka/author/long\\_ying\\_zong/long\\_composition/long\\_onlin/novel/n\\_a06.htm](http://literature.ihakka.net:80/hakka/author/long_ying_zong/long_composition/long_onlin/novel/n_a06.htm).

老師，斯卡也答 Teacher, Sikayeda

## 1982 - Film

Sikayeda means goodbye. It is set in an aboriginal community. The enemy in this film is a local petty-capitalist, a storeowner who keeps the local men drunk and arranges for young girls to be sold into prostitution for mushroom seed money for their parents. The capitalist's own wife is an aborigine. He treats her poorly, calling her an animal. Fighting this enemy is a group of four Chinese: a doctor a teacher, a nun and a police officer. The group wins out in the end. The teacher falls in love with the doctor and decides to stay in the mountains and serve. What about the teacher's retired mother in Taipei? The mother is willing to live with the daughter in an aboriginal community in the mountains.

燕鳴的街道 The Street Where Swallows Sing, by 吳錦發 Wu Jinfa

## 1983 - Story

The story begins with the Saisiat ceremony to the Daai. There is a circle of innocent and primitive dancers around a fire. One of the dancers is Youma, a beautiful maiden who has brought a male friend to visit her village. Drunk, Youma comes on to him. He wonders what kind of girl she is. After the ceremony she wants to go home. He'd met her doing a scene in a television program. She was a replacement. She got called a stupid montagnard (笨山地仔). Later she started screwing the man, Xiao Liu, who had insulted her. He ends up kicking her out. Her male friend sees her singing in the Ximending of Taipei. She says she does it because of loneliness, the loneliness of the Saisiat. The male friend reveals he is half-aborigine. Youma goes on to shack up with a married man in exchange for a house. She is discovered by the wife, but she figures it has been worth it: she got what she wanted. In the climax, the male friend goes to Beitou with Xiao Liu. They call bargirls, and the friend gets drunk and calls Youma. Naturally, Xiao Liu insults her. She dumps a drink on her head. He calls her a dead savage (死番仔), grabs her, and says it's her good luck if he screws her. The friend ends up banging Xiao Liu with a bottle. Youma is a 'wounded brute'. She says she'll do all of them one after another. Her friend takes her out. They see swallows. She asks if he really wants her. He embraces her.

玫瑰玫瑰我愛你 Rose, Rose, I Love You, 王禎和 Wang Zhenhe

## 1984 - Novel

The book is about the R&R industry during the Vietnam War in the mid to late 1960s, when US GIs would visit Hualian or Taipei or Keelung on vacation. A local GI-oriented sex industry

sprang up, organized by a local comprador called Dong Siwen, supported by local politicians and sanctified by the church. It's presumably not the first time Hualian, a smallish city on the east coast, had a sex industry, but probably the first time on this scale. Thus, on page 3 of Goldblatt's translation, in which there is a description of Mercy Chapel, where the girls are being trained in the trade, there are breadfruit trees called bochiloo by the locals, probably an aboriginal word for breadfruit. The breadfruit fall to the ground and split open to reveal white fleshy fruit. It's a symbol for the sex worker. There are aboriginal prostitutes in the novel, one in particular who gets angry at a local politician for renegeing on a promise to route buses through Fengbin, a tiny community on the coast about two hours south of Hualian, but none of them are ever named in contrast to the Chinese bar girls like Stumpy Courtesan or Red Hair. Dong Siwen has the trainee bar girls fill in a questionnaire containing the question, for what reason did you choose this line of work. Most of the Ami aboriginal girls left that question blank. Probably because they had been sold into prostitution by their parents. At the end of the novel, Dong Siwen imagines his trainees decked out in shimmering cheongsams or eye-catching aboriginal dress, an appropriation of aboriginal culture for sex tourism. If there's a subaltern in the novel, the aboriginal woman is close to it, though she's not totally subaltern because she is able to speak out. The novel was serialized in United Daily News.

暗夜的霧 A Dark and Misty Night, by 吳錦發 Wu Jinfa

1984 - Story

Maya works in a Christian kindergarten in her native village. She leaves for the city to become a singer. She becomes a model and actress. But she is exploited in her relationships with Chinese men. She is a sex object to them. The narrator is again a Chinese man (Berg 226).

兩個爸爸 His Two Dads, 履彊 Lu Qiang

1984 - Story

Lu Qiang is better known as Su Jinqiang, the former chairman of the TSU. Lu Qiang has a military background; presumably he would have a lot of observation of marriages between mainlander soldiers and aboriginal women, the topic of this story. The teacher visits his student's house and discovers that he has two fathers, Mr. Ma and Mr. Yang, both retired mainlander soldiers, the latter very decrepit: he stinks because he has unhealed wounds and because he cannot use his catheter properly. Mr. Yang gets sick and stays in hospital, and Mr. Ma takes care

of him. The mother, Lin Chunhua ('spring flower') is an aborigine from the mountains. The mother was a prostitute at 831 八三么, the army base brothel on Kinmen Island (Quemoy). Army bases all around the R.O.C. on Taiwan had brothels attached to them from the early 1950s until the military dismantled them in the early 1990s. The then-future president Chen Shuibian played a part in this process: he submitted a complaint to the Ministry of National Defense. Yang and Ma both fell in love with her. Incapacitated by shrapnel during the August, 1958 artillery barrage 八二三炮戰, Mr. Yang spent all his compensation money at 831, and then borrowed money from Mr. Ma to take Chunhua away. Chunhua had gone into the business for money in the first place, and now would go with whoever gave her the most gold. Feeling abandoned, Mr. Ma became psychologically unstable and was himself discharged. He moved in with his buddy, Chunhua, and Ma Yanglin, who had been abandoned by his real parents in a nearby grove. When the narrator goes to visit Chunhua to communicate with her about Ma Yanglin's academic performance, she tells him her life story: for instance, when Ma and Yang were competing for her she was only thirteen years old. She is drunk, abusive to her son – she calls him a little half-breed (140) – and flirtatious. The narrator panics and runs away. The next time he hears news about the 'family', Chunhua has burned down the house and left with Ma Yanglin. But Mr. Ma builds another house; at least Mr. Ma and Mr. Yang still have each other.

泰母山記 Mt. Taimu Diary, by 李喬 Li Qiao

1984 - Story

This is Li Qiao's telling of the fate of Japanese period author Lu Heruo 呂赫若 after 228, when he escaped into the mountains to evade GMD police. He gets bitten by a snake. Before he dies, he meets an aborigine who cares for him. The spiritual aborigines contrast with the brutal mainlanders. The story was published in Taiwan Wenyi 86 January) and is online at [http://literature.ihakka.net/hakka/author/li\\_qiao/li\\_composition/li\\_onlin/fiction9\\_3.htm](http://literature.ihakka.net/hakka/author/li_qiao/li_composition/li_onlin/fiction9_3.htm).

老莫的第二個春天 Old Man Mo's Second Spring

1984 - Film

This is a social conscience movie. It won the 1984 Golden Horse. It is a two couple story, one successful, one not. This setup was used in the first story to deal with the trade in aboriginal women, Song Zelai's short story Hai yu dadi in 1978. Both men in the movie are retired



mainlander soldiers, now on the verge of being a social problem, no longer the vanguard of modernization. Mr. Mo, played by Sun Yue 孫越 of anti-Japanese film, is a trash man. In a few scenes his strength seems to be failing him. Mo's is the successful marriage. He buys his wife, a Bunun maiden named Yuzhen 玉珍, a very Chinese name, for a hundred thousand dollars, only several thousand dollars American, from her father in a mountain village. The whole process, from the oily middleman and the mother coldly counting the cash to the tacky wedding ceremony, is honestly presented. Yuzhen is chaste: she rejects the advances of her business partner, a handsome young fellow with a motorcycle who speaks a bit of Bunun. She is industrious: she starts an aboriginal delicacies stand and is very successful. She is strong: she socks the bad guys in the smoky movie theatre. So in the marriage she is the protector and the provider. But this is not a women's liberation movie. It is socially conservative, hence the famous scene where she salutes her husband's departing commander. There is another scene where she salutes her husband Mr. Mo. Yuzhen is also Sinified: she speaks Taiwanese and listens to brainless Mandopop. The unhappy contrast story is Mo's friend, whose wife has an aboriginal name Mana 瑪娜, goes around with hoodlums instead of staying put in the home or the market, gets pregnant, infects her husband with syphilis, becomes a drug addict, and jumps to her death from a bridge with a baby in her belly. In other words, the secret of success is for the wife to have bourgeois virtues, practice petty capitalism, and assimilate into Chinese society. The husband in the film is not an 'experimental variable', as in Song Zelai's story. Mr. Mo was just lucky. He could have ended up with Mana. On the other hand, it's suggested that Mr. Mo bought himself a wife to have a son – he'd spend hundreds of thousands of dollars on the education of an ingrate 'adoptive son' 乾兒子 – whereas Mo's friend got a wife to satisfy his lust. In the end, Yuzhen is pregnant, and Mr. Mo is planning for the whole family, including his commander and his commander's wife as well as his friend, six in all, to return to China.

亮不亮沒關係 It Don't Matter If It's Dark or Light

1984 - Film

A vehicle for the former child star Liu Lanxi 劉藍溪, who got married in the same year, at the age of 24, and became a Buddhist nun about a decade later. The movie sold very poorly. It was set on Orchid Island, just a few years after the nuclear waste dump there was completed. It seems to be promoting Orchid Island as a beautiful tourist destination.

川中島 Kawanakashima, by 鍾肇政 Zhong Zhaozheng

1985 - Novel

This is the first novel in what Zhong Zhaozheng imagined would be a trilogy. He only finished two volumes. The second was Zhanhuo 戰火 [Flames of War]. These two books comprise Zhong's Gaoshan zuqu 高山組曲. This novel is about the transfer of the Atayal from Wushe after the Wushe Incident. This is the same history that Wu He would deal with in his novel Yusheng, published in 2000. Kawanakashima is Chuanzhong dao in pinyin or 'island in the stream'. Though one has to cross a bridge to get to it, it is not an island. Today it is called Qingliu Village 清流部落.

戰火 Flames of War, by 鍾肇政 Zhong Zhaozheng

1985 - Novel

The second in the Gaoshan zuqu, about the aboriginal braves fighting in the southern seas for the Japanese.

達瑪倫·尤穆 Damalun Youmu, by 李喬 Li Qiao

1985 - Story

It's a diary. An aborigine Youmu won't let his wife Najiwa 娜姬娃 go to the city to find 'work'. They lose a crop of plums in a typhoon. Najiwa has to go to Miaoli to be an 'attendant' 女中. Youmu has to endure. His friend's wife did the same. When she didn't return, his friend went crazy. It was published in the story collection Gaomizhe [Secret Sharer] in 1985.

我的朋友住佳霧 My Friends Live in Jiawu, 葉智中 Ye Zhizhong

1985 - Story

Not a bad 'learning about the aborigines' story by a very young author, it was reprinted in Beiqing de shanlin. It is told in first person by a young Chinese man from Gaoxiong. His father, a policeman, had served in the mountains at a place where you had to dig your toilet yourself. The man, Yilin, was born in the mountains, whence he returned three years before the present time of the story to escape his father's wrath after failing the university entrance exam. He came up with Taixiang, who has a mainlander father, now retired and like an 'unserviceable tank',

who worked on the Burma-Yunnan highway and had married an aborigine from southwestern China. In Jiawu, Yilin meets Kuyi 庫依, a male Formosan aborigine. There are two villages at Jiawu, one for Han Chinese and one for aborigines. There's also a more modern village called Pingshe, where culture is polluted and eroded. Yilin is surprised by all the electric appliances people have. But Kuyi tells him conditions really aren't so good. Kuyi introduces Yilin to his girlfriend, Biduai, who has the 'typical' buxom figure of an aborigine. Yilin and Biduai sleep together one night after getting drunk, but nothing comes of it; though discovered by Kuyi, they are forgiven. Three years later, Yilin meets Kuyi and Biduai in Ximending. They're playing there: Kuyi plays and Biduai sings the song 'Willing to Marry a Han Chinese Boy' 願嫁漢家郎. In the present time of the story, Yilin goes back to Jiawu to visit Kuyi. Yilin has a girlfriend in Taipei – Kuyi tells him to take care of Biduai as long as she's still in the big city. Earlier in the story Kuyi had described himself as driven by necessity, but now he is more proactive, planning to run for township mayor. Biduai returns to Jiawu as well to open a kindergarten in the church. Another happy ending about returning to the mountains to serve.

#### 台北神話 Taipei Fable

1985 - Film

The script is by Wu Nianzhen 吳念真. It's an aging mainlander movie, in which Old Sun, played by Sun Yue from *Old Man Mo* the previous year, is a schoolbus driver for a private kindergarten. The kids at the kindergarten are urbanites, and on the last day on the job, facing the prospect of loneliness for the rest of his life, Old Sun drives them out of the city to bring them closer to nature. On a mud road they run into a group of aborigines, dark skinned, with the chief householder speaking Chinese with a mainland accent, probably because he is a mainlander who has married an aboriginal girl. The aborigines symbolize the nature with which the city kids have lost touch. Then the group goes to the seaside to see the sunset. All the while, the owner of the kindergarten and all the parents think Old Sun has kidnapped the kids. At the end he is surrounded by soldiers from the three services in the armed forces and has to surrender.

#### 3.6. 1986-1990: *Tangshan guo Taiwan* to *1947 Gaosha Baihe*

##### 唐山過台灣 From the Hills of Tang to the Plains of Taiwan

1986 - Film

It was made right before martial law was lifted. It's usually translated *The Heroic Pioneers*. It's a heroic colonization or settlement movie, blatantly conservative propaganda. Ilan, or the Lanyang Plain, is being settled. The film is a reminder to the Taiwanese people they are Chinese. Just a few years previously, in the early 1980s, the debate on Taiwan consciousness versus China consciousness had been raging. This film was made by the government by the director Li Xing, who directed *Brothers Wang* and *Liu Tour Taiwan* in 1958, discussed above. This is Li Xing's last movie. It's the Wu Sha settlement story once again. Wu Sha has two sons, Wu Guangyi and Wu Hua. Guangyi is in love with the chief's daughter, and the daughter tells her father what to do. She also accuses Wu Sha of giving rice wine to her father to get at aboriginal land. I suppose this is critical, but it's not dwelt on. Wu Sha thinks Guangyi is a loser and wants his eldest Hua to marry the daughter, who slips into the background after a few scenes at the beginning. So the film is not very democratic. There are several scenes in which Wu Sha shows the land to potential collaborators. He waxes lyrical about the 'original energy' (原氣) of the land, which he asserts should be developed, insinuating that the local aborigines are guilty of not developing the land. This shows a continuing refusal of the Chinese mainstream to understand the land use of the Kavalan aborigines, who hunted on the plains and planted millet on the slopeland. It's not a movie that celebrates the 'wild frontier'. It's a bad thing when the whores arrive from Danshui, not entertaining and certainly not titillating. In exchange for curing the aborigines of carbuncles (天花), Wu Sha offers the chief a portion of the proceeds from the land, twenty percent I think. The chief wants to go half and half. In reality, the aborigines got nothing: they were pushed to the south of the Lanyang Plain. Wu Sha says: 'Why don't you come farm with us? We'll teach you'. The chief says: 'Wu Sha, you're my true friend'.

月黑風高 Cloudy and Windy Night, by 龍瑛宗 Long Yingzong

1986 - Story

吳鳳之死 Death of Wu Feng, 胡台麗 Hu Taili

1987 - Story

In this story by Academia Sinica anthropologist Hu Taili, a young woman visits a friend who is researching the Alishan Tsou. She runs into the chief, who'd been her classmate at normal school. Meeting him had corrected her assumptions: not all aborigines are musical and sportive. The woman talks to her husband, who also has misassumptions: he had always associated he

aborigines of Taiwan with the ‘red’ Indians from watching movies. She remembers a school play in which one of her classmates played Wu Feng. There is a section on the Baku 庫巴, the men’s lodge. Certain sections of the story have an ethnographic feel. It’s not a great story, but you can tell that Hu Taili is sincerely trying to convey information and correct misinformation. In a drinking scene, the woman asks if the Tsou aborigines revere Wu Feng. They ask her: why would we? They show the savage knife 番刀 to her husband and tell heroic tales about braves with skin hard as stone, impervious to arrows. The Wu Feng story had been discredited in 1980 by an article by Chen Qinan called Wufeng de shenhua 吳鳳的神話 [Myth of Wu Feng] published in Taibei minsheng bao on 28 Jul. 1980. Wu Feng existed, but his story as a great civilizer was cooked up by the Japanese. Hu Taili points out here that the Tsou didn’t stop headhunting until after the Japanese came. She asks, why did you stop headhunting in the end? Times changed, they say. Another misapprehension Chinese people have is about the way of life of the aborigines. The chief works as a renovator on the plains. Why do people expect him to dress up in aboriginal attire and talk funny? He also mentions Japanese tourists enjoying aboriginal prostitutes in Hualian. This story was included in Wu Jinfa’s Beiqing de shan lin.

卑南平原 Beinan Plain, by 鍾肇政 Zhong Zhaozheng

1987 - Novel

This novel is a fictionalization of life in early aboriginal Taiwan. Like many Nativist authors, Zhong Zhaozheng has an interest in archaeology.

赤腳天使 Barefoot Angel

1987 - Film

The real life Aborigine Tang Yingshen 湯英伸 killed his employer, who had withheld wages and refused to return his ID, in July, 1987. Tang is behind Super Citizen, a 1999 film discussed below. One wonders if he is behind Barefoot Angel too. Two aboriginal men Zhuyou and Rixin go to Taipei to work. They go to an employment agency. Their first employer takes advantage of them. Zhuyou tries to reason with him; Rixin is more impulsive and aggressive. They manage to get out of their contract and find another job. Years later, they are still living in Taipei. Married, Zhuyou makes an investment in a building project. Halfway through one of the investors takes off with his money. Zhuyou goes to another investor, Mr. Liao, who claims he’s also lost money

and can't do anything about it. While Zhuyou is on the phone, Mr. Liao slips out to go to a party. On another occasion, Rixin tags along with Zhuyou and threatens to kill Mr. Liao. Zhuyou makes a visit to Mr. Liao's house. Mr. Liao threatens to call the police; Zhuyou begs him not to. Mr. Liao ends up hitting him with the phone, they get into a scuffle, and there's blood everywhere. Rixin opens the door and is horrified. The last two-thirds of the movie is a courtroom drama. Rixin is accused of murder. They bring in the teacher of the two boys. The plan is to demonstrate that Rixin is insane so he won't bear criminal responsibility. There is a flashback to Rixin downing all the fruit in an orchard in his bare feet, hence the title of the movie. As an angel, he couldn't tell right from wrong. After the proceeding, Rixin is in jail and Zhuyou is free. But a neighbour of Mr. Liao gives further evidence, which seems to suggest that Zhuyou had killed Mr. Liao and fainted. Rixin had come in and decided to take the blame for his friend. But at the very end, Rixin insists he did it. In his final speech, he reminds everyone they were orphans. What right did Mr. Liao have to bully them? If he had the chance to go back in time, he would kill Mr. Liao again. In the last scene, Zhuyou brings his baby son to see Rixin in prison. Christianity is presented very positively in this film. The lady who takes care of all the orphans is the wife of a pastor and the soul of the community.

### 失蹤人口 Lost Population

1987 - Film

Not as good as Spring and Autumn Tea House made the following year, but it does focus on prostitution, especially Atayal child prostitution. Teacher, Sikayeda had dealt with the problem more obliquely in 1982, but was set in the mountains mostly, whereas this movie is mostly set in the city. The movie in general suffers from sentimentality and sensationalization. The song Flower on a Rainy Night (雨夜花) is the leitmotif for the movie, an attempt to yank heartstrings. By sensationalization, I mean a tendency towards clichés and extreme scenes, such as one prostitute stabbing another prostitute high on drugs in the throat and then through the heart with a knife. The plot device on which everything hangs is a young man is working on a thesis on child prostitution. There's too much going on: police resignation and corruption, academic research and social morals, the drug trade, a Taiwanese mother trying to find her daughter, human trafficking, Atayal child prostitution, and even kung fu fighting. The movie ends up seeming one part dissertation, one part documentary, and one part film. The researcher goes to see an Atayal child prostitute named Little Lan, who gives him a note to deliver to the police:

‘save me’. The older police officer is not inclined to help. The younger officer tries to break Little Lan out but fails. Little Lan is sold to another brothel. An older Atayal prostitution Sakura tells the researcher where he can find Little Lan’s mother, who turns out to be a drunk. Little Lan has a younger sister. Little Lan gets killed. Sakura has to work in a factory because she’s too old. She starts sniffing glue. The researcher goes to see his professor to hand in his thesis. The professor thinks there’s something wrong with the researcher: Why focus on the darkness in society? Write me another, more positive thesis. The researcher retorts that even in the United States they have social problems, and that one must try to understand social problems to make society better. But it’s no use. In the last scene, the researcher walks through the Longshan Temple area and finds that Little Lan’s sister is working there. She tries to take her clothes off and the researcher covers her up with a blanket.

報告班長

1987 - Film

There is an aboriginal cameo: he speaks funny and runs faster than anyone else even though he’s not wearing any shoes.

杜里的故事 Duli’s Story, by 宋澤萊 Song Zelai

1988 - Story

Duli the aborigine is talented but his lady love Lin Xuan leaves him for the son of the chairman of the board. She tells Duli directly he cannot work hard enough to support her. Published by Qianwei, in Song Zelai’s collection Penglai zhiyi 蓬來誌異 (133-139).

月光下的酋長 Chief Under the Moonlight, by 履彊 Lu Qiang (Su Jinqiang)

1988 - Story

A short story about aboriginal boys in the army.

飢餓 Hunger, by 張大春 Zhang Dachun

1988 - Story

This story is about Baku, an aborigine from Orchid Island with a huge appetite. Baku gets a job eating crates of Buddha fruit perhaps at an orchard. Then he switches jobs and eats sausages for

a living. In the meantime he meets his long-lost sister, but doesn't recognize her. Baku may not be the brightest boy in elementary school, but this seems excessive: Zhang Dachun is knowingly working with clichés about the alterity of aboriginal rationality. The sister is working as a dancer in promotional events for pharmaceutical products. She ends up returning to Orchid Island getting taken advantage of by some Chinese fellow. Another Chinese fellow takes advantage of her brother: Baku goes to Taipei, sits inside for months eating a formulation to lighten his skin, and then embarks on his eating career in advertizing. He makes a little and his sociopathic managers make a lot. He starts eating non-food items, including computers, etc. Clearly, Zhang Dachun is not writing realist fiction. In the climax Baku's stomach explodes on camera, showering the recording studio with Buddha fruit, sausage, and everything else he had ever been paid to eat.

最後的先知 The Last Prophet, by 張大春 Zhang Dachun

1988 - Story

This story is about the nuclear storage facility on Orchid Island. It begins with a reporter gathering material for a story. The theme of appearance versus reality is emphasized, what the reporter really thinks about the mainland proprietor of a daily needs store on the island – that he is lecherous – and what she'll really say about him in her article – a heroic veteran of the civil war. She finds the island rather drab but writes about it as if it is paradise. As in *Hunger*, the aborigines live in an alternative reality. They do know they do not like the nuclear facility, that posterity-eradicating warehouse, which they tell the reporter they have vandalized nineteen times, a detail she does not include in her story.

戰士乾杯 Braves, a Toast, 黃春明 Huang Chunming

1988 - Story

A story about four generations of aboriginal warriors, only one of which has fought as a brave for his own tribe; the others have fought for one nationalism or another against an enemy who had done them no harm. One fights for the Japanese, one in the communist Eighth Route Army, one for the nationalists. Published in the Renjian literary supplement.

春秋茶室 Spring and Autumn Tea House, by 吳錦發 Wu Jinfa

1988 - Story



See the film below.

春秋茶室 Spring and Autumn Tea House

1988 - Film

Life is like a dream. A dream is like smoke. Smoke is like farts, the voiceover at the beginning tells us. The main character's mother runs a 'tea house', meaning brothel. Her husband had died; her husband's friend is her lover and the tea house bodyguard. The mother is likable. They buy a new 'mountain flower' 山花 for two hundred thousand dollars. She is a temporary slave, an indentured labourer. She claims she didn't know what tea house meant. There is lots of bird-in-a-cage imagery. The son falls in love with her; one of his friends spirits her to safety; they deflower each other in a hotel. The bodyguard goes and gets her back from her parents, deflowering her (he thinks) in the back seat of the car on the way back. Oblivious that the mountain flower is now used goods, the mother tries to sell her 'first blood' for a high price, but naturally there is trouble: the customer complains. Mountain Flower is all grown up, not especially traumatized by the experience. The mother agonizes. She kicks out her bodyguard boyfriend. Years later, she has married a stable older man, with whom she runs a karaoke bar. Mountain Flower always liked to sing, and years later, the protagonist sees her on a talent show on television. The final pseudo-philosophical crumb of food for thought at the end of the movie is: You can't find love with a tea girl, but even tea girls can find love. The film is based on a novella by Wu Jinfa. Wu Jinfa did not write the script. There are a few differences between the film and the novella. In the novella, fatso's father gets gonorrhoea and ends up sleeping with Mountain Flower; the main character's mother is less sympathetic, as Wu Jinfa does not emphasize her financial difficulties; the ending is different: he never sees Mountain Flower again and his mother does not remarry (Berg, "Wu Jinfa and the Melancholy Mountain Forests of China's Border Cultures" 231).

紅葉小巨人 Red Leaf: Little Giants

1988 - Film

This is a true story. On August 25, 1968, at the Taipei Municipal Stadium, the players from the Red Leaf Elementary School defeated a visiting Japanese little league baseball team, Wakayama, that had won the world championship. The players were Bunun. Their coach was Qiu Qingcheng 邱慶成. In the movie, they make gloves out of animal skins. They make their own bats. They use

stones for balls. The aborigines here represent Taiwan. The movie includes footage of the game. It was a defining moment in Taiwanese nationalism. See Andrew Morris, *Baseball, History, The Local and The Global In Taiwan in The Minor Arts of Daily Life*.

老楊和他的女人 Old Yang and His Woman, by 履疆 Lu Qiang

1989 - Story

Old Man Yang was once a herder on the mainland. Drafted by the Communists, he fought the Americans and South Koreans in the early 1950s, until he was captured, and eventually made to fight for the other side, for the Nationalists. He was injured in action and discharged. He went wandering in the hills of the Hengchun Peninsula in southern Taiwan, because the terrain there reminded him of his home on the range in mainland China. He met his wife after he collapsed drunk, covered in abrasions, outside her doorstep. He awoke to find her embracing him, keeping him warm and licking his wounds. She had once been a local beauty but had had a series of dead end jobs in Taipei and had been gang-raped. She had returned home to the Hengchun Peninsula, where she had been raped now and again by local drunks, stationed soldiers, and traveling salesmen. Now she is mute and dependent on Old Man Yang for protection. Together they herd cattle and sheep. He is the richest man in seven or eight counties. The herder gets a letter from the wife he had left behind in China, who has waited for him for forty years. Learning that his mother is dead, he returns home to organize the funeral and see his family. While he is gone a forest ranger rapes his woman, who survives by eating yams, civets, snakes and squirrels. Though his family on the mainland do not want him to leave, he is too worried about his woman and his animals in Taiwan. In the end he returns to their side.

西拉雅族的末裔 Last of the Siraya, by 葉石濤 Ye Shitao

1989 - Story

The main character is a Siraya woman who directs her own destiny and who symbolizes the Land and the People. Silverflower is hauling shit into the wax pear orchard. The family rents two fen of land from a rich landlord in Tainan, a family like Ye Shitao's. It's a Christian community, though native beliefs persist. Silverflower finds an injured 'hunter' by the stream. The landlord's second son has shot himself. Oh, hello, he says, you're a Siraya aborigine, so you must worship gourds and pig skulls. Silverflower's father takes the young man home. Later the gentry family asks Silverflower to come live with them as a servant. It's her choice and she decides to go:

she'll be a paid employee not a bondservant. There's a reading of her destiny by the Chunwangyi, the Siraya shamaness, who says she sees Pan Yinhua with a male child and a man in western dress. Suddenly there is a sound of wings beating and a spangled eagle swoops in and snatches the baby up. The opulent room they're in goes up in flames. Eventually Silverflower and second son sleep together. He's an aspiring doctor so there's no chance of marriage. Rather than stay on as a concubine, she decides to steal out with her baby son. She wants independence through labour. As she is leaving it looks as if the mansion is on fire. Actually, the sky is lit up at dusk. The prophecy has in a way come true. The old order of gentry society will soon pass away.

野菊花 Wild Chrysanthemum, by 葉石濤 Ye Shitao

1989 - Story

Silverflower's come home. She wants to be independent but is not quite there yet. She takes a bath, not caring who sees her. Taiwanese women keep themselves under tight wrap, unlike the Siraya, who are innocent and natural. Her father tells her that war in the Philippines is not going well. It must be 1944. Her father thinks the Pengs – the family she was living with – have a right to the child. Silverflower responds that she'd give it to them if it were a girl, but it's a boy and she's already registered it. She plans to marry, not for love, though perhaps for sex: the main motivation, however, is money. She will insist on a monthly payment to her family and she will not pay a dowry. Her baby has small eyes, because it's from a Fujianese seed. She has a marriage arranged with a forty-something widower. He has a mouth blood red from chewing betel and a retarded daughter. There's an unpleasant sense of racial typing throughout the series of stories. Silverflower agrees to the marriage. The man is still potent; his seed falls upon her as upon a fertile plain, though she does not get pregnant. His name is Wang Tugen (土根 or 'earth root'). He is working as a transporter for the Japanese. Soon he and his ox cart get blown up by a US B27. At the train station in the last months of war Pan Yinhua sees young Master Peng. He's already a doctor. She brings him home and sleeps with him. He complains his wife isn't good in bed. But Silverflower still refuses to go back to the Peng household. And now she doesn't have to: she's a rich woman. Master Peng gives her a large sum of money out of concern. The story ends with another shamaness vision, of five penises. She's had two so far. In the organic process of her life, it's now high summer. But she knows that come spring the wild chrysanthemums will bloom again.

黎明的訣別 Parting at Dawn, by 葉石濤 Ye Shitao

1989 - Story

In the third of the series of five, Silverflower finds Zhu Wenhuan, a Taiwanese nationalist on the run from the KMT authorities following February 28, 1947. He stumbles upon her doorstep. She takes him in and sleeps with him. She thinks maybe he has been sent by Zamarit, heaven. There's a report of the rebels being routed; the communist Xie Xuehong has been arrested. In the morning the secret agents come. She hides him. They break in, beat her, and catch Zhu Wenhuan, who is nonetheless thankful to her for making a man of him. She has now had three of five penises.

潘銀花的第五個男人 Silverflower Pan's Fifth Man, by 葉石濤 Ye Shitao

1989 - Story

The fourth of the five stories in the Silverflower series. Silverflower is now in her mid-20s. She's not weak. She got some of her land through marriage because of her beautiful body, but there's no shame in that. Her parents tell her to come home and find a match among her people. She keeps working her own land, topless. One day, while she is pissing, two huge hairy hands wrap around her throat. They belong to an escaped mainlander soldier. It didn't seem like he was going to kill her, so she stops resisting. She's like a parched earth, desperate for sex. The rapist departs and she's pregnant again. This is her fourth penis. Years later, she has married again. Her husband is a mainlander named Wang Shu-an 汪書安, from Shandong. She doesn't really know where that is. Her husband can read, while she cannot. This fellow reminds her of someone out of the green forest, a Robin Hood character who could kill without blinking. The agreement is that girls will be named Wang, boys Pan. She's the only one of her siblings to pass on the family name. One of her brothers is farming in Taidong, not doing terribly well, the other reliant on his parents. Her eldest son is beautiful and smart. Her youngest son, by the rapist, is strong and dull. Her step-daughter is simple. The sex with Wang is great, and she is on top. She's had five penises, like the fingers of the Tathagata Buddha. Finally she gets satisfaction.

3.7. 1990-2000: *1947 Gaosha Baihe* to *Yusheng*

一九四七高砂百合 1947 Highland Lily, by 林耀德 Lin Yaode

1990 - Novel

It's a postmodern narrative by the poet Lin Yaode. There's a lot to say about this novel, but generally it's upholding freedom from oppression, celebrating the long-suffering Taiwanese people, and affirming a varied cultural inheritance, Dutch, Chinese, Christian (French and Italian), Japanese and Aboriginal. The lily lives at several thousand feet above sea level. It's one tough flower. I won't try to give an account of the narrative organization. The following presentation is a chronological reordering of the text. The moment in time around which all else revolves is 11:59pm on February 27, 1947, the day before the 228 incident. In 1652, Guo Huaiyi rises up against the Dutch. Four thousand Chinese farmers are killed. In 1661, Koxinga drives out the Dutch. French Catholic saint Therese of Lisieux is born in 1873. She's a Carmelite, the order of contemplation. Also in 1873, Saigō Takamori is forced to give up power. He returns to Kagoshima. In 1877, Saigō Takamori commits seppuku. The Satsuma rebellion of samurais against modernizers has failed. In 1885, the warship the Japanese purchased from the French goes missing in the Taiwan Strait, in the year after the Sino-French war. On December 3, Nakano Taro 中野太郎 is born. He will go on to become a naval officer. In 1894 the Chinese lose the war with Japan. In 1895, Li Hongzhang signs the Treaty of Shimonoseki. Kabayama Sukenori is the first governor. The Japanese massacre both Chinese and aborigines. Nogi Maresuke leads the imperial forces to enter Taiwan at Fangliao 坊寮. In 1896, Nakano Taro's father (中野滿之助) arrives in Taiwan. In 1904-5, the Russians lose the war against Japan. In 1906, Watao Baiyang goes headhunting with his father for the last time. Kodama Gentaro is the fourth governor general. In 1907, Nakano Taro's father kills Nabu Watao, Watao Baiyang's father, by accident. In 1910, Andrea Ferrari sees Halley's comet as a child. In 1921, Father Andrea Ferrari finds materials relating to the history of the Dutch in Taiwan in The Hague. In 1930, Nakano Taro goes missing in north China. On October 26, 1930, the Wushe anti-Japanese incident takes place. On October 31, Mona and twenty-four family members commit suicide. In 1942, Father Andrea Ferrari uses western medicine to save tribespeople suffering an epidemic; Baiyang Guwei's shamanic art is useless. One of Nakano Taro's sons becomes a first lieutenant in the army and is sent to Taiwan. On August 14, 1945, the Japanese surrender. On February 26, 1947, Chen Yi announces the national language and nationalist movements. On February 27, Nakano Taro's two sons are hiding in a mountain cave. Wuyou is in a sealed room, a library. He communes with spirits from different times, including Cheng Yi the Neo-Confucian philosopher and Qu Yuan the poet. Luo Luogen 洛羅根 is at the residence of the Chinese doctor Liao

Qingshui 廖清水. There's a press release on the events of February 27. On February 28, 1947, the 228 Incident begins. In 1987 martial law is lifted.

### 兩個油漆匠 The Two Sign-Painters

1990 - Film

The actor Sun Yue, who appeared in *Second Spring of Old Man Mo*, leads the cast of this movie. Huang Chunming wrote a short story called *The Two Sign-Painters*, whence this movie was adapted. There was no aboriginal character in the original story. It's a social concern movie. Its concerns are pornography, exploitative advertizing, labour abuse, media manipulation, and environmental destruction. The two sign-painters are painting a giant breast on a billboard on the side of a highrise. The client wants them to paint the nipple, but it's against the law. They have to blot the nipple out. The two sign-painters are an aborigine and a former mainlander soldier. The aborigine is from the Taroko region in eastern Taiwan. The aborigine rides his motorcycle recklessly to work. But it's just show, as he's completely alone in Taipei. His friend has died in a fall from a construction fight. The aborigine feels guilty because when his friend fell they were having an argument about a Chinese girl named Mimi. The aborigine keeps having visions of his friend falling and of seeing Mimi behind a waterfall in Hualian. Mimi 'national salvation club' 救國團 volunteer who went to serve in the mountains. Mimi went to Hualian, where the big environmental issue was the occupation of aboriginal land by Asia Cement. The environmental degradation is represented in this film. Mimi ended up leaving. They came to Taipei to find her because they were both in love with her. Now, he works as a sign painter. His employer has taken his ID and is paying him a pittance. The soldier, on the other hand, is an artist. There are flashbacks of being press-ganged in northeastern China in childhood and of painting at his home in Taiwan with his vulgar wife and idiotic son tempting him and ignoring him respectively. The two sign painters stay after work on the scaffolding and talk and sing. They identify with each other as society's oppressed. The pair are still there in the evening; people think they're suicidal. The media comes; a hotshot young reporter sneaks up to the roof. There, a psychologist is proffering pseudo-scientific interpretations of the behaviour of the two sign painters. The reporter and psychologist put too much pressure on the aborigine, who starts having a hallucination, keeps saying he wants to go home, and steps off the scaffolding. There's a 'safety net' but he misses it. His family in Hualian are watching him on television. So is Mimi. She sees

the fall on the news. She's middle class, married, drinking coffee, in a completely different world. Her husband's kissing her, but she stops him and says, I know who that is!

### 西部來的人 Man From the West

1990 - Film

Much criticized, this film claimed to present an aborigine viewpoint. Though the director was Han Chinese, the actors, all amateur, were Atayal. The theme song was Song of Greed by Bobby Chen. It was filmed on a shoestring budget without a distribution contract. The film is depressing and pretentious. The presentation of possibilities for work is despairing. For men, the only option seems to be working in the quarry, for women, prostitution. The only woman in the movie who hasn't worked as a prostitute is a shop-keeper. There are three story-lines: mythic, past, and present. First, in the mythic story line. Mona leaves his own village, goes hunting, reaches another community and hits a dog and then a frog instead of a boar. He gets expelled from the community. When his own people find him he murmurs an unknown language. The village shaman says he's disturbed the spirits. They decide to burn him on a pyre, but Mona predicts a flood, which will prove his innocence. It begins to rain. There is a terrible flood. The survivors of the flood leave. Mindful of the prophecy, they honour Mona's son Yawi. Yawi builds arks and takes them back to their post-deluge homeland. Then he leaves. Twenty five years pass. He returns white-haired to the village. He will now stay there always. That's the end of the first story line. Second, the past storyline is minimal. There's a man and his son. The man sends his son to the city to get an education and ends up going crazy and living in a cave. Third, the present storyline is a quarter century years later. A man is on the beach near the wreck of a car. He'd tried to commit suicide. Gradually, we learn about the characters in the village: 1) A-ming, the car-wreck survivor. He will no longer kill himself working in the city. 'Return to the village' was a ideal at the time. We think he's a plainsman but in the end discover he is a montagnard. 2) The quarry workers, one content with his lot, one a drunk, Ajian, who tries to leave for the city and only makes it halfway. 3) The prostitute who has escaped her pimp and who seems to be a survivor. She has a fancy motorcycle, which she leaves for Ajian when her pimp tracks her down. In the end she clears things up, comes home, but then decides to go back to the city. Another of the girls in the community agrees to sleep with Ajian in exchange for renovations to her father's house. 4) The pastor. The movie is critical of Christianity. The pastor is asked whether the unbelieving ancestors will be judged, and the pastor gives a non-answer: God is alpha and omega.

Christianity was part of state social control in the 1950s, but now religious belief is part of their lives and is not necessarily a bad thing. The film's hostility to Christianity is juvenile.

迷園 The Strange Garden, by 李昂 Li Ang

1991 - Novel

Li Ang's national allegory of a novel was extensively discussed. It's the story of a young woman named Zhu Yingyong whose father has squandered the family fortune. The family garden has been sold to a relative with the understanding that it may be bought back within twenty years. Zhu Yinghong snags a parvenu named Lin Xigen, a land developer or speculator. He marries her and redeems the garden. The aboriginal angle is that she is the descendent of the product of a union between a product and a preternaturally vital woman named Mrs. Chen and a pirate named Zhu Feng. Mrs. Chen is a mixture of plains aborigine, Dutch and Chinese. Her management of her grandson's affairs laid the foundation for the family wealth. Mrs. Chen lays a curse on Zhu Feng, who had abandoned her: anyone who puts Zhu Feng in the family tree will destroy the family. Zhu Yinghong thwarts the curse by donating the garden to the twenty million people of Taiwan.

潘銀花的換帖姐妹們 Pan Yinhua and Her Sworn Sisters, by 葉石濤 Ye Shitao

1991 - Story

This is the last of the Silverflower stories. The Gao sisters, Jinchou and Jinduan, are on the run. They are related to a political prisoner. This story is set in the middle of the land reform and the White Terror. Silverflower's husband Wang Shu-an takes the sisters up to see Silverflower. Silverflower is now twenty-seven. She is in charge. She's like a fresh flower stuck in the manure. Silverflower is quite nasty to her stepdaughter. She needs people to work at her store. She has been a busy petty-capitalist, turning her landed capital into retail capital. The sisters decide to stay. They'll be sworn sisters. It's almost a collective, but not quite: Silverflower is more equal than any of the others, half for her and half for the sisters. Silverflower is the employer of over ten people by the end. She very generously or perhaps a little ominously builds them houses. The younger sister is unmarried; the elder's husband was arrested during the White Terror. When Silverflower hears he is a prisoner, as Ye Shitao had been for three years starting in 1950, she thinks of Zhu Wenhuan: this must be a good person. Zhu Wenhuan is identified as a Taiwanese nationalist like Liao Wenyi not a communist like Xie Xuehong. The sisters suggest two old



fellows they knew in the city who are able to help out. As well, a maid, Hong Ganzi 紅柑仔, has married the gentry scion Liu Zheming she once worked for, and they are living in Silverflower's community, too. In other words, the Silverflower series ends with interclass and interracial marriage, both of which are productive of an egalitarian nation, in which Silverflower, representing the Mestizo Taiwanese people, has come out on top. The story ends with a big party.

命田 Field of Life, by 葉石濤 Ye Shitao

1991 - Story

This is a story in Ye Shitao's 1991 Headhunter collection. Of all the stories in this collection, Field of Life is set earliest. It begins at the end of the Zheng era in the early 1680s. It tells the story of a retainer Cai Renji 蔡仁吉 of one of Zheng Jing's supporters, who marries a flax-haired Dutch maiden. Her father was named David Abraham, a tax collector at Madou village. He was killed by a Siraya chieftain. She missed the boat to Batavia. She was taken in as a maidservant by Cai's master, who sends them north to settle when it becomes clear the Zheng dynasty is doomed. Cai Renji and his wife have a raven-haired daughter. They avoid the savages along the way. They find a house, like a peach blossom village outside of history 世外桃源. It's been abandoned by a Dutch minister. There is lots of food and fish and game and livestock. The minister left a United Nations message behind, that everybody, no matter of what skin color, religion, or social station (216), has the right to claim the house. Taiwan is a diverse land of Canaan.

鳥占 Bird Omen, by 葉石濤 Ye Shitao

1991 - Story

Another story from the Headhunter collection, this one about the Japanese nationalization of the camphor industry, which Antonio Tavares covers in his article The Japanese Colonial State and the Dissolution of the Late Imperial Frontier Economy in Taiwan, 1886-1909. The struggle here is between aborigine and Japanese rather than between aboriginal tribes. However, there is a twist. Si Aguai is the chief of a Saisiat tribe. He was sold to the tribe. He's Hakka. He married the chief's daughter and became the chief himself. Si Aguai is rich and powerful. But the Japanese want to take control of the industry. Si Aguai makes an agreement with the Japanese, but the Japanese renege. Si Aguai orders his braves not to take heads; he wants to ensure the welfare of his people. Another Hakka chief Jian Nanqiu tells him to protest formally. He meets

up with Yitaluo and Kakaji from Guoguo village and Shiche village. Both are intent on headhunting as a resolution. They promise not to take Chinese or women's heads. The tribesmen end up killing a few women. There is a Japanese reprisal. Guoguo and Shiche submit. The Japanese send Jian Nanqiu to bargain with Si Aguai, who agrees to a submission ceremony. Along the way they see a bad omen – a bird – and Si Aguai warns his wife that they might not come back: You're the leader if I'm gone. They go check out the ceremony. He sees Japanese soldiers in the bush: it's a trap! He rushes back to the village. He's willing to die for his people without regret. He turns himself in. There's an international scandal – protests against Japanese colonial brutality – that rocks Japanese politics. Si Aguai is set free. In reality he did escape the massacre but died somewhere in the forest.

馘首 Headhunter, by 葉石濤 Ye Shitao

1991 - Story

This is the story that gave the collection Headhunter its name. It is about the reconciliation of traditional antagonisms between tribes or villages. Here the antagonism is between the Shiche and Guoguo tribes. It is set early in the Japanese era. A princess of the Guoguo tribe has been married to a Hakka landholder surnamed Li. Her name is Nitairo. She and her mother-in-law and a servant are picking tea. These Guoguo women get headhunted by Shiche braves. Nitairo's brother Yitaluo, who can speak fluent Japanese, as well as Japanese officials attend the funeral. Yitaluo asks permission for revenge against the Shiche. The Japanese say not yet. Two years later, the time comes for them to take revenge. The Japanese use the Guoguo to bring the Shiche to heel. There is a massacre. Another two years pass and the Japanese hold a reconciliation ceremony. The two sides bury a stone, toss a pig in the creek, and drink rice wine into the night.

火索槍 Musket, by 葉石濤 Ye Shitao

1991 - Story

The main character is Aohua 澳花, a woman who is lame eighteen year old taro farmer. Three Chinese men arrive, with guns the aborigines want. Aohua, a woman, says her people are starving. The Chinese are border guards and seem kindly. The Chinese tell Japanese officials the aborigines are starving. The officials know Aohua is related to a local chief. The Chinese appeal to the Japanese. For humanity's sake! The Japanese offer food in return for surrender. The aborigines have to give up all their guns.

## 冬之祭 Rite of Winter

1991 - Film

A frontier movie, set at Alishan in Wu Feng Township 吳鳳鄉, which had already been renamed Alishan Township by the time the movie was released. The film is set in the late 1970s. There's an aging Chinese policeman, Old Lu, meaning old mainland but also suggesting 'old road' or 'old way' (老路), and there's a newbie policeman, fresh out of the Police Academy, named Zhicheng. Old Lu tends his garden and teaches Zhicheng that to do a good job you need social know-how, including competence in Tsou, the local language, not knowledge of the National Police Act. Zhicheng wants to check people's household registrations. Old Lu tells him, We don't do things that way around here (不流行都市那一套). To Old Lu, a lawman is like a mother hen or nanny. Zhicheng has a fiancée on the plains and doesn't intend to stay at Alishan after his training is done. It's the same social issue as Teacher, Sikayeda: it's hard to keep teachers, doctors and policemen in the mountains. But Zhicheng falls in love with Miss Ye, the Chinese teacher. He longs to stay but doesn't stay in the end. The narration is Zhicheng's a decade later when he returns with his son. This is also an anti-logging film. The local Chinese storekeeper, Mr. Huang, is a bad man. He has a logging 'contract' from the government, so the film seems to be critical of logging and of how the government profited from it. The village mayor is in on the scheme as well. He will also profit. The company will pay for the Harvest Festival 豐年祭 if the villagers agree to the logging. The Harvest Festival is the inspiration for the title Rite of Winter. The aboriginal brave Zhangcun argues that a harvest festival given by the plainsmen is disrespectful to the ancestors. The two pro-logging people promise everyone that the whole village will get rich! The Chinese loggers from the plains move in and start cutting. They interact with the local girls. Zhangcun sees them bullying a local girl in the loggers' lodging and sets fire to their camp. He flees and Zhicheng the young policeman pursues him. They fall into the hunter's pit Zhangcun had dug. There's a flood and the water starts flowing in, threatening to drown them both. The movie preaches individual responsibility (敢做敢當). Zhicheng tells Zhangcun to take responsibility for what he has done. The movie is also eco-friendly: Zhangcun explains that the trees have spirits as a justification for his fire-starting. It's our traditional belief. Zhangcun ends up shooting his father Old Lu by accident. Old Lu was a father figure to in the same way as Lang Xiong was to Naguli in Grove of Secret Yearning. Old

Lu passes away. The new Sherriff, years later in the present time of the movie, is a Tsou aborigine. Zhangcun is still in jail. Miss Ye is still teaching. In the end, Zhicheng's wife visits. It's so nice here!

陷阱 Trap, by 葉石濤 Ye Shitao

1991 - Story

About a Japanese massacre of submitting Saisiat tribes.

土地與靈魂 Land and Spirit, by 王幼華 Wang Youhua

1992 - Novel

This novel ennobles the Kavalan aborigines of Ilan and their English benefactors in the late 19th century. The Wu Sha story is used to justify Han settlement of the plain. Wang Youhua takes the aboriginal perspective. The aborigines to Wang are helpless and in need of assistance, but not from the Chinese settlers or the representatives of the Qing dynasty. It's a story of failed development in the extreme south of the Ilan plain. The plan is to plant camphor and get rich. The idea is an Englishman's; his name is Horn. His supporter is the German James Milisch, a real life adventurer. Horn falls in love with Gao Chunfeng, a beautiful aboriginal princess and the first Christian convert in Suao. She's good at languages and acts as the interpreter. He proposes. She rebuffs him: you're just like the Chinese, taking advantage of us. He insists that his love is true. They get married. They go up into the valley with her countrymen, the Kavalan aborigines. Everything is going well, until the government confiscates everything. Horn is imprisoned. Horn leaves his wife at a friend's house. Chinese settlers move into the valley but get headhunted. Gao Chunfeng has to go begging for food with a pregnant belly. She had been cast out of her own community. A prominent Chinese who knew Horn finds Gao Chunfeng destitute and takes her in. In the end Horn dies in a shipwreck with his gallant crew, including aborigines. They have a beautiful death. There were articles in Taiwan fengwu 台灣風物 in December 1982 and March 1983 on foreign companies in Taiwan in the nineteenth century. See also the film The Source 源 above (1980).

關於存在的一些信息 Some Messages Concerning Existence, by 李喬 Li Qiao

1992 - Story

Sacred Paiwanese carvings have ended up in the market on the plains. J, a sculptor, had learned Paiwanese traditions and had gotten sick because he has been using snake patterns casually or disrespectfully. Then there's a certain artefact that kills its Chinese owners. The story is a comment on nouveau riche Taiwan, prosperous on the outside, but hollow on the inside, and in grave danger. It sounds like Indiana Jones, except about commodification of aboriginal culture.

奔逃，馬武窟溪 Flee, Mawuku Stream, by 師瓊瑜 Shih Chiung-yu

1993 - Story

Wang Tong, a shopowner from the mainland, shacks up with an Amis woman and her three daughters. The father, a fisherman, is gone and isn't coming back. The mother, Axiang, offered herself to Wang Tong: sex in exchange for taking care of her and her daughters. Wang Tong screws Axiang like he's fighting communists. One by one Wang Tong takes advantage of the girls. The two older girls are sold into prostitution. Wang Tong begins having a sexual relationship with the youngest, and when Axiang finds out about it she abandons them. He has three children with the youngest daughter, Meizhu. In the narrative present, Wang Tong has grown old. At the beach, Meizhu meets a man named Shark Eyes, who agrees to take her to Taipei. Two months later, after a typhoon, Mawuku River almost inundates the local bridge, leaving detritus, mud, garbage, shit, and Wang Tong's corpse behind. Meizhu returns to Taidong to take care of the funeral. She has a nightmare about her tormentor: his drowned head wails for help; she tries to flee, but she too is swept up in the torrent.

被林子遺忘的最後一株木麻黃 The Last Whistling Pine, Forgotten By the Forest, by 師瓊瑜

1993 - Story

Shih Chiung-yu's father is a mainlander from Yunnan. She grew up in Taidong. She's written some of the best fiction on the aborigine-mainlander marriages. She wrote this story and the following story at the age of twenty-one. Long Qima, alias Ama, seems destined for greatness at the age of sixteen. His paramour is an Amis and the most beautiful girl in the seaside village; but his father, Dragon Daddy, a nationalist veteran, insists that he go to the military academy: Ama must lead the reconquest of the mainland. So Ama goes off to college but drops out, returns home and becomes fat and useless. When gossip about his mother Red Jade's affair with one of his father's war buddies is exposed, the secret of Ama's parentage is revealed. Dragon Daddy could not have children; his penis had been blown off in the war. He had redeemed Red Jade and

Ama out of a brothel; but Ama was not even Red Jade's child. His mother was some nameless child prostitute. Ama's decline continues: he takes his Amis girlfriend Wuya – with whom he speaks fluent Amis – to Taipei but returns alone. The young policeman Azhong is suspicious but cannot prove anything. After Dragon Daddy dies, Ama uses the modest inheritance to buy a car and go joyriding. He extorts sightseeing money from tourists at the Mawuku River. In the end, he retreats into the whistling pine windbreak, which is also a labyrinth and a graveyard. When the wind blows, it sounds to Ama like Wuya and Dragon Daddy are speaking to him.

秋天的婚禮 Marriage in Autumn, by 師瓊瑜 Shih Chiung-yu

1993 - Story

Shih Chiung-yu was twenty-three years old when she wrote this story. Aru is a montagnard aborigine and the adopted daughter (養女) of a mainlander, a former road-crew worker from Yunnan, who is going blind. The narrator is a boy named Azhong who found Aru one evening dying in a seaside windbreak of whistling pines: she was bleeding from her groin. Her boyfriend, a boy from western Taiwan who is serving his mandatory military duty at the local naval base in Taidong, had told her to leave him alone, but she had kept waiting for him to come out and take her into the windbreak. He had gotten her pregnant. He had agreed to take care of the abortion, but did not have enough money for a proper doctor. Aru had reached out and grasped at Azhong, who had run away in fear. Aru has survived, wised up, and several years later found a decent fellow to marry, a genial older man. The present time of the story is the day of her wedding, in October. Azhong is nervous about seeing Aru, but the wedding is extremely festive. October is the month of National Day (Double Ten), after all.

怒濤 Angry Billows, by 鍾肇政 Zhong Zhaozheng

1993 - Novel

This novel is about the February 28, 1947 Incident. It includes an aborigine named Tuoxi who goes down to the plains to fight against the unjust Chen Yi regime. Tuoxi exemplifies the 'Japanese spirit', which in 1993 is now Taiwan spirit. Tuoxi is killed in the fighting.

異族的婚禮 Interethnic Marriage, by 葉石濤 Ye Shitao

1994 - Story

This and the next story are from Ye Shitao's collection *Yizu de hunli* 異族的婚禮 [Intermarriage]. Gu Anshun walks past a Presbyterian church to a milk biscuit factory in 1945. He gets three packets of biscuits from a Japanese girl there, Toyei Eiko 島永嬰子. It turns out his mother had befriended the Japanese girl at a market. It really comes home to him that some Japanese in Taiwan are not rich. This girl is from Okinawa. His mother had given her medicine from Germany when her mother was sick. Late in the war they flee inland to a Peach Blossom Spring 世外桃源. The Japanese girl falls in love with a handsome Siraya youth who carries nightsoil for a living. The youth is the son of a local leader installed by the Japanese. He helps the Japanese girl fertilize her fields. The youth's father proposes; the girl's mother agrees. The girl goes pregnant to the altar. The youth gives an extremely respectable engagement gift. The ceremony follows Taiwanese custom. The child is red-haired, evidence of the Dutch officer in his family tree. As an adult the child teaches at a private Japanese university and researches the Sirayan language. This is a national allegory that preaches tolerance.

荒人日記 Notes of a Desolate Man, by 朱天文 Zhu Tianwen

1994 - Novel

I would, perhaps out of silliness, translate *Diary of a Sad Man*, rhyming, as Zhu's Chinese does, with Lu Xun's "Diary of a Madman." Late in the novel, the narrator's boyfriend/husband Yongjie is said to have followed the trend at the time and filmed the Atayal in Hualian documentary style, falling in love with an Atayal man, living with him there for half a year and experiencing the Tayal lifestyle.

警部補的女兒 The Japanese Policeman's Daughter, by 葉石濤 Ye Shitao

1994 - Story

The setting is Ilan. Ye Shitao returns to Luodong, where he taught in the late 1960s. It's rainy and depressing. The Chinese have the best land. Taro is usually fed to pigs, but the Atayal are so poor they have to eat it. They live up in the hills. There's a little store where Anshun, now an elementary teacher, goes once a week to buy a paper. The boss sells booze by the ladle to the aborigines. He tells Anshun to pick some vegetables from behind the house for a woman who's come in. She's wearing a 'Japanese' dress and holding a brightly coloured umbrella. She's about twenty. She drinks and sings a sad Japanese song. Anshun treats her. His colleague, a young

aboriginal teacher, explains her situation. She's the daughter of a princess and a Japanese police officer. See Barclay's article Cultural Brokerage and Interethnic Marriage in Colonial Taiwan: Japanese Subalterns and Their Aborigine Wives, 1895-1930 on this topic. After the war, her brother had been taken back to Japan. Her mother died. She was left behind. Many braves had wanted her but she had been too proud and had married a mainlander. She went crazy when he abandoned her. Anshun's colleague says most of the girls in the community have gone to Taipei to make a living, so there's no-one to take care of her. He'll do what he can. The woman ends up offering herself to Anshun, but he's moved only by compassion. Later she eats rat poison from the daily goods store and is sent to hospital in Luodong. She wakes up and seems saner. Anshun contacts her family in Japan. Her brother is a police officer like his father. He decides to come back to Taiwan for his sister, who will get Japanese citizenship.

牽曲 The Qianqu Ritual, by 葉石濤 Ye Shitao

1994 - Story

About the Siraya custom of mate selection. The girl chooses the boy at a dance.

關於馬達仙仙與拉荷阿雷 Madaxianxian and Lahealei, by 王家祥 Wang Jiaxiang

1995 - Story

This story is supposedly a lost ethnography by a Japanese anthropologist Mori Ushinosuke 森丑之助, who went missing in 1926, about the Bunun. Mori married a Bunun girl, recorded the story of two brothers who killed Japanese policemen, which was probably the Dafen 大分 Incident in 1915. This story covers the years 1926 to 1933. There are interspersed notes by a researcher writing in 1991. The researcher wants to let people know about the heroic resistance of the brothers and about the sympathy of Mori Ushinosuke for the Bunun. Wikipedia notes that Mori Ushinosuke favoured a soft line against the aborigines and even self-government.

追獵 The Hunt, by 許銘義 Xu Mingyi

1995 - Story

A fine story reprinted in Yuan xiangren, the collection of stories about ethnic interaction edited by Wang Dewei and Huang Jinshu. The author was trained in geology. He combines expert knowledge with fine description. This story is about a work team of Chinese and aborigines up in



the mountains. There is tension between Han and aborigine. There is also an aboriginal woman up with them, cooking for them and so forth. She gets raped by one of the aboriginal men.

小矮人之謎 The Riddle of the Little People, by 王家祥 Wang Jiexiang

1996 - Story

Another story on the Daai of Saisiat ritual.

山與海 Mountain and Sea, by 王家祥 Wang Jiexiang

1996 - Story

This story is set in 1563. The date is provided by the narrator, who is presumably a researcher in the present. The main actors are poor Chinese fishermen, the Qing state, the Siraya aborigines of what is now Gaoxiong, pirates, and other groups of aborigines. A young fisherman's father and uncle are captured by pirates. He escapes into the jungle, is bitten by a snake, and falls into a pool where a beautiful aboriginal maiden, Yifanlian 依凡蓮, is bathing! She takes him back to her village. The fishermen are supposed to be weak and kindly, and Yifanlian takes pity on him for that reason. Later, she is captured by the pirates, while he becomes a hunter, going native. Yifanlian is kidnapped by pirates. The villagers, including the fisherman, go on a rescue mission. The fisherman rescues Yifanlian and his uncle. His father's been killed. They escape to the northeast.

倒風內海 Daofeng neihai, by 王家祥 Wang Jiexiang

1997 - Novel

In the introduction the author mentions 'ocean culture'. This was the thesis of Xu Xinliang's presidential campaign book *Xinxing minzu 新興民族*: the Taiwanese people are a sea-going, trading people. This story tells the story of the Dutch conquest of the Siraya in the 1630s. It starts in 1624 and most of it takes place in the following decade. The last two chapters jump to mid-century, to the Guo Huaiyi Rebellion and then to Koxinga, who is treated with mixed affection, for though he drove out the Dutch he also massacred Chinese farmers and aborigines to make room for his troops.

死河壩 Dam on a Dead River, by 江茂丹 Jiang Maodan

1997 - Story

From *Kejia Taiwan wenxue xuan* 客家台灣文學選 [Selection of Hakka Literature]. There's been a drought for awhile, and the Dadong River has almost dried up. Meiyana 媚雅娜 is trying to irrigate her field, to grow vegetables to feed her tubercular husband Taba and make enough money to buy him medicine. The medicine is a quack remedy. While at the market in Nanzhuang, Mr. Guo claims Taba owes him money. Taba had sold him bushmeat before getting sick. The only way for Meiyana to pay the debt is to work as a prostitute in his brothel. She runs home, but several days later Guo comes up to find her. Guo has words with the local chief. The next day the chief comes and convinces Meiyana that she is the reason why her husband is sick. She has to leave. She goes into town and is never heard from again. Her husband never stands up again.

鴛鴦渡水 Yuanyang Crosses the Strait, by 葉伶芳 Ye Lingfang

1997 - Novel

About the Siraya of Damujiang Village 大目降社. About Taiwan's attraction for mainland settlers. Yuanyang is a Chinese widow who settles with her brother on a Pingpu hillside.

再會福爾摩莎 Goodbye, Formosa, 東年 Dong Nian

1998 - Novel

Set at the end of the Dutch period, narrated by a Dutch pastor in letters, reflecting the three main groups in Taiwan at the time, the Dutch, the Chinese, and the aborigines.

少年噶瑪蘭 Young Man Kavalan

1999 - Film

A PTS animated film, not adapted by Li Tong, the author of the children's of the same name. The animation is pretty crude, in the style of Astroboy but not as good. Pan Xinge is here somewhat older, a high school student, in order to make the story into more of a love story. He's a basketball star. He fights with hoodlums who call him savage (hoana 番仔) and gets expelled from school. His grandfather consoles him by showing him the family heirlooms. It's a full moon night. Pan Xinge disappears when, playing with the heirlooms, he puts a boar tooth into an ancient carving. He goes back in time. He's in basketball clothes. The shamaness Huba is looking for a groom for her daughter Chuntian. Dida is the strong aboriginal hunter. The

competition for Chuntian's love is between Pan and Dida. Pan gets in over his head during a boar hunt, which turns into a forest fire. Dida rescues him. Dida is like Chief Seattle; the ecophilosophy in the cartoon is heavy-handed. Chuntian uses lily magic to cure the environment after the forest fire. Pan wants to go home. How? By lily magic. He arrives in class looking like a Kavalan aborigine to give a presentation on the past.

### 明信片 Postcard

1999 - Film

An excellent 53 minute film about the poor conditions of the jobs open to aborigines. The girl, Little Li 小麗, is a call girl. The boy, Amake, is in construction. They meet by the sea. He asks her if she wants a ride. She says no and goes in a taxi. He follows her and she gives him her namecard. She asks him to send her a postcard because her dead boyfriend, a fisherman, used to send her postcards from wherever he went, the last one from Panama. There's a scene of a restaurant run by aborigines and frequented by aborigine musicians singing Liulang dao Taipei 流浪到臺北. Amake's boss keeps calling him 'foreign labour' 外籍老工 and threatening to fire him for being late or drunk. It was the same for his father. The postcard Amake sends Little Li is from the Hyatt, because his father built the Hyatt. He used to joke that he stayed in the presidential suite. It's a tragedy. Amake and Little Li go riding together and race a silver Mercedes. The Mercedes breaks down. Amake offers to help fix the car but the Chinese owner doesn't speak to him. When Amake turns away, the Chinese throws a wrench at him. It hits his head and he dies. In the last scenes, as a spirit, he 'returns to the mountain', which means to die. He walks through the village he grew up in and watches the kids playing basketball.

### 超級公民 Super Citizen

1999 - Film

It's the third in a film trilogy. There is constant Bach. A down-and-out former social activist named Dezheng 德政 ('moral governance') is a taxi-driver. His activist years were in the 1980s. His son died tragically. He ended up splitting up with his wife. Now the only light in his life is a young lady friend he sometimes picks up after work. She works in a nightclub. It's shameful, because her father was a political prisoner! Dezheng lives in a very nice apartment opposite a new construction site. We get a sense of urban over-development. One day, an aborigine, Ma'le

馬勒, 'horse bit', with blood all over him, gets in the taxi. He killed his employer, a 'bad man', with a sword; and there is a repeated bit of song about the 'shade warriors' 陰間的戰士. Behind the film seems to be the story of Tang Yingshen, but I think it's unfortunate that there is no comment on how to be a modern warrior. Ma'le leaves while Dezheng is paying for gas, placing a bloody 1000NTD note under the windshield wiper. He ends up getting caught and executed for his crime, but Dezheng keeps hallucinating his presence. In the end, somewhat inexplicably, Dezheng jumps from the roof of his apartment to his death. He takes Ma'le 'back to the mountain'. Ma'le walks off into the hereafter. Dezheng's ghost goes by a pond and tosses the wooden plaque he'd made for his dead son into the water. At the end he says, I no longer have to live in images because I've attained reality.

### 3.8. 2000 – : *Yusheng* –

餘生 *The Survivors*, by 舞鶴 Wu He

2000 - Novel

In the early 1990s, Wu He had gone to live in a village called Haocha 好茶 in southern Taiwan. There, he had met a Chinese photographer named Abang, who resolves to devote the second half of his life to photographing the Rukai. He also met Auvini Kadresengan, writer of *Yunbao de chuanren* 雲豹的傳人 *Descendants of the Snow Leopard*, who uses language to represent the Rukai rather than photography. Finally, Wu He meets Miss Zhen, an intelligent aboriginal woman who has returned to the village to find her roots. Wu He wrote his experience up into a novel-length collection of sanwen published in 1997 called *Sisuo Abang and Kadresengan* 思索阿邦·卡露斯 [Contemplating Abang and Kadresengan]. In 1998 and 1999, he went to Qingliu Village, known in Japanese as Kawanakashima, about which Zhong Zhaozheng had published a novel in 1985. Qingliu was where the aboriginal survivors of the Wushe Incident, the Japanese reprisal, and another internecine massacre provoked by the Japanese, were moved in 1931. This history, Wu He believes, is present in the lives of the living. A problem for Wu He is the status of the incident. Was it resistance to the Japanese 抗日, an interpretation the government promoted after the war, or a traditional headhunt? Can we affirm the legitimacy of headhunting? At times, Wu He seems like a romantic idealizing the aboriginal relationship to nature, but at others he seems repelled by the violence of aboriginal life. At the same time, he notes that so-called civilization has produced violence that is in some sense greater. And civilization does not

mean progress for Wu He but the commodification of aboriginal cultural for tourism. In the village, Wu He meets a number of people. 1) A man and his wife from the two tribes involved in the internecine massacre. They married as a symbolic reconciliation of the animosity between the two tribes. 2) A man who makes a living by electrocuting fish. 3) An aimless wanderer (Wu He hears about him but does not meet him). 4) An environmentalist. 5) A local politician. 6) A group of nuns practicing in a shed. 7) A survivor of the incident who practices bushido. 8) A mixed race man, the product of an Atayal who went to Central America and a rich Latin American widow he met there. 9) A proprietor of a sundry goods store. 10) The most important person he meets is Maiden, who claims to be Mona Rudao's granddaughter. This is impossible, as Mona's wife Monamahong tossed her children off the side of a cliff after the incident. Monamahong did not herself commit suicide, and in later years she kept trying to return to the site of the incident to rejoin her ancestors. Maiden is a former prostitute. After a failed marriage which produced two children, she worked as a call girl in a high class nightclub in the city. Now she's retired to Qingliu. She likes to listen to Chopin. She goes to the city to work as a prostitute again, and steals money from her pimp, who comes and finds her in the village. Nothing serious happens, except that the village head accuses Maiden of embarrassing them. To make amends and give something back to the community, Maiden sleeps with the local men, to give them confidence. Wu He and Maiden talk about the 'sexual problems of the aboriginal man'. The problem is that aboriginal women go to the city to work as prostitutes or get married to Chinese men. In the end of the book, Wu He and Maiden do a trek along the river to Mahebo, the site where Mona Rudao and the other ancestors committed suicide. When they get there they have Western dinner and watch a movie. They stay in a guest house, and it's strongly suggested that Wu He and Maiden sleep together. When they get back to Qingliu, Wu He tells Maiden he has to leave. At one point, he wonders whether he is 'going native', becoming Atayal, but it turns out he's too curious about the other places on the island he hasn't visited. Maiden she doesn't want him to leave, but sends him to the bridge. Maiden has no plans for the future, but she and her brother (Wanderer) own some land. They might do something with it.

少年阿霸士 Young Man Abasi

2000 - Film

The first of a PTS film trilogy. 'Abasi' is a word, a feeling like climbing a cliff. A plainsman boy is driving an Atayal girl to the mountains to see her father's grave. She has a plainsman

boyfriend, but she likes this fellow who is driving her better. Along the way they meet a plainsman man played by Dai Liren 戴立人, an excellent local actor, who is walking from Taipei to visit his aboriginal wife, whom he had wronged. The boy gets into a fight with the man and ends up losing. They later meet him along the road and offer him a ride, but he prefers to walk. He ends up making it to the village. He gets drunk outside with some of the men in the village, and his wife ends up taking him in. The aboriginal girl and the boy who is driving her arrive at the police station. An officer is remonstrating with an aborigine fellow for illegally gathering firewood: you have to put it back, he tells him. The Atayal girl's father had been beaten to death by a police officer. She finds her brother and mother, and she and the plainsman go to see her father's grave.

### 瑪雅的彩虹 Maya's Rainbow

2001 - Film

The second of a PTS film trilogy. Maya is an old woman who is looking for her loom. It got broken and she wants another. You'd use a loom to weave beautiful 'rainbow' dreams. The film is interlinked with Young Man Abasi (see above). It focuses on the plainsman (played by Dai Liren) returning to see his estranged wife. Years before, they had been involved in a movement to rescue aboriginal child prostitutes from the area around Longshan Temple in Taipei. They spirited one of the girls out and Dai Liren slashed the face of one of the pimps. He ended up falling in love with the girl and letting her move in with him, thereby betraying his aboriginal wife. In the present time of the movie the girl is fine: she's getting married at the end of the year. At first, when Dai returns, his wife won't have anything to do with him. An aborigine man threatens to kill him for what he did to his wife while they're drinking together around the fire. This fellow drives a sports car, sports tattoos, and claims to have killed a plainsman in the city – you have to be tough to survive. As he says, I express the aboriginal perspective in my own way. But in the end the wife takes pity on the plainsman and takes him in. They rekindle the old flame. He says he's getting back into aboriginal activism and will she help? He's going to publish a journal. She says she'll bring the students to Taipei the next month. But she won't relocate to Taipei because her students need her more. The plainsman leaves to walk back to Taipei. Meanwhile, the very same pimp that the plainsman slashed and his entourage of two are in the village to buy a girl. The father's already accepted a deposit. He wants to fix up the house, and there's a very moving scene where he explains he works ten hours a day. He's tired. He's in debt.

He really needs the money. They can't find the girl, who is hiding with her boyfriend (who wants to get married and is willing to drive a truck so that she can go to normal school) at the plainman's wife's house. The police arrive. The pimps leave. They pass by the plainsman walking by the highway, and the pimp and plainsman recognize each other. The plainsman runs into the river and the pimp shoots him in the back. In Maya's dream, Dai appears through the smoke, saying, in Atayal, I've returned.

假面娃娃 Masked Dolls, by 師瓊瑜 Shih Chiung-yu

2002 - Novel

This is Shih Chiung-yu's first novel. It's about national or racial prejudice, specifically about the inability of Asian men to accept Asian women dating western men without invoking the history of national shame. One Western woman ends up getting murdered by her Asian boyfriend. It turns out the author knew Lucie Blackman, the young British girl killed in Japan. Nationalist sentiments live on, twisting people's lives and making it impossible to connect. So what is the connection with aboriginals in Taiwan? Well, there is this marvellous scene where a young Amis boy falls for the narrator and takes his father's motorcycle to come visit her at her house. He's very bashful. I think the narrator likes him. The fellow hands over a letter to her. But the mother is there to confiscate it and we never find out what was in it, nor does the Amis boy reappear in the story. It's one of the many flashbacks in the story. The episode ends with the mother berating her, telling her to quit school, go work in a factory and fall in love: "He's an aborigine, don't you realize what that means?!"

瓦旦的酒瓶 Wadan's Bottle of Booze/夢幻部落 Village of Dreams

2002 - Film

The third of a PTS film trilogy. The plot doesn't sort out clearly – the relationships between the characters are not clarified. The main point of the film is the daily life of the characters, their fantasies, memories and realities. 1) Wadan is a forty-something aborigine who arrives at the construction site in Taipei where he'd been in an accident years before. He's a bit lame. At the construction site they've found his ID. He's also looking for his wife, who left him and the millet fields in the mountains. He finds her lover in Taipei, a used bookseller. She'd left him too and taken their three year old child with her. She said she was going to plant a millet field. Now she seems to be in Japan? 2) There's a gigolo working at a place called 男來店女來電, 'the boys

come to the store and the girls keep coming back for more', He's got a girlfriend, a prostitute, and a client, a forty-something woman. He ends up sending the girlfriend and the client away because they don't fulfill his need for love. He dreams of going to Japan to track down his mother. He wants to humiliate her for leaving. 3) There's a girl working at an amusement park. She keeps calling people asking them to listen to her story. One day she calls the gigolo. At one point the gigolo and Wadan pass by each other on a street corner but don't meet. At the end the gigolo and the merry-go-round girl are talking to each other on the phone. They may be brother and sister, or at least half-brother and half-sister, because there's a scene in memory with a woman and two children at a merry-go-round. One day the gigolo is working at a sushi restaurant and his 'father', a sad sack and not the book-seller, arrives to get some money. The connections between the characters are never spelled out clearly. It won a Golden Horse award in 2002.

#### 風中的小米田 Windy Millet Field

2003 - Film

A 34 minute long film for kids. The kid asks a question about millet in class – obviously millet has now become a symbol of aboriginal culture – and the teacher tells the whole class to gather materials about millet. His classmates are peeved at him, because now they have extra homework. The boy and his friend go wandering all weekend to find a millet field. On Monday, he gives a pouch of millet to the teacher and says his grandmother is planting a millet field. Next year he can take the class to see it.

#### 頂番婆的鬼 Ghost(s) of Dingfanpo, by 李昂 Li Ang

2004 - Story

This story is from a book of five stories called Kan de jian de gui 看得見的鬼 [Visible Ghosts], a book of stories about female ghosts in and around Lugang, where Li Ang grew up. There is one ghost for each Chinese direction, east, west, north, south, and centre. The first story is about a ghost from the west, appropriately a woman with aboriginal, as well as Dutch and Chinese, blood. She works as a prostitute in a shack at a place called Dingfanpo. Fanpo means savage woman. When the Chinese settlers arrived, they interacted with the aborigines. They married aboriginal women to get their land. The mixed race children were abandoned at Dingfanpo and other villages for aboriginal women. The prostitute breaks her legs when the shack collapses and



applies to get some land returned to her so that she can support herself by farming. An official in the city makes an example of her by torturing her. He cuts ten incisions into her groin, the means by which she made a living. She dies in prison and her body is left to rot. The local villagers toss salt on her body, which is thereby preserved. She shrinks. As a ghost, she is trapped inside the salt, until a flood centuries later releases her. She goes into Lugang to get revenge, and she sees the Japanese exhuming a Qing Mandarin. They destroy his preserved body. Is it the official who tortured her? We do not find out. After the 228 Incident in 1947, dissidents fleeing into the mountains find her preserved body. They set up a temple to her. She is worshipped as a fertility icon. In the 1970s, the injustice she suffered comes out. She gets swept up in the illegal lottery craze, as people think that signs on her body, including the ten incisions in her groin, can be interpreted to get lucky numbers. After the government shuts the lottery down, she is left to herself again. One night, she does a striptease dance. The ten incisions somehow fall away to the ground, like poor dumb mouths, an allusion to Julius Caesar as well as a story by Chen Yingzhen. The significance is that though dumb mouths cannot speak of injustice, the people hear about injustice anyway. At the end of the dance, she has an orgasm and wanders off somewhere. Does anyone know where she has gone?

高校有刀 *Knives@School*

2005 - Film

A made-for-tv drama, about an aboriginal boy and a Chinese girl at 'cooking college', which in North America would be at the high school level. The girl, Zhao Shanshan 趙珊珊, is in love with the boy, Piyu, but is hung up on his aboriginality, meaning that some of the attraction for her is the fact that he's an aborigine. Piyu doesn't like this; he wants to be loved as an individual not as the member of an ethnic group. Shanshan's father owns a restaurant that sells aboriginal cuisine but he is hypocritically worried about his daughter dating an aborigine. Piyu is an inspired chef, but his family is poor; he helps out at the family food stand. One day, Piyu takes Shanshan up into the mountains to show her what aboriginal village life is like. She enjoys playing with the 'savage knife' 番刀, whereas Piyu would rather wield a chef's knife. The film is very well done, except for the rather abrupt ending, where the boy reveals that his father had died falling from a tree picking the fruit of *Ficus pumila*, the creeping fig tree, used to make a lemony iced drink (愛玉冰). Creeping fig fruit picking is an indication of the employment options open to older aborigines in a state of peripheral capitalism. There is no resolution to the romance.

山豬、飛鼠、撒可努 *The Sage Hunter*

2005 - Film

This is an eco-movie about a Paiwanese forest cop named Ahronglong Sakinu 撒可努 who averts a new highway development. The wise hunter brings the Han transport official involved in planning the highway to the mountains, where he is spiritually transformed. He goes boar hunting, hears about the vaginae dentatae (singular vagina dentata) of the Amis girls, and learns about aboriginal history. The aborigines mention their modernity in a humorous vein: they're all wearing hiking shoes and the sage hunter says, you've got to keep up with the times 要文明一下. At the end, the official gets a book in the mail: *The Sage Hunter*.

心靈之歌 *Song of the Spirits*

2005 - Film

Recording engineer Li Tongzhe is sent into the eastern hills of Taiwan to a Bunun area. He's working on a film on the aftermath of the September 21, 1999 earthquake. But in the village he meets the Bunun. It changes his life. He's living in the home of Pastor Lin, who's adopted a ten year old boy called Quisuel. Quisuel has lost both parents in the earthquake. Quisuel's teacher handles all the usual subjects and teaches them Bununese songs. Lin lets Li Tongzhe take care of Quisuel one day. Tongzhe helps Quisuel to open up. Tongzhe meets Quisuel's beautiful teacher Zuhui 祖慧 ('wisdom of the spirits'). They fall in love. But their objectives in life are different and don't get together. Zuhui's neighbour is Zu'an 祖安 (the peace of the spirits); he's a civil servant and a gifted singer and composer. Tongzhe records him singing and Zu'an becomes more widely appreciated.

插天山之歌 *Song of Chatian Mountain*

2006 - Film

This film is based on the 1973 Zhong Zhaozheng novel.

等待飛魚 *Waiting for the Flying Fish*

2006 - Film

A beautiful quiet city girl comes to Orchid Island to work. It's the life she's always dreamed of. The girl buys a convertible called Flying Fish One, actually a jalopy brought in from Taipei. She calls her boyfriend in Taipei on her cellphones. One day she loses her purse and can neither pay her rent nor return to Taipei. One of the young fellows on the island takes her in. They fall in love. She throws the ring she had from her boyfriend into the ocean. She finds her purse and wants to go back to Taipei. Her lover gives her a flying fish hairclip, carved in wood. At the same time he returns the ring she tossed away: don't leave your bad mood in the ocean, he tells her.

霧社人止關 Wushe: Closing the Pass

2006 - Novel

See Berry 71. It is about a romance between a Manchurian man and an Atayal woman in the wake of 228, but covers 1930.

熊兒悄然對我說 Teddy Softly Said To Me, by 張瀛太 Zhang Yingtai

2007 - Novel

Zhang Yingtai has written about Tibet and the Oroqen in northern China, under the influence of 1980s return-to-roots 尋根 writers such as Zheng Wanlong 鄭萬隆, but from a woman's perspective. She's more sensitive and subtle than the typical tough guy return-to-roots writers, who were reconnecting to their masculinity on China's frontiers. This novella is set in Taiwan. It is like a combination between *Danny, Champion of the World* and *The Call of the Wild*. The narrator is an adult reminiscing about his childhood. His ancestors are plains aborigines, but as his father comments at one point they had Sinified long ago. As a child, the narrator was intrigued by the plains aborigines the way a child in North America might be intrigued by indigenous Americans. The story is also partly the narrator's search for his father, who left one day, leaving only a picture book. The picture book and the scrapbook the narrator made as a child help him reconstruct the story of his childhood. He goes on walks in the mountains. He meets beekeepers and herbalists. He finds a pool by a waterfall, behind which is a cave, as in *Xiyouji* [Journey to the West]. Inside the cave are treasures – drawings and eggs and things – and an opening on the other side onto a cliff. At a weird wood by a yawning chasm there is a graveyard, where his grandfather, who pays him spiritual visits, is buried. He visits the temple fair, where his father sells doughboys. At the fair he sees a bear in a cage, part of a performer's

show: it's a bear that can write! Or is it a boy? The story comes out later: it is a boy. The bear tamer had scraped his skin and applied powder to it, so the boy developed fur like a bear. In the end – and here we seem to depart from reality – the bear-boy leaves to live with the bears. In the climax the local villagers pursue the bear-boy to the pool and into the cave. The bear comes out the opening on the other side and jumps onto a moonbeam. The novel is full of natural imagery of Taiwan, beetles, trees, birds and landscapes. It's not exactly an engagement with aboriginal culture – some of the aboriginal material has a distinctly ersatz quality – but rather a retreat into the natural realm and childhood.

亂迷第一冊 Confusion Vol.1, by 舞鶴 Wu He

2007 - Novel

The title, Luanmi 亂迷, reverses the conventional miluan 迷亂, or 'confusion'. As a technique it's intriguing. It forces the reader to slow down. But it also makes for hard reading.

賽德克巴萊 Seediq Bale

???? - Film

In the planning stages, this seems to be yet another epic treatment of the Wushe Incident. The director of the film was in serious debt but has now had a hit movie (*Haijiao qihao* 海角七號) so now he's got the money to make *Seediq Bale*. There's an English preview on Youtube. 'Seediq bale' means hero of the Seediq people. The Seediq are a branch of the Atayal.

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<sup>1</sup> Works published in Chinese are in Pinyin, works published in English respect the author's spelling. Thus, Hsiau A-chin and Xiao Aqin are the same person, writing in English and Chinese respectively. I have included neither classic works nor all the works listed in the Appendix.

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