Taiwanese Girls' Education, 1897-1945: An Analysis of Policy and Practice in a Gendered Colonial System

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Abstract: In 1897, two years after its rise as an imperial power, Japan inaugurated an ambitious experiment to make modern Japanese citizens out of Han Taiwanese schoolgirls in its first overseas colony, Taiwan (1895-1945). To survive in a world surrounded by European and American imperialist powers, the Japanese government sought the acquisition and development of territories in East Asia. In Taiwan, the Japanese colonial government mobilized the local population with the slogan of assimilation (doka). The administration sought to assimilate all non-Japanese into becoming ‘Japanese.’ For its female subjects, there was an additional goal: the ideal of “good wife, wise mother” (ryosaikenbo).

This study examines Han Taiwanese girls' education from 1897 to 1945, which reveals the fracturing of Taiwan schools along ethnic, gender, and class lines. It finds that colonial educational policy was deeply influenced by policy implemented in the metropole and by Japanese relations with other countries. The study concludes that schoolgirls and their families did not completely follow the colonial government's ideology on women's education. With the education and training they received in school, many schoolgirls became professionals instead of following the “good wife, wise mother” model. This study contributes to the conversation on transnational education in the colonial context– how the educational system in the metropole influenced the educational system in the colonies. It also seeks to understand how the colonial government sought to create an ideal woman citizen to serve the empire.

This essay explores the disjuncture between the ideal colonial womanhood and the actual experiences of female students in colonial Taiwan by examining how Taiwanese parents and female students responded to and interacted with the girls' educational system. The purpose of this paper is to supplement gaps in existing
scholarship by tracking the evolution of educational policy, responses of family and students to the educational system, and the effects of students' school experiences on their lives. Starting in the 1980s, scholars in Taiwan began to research Taiwanese girls' education during the colonial period. They discussed the gap between educational opportunities for boys and girls, analyzed and criticized the limited influence of colonial education on raising Taiwanese women's status, emphasized the correlation between educational opportunities and class status, and discussed the status symbol of highly educated women.¹ Since the 1990s, much of the analysis of women's education is found in works that focus on the Taiwanese 'modern woman.' This scholarship linked girls' education closely with the development of the Taiwanese 'modern woman' and its role in 'civilizing' Taiwan.² In linking educational policy with implementation and school experiences, this paper argues that not all educated women completely followed colonial government plans. Although they acquired certain skills required of “good wives, wise mothers” (ryosaikenbo) through education, these women also pursued education for their own purposes and those of their families.

This disjuncture between the ideal colonial woman and the actual experiences of


female students exemplifies Japanese tensions in the colonial policy of assimilation (dōka) in Taiwan where everyone was supposed to become ‘Japanese.’ The assimilation policy was implemented in education. Within the educational curriculum, the Japanese national language (kokugo) and imperial morals (shūshin) were the most important subjects. Educational policy makers in Japan widely believed that the Japanese language contained untranslatable concepts that formed the foundation of a unique Japanese identity, one that could only be obtained through the mastery of the Japanese language. Instruction in imperial morality emphasized loyalty to the emperor, nation and family as the core value, which ultimately meant sacrificing oneself for the emperor. This imperative to assimilate to become ‘Japanese’ applied to both Japanese and Taiwanese in Taiwan. However, Japanese were presumed to be closer to being ‘Japanese’ than the colonized. Therefore education, the means to becoming ‘Japanese,’ was necessarily segregated. Taiwanese, a ‘backward’ people, were presumed to start their transition to ‘Japanese-ness’ from a more distant point than the Japanese in the colony. This idea resulted in the segregation of the Taiwanese (Han Chinese) and the aboriginal population from the Japanese children in the educational system.


6 The Taiwanese attended common schools, kogakko, primary institutions where the language of instruction was Taiwanese. The educational system for the aboriginal population was split into two systems, those living on the plains and those living in the mountains. Those living on the plains area (heihozoku in Japanese or pingbuzu in Chinese) attended “common schools for aboriginal children,” (banjirinkogakko) while those in the mountains (takasagozoku in Japanese or gaoshazuin Chinese) received education from police-administered “places of education for aboriginal children.”
In addition to assimilation, Taiwanese women were also subjected to the “good wife, wise mother” model. This model stated that a woman should receive a modern education, in order to support her husband with his work and educate her children at home. It represented a gender-specific formulation of assimilation in the Japanese empire and served to assimilate all women in the empire. Therefore, moral instruction and domestic science came to constitute the core of the curriculum in girls' higher education. Since the home was the “root of the state” that decided the strength of the nation, the quality of the home rested on the quality of the housewife. This relationship between the home and the nation meant that women's private labor at home had public implications. However, highly educated colonized Taiwanese women did not completely conform to this ideal. In these cases, family support, school experiences, and the possibility of studying in the colonial metropole contributed to a disjuncture between this ideal and the actual experiences of female students. This disjuncture also suggests that the ideal of womanhood was more fluid in practice.

Several educational opportunities for girls existed in Taiwan before the colonial

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9 Ibid., 499.

The most common way for elite girls to be educated was home schooling, aimed at cultivating their womanly virtues of obedience and chastity through study of classical texts. Some elite girls were able to attend private study halls (shufang) where they received the same instruction as boys. Educational opportunities for lower-class and aboriginal women were provided by missionaries. Missionaries established Tamsui Girls’ Academy in 1884 in northern Taiwan, Xinlou Girls’ Academy in 1887 in Tainan, and a girls’ school in 1894 in Takao (Kaohsiung). Although they claimed that the purpose of these schools was to raise women’s status, missionaries followed an educational model from their homelands to train women for domestic tasks as wives and mothers. Nevertheless, these schools were significant because they were the first type of outside-the-home education provided to girls and women in Taiwan. Unfortunately, these schools failed to persuade any significant number of families to send their daughters to the schools. Tamsui Girls’ Academy enrolled only forty-five students at its opening, and eighty students at its maximum. Tainan Xinlou Girls’ Academy enrolled eighteen students at its opening.

11 During Qing dynastic rule, most schools in Taiwan were geared toward preparing men for the civil service examinations. However, schools that taught Western learning also existed. See Julean H. Arnold, “Education in Formosa,” United States Bureau of Education Bulletin, No. 5 (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1908), 19.

12 Some elite women learned womanly virtues through texts such as Analects for Women, Classic of Filial Piety for Women, and Arrayed Traditions of Women’s Lives. Yu, Women’s Education in Taiwan, 28-29.

13 The Trimetrical Classic and Four Books were basic texts in the classical training. Elite women were supposed to retreat to the inner chambers after the age of twelve or thirteen because “proper” girls must not be seen by outsiders. Yu, Women’s Education in Taiwan, 30.

14 George Leslie MacKay of the Canadian Presbyterian missionaries, founder of the Tamsui Girls’ Academy, sought to use education to free Taiwanese women who were restrained by these traditional practices. The school curriculum included reading, writing, singing, Bible study, and the pedagogy of proselytizing. Ibid., 31-32. Reverend Hugh Ritchie and his wife sought to establish this girls’ school, but death and illness stalled the process. It was not until 1887 that Joan Stuart and Annie E. Butler completed the establishment of the school. Arnold, United States Bureau of Education Bulletin, 66. Courses included “Chinese, reading and writing Romanized Formosan Chinese, arithmetic, Japanese, history, geography, Scriptures, and domestic science.” Ibid, 65. Martha Tocco points out that nineteenth-century Anglo-American missionaries were the product of the educational and social philosophies in their countries that emphasized domesticity and religious piety in “Made in Japan: Meiji Women’s Education” Gendering Modern Japanese History, 48-51.

15 Yu, Women’s Education in Taiwan, 31.
with a total of twenty-three in 1892.\(^\text{16}\) Although their goal of domestic training was similar to the home schooling that elite Taiwanese girls and women received, the Taiwanese people were discouraged by the missionary emphasis on proselytizing and the removal of their traditional customs such as footbinding and concubinage. As a result, missionary schools failed to recruit a significant number of Taiwanese students.

It was in this environment of limited schools that the Japanese colonial administration began its educational efforts. The educational system was intended to train workers to build Taiwan's economy to help Japan defend itself from the West.\(^\text{17}\) As Han-yu Chang and Ramon H. Myers explain, the colonial economy would contribute to Japan's limited resources and help Japan compete with other imperialist powers.\(^\text{18}\) The educational system served to transform and modernize Taiwan's economy from a subsistence agricultural society to a colony with agricultural and industrial resources strong enough to support Japan. The colonial administration under Kodama Gentarô, the third Governor-General (1898-1906), and his chief of civil administration, GotôShimpei, set up political, economic, and social infrastructures in Taiwan. It also set up an educational system to teach Japanese language and provide technical training in various industries to support a modern infrastructure and economy.\(^\text{19}\)

In planning an educational system in Taiwan, Japanese colonial administrators drew on the Meiji model. The Meiji leadership saw higher education as a way to train its subjects with technological and managerial skills to serve the nation. The secondary

\(^{16}\) Ibid.
\(^{18}\) Ibid., 433.
\(^{19}\) Ibid., 440, 442-444. Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan*, 212.
and post-secondary educational systems were established primarily for the Japanese, approximately five percent of the total population of Taiwan, to occupy the upper echelon of colonial society. But the system allowed a small number of elite and qualified men to become educated and trained as professionals and technocrats. As for the majority of the colonized population, the colonial government decided to institute primary education in Taiwan to integrate this “segment of traditional China” into the modern Japanese state. In addition to nationalizing and modernizing the native populations, the colonial administration also sought to establish itself as the new authority in Taiwanese society, replacing the previous local elites, through the new public educational system.

The Japanese leadership set up an educational system in Taiwan quickly. It established the Provisional Office for the Department of Educational Affairs two weeks after the first governor-general landed on Taiwan in 1895. Several days later, Izawa Shuji (1851-1917), the first Director of the Department of Educational Affairs for the colonial government, founded the first Japanese language school in Taihoku, targeting elite children and young men. Izawa sought to assimilate the colonized population through Japanese language instruction in order to transmit imperial Japanese ethics and the ‘Japanese spirit’ to the Taiwanese. His school trained young Taiwanese men from 17 to 27 as Japanese colonial government clerks, and

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21 Ibid., 10-11.
younger boys as Japanese-language teachers.\textsuperscript{25} He attracted students from elite families by incorporating Confucian texts into the school curriculum.\textsuperscript{26} The speed at which the Japanese colonial government set up the Japanese language schools reveals anxiety over how best to rule its first overseas colony: they wanted to demonstrate that Japan was as competent as Euro-American imperialists.\textsuperscript{27}

Starting in 1896, the colonial government issued educational regulations that further strengthened its control over the island.\textsuperscript{28} Influenced by Izawa’s work, the first large-scale school was the National Language School, established in 1896, that aimed to teach Japanese to the native population and Taiwanese to Japanese teachers.\textsuperscript{29} To strengthen government monopoly on education, the colonial government banned the establishment of new private schools in 1898, although it formally recognized existing private institutions in 1906. Also in 1898, the colonial administration promulgated regulations for traditional Chinese classical schools (shufang), common schools (kogakko) for the aboriginal and Han Taiwanese, and elementary schools (shogakko) for the Japanese, formally separating Taiwanese and Japanese children into different schools. Normal schools and medical schools for Taiwanese and Japanese men were officially established the following year. For the next decade, the colonial government set up various technical training programs in areas such as railway,

\textsuperscript{25} Tsurumi, Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 15.

\textsuperscript{26} Komagome and Mangan, “Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan”, 315.


\textsuperscript{28} I translated kyoikurei as “ordinance” and other policies (rei) as “regulations” to differentiate between the major educational policies (Taiwankyoiurei) set in Taiwan in 1919 and 1922 that significantly restructured colonial education and other educational policies. The main examples of these other policies are educational regulation on common school (kogakkorei) for the aboriginal and Han Taiwanese, and educational regulation on elementary schools (shogakkorei).

telegraph, agriculture, sugar industry, and forestry management for Taiwanese and Japanese men.\(^{30}\)

The importance of educated mothers was discussed by several Japanese leaders beginning in the 1870s and 1880s, and became widespread after the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), in which China ceded Taiwan to Japan. The Meiji Emperor (1868-1912), Nakamura Masanao, “principal of Japan’s first public higher girls’ school,” and Mori Arinori, Japan’s first minister of education (1885-1889), saw educated mothers as key to building and securing the Japanese state.\(^{31}\) Furthermore, the Japanese government realized that it needed to mobilize all its subjects for the war effort in the Sino-Japanese War, including women.\(^{32}\) As Japanese imperial subjects, women were to work diligently, thriftily, and efficiently in managing the household and raising their children.\(^{33}\) The home was conceptualized as a public place and an important “building block of the national structure” with all responsibility placed on women.\(^{34}\) Women were to cultivate their “refined taste and gentle and modest character” at girls’ higher schools, and the Japanese government mandated a minimum of one such school to be established in each prefecture in 1899.\(^{35}\) Although this ideal initially focused on girls’ higher schools targeting middle class women, it became part of the primary educational curriculum after 1911 in order to reach almost every girl, as girls’ primary school enrollment in Japan reached 97.4% by 1910.\(^{36}\) In other words, the Japanese government viewed girls’ education as increasingly important to the making of the Japanese nation-state.

At the same time as the Japanese government formulated the concept of the ideal

\(^{30}\) Yu, *Women’s Education in Taiwan*, 262-264.
\(^{31}\) Uno, “Womanhood, War, and Empire”, 497-500.
\(^{32}\) Ibid., 500.
\(^{33}\) Nolte and Hastings, “The Meiji State’s Policy Toward Women”, 152.
\(^{34}\) Ibid., 171, 173.
\(^{35}\) Ibid.
\(^{36}\) Ibid., 157-158.
woman in Japan proper, the colonial administration slowly integrated this model into girls' education in Taiwan. It saw Taiwanese girls as future mothers who would transmit Japanese outside the school setting, and thus “[nationalize] an alien people” through the Japanese language more effectively than the teacher-student transmission method in the school setting. Therefore, the colonial government believed that an increase in Taiwanese girls' school enrollment was vital to Japanese expansion in East Asia. It thus sponsored many events to encourage enrollment. From 1896 to 1916, the administration sponsored multiple exhibits of handicrafts produced by female students in professional and normal schools in Japan. In 1900, it sponsored tours to Japan for elite Taiwanese. These Taiwanese elites became interested in the Japanese image of the ‘civilized’ woman, one who “held modern knowledge and could support both the home and business.”

The first girls' educational opportunity provided by the Japanese government was in 1897. The colonial government set up a branch school for Taiwanese girls as part of the First Attached School of the National Language School (Kokugogakkodaiichifuzokugakko). The attached school was established within the school grounds of the National Language School, and served as a training ground for future teachers. Students were divided into two groups by age. The older group received Japanese language and handicraft instructions and the younger group received primary education. Elite girls, women, and their families pursued schooling

38 Ho, "Taiwanese Women's Education during the Taisho Period", 182.
39 An attached school was established to serve the need of the main campus, and in this case, the National Language School. In the metropole, the Japanese established many attached schools (fuzokugakko) in normal schools to provide training for future teachers. Today, attached schools of primary and secondary levels in Japan are often part of a university that essentially guarantees university admission to graduates of the attached schools.
40 Group A (kogumi) was composed of fifteen to twenty-nine year old women, while Group B (otsugumi) consisted of girls from eight to fourteen. Taihokudai san kotojogakkosoritsu man sanjûnenkinenshi [Taipei Third Higher Womens' School: Thirtieth-year Anniversary Commemoration] (Taihoku: Taihokudai san kotojogakko, 1935), 44-45, 48.
because they saw embroidery and sewing as skills necessary to produce part of their dowry.\textsuperscript{41} The purpose of the school was to “teach handicraft skills and basic courses.”\textsuperscript{42} The emphasis on handicrafts reveals that the colonial administration was still trying to figure out how to implement the “good wife, wise mother” model in Taiwan.

As the “good wife, wise mother” model became more formulated in Japan proper, it influenced colonial educational policies. After the promulgation of the Regulation on Common School (\textit{kogakkorei}) in 1898 (a response to the increasing enrollment numbers at the National Language School), the colonial government formally transformed the girls' branch school into the Third Attached School of the National Language School.\textsuperscript{43} The administration provided the new school with a more detailed guideline to cultivate virtues and teach home economics and childcare to female students.\textsuperscript{44} The curriculum shifted from a handicraft-centric one to a more diverse one that aimed to train girls as useful wives and mothers who possessed knowledge in a variety of subjects. In the Third Attached School, the six-year Regular School Curriculum (\textit{honka}) was similar to the primary education received by the previous younger group at the branch school in 1898. Its three-year Household Industry Curriculum (\textit{shugeika}) was similar to that followed by the older group in the branch school.\textsuperscript{45} The primary educational curriculum included morals, the (Japanese) national language, recitation, calligraphy, arithmetic, singing, and sewing. Household

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\item[41] Hung, \textit{The History of Modern Taiwanese Women}, 83.
\item[42] Taihoku Third Girls' Higher School: Thirtieth-year Anniversary Commemoration 1935, 45.
\item[43] Li Yuan-hui, \textit{Rijushiqi Taiwan chudengjiayuzhidu [Primary Education System in Taiwan during the Japanese Occupation]} (Taipei Shi: Guolibianyi guan, 2005), 62-63. Tuition was free before this ordinance as an incentive for the Taiwanese to send their children to schools. Unfortunately, the increasing enrollment numbers made school finances increasingly difficult, and thus this ordinance authorized the school to charge tuition fees.
\item[45] Ibid., 52. “Normal School Course” and “Household Industry Course” are terms I took directly from those used by the Office of the Governor-General in \textit{A Review of Educational Work in Formosa} 1916, 58.
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Industry students were required to study the same courses plus knitting, artificial flower making, and embroidery. Handicrafts still dominated the school curriculum because they were an essential tool for a future “good wife,” but the colonial government was able to teach Japanese and arithmetic, among other subjects, that would impart basic knowledge essential to the making of a “wise mother.”

The Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) contributed to a reconsideration of the “good wife, wise mother” ideology. The war forced the government to face the economic problem of supporting Japanese war widows and orphans. If wives and mothers could work in public, they could survive after the deaths of their husbands. The increased enrollment at girls’ higher schools also forced the government to rethink the role of a growing number of highly educated women. The Japanese government also could not ignore women's increasing presence in new jobs.

The Russo-Japanese War not only brought girls' education to national attention in Japan, but also its colony, Taiwan. Japanese girls in the colony quickly received more opportunities than their Taiwanese counterparts. The colonial administration established the first attached school for Japanese girls in 1904. Three years later, this attached school was renamed Girls' Higher School of the Colonial Government of Taiwan (Taiwan sotokufukotojogakko); it was the only Japanese girls' secondary school at the time. The colonial administration officially promulgated regulations on this girls' higher school in 1909. Before 1922, “girls' higher school” (kotojogakko) was for Japanese girls only. Officially and in practice, Japanese and Taiwanese girls attended different primary schools, segregated by their ethnicity and sometimes by gender. At the secondary school level, girls were segregated by both ethnicity and

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46 Ibid., 53-56.
47 Uno, “Womanhood, War, and Empire, 503-504.
48 Yu, Women's Education in Taiwan, 263-264.
gender.

The Second Attached School for Taiwanese girls also underwent a major change in 1906 after the Russo-Japanese War. The primary educational curriculum was abolished and its students were transferred to a common school. The separation of Taiwanese girls' secondary education from primary education, and the addition of non-handicraft courses, suggest that the colonial administration was anxious to align Taiwanese girls' education more with the empire’s “good wife, wise mother” ideal. The Second Attached School regulation stated that the purpose of the school was to train female Taiwanese teachers and provide handicraft training with three programs: the three-year teacher training program (shihanka), the two-year fast-track teacher training program (shihansokuseika), and the three-year handicraft training program (gikeika).49 To maintain propriety between men and women, the colonial government sought to encourage more school enrollment for girls by producing more female teachers.50

This effort to establish a teacher training program for its colonized subjects reflects the emphasis that the Japanese government placed on women in its empire-building project. Although the teacher training and handicraft curricula appeared to differ in name and subjects learned, both programs aimed at creating more women teachers. Courses for teacher training included pedagogy, Chinese Classics, history, geography, physical science, home economics, drawing, and physical education. The handicraft curriculum was similar to the previous household industry curriculum but with the addition of physical science, drawing, and physical education.51

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49 Taiwan kyoikuenkakush[Historical Account of Education in Taiwan] (Taihoku: Taiwan Kyoikukai, 1939), 821.
51 Ibid., 77-80.
to mandate more instruction hours spent on Japanese and other subjects while reducing hours for handicraft courses starting.\textsuperscript{52}

Japan's participation in World War I and its aftermath pushed the Japanese colonial government into rethinking its implementation of assimilation and the ideal womanhood. These efforts are best exemplified by the Ordinances on Education (\textit{Taiwan kyoikurei}) in 1919 and 1922. The colonial government promulgated these two ordinances after World War I, when the Wilsonian idea of colonial sovereignty was widespread and mass movements intensified. Japan was undoubtedly uneasy with two major movements that targeted the Japanese sphere of influence in 1919: the March First Movement in Korea, officially a Japanese colony since 1910, and the May Fourth Movement in China. In the early 1920s, educated Taiwanese intellectuals began to return to Taiwan from study abroad, mainly from Japan, but also from Europe, the United States, and China. Many of them became active in the self-governance movement in the 1920s.\textsuperscript{53} These ordinances reflected the colonial government's intended policy of assimilation for the colonized, providing equal opportunities for all Japanese subjects at a time when the concept of self-determination proved threatening to the Japanese empire. However, the insistence on preserving the social and political privileges of the Japanese population in Taiwan, and the inherent assumption of Japanese superiority in the concept of assimilation, kept school segregation in force.\textsuperscript{54}

The Ordinance on Education of 1919 was the first major educational ordinance in colonial Taiwan. It codified and systematized the colonial government's plan to turn the native population into loyal Japanese subjects. It mainly targeted schools for the

\textsuperscript{52} Office of the Governor-General of Formosa 1916, 58.
\textsuperscript{53} Lin, “Public Education in Formosa Under the Japanese Administration, 73-74.
\textsuperscript{54} Tsurumi, \textit{Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan}, 103.
Taiwanese, not the Japanese, with an emphasis on creating “loyal and good subjects.”

Being a loyal Japanese subject meant to speak Japanese fluently, to become moral beings through moral instruction at school, and to build up physical strength while mastering basic life knowledge. The National Language School system was replaced by the establishment of higher common schools (kotofutsugakko) for girls and boys, effecting a transition in the educational system from a small and preliminary school system, aimed at a few, to a larger and more comprehensive educational system for all.

Commercial, agriculture and forestry technical schools and colleges, as well as one normal school, were also established. In theory, the colonial government also began to allow Taiwanese children to attend elementary schools, although only a few were let into previously Japanese-only schools in a highly selective process. These efforts were meant to give the impression that the colonial government was treating Japanese and Taiwanese populations equally, as they could attend the same primary schools. In reality, they were segregated. They were also meant to provide more post-primary educational opportunities for the native population so that Taiwanese elites, who could afford it, would not go study in Japan and become potential troublemakers once they returned to Taiwan.

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55 Lin “Public Education in Formosa Under the Japanese Administration,” 75, 81.
56 Chen, The Different Intentions behind the Semblance of “Douka (Assimilation),” 406. Article V in Chapter Two of the Ordinance on Education of 1919 states that the purpose of the common school was to “take care of the development of the health, give moral instruction, impart common knowledge and skills, engender national characteristics, and spread the national language.” The Different Intentions behind the Semblance of “Douka (Assimilation),” 75.
57 Lin, The Different Intentions behind the Semblance of “Douka (Assimilation),” 81.
58 Ibid., 82.
59 Lee Yuan-hui explains that the selection process involved a thorough investigation of the students' parents' social status, property, educational level, and degree of assimilation into the Japanese culture. Only a small number of Taiwanese were accepted into Japanese schools. Lee Yuan-hui, Rijushiqi Taiwan chudengjiaoyuzhidu [Primary Education System in Taiwan during the Japanese Occupation] (Taipei Shi: Guo li bianyi guan, 2005), 264.
60 The “policymakers decided it was safer to expand secondary schooling for Taiwanese within the colony rather than to witness an accelerated exodus of students to Japan, where they might become involved with ‘misguided’ Japanese like Itagaki [Taisuke].” E. Patricia Tsurumi, “Colonial
As a result of the 1919 Ordinance, the Second Attached School for Taiwanese girls became independent from the Language School, and was renamed the Taiwan Public Taihoku Girls’ Common Higher School (Taiwan koritsu Taihokujoshikotofutsjogakko). This separation symbolized the increasing public acceptance of girls' education, an increase in the rate of girls continuing schooling, and the colonial government's recognition of girls' education. The Ordinance stated that the purpose of girls' regular higher school was to “cultivate womanly virtues and teach knowledge and skills useful for life.” It also stated, “The curriculum emphasizes the cultivation of moral character, fluency in the national language, and the establishment of the national character.” Although the Ordinance retained a teacher-training program, it was no longer a three-year program but became a one-year training regime in addition to the regular three-year girls' higher school curriculum. This change suggests that the colonial government was more serious about training “virtuous women” than female teachers in girls' higher schools. Consequently, few female teachers were trained in Taiwan, while male teachers dominated the teaching profession. The few women who were trained as teachers would quit their jobs upon marriage or childbirth. However, because girls' higher schools required female teachers, a supply of women from Japan filled that need.

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61. Historical Account of Education in Taiwan, 828.
62. Ibid., 826-827.
The Ordinance on Education of 1922, also called the Integration Ordinance, revised the Ordinance of 1919. The main transformation was desegregating all levels of schools so that both Taiwanese and Japanese children could attend. Theoretically, the curriculum between common schools for Taiwanese children and elementary schools for Japanese children became the same, except for the language of instruction. Taiwanese children could also attend elementary schools and Japanese children could attend common schools. Compared to the highly selective trial admission in the 1919 Ordinance, the 1922 Ordinance actually allowed more Taiwanese students into Japanese elementary schools, although the number was still low.  

Secondary schools were segregated by school names that indicated a difference in ethnicity (higher school, *kotojogakko*, for the Japanese and higher common school, *kotofutsujogakko*, for the Taiwanese) before the 1922 Ordinance. After 1922, all secondary schools had the same name: middle schools for boys (*chutogakko*), boy's high school (*kotogakko*), and girls' secondary school (*kotojogakko*). By this time, a total of thirteen girls' higher schools were established for the Taiwanese and Japanese populations. The Ordinance stated that the morals class was essential in nurturing middle-class women. The morals class taught students to love the Japanese emperor and the Japanese nation. After the promulgation of the 1922 Ordinance, the purpose of girls' schooling was clear – it was to make them into loyal Japanese subjects and “good wives, wise mothers.”

The Integration Ordinance supposedly removed educational differences between

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Japanese and Taiwanese populations. However, in reality, segregation still existed and the Taiwanese population was pushed to attend the less prestigious schools. More Japanese and fewer Taiwanese were admitted into post-primary institutions after the 1922 Ordinance: Japanese who could not get into the prestigious and formerly Japanese-only schools, were admitted to less prestigious schools that had formerly been Taiwanese-only. The result was that fewer Taiwanese students were admitted into post-primary institutions.67

The inherent assumption of Japanese superiority in the assimilation ideology, and the ambiguity of the “good wife, wise mother” model created a gap between colonial educational policy and students' experiences during and after their schooling. The rest of this paper draws on the stories of seven women who were interviewed by a team from Academia Sinica, from 1991 to 1992.68 Their stories attest to the impact of education on their lives and the degree to which many did not conform to the ideal woman image promoted by the government.

Family support played a major role in these women's education and their views of family ideology. Born in 1903 to a literati-turned-merchant family, Lin CaiSunü began her schooling in 1910, continued onto Taihoku Girls’ Common Higher School with her father's encouragement, and later became a teacher.69 Yi Ximei, born in 1913 to a farmer family, began schooling after her older brother, a teacher, convinced their mother.70 Yi's story suggests that a family member who had received Japanese education was more likely to support girls’ education. However, this was not always the case. Born in 1914 as the daughter of a local official, Chen Aizhu had a father

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67 Ibid., 116. Tsurumi provides statistics of enrollment numbers in college-level schools for boys before and after the 1922 Ordinance to make this point. She does not explain where less-qualified Japanese students attended schools before the 1922 Ordinance.
68 Yu, Taiwanese Career Women through Political Changes.
69 Ibid., 121-123.
70 Ibid., 10, 13.
who allowed her to complete primary education, but was reluctant to let her continue. Even though he had received a ‘modern’ Japanese education, he feared that too much education would jeopardize his daughters’ marriageability, an idea that conformed to the traditional Chinese practice of keeping women illiterate. Traditional ideas about women's education persisted even among modern school-trained male intellectuals. Although some of these seven women hint at their parents’ ‘progressive’ thinking on girls' education as the deciding factor in sending them to school, scholars Hung Yu-ru and Ho Ch'un-chen specifically argue that elite and upper-middle class families sent their daughters to school because education came to symbolize a high social status.

Financial status also influenced family decisions on whether or not to let girls continue their education. Lin CaiSunü's family was wealthy enough to send her to a girls' higher school. Yi Ximei’s father, however, cited the family's financial status as the reason for not supporting her wish to attend girls' higher school. Only elite and upper-middle class girls were able to pay for the tuition and board costs, including mandatory dormitory residence, required of all girls' higher school students. Lin CaiSunü testified that the monthly allowance her father sent her was equivalent to

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71 Ibid., 253-254, 257. The traditional Chinese concept of “women without talent are virtuous” (wucaibianshi de) discouraged elite-class parents from training women to read and write. The emphasis was on women's embroidery skills and obedience to their husbands and parents-in-law. However, the famous debate between Yuan Mei and Zhang Xuecheng on the ideal woman revealed that two ideals existed in Qing China: a woman with a basic training in the classics but not poetry-writing, and a talented and literate women. For more detail on the debate, see Susan Mann, Precious Records: Women in China's Long Eighteenth Century,(Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1997), 86-97. Susan Mann and Dorothy Ko have shown that some elite women were highly literate because their families believed that talented and literate women make better wives and mothers. Susan Mann, The Talented Women of the Zhang Family (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2007), and Dorothy Ko, Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1994).


73 Yu, Taiwanese Career Women through Political Changes,16, 124.
one month of a police officer’s salary.\textsuperscript{74} Any girls' higher school students who were not natives of the cities where these schools were located also had to pay transportation fees when they traveled back home during the holidays.\textsuperscript{75}

In addition to these personal accounts, Yamamoto Reiko's survey of both Taiwanese and Japanese girls' higher school alumni in 1993 shed some light on why girls received post-primary education.\textsuperscript{76} She showed that 82.7% of all girls' higher school graduates continued on to secondary education because they were self-motivated.\textsuperscript{77} Since women were able to choose multiple motivating factors for their secondary education, 39.8% stated that their parents recommended them to continue, and 18.3% continued because of encouragement from their teachers who recognized their excellent school performance.\textsuperscript{78} Many of these women made their own educational and career choices and were able to draw on family support to achieve their goals. Their family background was the deciding factor in whether or not they continued their education after primary school. According to Yamamoto's survey, the majority of their parents worked in middle and upper-middle class professions in medicine, business, and education.

Elite and upper-middle class families could afford to send their daughters to schools because they were not needed to help out with household chores or contribute to household income. However, some lower-class families, such as manual laborers, also sent their daughters to school.\textsuperscript{79} They found that schooling provided their

\textsuperscript{74} Ibid., 124-126. It is unclear whether or not Lin Cai Sunü’s monthly allowance, twenty Yuan, paid for tuition, but her narrative suggested that it was unlikely. She stated that room and board cost five Yuan.

\textsuperscript{75} Ibid., 225.

\textsuperscript{76} Yamamoto received 203 out of 718 surveys sent during the period of July-September of 1993. Her summary and statistics were based on these 203 responses.

\textsuperscript{77} Ibid., 116.

\textsuperscript{78} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{79} Chen Hui-wen, Dadaochen chamorenditu: Funü de huodongkongjian- Jin bainenlai de bianqian[The Map of Women in Dadaochen: Women's Activity Space- Transformations in the Last One Hundred Years] (Taibei Xian: Bo yang wen huashi ye you xian gong si, 1999), 107.
children with the language proficiency necessary to work for the Japanese in certain manual jobs such as laundering and cooking.\textsuperscript{80} However, it was likely that most lower-class families could not afford to send their daughters to primary schools because they could not afford tuition and they needed their daughters' labor power and wages.\textsuperscript{81} Even those who were able to send their daughters to primary schools were probably unable to let them continue on to the prestigious girls' higher schools because costs were so high. No scholarship or financial aid existed for girls' higher school students, and thus the high costs of secondary education deterred working-class girls from obtaining this kind of education.

While parents sent their daughters to school for various family and personal reasons, the school determined the educational curriculum that shaped their lives. Dormitories at girls' higher schools served as one site to examine the 'success' of the colonial government's mission for girls' education. The dormitory was where students were supposed to develop new 'proper' habits. It served as their home while they were away from their families.\textsuperscript{82} This was a space for teachers, mostly Japanese, to train girls into 'proper Japanese subjects' with appropriate eating habits and manners. Yi Ximei recalled that one of her teachers at her nursing school claimed that she had to

\textsuperscript{80} One interviewee testified that her biological mother took care of laundry and cooking for the Japanese because of the family's poverty. However, the mother pointed out that she felt it was "painful" that she was unable to speak Japanese. ZengQiumei, \textit{Taiwan xifuzi di shenghuoshiji, The Lives of Sim-pua: The Stories of Taiwanese Daughters-in-Law} (Taipei: Yushan she chubanshiyegufenyouxiangongsi, 1998), 154.

\textsuperscript{81} Li, \textit{Primary Education System in Taiwan during the Japanese Occupation}, 143, 64, 165, 364. Depending on the school and the student, some students did not have to pay tuition. Schools charged tuition when they had insufficient funds from local taxes paid by all local residents. Diagram 1-36 on page 64, with data from 1905 and 1906, shows that some schools did not charge tuition and some students within certain schools did not have to pay tuition. Tuition cost was dependent on historical period, school, and students. For example, tuition ranged from one half of a Japanese yuan to two Japanese yuan according to the 1907 regulation. The Common School Regulation No. 90 after the 1922 Ordinance, on the other hand, set common school tuition at a half of one Japanese yuan or less.

\textsuperscript{82} Even though her father was reluctant to let his daughter receive further education, Chen Aizhu's self-motivation somehow got her to girls' higher school. Yu, \textit{ Taiwanese Career Women through Political Changes}, 257.
be strict with the students on their parents' behalf.\textsuperscript{83} Qiu Yuanyang, the only educated person among her siblings who later became a teacher, remembered the meal ritual at the Taihoku Girls' Common Higher School.\textsuperscript{84} She recounted, "All students were required to stand up, and sing [the gratitude song] with their eyes closed."\textsuperscript{85} She also talked about the five o'clock afternoon curfew and the severe punishment a student would receive if she violated it.\textsuperscript{86} Furthermore, as Chen Aizhu recalled, students could not eat food outside school.\textsuperscript{87} Students were forbidden to bring snacks or cookies back to the dormitory.\textsuperscript{88} These accounts revealed how schools tried to regulate these students' bodies through dietary restrictions. These dormitory practices probably served to reinforce eating etiquette that the school taught to students. Lin Zhuang Jichun, born in 1920 to a merchant family, described her performance of etiquette during her entrance examination to Hiroshima City Girls' Higher School in 1935. She had to present the proper way of eating her soup to show her mastery of proper etiquette as an educated colonized person.\textsuperscript{89} Lin Cai Wan, born in 1911 to a physician family and eventually became a pharmacist, also recalled that the school required all students to fold their quilts after waking up, a habit that she continued.\textsuperscript{90} These examples illustrate the extent of disciplinary practices in the dormitories.

School also provided opportunities for the development of social networks and interactions. Young women went out with friends on the weekends. Yi Ximei recalled that friends gathered together to chat and dine during the holidays. Her most fun activities on the weekend were movie-going and snacking with friends when she was

\textsuperscript{83} Ibid., 23.  
\textsuperscript{84} Ibid., 73-74. Qiu was born in 1903 to a merchant family.  
\textsuperscript{85} Ibid., 76.  
\textsuperscript{86} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{87} Ibid., 259-260.  
\textsuperscript{88} Ibid., 260.  
\textsuperscript{89} Ibid., 106-107.  
\textsuperscript{90} Ibid., 181.
a student at the nursing program.91 Yi Ximei once sneaked out of the dormitory with friends to go out.92 Qiu Yuanyang enjoyed window shopping and eating with her friends as a girls' higher school student. Her daughter described how Qiu continued to enjoy going out to get food with her family and shopping after marriage.93 Dormitory lives provided these women with the opportunity to make friends and develop hobbies that had long-lasting effects in their lives.

After graduating from girls' higher school, most students married. Some continued to take a training course to become teachers before marriage, and some continued their education. Three out of seven women discussed here continued their studies in Japan to pursue educational opportunities that were not often available in the colony. Lin Cai Wan, with her husband's support, completed her pharmacist training in Tokyo alone.94 Chen Shiman, born in 1909 to a landowning merchant family, received ophthalmologist training at the Tokyo Women's Medical Professional School (Tokyo joshiigakusenmongakko).95 Lin Zhuang Jichun pursued girls' higher education in Hiroshima and pharmacist training at the same school as Chen Shiman in Tokyo.96 She opened her own pharmacy in Taiwan during the colonial period and established a pharmaceutical company after the colonial period.97 Her older sister, Zhuang Wuxian, went to study at Nara Women's Normal School and later went to Hiroshima to receive a Ph.D. degree.98 But Chen Aizhu and Lin Cai Sunü were not fortunate enough to go abroad. Chen Aizhu cited her father's “feudal mindset” and

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91 Ibid., 23. Girls' higher schools required students to live on campus, but the nursing program did not. This difference in residency requirement suggests that perhaps girls' higher schools had stricter regulations than the nursing program. Girls' higher schools forbade students from eating outside food, while Yi did not mention any dietary restriction in her dormitory in the nursing program.
92 Ibid., 27.
93 Ibid., 76, 96-98.
94 Ibid., 190.
95 Ibid., 218, 227.
96 Ibid., 106, 109.
97 Ibid., 112, 114.
98 Ibid., 104.
her higher school principal’s lack of support as factors preventing her from pursuing an education in Japan. However, she got the opportunity to go to Japan as a teacher for two short summer intensive training programs in music and dance.\textsuperscript{99} Lin Cai Sunü cited circumstances and timing as reasons why she did not go to Japan.\textsuperscript{100} This desire to study in Japan suggests that their educational experiences in Taiwan encouraged these women to pursue more education, especially when educational opportunities in Taiwan ended with a teacher training course at girls’ higher schools. As Chen Aizhu points out, “[t]he professional schools and Taihoku Imperial University (Taihokuteikokudaigakku) in Taiwan did not admit girls. Girl students who wished to continue their education had to go to Japan to study in colleges.”\textsuperscript{101}

The other two women did not express a desire to go abroad, but had experiences outside Taiwan. Yi Ximei was inspired to become a nurse like Florence Nightingale. With the help of her doctor uncle and grandmother, and with silent consent from her father, she passed the entrance examination for a nursing school. After working for a few years in Taiwan, she took the opportunity to work in a Japanese hospital in Guangdong, China from 1936 to 1937, when she was forced to evacuate at the start of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945).\textsuperscript{102} Qiu Yuangyang visited Japan on a girls’ higher school field trip in 1924.\textsuperscript{103} All seven women either had the desire to or got the opportunity to go abroad. Their education and school experiences inspired them to pursue higher levels of education.

\textsuperscript{99} Ibid., 261, 266-267.
\textsuperscript{100} Ibid., 126-128. Lin CaiSunü’s higher school principal wanted her to receive teacher training as the valedictorian before heading to Japan to study. However, she then delayed the plan one more time to assist her younger brother with studying for his high school examination. Finally, her dream was never to be realized because her father could no longer provide necessary financial support. Her father’s business failed from bad investment and was also affected by the world economic depression. Although Lin CaiSunü never realized her dream to study in Japan, she participated in a school field trip to Japan before she graduated from the teacher training program in her higher school. She spent a month in Japan.
\textsuperscript{101} Ibid., 260.
\textsuperscript{102} Ibid., 10, 17, 34-35.
\textsuperscript{103} Ibid., 78.
Knowledge of the Japanese language was useful in these women's marriages and careers. Yi Ximei said that Japanese was the language of communication among all ethnic groups in schools. She also explained that because her husband did not speak her native *Hakka* language, they communicated in Japanese.\textsuperscript{104} Her account reveals that different ethnic groups came to use Japanese as the common language in friendship and marriage during, and most likely after, the colonial period. Lin Zhuang Jichun recalled that because she was studying in Japan for such a long time, she forgot the Taiwanese (*Hoklo*) language, causing Taiwanese to think she was Japanese. She re-learned it from her customers in order to show that she had not forgotten her native tongue just because she was highly educated.\textsuperscript{105} As a pharmacist, Lin Cai Wan talked about how doctors who were trained during the Japanese colonial period continued to write prescriptions in Japanese, and it was convenient for her and the doctors that they were able to communicate in Japanese.\textsuperscript{106} These accounts showed how the Japanese language unified different ethnic groups, divided the educated and the less-educated population, and it was a professional tool for doctors and pharmacists.

While their education had lasting effects on their lives, these women did not necessarily conform to the Japanese government's “good wife, wise mother” model. At first glance, Qiu Yuanyang and Lin CaiSunü appeared to conform to the colonial government's gender ideal, as they assisted with their husbands' professions and raised children, and quit their teaching jobs upon marriage.\textsuperscript{107} However, their active service to the community after marriage suggests that wives and mothers were not their only roles. Qiu, as a member of the “Women's Household Registration Group

\textsuperscript{104} Ibid., 24, 64.
\textsuperscript{105} Ibid., 112-113.
\textsuperscript{106} Ibid., 199.
\textsuperscript{107} Ibid., 80, 85, 129, 134.
(hokofujindan), planted vegetation in school yards, distributed food rations, and comforted injured soldiers during wartime as part of the home-front supporting force. Furthermore, Qiu was not good at handling household work, cooking, or embroidery. Not only did she not perform all the tasks that the “good wife, wise mother” was supposed to do, but she also encouraged her daughters and female students to be “like boys” and “strengthen themselves.” Furthermore, she never urged them to be “good housewives.” When she was an elected official, she hired help to care for her children and perform household chores. Because of her desire to serve the community, Lin CaiSunü opened a free knitting class for the poor to make clothes for their family and children during the Japanese period. After the colonial period ended, like Qiu, she was also recommended to run for a position in the legislature, but she refused on the grounds of her motherly duties. Lin Cai Wan also did not conform to this ideal because she pursued her study alone while her husband and mother-in-law took care of her children. Yi Ximei appeared to contradict this ideal of womanhood the most because she prioritized her work over marriage. She got married at the age of forty-eight, when she could no longer resist the exhortations of her mother and friends. Her condition for marriage was that she could continue to work. Although matchmaking still determined most highly educated women’s marriages, women like Yi were able to delay their marriages. Consequently, although they received an education that sought to make them into “good wives, wise mothers,” none of these seven women conformed to the

108 Ibid., 86-87, 92-93. Further research is necessary to see if this group was the same or part of the Society of Patriotic Women (aikokufujinkai), a group made of elite and upper-middle class Japanese and Taiwanese women who worked on various community service projects before and during World War II.

109 Ibid., 92, 97-98, 100.

110 Ibid., 134, 136.

111 Ibid., 64-65.

112 From the stories of these seven women, it seems that highly educated women, members of the elite and upper-middle classes, were highly sought after in the marriage market. It is unclear whether or not they would have been highly sought, regardless of their educational background.
Analyzing Taiwanese girls' education reveals power dynamics between the colonizer and the colonized, and the educational privilege of elite and upper-middle class women. Through an examination of educational policies, this paper demonstrates that the development of Japanese colonial policy over time reflected the problem of assuming Japanese superiority and conformity by the colonized. The study of girls' secondary education illuminates the issues of ethnicity, gender, and class in colonial Taiwan. Even though educational opportunities for Taiwanese girls were limited in Taiwan, those with strong family and financial support took advantage of these opportunities. The stories of seven women discussed in this paper suggest that school was not the only factor affecting their educational and career choices. Their class background and natal and marital families also played important supportive roles as well. These women did not conform completely to government ideal. Perhaps these recipients of Japanese colonial education held different views on what this “good wife, wise mother” was supposed to be.
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