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Early Film Culture in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Republican China

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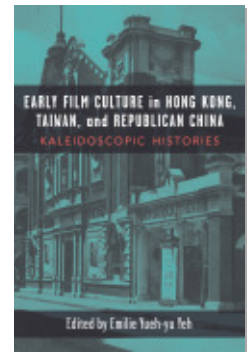
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CHAPTER 4

Enlightenment, Propaganda, and Image Creation

A Descriptive Analysis of the Usage of Film by the Taiwan Education Society and the Colonial Government Before 1937

Daw-Ming Lee

Although film arrived in Taiwan more than a century ago, relatively few books and essays, in any language, have explored Taiwan cinema during the Japanese colonial period. In the past quarter of a century, most film studies on Taiwan cinema in the West discuss only films and their makers after 1950, especially those after the emergence of Taiwan New Cinema.¹

As for books written in Chinese on the history of Taiwan cinema, only a handful are available. However, most of them are nonscholarly works, including Ye Longyan's *The History of Taiwanese Movies during the Japanese Colonization*, which has been widely quoted by renowned authors such as Guo-juin Hong and Yingjin Zhang.² I have studied the historical development of Taiwan cinema under Japanese colonial rule for more than twenty years, and has published many articles in both Chinese and English. My articles are based on original research on primary and secondary sources, including films, books, journals, articles, and references published during and after the colonial period by Japanese and Taiwanese authors.

This chapter is an effort to look into how the colonial government utilized film as a tool to help it rule Taiwan over the fifty years of colonization, particularly before the breakout of the second Sino-Japanese war in 1937.

Misawa Mamie has written a book on the film policy of the Office of the Governor General of Taiwan, which includes similar topics but puts more emphasis on laws and regulations, censorship, and film history in the colonial era. Misawa Mamie focuses her discussion of the use of film by the colonial government on two departments, namely the Police Association, which concentrated its filmmaking and exhibitions on aboriginal affairs, and the Taiwan Education Society, which is also one of the main organizations discussed in this chapter.

Misawa centers her observations on how educators used film as a propaganda tool to affirm their own position in the moral suasion or edification process overseen by the colonial government. She uses several examples to illuminate her points that Japanese educators were preachers of nationalism internally and advocates of ideal images of Taiwan externally. Contrary to Misawa's theoretical hypotheses, this chapter takes a pragmatic approach in finding diachronic and synchronic evidences of government policy (of both the colonial government and imperial Japan) and film organizations in Taiwan, including but not limited to the Taiwan Education Society. I am hoping readers will be able to deduce their own conclusion after inspecting all evidence provided in this chapter.

ITÔ, TAKAMATSU, AND EARLY USAGE OF FILM BY THE COLONIAL GOVERNMENT

Motion pictures arrived in Taiwan at the end of the nineteenth century³ as an "attraction," as Tom Gunning would call it.⁴ Even though the purpose of showing such novelties in the colony was no doubt profit, the tone of reports or advertisements about such events in local newspapers made them sound like scientific demonstrations of a new technology.

Before the film distribution system started to function in 1908, film screenings in Taiwan were run by touring film exhibitors, mostly native Japanese from the homeland, and a handful of Taiwanese who had returned from Tokyo after learning projection skills, then bringing back projectors and films. Early film screenings, an activity usually performed together with other entertainments, were no doubt mainly for profit. However, some Japanese rulers had envisioned the use of motion pictures as a tool of educating (or brainwashing) people of the newly acquired colony.

In 1900, Takamatsu Toyojirō was invited by the director of civil adminis-

tration, Gotō Shimpei (March 1898–October 1906), to tour Taiwan, exhibiting films on behalf of the colonial government.

According to Kappei Matsumoto, Takamatsu was involved in the labor movement in the late 1890s and early 1900s in Japan. In order to circumvent constraints set by the Police Security Act (*chian jiji hō*) of 1900, Takamatsu used verbal *rakugo* entertainment and, later, phonographs and film projectors to carry the movement's messages to the public. Matsumoto cited many sources confirming that Prime Minister Itō Hirobumi (January 1898–June 1898, and October 1900–May 1901), who had noticed Takamatsu's mixed usage of filmed images and speech in 1900, encouraged Takamatsu to show films in the newly acquired colony of Taiwan.⁵

Itō obviously realized the potential of using film as an instrument to enlighten or discipline Japanese from the homeland, and to persuade or indoctrinate Taiwanese to accept Japanese colonial rule. Although Takamatsu was involved in socialist activities, Itō had persuaded Takamatsu not to worry about his leftist background, convincing him that social security and propaganda work in Taiwan required his service.

Takamatsu took an exploratory trip to the island colony in October 1901. He showed films depicting battles of the 1899 Boer War, and the 1900 Boxer Rebellion in Peking, by the Eight-Nation Alliance, to local officials and the gentry, as well as to paying audiences in the major cities of Taiwan.⁶

Such efforts proved, at least on surface, successful to a certain extent. According to a report in *Taiwan Daily News* (*Taiwan nichinichi shimpō*), local administrators and gentry at a screening in a northern town enthusiastically applauded the marvelous scenes from the Battle of Peking.⁷ Such were obviously occasions for propaganda, using film to show native Taiwanese that their former motherland had been defeated once again by foreign nations, including imperial Japan.

After the short exhibition tour, Takamatsu returned to Tokyo to start a career as writer-producer of social satire films (called "social puck films") for his own Social Puck Motion Pictures Association.⁸ Meanwhile, he was also preparing for annual exhibition trips to Taiwan, which commenced in January 1904, just before the Russo-Japanese War. Takamatsu arrived in the port of Kiryū (Keelung) to start the tour screening of films in Taiwan. While showing the films, he constantly made speeches about labor issues and criticized Japanese officials' behavior in Taiwan. It was obviously due to his relationships with both Itō Hirobumi and Gotō Shimpei that Takamatsu was spared punishment by the police.⁹

The focus in the early years of the fourth governor-general, Kodama Gentarō, and his chief civilian administrator, Gotō Shimpei, was to lay foundations for civil institutions. Educational planning was considered a fundamental part of those measures to establish civil rule. Through the educational system instituted in Meiji Japan, the colonial government hoped to train the population in basic literacy, economic usefulness, and political obedience.¹⁰ Film was used as a medium outside the educational system to win support for the new regime. The use of film by the colonial government, through businessmen such as Takamatsu, was no doubt propaganda.

However, films shown by Takamatsu's projection units in the early 1900s were also meant to enlighten native Taiwanese. Annually Takamatsu would assemble a few dozen narrative and nonfiction shorts from Japan and the West to show audiences in Taiwan "great scientific inventions, advanced civilizations, as well as heritage, scenery, humanities, and the state of Japan and the world."¹¹ No doubt Takamatsu intended to use film screenings as a novelty to attract native Taiwanese, in order to teach them what the "civilized" way of life was like in Japan and the West.

In 1905, Takamatsu showed a newsreel of the Russo-Japanese War during his tour in ten locations across Taiwan. The screenings became a sensation everywhere they were held. Total donations of 100,000 yen for national defense were gathered during this touring film exhibition.¹² Obviously, the colonial government took the opportunity of these screenings not only to collect donations from colonized native Taiwanese, but also to show them that Japan had the power to defeat Russia, and thus was able to persuade Taiwanese to submit to Japanese rule. In contrast to what other Asians saw, the victory of Japan (a developing Asian country) over Russia (a major European power) "as a portent for their own prospects of breaking free of colonial rule,"¹³ the newsreel of the Russo-Japanese War was used by the Japanese colonizer to strengthen its colonial rule in Taiwan.

The newly colonized Taiwanese audience never imagined that the Japanese army had the ability to defeat the Russians. In fact, Fujii Shizue pointed out that when the Russo-Japanese War broke out, the Government-General of Taiwan immediately issued restrictions on reporting the event, for fear that people in Taiwan might find out that the funds for engaging in war were insufficient, because of financial difficulties of the imperial government. There were rumors all over Taiwan about the Japanese capability of ruling Taiwan. People began to sell their bonds and buy silver coins in frenzy. In order to solve the financial crisis, the Government-General of

Taiwan started a monetary reform, unifying the monetary system of Taiwan with that of Japan.¹⁴

Therefore, it is dubious that Taiwanese could be so impressed by scenes depicted in a Japanese-made newsreel of the Russo-Japanese War that they would decide to succumb to Japanese rule. Though it might be an exaggeration to say that the attitudes of colonized Taiwanese toward their Japanese colonizer could change so drastically after watching a film, the incident does illuminate that such film exhibition was a well-calculated opinion-changing activity used by the colonial government. The success in Taiwan of such newsreels confirms the wisdom of Japanese politicians in realizing film's potential "as a political tool in the management of empire."¹⁵

In the middle years of the first decade of the century, with native Taiwanese rebellions largely subdued, the use of film by the colonial government started to switch from enlightenment or persuasion of local populace to promotion of government policy.

With the arrival of the fifth governor-general, Sakuma Samata (April 1906–May 1915), in 1906, the policy of the Government-General of Taiwan emphasized wiping out the "raw aborigines."¹⁶ Sakuma's first five-year "Administering Aborigines Plan" (1906–1910) used a carrot-and-stick policy, which failed miserably, thus forcing the second five-year "Administering Aborigines Plan" (1910–1915) to move toward fierce military suppression. To support the colonial government's new policy, the early objective of the Taiwan chapter of the Japanese women's group Patriotic Women's Association (PWA), an intermediary organization of the Government-General of Taiwan, was mainly to comfort soldiers and support the war-bereaved families of those involved in fighting indigenous peoples deep in the mountains of Taiwan.

The Patriotic Women's Association (*Aikoku fujinkai*) was established in Japan in 1901 by Okumura Ioko, following her experiences as a member of the imperial comfort delegation to Beijing and Tianjin when the Boxer Rebellion broke out in 1900. The objectives of the organization were primarily to comfort soldiers and support war-bereaved families. Its strong ties with the imperial family made it very popular among the social elites. Local chapters of the organization quickly spread throughout Japan. Chapters in Taichū (Taichung), Tainan, and Taihoku (Taipei) were set up in 1904. The main Taiwan chapter was finally established in 1905. Its membership mainly consisted of the wives of Japanese high officers and businessmen, as well as the wives of Taiwan gentry and social elites. The early film exhibition busi-

ness of Takamatsu Toyojirō was strongly linked to Taiwan's PWA chapter.

In 1909, in order to raise funds to help it carry out its cause, while at the same time enlightening local residents, the Taiwan PWA chapter established a motion pictures section, supported by Takamatsu, who agreed to organize screenings for nine consecutive days in September in Taipei, followed by screenings throughout Taiwan during the next seven months.¹⁷ The great success of this plan prompted the Taiwan PWA to decide not only to continue the touring film screenings on a regular basis, but also to set up five projection groups within its motion pictures section, to handle film exhibitions across Taiwan. Takamatsu Toyojirō's company, Taiwan Dōjinsha, was once again commissioned to organize all the screenings. Thus, Takamatsu made a great fortune between 1909 and 1915.

The Taiwan PWA became involved not only in the business of exhibiting films, but also in making newsreels, for which Takamatsu's Dōjinsha was also commissioned. According to Ōhashi, in July and October 1910 a camera crew, led by famous cameraman Tsuchiya Tsunekichi, was recruited from Japan to film the military operations against the Atayal "raw aborigines" who were living in the deep northern Taiwan mountains.¹⁸ These military operations were exercised under Governor-General Sakuma's second five-year "Administrating Aborigines Plan."

The newsreels they made were shown first to Governor-General Sakuma and Civil Administration Director Uchida Kakichi (August 1910–October 1915), and soon afterward to soldiers, police, students, and the general public in Taiwan, for propaganda and fund-raising purposes. The newsreels were shown two years later to the press and PWA members at their main office in Tokyo. Special screenings of the films were also arranged for the House of Lords, House of Representatives, and other officials who were concerned with Taiwan.¹⁹ To officially introduce these films to the Japanese society, Uchida Kakichi held a press conference in Tokyo's famous restaurant Seiyo-ken and screened the films to journalists.²⁰ Such activities attest to the fact that the Taiwan PWA indeed acted as an intermediary civilian organization producing propaganda films on behalf of the Governor-General's Office, which did not set up its own film projection section until 1914.

These newsreels were also shown later in the Takushoku (Colonization) Expo held in Tokyo's Ueno Park in October and November 1912. A report in the *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* (October 4) states that the films revealed Taiwan indigenous peoples' savage custom of "head-hunting" and how hard Japanese

soldiers and police fought against the “fearsome” natives, finally forcing the “raw aborigines” to surrender by bombarding their villages.²¹

A total of seven films from Taiwan were screened in the Expo. Among them, only one film about sugar companies and Port Takao was related to industrial development in Taiwan. All the rest are about the indigenous culture and the military operation against the “raw aborigines.”²² In comparison, films screened in the Expo that are related to other colonized territories such as Chōsen (Korea), Kantoshu (Kwantung Leased Territory in Manchuria), and Karafuto (Sakhalin) all showed the “development” of these territories under Japanese rule, and prospects for their future industrial development. The fact that newsreels depicting the suppression of Taiwan’s indigenous peoples were featured as representative images of Taiwan in the Expo shows how eagerly the colonial government wanted to legitimize its forcible suppression of the Indigenes.²³ Exhibiting these films in Taiwan and Japan had obviously been aimed at enhancing support locally and nationally for suppressing Taiwan indigenous peoples by military means.

A special screening of the films was also arranged for the former director of civil administration, Gotō Shimpei (now minister of communication).²⁴ According to Fujii Shizue, the imperial government led by Prime Minister Katsura Tarō (July 1908–August 1911) and Minister of Communication Gotō Shimpei (July 1908–August 1911) originally took no interest in supporting Governor-General Sakuma’s suppression of indigenous peoples by military means. They changed their position after Emperor Meiji, backed by the most prominent statesman, (*Genrō*) Yamagata Aritomo, supported Sakuma’s plan. The Imperial Diet followed suit and passed a fifteen-million-yen budget needed for the second five-year “Administrating Aborigines Plan” (1910–1915).²⁵

This is additional evidence that film was primarily considered by the colonial government to be an instrument of propaganda. In total, between 1909 and 1912, the Taiwan PWA completed three field shootings, ending up with twenty film titles.²⁶

Another reason for the motion pictures section of Taiwan’s PWA to make their 1912 trip to Tokyo, besides showing the newsreels, was to film the activities of a group of fifty-three Taiwan “aborigines” who were visiting Japan.²⁷ Ōhashi Sutesaburō mentioned that this new documentary film was later shown to (and had astonished) their fellow “aborigines” in Taiwan.²⁸

This was the fourth time such “mainland sightseeing” (*naichi kankō*) ac-

tivity had been sponsored by the colonial government. Although “mainland sightseeing” (inviting leaders of Taiwan’s indigenous peoples to visit modernized Japan) had been sponsored by the Taiwan colonial government since 1897,²⁹ it became policy in 1910, under the chief of the Police Bureau and head of aboriginal affairs, Ōtsu Rinpei.³⁰ The activities of these aboriginal leaders in modernized Japan, such as sightseeing in the city and visiting military facilities, were filmed and shown to indigenous audiences, who otherwise never would have had such an opportunity.

The purpose of “mainland sightseeing” or “aborigine sightseeing” (*banjin kankō*), as it related to visiting modernized cities in Taiwan by their leaders, was to persuade indigenous people to fear (and not fight against) the mighty military power of great imperial Japan. Showing the filmed record and testimony of their leaders in Japan to indigenous mountain tribes was considered an effective way of convincing “aborigines” to accept Japanese rule. Such usage testifies to the purpose of film for the colonial government in ruling the Aborigines: mainly propaganda.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE ACTUAL CONDITIONS IN TAIWAN

Utilizing film as a propaganda tool by the colonial government to convince or persuade local Taiwan residents and to inform mainland Japanese, actually started much earlier. A film titled *An Introduction to the Actual Conditions in Taiwan* (*Taiwan jikkyō shōkai*, 1907) was commissioned by the Government-General of Taiwan from Takamatsu’s company in 1907. In only two months the camera crew shot more than 20,000 feet of negatives of the actual conditions (and a staged scene about subjugating a tribe of “raw aborigines”) of the colonial administration, industrial development, civilian lives, and all types of scenery in more than one hundred locations around Taiwan.

According to Ichikawa, the film was used by the colonial government to brief the representatives during a budgetary subcommittee meeting in the Imperial Diet (*teikoku gikai*).³¹ If such was the case, it was obviously a film report by the colonial government to the imperial government, as well as to the people of mainland Japan.

The film was also screened in the “Taiwan Hall” at the 1907 Tokyo Industrial Exposition, and toured all over Japan afterward with a performance group composed of Taiwanese singers and an orchestra, as well as Tsou ab-

origine performers.³² The film and live performances were clearly used in the same manner as other custom, cultural, and industrial items exhibited in the Exposition (and the previous 1903 Osaka Industrial Exposition) as proof of the modernized, progressive results of Japanese colonization in Taiwan, as well as an introduction to homeland Japanese about the excellent results of the colonial government's acculturation and industrialization policies.³³

Many Japanese politicians considered their success in Taiwan as "proof of her worthiness to be admitted into the community of the world's great colonial powers."³⁴ Therefore, a film such as *An Introduction to the Actual Conditions in Taiwan* was important evidence for the colonial government to show the central government, as well as the general public, that the money spent in the Taiwan colonial adventure was worth every penny.

The success of *An Introduction to the Actual Conditions in Taiwan* in 1907 obviously encouraged the Government-General of Taiwan to continue commissioning Takamatsu³⁵ or assisting cameramen from mainland Japan to produce newsreels and propaganda films on various administrative subjects in Taiwan.³⁶ It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude that before the 1920s, film was used mostly as evidential proof of the accomplishment of the Government-General or as a propaganda tool by the colonial government.

Not until the late 1910s was film again used by the Government-General of Taiwan for enlightenment purposes. This may be attributed to the fact that before 1918, education for local residents was not highly valued by the colonial government in Taiwan. According to Yanaihara, the colonial government policy before 1918 was mainly to keep security and stability, to develop industrial capitalism, and to establish the power of bureaucracy and capitalists, all through autocratic police rule.³⁷

By 1918, education was emphasized under Governors-General Akashi Motojirō (June 1918–October 1919) and Den Kenjirō (October 1919–September 1923), who both actively pursued an assimilation policy. According to the 1919 Education Rescript, the purpose of education was to cultivate loyal subjects and good citizens. To achieve this purpose, Japanese language became both the means and the content of education in Taiwan. Yanaihara indicated that teaching Japanese in education institutions served three purposes: (1) as a communication tool; (2) as a means to develop culture; and (3) as a means of assimilation.³⁸

Baskett points out that in the early 1910s officials of the colonial government (and independent distributors and exhibitors like Takamatsu) believed that film should be used to improve the lives of the population by

educating them about modern life in Japan.³⁹ However, such a description seems more applicable to the colonial officials of 1919. It should be emphasized that the main purpose of education was not necessarily to benefit the colonized Taiwanese, but to “subjectify” them so they would be loyal to the Japanese empire. Education was to further the disconnection between Taiwan and China that had already been achieved by trade and tariff barriers between Taiwan and China after twenty-five years of colonial rule.⁴⁰ To Taiwan intellectuals, this policy of ridding them of their own culture was an injury to their national dignity.

After 1914, two important departments of the colonial government most often used films in promoting the government’s policy—namely, the Ministry of Educational Affairs and the Bureau of Police Affairs.⁴¹ However, before August 1917 both bureaus were only able to screen films either purchased from homeland Japan and Western nations, or made by commissioned filmmakers such as Takamatsu.

It should be noted that before the end of 1915, the Taiwan PWA was the major institution to tour screenings of administration-backed films. However, in early 1916 the Taiwan PWA abolished its motion pictures section, to avoid conflict of interest with burgeoning local film exhibiting businesses. By the end of the year, all of the Taiwan PWA films were transferred to another intermediary organization of the colonial government, the Taiwan Education Society (Taiwan kyōiku-kai), which was established by the Ministry of Educational Affairs. In a way, the Taiwan Education Society took over the role played by the Taiwan PWA in the use of film for public education purposes.

THE TAIWAN EDUCATION SOCIETY AND ITS USE OF FILM IN SOCIAL EDUCATION

The educational use of film by the Ministry of Educational Affairs in conjunction with the Taiwan Education Society began in December 1914. Thereafter, screenings were delegated to the Taiwan Education Society, making it the main administration-based organization to produce and exhibit nonfiction films in Taiwan through the 1920s.

The Taiwan Education Society (TES) was founded in March 1901 by educators and administrators. In 1907 it became an administration-based organization, executing works commissioned by the Ministry of Educa-

tional Affairs. Its budget was allocated by the Education Ministry, with the governor-general serving as its president and the minister of educational affairs as its director.⁴²

After 1910, the major functions of the TES were shifted from scholastic research to more practical work, such as holding an annual ceremony to honor deceased Japanese educators in Taiwan, popularizing the Japanese language, conducting seminars with renowned intellectuals for members and community, creating interest in world affairs and other important knowledge, as well as combining film screenings with popular education speeches to achieve better popular educational effects.⁴³ Such a shift may have been caused by the need found by the Ministry of Educational Affairs for the Taiwanese general population to understand the Japanese language through various means of public education.

By the 1910s, the colonial government had realized that the percentage of those with the ability to understand the Japanese language among the local population was less than desirable.⁴⁴ Some Japanese officials believed that those who did not speak Japanese were limited by traditional Chinese ways of living, in their spiritual, professional, social, or family lives. Moreover, very few young Taiwanese were educated in schools or other organizations.⁴⁵ Therefore, encouraging local people to learn and use Japanese continued to be a major objective of the colonial government from the late 1910s on. Some form of social education for the uneducated young population was considered vital. Among all vehicles used for social education, film was considered one of the most important.⁴⁶ At the time, film had already been used occasionally as a supplement to language instruction in the classroom. The colonial government thought that film was so closely related to the lives of the general public that it could be used to influence them.⁴⁷

In 1914, a motion pictures unit was established in the TES's popular education section. Educational films were purchased, and screenings were held frequently in major cities, as well as in remote locations throughout Taiwan and the offshore islands, beginning in 1915. By 1917, the number of screenings had risen to fifty-two, with a total audience of 96,000.⁴⁸ A report to the Assembly of the Taiwan Education Society later that year put the number of viewers at nearly 120,000 for the ninety-one screenings held in 1916 and 1917.⁴⁹

Such use of film as a tool for social education was very different from that of the Ministry of Education in Japan. According to Peter High, it was not until around 1919 that the Ministry in Japan finally began to use film

as part of its social education program aimed at staving off the domestic “Red Menace.”⁵⁰ The more advanced use of film for social education in colonial Taiwan can be attributed to the special circumstances in the colony. As one scholar argued at the time, the island populace, due to their different languages and culture, required a more intuitive media, like film, to change their attitudes and mentality through the eyes and ears.⁵¹

Even though most of the titles screened by the TES in the 1910s were in essence educational, such as *Civilized Agriculture*, *Students in Sports*, *Automobile Racing*, *Zoo*, and *Observatory and Astronomy*, some films were used to promote patriotic feelings about the Emperor and imperial Japan. This was actually one of the important functions of the TES.

In fact, promoting loyalty to the emperor and the state, with the implication that the emperor *was* the state, had been incorporated in school and social education in Taiwan since late 1890s. The 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education (*Kyōiku ni kansuru chokugo*), which stresses that the loyalty of subjects contributes to the prosperity of the Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth, was translated into Chinese, and the administrative order (*kunrei*) that required students to study and memorize the 315-character text was promulgated in February 1897. The colonial government hoped to strengthen local students’ loyalty to the empire through ceremonial reading of the document in front of the royal pictures of the emperor and empress.⁵²

The date the Rescript was signed by Emperor Meiji had been designated “Education Day” by the colonial government. Ever since then, every year on October 30 the TES would hold a ceremony celebrating Education Day. When the motion pictures unit was formed in 1914, the TES would also screen “educational” films in public places throughout the island on the evening of Education Day. Thus, film was used to promote the idea of “education” to the general public in conjunction with a ceremony and other formal activities.

In February 1916, having purchased a lengthy film (more than 3,500 feet) about Emperor Taishō’s accession ceremony, the Land Tenure Foundation for Education (*gakuso zaidan*) leased it to the Taiwan Education Society. The TES quickly arranged thirty screenings, showing the film to more than twenty-eight thousand elementary school students and their parents within one month, all over Taipei.⁵³ The purpose of these screenings was for Taiwanese schoolchildren and adults to know that they must “venerate the Royal Family and understand the essence of the national polity,” according to the report in *Taiwan Education*. It is, therefore, correct for Misawa to

point out that it was Japanese nationalism (and modernity) behind the use of motion pictures in popular (social) education by the TES.⁵⁴ The formal screening of the 1916 accession ceremony film was the most symbolic example. In 1921, in a similar way the TES screened throughout Taiwan a film about the European visit of the crown prince. Nearly forty-three thousand viewers attended the eleven screenings.⁵⁵

The salute to the royal family had its climax in 1923 when the crown prince paid a visit to the island colony. The royal visit in April lasted twelve days. The TES had already sent cameramen to Tokyo to film the crown prince's departure from the royal residence in Akasaka. Eventually the TES made a fifteen-thousand-foot film about the royal visit to Taiwan. The TES proudly presented the film to Emperor Taishō and the crown prince for their review.⁵⁶ Afterward, the film was widely exhibited across Taiwan, "so that the population of the island were able to humbly revere the Holy goodness of the Crown Prince," according to Toda Seizō, head of the TES's motion pictures unit, in an article.⁵⁷

Four months after the royal visit, a 7.9 magnitude earthquake hit Tokyo. The devastating 1923 Great Kantō Earthquake and the blazing aftermath killed at least one hundred thousand people. The disaster caused all subsequent celebrations in Taiwan that year to become occasions for donations to aid "fellow compatriots in the Homeland."⁵⁸ This explains why there were very few reports in *Taiwan Education*, the organ of the TES, on the film screenings about the crown prince's Taiwan visit.⁵⁹ Yet a great number of copies of the film had actually been made and sent to each local government (*shū* that administered more developed areas or *chō* that administered marginal areas). Most of the island's population went to a screening of the film almost simultaneously in late 1923.⁶⁰

In order for each *shū* or *chō* to do its work in popularizing social education in Taiwan, the TES had already purchased projectors and donated one to each local government in 1922, along with a subsidy to purchase or rent films to show to the public the following year.⁶¹ This policy made the screening of educational films very popular during the 1920s and 1930s.

The screening of education films on the island in early 1920s coincided with the film education movement in Japan, which started in 1917–1918 when film entrepreneurs, cameramen, and some operational officers in the government spontaneously produced documentaries and newsreels for educational, enlightenment, and informational purposes.⁶² The film recommendation movement and the motion pictures exposition sponsored by the

Ministry of Education in 1921 finally promoted the educational usage of film into a movement. However, such a movement would not be promoted in Taiwan until 1930, when the TES earned the status of independent incorporated association.

Meanwhile, the Taiwan Education Society was only able to screen films before August 1917. This means that the TES either had to purchase educational films from homeland Japan and the Western nations, or its film productions had to be commissioned to outside filmmakers. Takamatsu Toyojirō's company *Dōjinsha*, for example, was hired by the TES to film the 1916 Taiwan Industrial Exhibition celebrating the twentieth anniversary of Japanese colonial rule.⁶³

The 1916 Taiwan Industrial Exhibition was the first major exhibition held in Taiwan by the Japanese colonial government since its rule over Taiwan began in 1895. It was also the first time the Government-General of Taiwan opened its door to homeland Japanese, as well as to people from other countries. The event was carefully planned and executed. Dignitaries, including members of the royal family, former governors-general, and high officials of the current Government-General of Taiwan, were invited to attend.

The film produced for the 1916 Industrial Exhibition by Takamatsu's *Dōjinsha*, however, shifted its focus from the Exhibition itself to the visit by HRH Prince Kan'in-no-miya Kotohito Shin'nō, younger brother of Emperor Meiji, and his wife. On the surface, such a major shift in the focus of the documentary film might sound abrupt and strange. Yet it once again confirms the preference for patriotism and nationalism (through paying reverence to the emperor and the royal family) over anything else in the TES's social education program. More than ten thousand feet of negative was shot. The content of the film, with the exception of exteriors, interiors, and night views of the Industrial Exhibition halls, was primarily shots of Prince Kotohito and his wife, including their arrival at the Taihoku (Taipei) Train Station, their visits to the opening ceremony, Taiwan Jinja, the Red Cross, and Taichū Park, their receiving aborigines, and so forth.⁶⁴

The great success of the educational and other nonfiction film screenings in the first decade of the century had obviously prompted the TES to produce films with its own crews. Such a major shift might have also been due to Takamatsu's departure from Taiwan in 1917.⁶⁵ In August of that year, Hagiya Kenzō, a veteran cameraman working for the M. Kashī Company, was recruited from Tokyo to be a staff technician in the TES.⁶⁶ Hagiya's

previous shooting of the 1916 Taiwan Industrial Exhibition film, produced by Takamatsu's Dōjinsha, had tremendously impressed the TES.⁶⁷

By mid-September of 1917, Hagiya was already busy filming events in the Taipei area, such as military training, children practicing at the Kote Shō swimming site next to the Shinten (Hsintien) River, and scenes in the Taipei zoo.⁶⁸ At the end of 1917, Hagiya had already filmed important events including the visit in October by HRH Prince Kitashirakawa-no-miya Naruhisa and his wife, and the Hygiene Exhibition in Taichū in November.⁶⁹

Filming the Hygiene Exhibition shows the perceived need to promote popular awareness of hygiene.⁷⁰ Epidemic diseases had been serious issues during the early years of colonial rule. In fact, "Taiwan had long experienced plague, malaria, cholera, dysentery, and numerous other contagious diseases."⁷¹ Many scholars have pointed out that more Japanese soldiers died from contagious diseases than on the battlefield when Japan took over Taiwan in 1895.⁷² Many Taiwanese, however, either believed in supernatural means to cure disease, or just ignored the colonial government's sanitation campaigns, such as rat extermination. Therefore, the Japanese authorities started to "educate people" by issuing administrative orders, public lecturing, and holding exhibitions.⁷³

The motion pictures unit of the TES worked closely with the authorities behind the Hygiene Exhibition, not only by making a documentary of the event, but also by being actively involved in the social education part by designing and reenacting various ways people could become infected with malaria.⁷⁴ After that, the motion pictures unit led by Hagiya was instrumental in producing films about epidemic diseases, as well as promoting social awareness of how to prevent them.

For example, in July 1919, when cholera started to spread across Taiwan, the TES sent its cameraman to gather material about the treatment of cholera patients at the Mackay Memorial Hospital in Taihoku. At the request of the Taihoku Chō, the TES screened the film in Taihoku and vicinity, including Kiryū (Keelung) and other cholera-infected areas, in late August and September 1919. Each screening was accompanied by speeches from government-employed or practicing local physicians.

The great success of such endeavors prompted the TES to continue holding screenings across Taiwan to propagate the concept of hygiene among the general public.⁷⁵ In 1919, the unit held sixty-seven screenings about such topics in different parts of Taiwan, with more than 125,000 el-

ementary schoolchildren attending.⁷⁶ The especially high attendance that year was unusual, because in years without the serious threat of epidemics, the motion pictures unit held fewer screenings with smaller audiences. For example, in 1920 there were only nineteen screenings with about seventy thousand people attending.

By 1918, Japan experienced the so-called Taishō Democracy, after Hara Takashi (September 1918–November 1921) became the first “commoner” prime minister. Military staffs were replaced by civil servants as governors-general of Taiwan. Consequently, Taiwan had its first civil servant, Den Kenjiro, as governor-general in 1919. In the context of the “extension of Japan proper policy” (*naichi enchō shugi*), that is, the policy of ruling Taiwan in the same fashion as homeland Japan, which was initiated by Prime Minister Hara, Governor-General Den Kenjiro began a large-scale reform to integrate the colony into Japan proper.

Before accepting the governor-generalship, Den Kenjiro explained to Hara that an important part of his assimilation policy was educating the Taiwanese to be pure Japanese. Upon assuming his duties in Taiwan, Den proclaimed that Japanization of Taiwan and assimilation of the Taiwanese were the goals of his administration.⁷⁷ Taiwanese people were to achieve political equality with the Japanese, so long as the colony could reach a level of development similar to that of Japan.⁷⁸ Consequently, the Education Rescript of 1922, also known as an integration rescript, was promulgated by Governor-General Den to abolish the policy of separating Japanese and Taiwanese students based on their race. The curriculum of the public schools, which local Taiwanese attended, was brought closer to that of Japanese students’ primary schools. The most important change was the addition of Japanese history. The declared objectives of teaching Japanese history to Taiwanese students were to provide a general introduction to the “national polity” and to cultivate “national spirit” (*kokumin seishin*).⁷⁹ This would prepare the Taiwanese to devote themselves to the emperor and imperial Japan in wartime.

In 1922, after the promulgation of the new Education Rescript, the Government-General started rural reform to improve the quality of local manpower. Film screenings were considered a vital part of the program.⁸⁰ In order to popularize social education, the TES started to hold training sessions for the staff of local governments that were responsible for such affairs. Twenty-six clerks attended the ten-day session in May 1922, held in the second-floor canteen of the Governor-General’s Office.⁸¹ Students studied

not only handling of film and operating projectors, but also the history and development of movies, principles of motion picture cameras and projectors, as well as the aesthetics, sociology, and the psychology of film.⁸² As part of the Government-General's efforts, many of the local governments started their own film projection training after 1923, with assistance from the TES's motion pictures unit. By the early 1930s, similar training sessions would be held for employees of other governmental institutions, such as schools and the tax bureau.⁸³

Interestingly enough, it was around the same time that schools, organizations, and local governments in Japan proper also began to utilize film for education or propaganda purposes. Film was used in both school and social education. In urban and rural areas alike, film screening was extremely popular. In order to enlighten the populace, the Ministry of Education held a training session on motion picture projection techniques in Ueno, Tokyo, in August 1924,⁸⁴ almost two years after the TES's similar training sessions held in the governor-general's office building. Once again, Taiwan was more advanced than mainland Japan in the use of film for education and propaganda.

Though most of the public screenings (and some special screenings for the Governor-General's Office) were still held by the motion pictures unit of the TES, starting in October 1922 some screenings were supported by local governments.⁸⁵ By 1924, most of the screenings for public education had already been taken over by the local governments' projection units,⁸⁶ and by 1930, screenings by local film associations were very common. For example, the Taichū Shū Film Association held 538 screenings in 1930, with more than 220,000 in attendance.⁸⁷

To facilitate public education through film in rural areas, beginning in 1922 the Internal Affairs Bureau (Naimukyoku) used its budget for social affairs to purchase educational films for the TES to screen throughout the island, and gave selected films to local governments to do their own screenings.⁸⁸ Head of the motion pictures unit Toda pointed out that the TES made sure each local government received the best possible educational films for regular screenings.⁸⁹

By the mid-1920s the TES would produce about twenty-five films annually using its own cameramen, and purchase another twenty or so Japanese and foreign educational films.⁹⁰ By March 1924, the TES had already made eighty-four films with its own cameramen.⁹¹ Though most of the films were about topics related to Taiwan and homeland Japan, fourteen of them

(about 17 percent) were records of political events;⁹² eleven films (13 percent) depicted local agriculture and fishery products; twenty-two (26 percent) were about cities, offshore islands, scenery, and transportation; five promoted good hygiene and prevention of epidemic diseases; and five showed sports events, mostly athletic meets. Films representing cultural affairs were very few.⁹³ Only three films were directly related to education.⁹⁴ This clearly indicated that the use of film by the Taiwan Education Society was, like its predecessor, the Patriotic Women's Association, for political and propagandistic purposes, rather than educational.

FUTILE EFFORTS BY THE TES TO PROMOTE MODERN IMAGES OF TAIWAN

The Taiwan Education Society not only produced and showed films about mainland Japan to Taiwanese adults and schoolchildren, it also produced and showed films about Taiwan to Japanese in the homeland. In 1920 the Taiwan Education Society started promoting favorable images of Taiwan as one of its functions. Misawa notes that the TES played a dual role in Taiwan—on one hand, it imported the content of Japanese nationalism from mainland Japan; on the other hand, it had to create content representing a positive picture of Taiwan and export it to mainland Japan.⁹⁵

In March and April 1920 the TES dispatched a four-man group to Kyushu and Tokyo with the purpose of presenting the actual situations of Taiwan. A report in *Taiwan Education* on the “Introducing Current Situations in Taiwan” (*Taiwan jijō shōkai*) project once again reveals the frustration felt by the colonial government and Japanese residents in Taiwan about Taiwan's tarnished image in the eyes of the mainland Japanese:

Even today, twenty-five years after colonization, in homeland Japan Taiwan is still thought to be an inferno—with mountains filled with jungle diseases, and plagued with malaria, constantly in danger of your head being hunted by the savages. One of the reasons for such a misconception to continue is the lack of a factual introduction to today's Taiwanese culture for mainland residents. Consequently, when one tries to invite people from the mainland to work in Taiwan, either in the field of education or any other profession, tangentially they feel the environment in Taiwan is not very convenient.⁹⁶

“In order to eliminate such misunderstanding, to enhance the willingness of the inland people to come to Taiwan to contribute to the development of education and other fields in Taiwan, as well as to understand the relationship between Taiwan (as a southern territory of the empire) and the power of the Japanese empire,” the TES felt a need to dispatch a group to homeland Japan to reveal the actual situation of Taiwan.⁹⁷

Each propaganda session consisted of one or two speeches in the daytime and a film screening in the evening. The film the TES showed included shots of aboriginal children riding on small crafts to attend school, which was said to be the most attractive scene to audiences in Japan proper.⁹⁸

In Kyushu, audiences for evening film screenings were much greater than for the morning and afternoon speeches, which were aimed at government officials, entrepreneurs, intellectuals, teachers, and students. An estimated forty-one thousand people attended the screenings in Kyushu.⁹⁹ Screenings in Tokyo were more political, in the sense that some sessions were arranged exclusively for the royal family, entrepreneurs, and intelligentsia. Some former and current high officials of the government of Taiwan, including Gotō Shimpei, came to Tokyo specifically to address audiences before the film screenings. Two sessions in Hibiya Park, attended by an estimated eighteen thousand people, indicate the project’s popularity.

The Tokyo screenings were highlighted by a special screening for the crown prince and other princes.¹⁰⁰ According to Misawa, the Taiwan Education Society associated its activities with the royal family in order to enhance the image of Taiwan, and to highlight the importance of its project, “Introducing Current Situations in Taiwan.”¹⁰¹ However, I suspect that the crown prince wanted to see the film depicting actual conditions in Taiwan because he wanted to prepare for his visit to the island five months later.

The success of the first group prompted the TES to dispatch a second group to areas west of Nagoya (including two cities and eleven prefectures) in 1921.¹⁰² To prepare for this project, Toda Seizō, head of the motion pictures unit, and cameraman Hagiya Kenzō spent time shooting beautiful spots and exotic scenery throughout Taiwan, months before their Kansai trip.¹⁰³

Hisazumi Eiichi, head of the 1921 group and a former education official for the Government-General of Taiwan, estimated that the twenty-nine screenings in the fifty-five-stop schedule attracted hundreds of thousands of viewers. During their tour, the group not only showed films introducing actual events in Taiwan, they also brought a camera and shot more than three

thousand feet of film showing stunning scenes and ancient sites, as well as the royal tour to Kyoto and Osaka by the crown prince.

Nonetheless, Hisazumi pointed out that some Japanese viewers had doubts about the purpose of the screenings—whether the colonial government just wanted to solicit teachers and immigrants to live and work in Taiwan. The source of funding for this TES project was also questioned.¹⁰⁴

Such criticisms reveal the limits to using speeches and film screenings to lobby the general populace. Even though the TES and the colonial government continued to participate in major events, such as the 1922 Tokyo Peace Expo, and held several large-scale touring exhibitions between 1924 and 1929 to introduce current developments in the Colony, their efforts seemed to be ineffective.

In 1923, the TES solicited assistance from a nongovernmental organization, the Eastern Association (*Tōyo Kyokai*). After meeting certain criteria, institutes in Japan, Chōsen (Korea), and Manchuria were allowed to borrow films in the “Introducing Current Situations in Taiwan” series from the Eastern Association.¹⁰⁵ The TES connection with the Eastern Association is a particularly interesting development.

Originally established in 1898 by politicians and the financial world as the Taiwan Association (*Taiwan Kyokai*), to help the Japanese government manage its first colony, the Eastern Association changed its name in 1907 after Japan annexed Korea, in order to include Korea and Manchuria as part of its territories of concern. Therefore, showing the “Introducing Current Situations in Taiwan” films to similarly colonized Korea and Manchuria through the Eastern Association carried certain overtones.

It is not known how successful the efforts by the Eastern Association were. However, individual attempts by the TES to introduce Taiwan to Japan via films continued after 1924.¹⁰⁶ Starting in 1925 such films were shown to visiting Japanese educational groups to introduce education in Taiwan. In April and May 1929, the Government-General of Taiwan held exhibitions in Tokyo and Osaka to promote Taiwan. *Traveling Taiwan* (*Taiwan no tabi*), a film produced by the TES, was screened in Osaka in May.¹⁰⁷

A major shift happened in the Taiwan Education Society in January 1931. It became an independent incorporated association that owned land, a building, and a women’s high school. The TES also expanded its internal structure to include six departments: general affairs, accounting, school education, social education, publications, and photography.

The mission of the TES’s photography department would no longer be

restricted to showing and making films for social education. It was enthusiastically involved, beginning in 1931, in the production of educational films to be used as supplementary material with textbooks throughout Japan. For example, a twenty-five-hundred-foot film produced by the TES, entitled *Taiwan*, was designated by the imperial government as an educational film to be used for teaching material in Japan proper, when teaching the subject of Taiwan from the designated textbook.¹⁰⁸ *Taiwan* comprehensively presented geography, agriculture, animal husbandry, fisheries, forest products, and minerals, as well as city and rural scenery, historic places, and modern ports. Its main purpose was to clarify the misconception in Japan about Taiwan that Taihoku (Taipei) was a dangerous place, and that malaria was still widespread.

In 1931 the TES also established a policy to produce its own films about Japan's scenery and ancient sites in conjunction with textbooks. Schools in Taiwan would receive these films from the TES, instead of buying them from film companies in Japan. The TES started to work with teachers in normal schools, primary schools, and public schools in Taihoku to illustrate content concerning Japan proper in textbooks for Taiwan students, helping them better understand their unknown "motherland." It was said to be a necessary step in basic education to cultivate students as Japanese nationals.¹⁰⁹

Ten new titles (8,450 feet) about homeland Japan's scenery and venerable locations were planned in 1931.¹¹⁰ These films were made by the TES for use in classrooms in Taiwan's primary and public schools because textbooks written for children in Japan proper were deemed too distant from the lives of children in Taiwan.

In 1936, eighteen more titles to be used as supplements to textbooks were produced by the TES, among them fifteen films about Japanese scenic spots and ancient sites. These films were used both in school education and in social education. Some titles in the list featuring beautiful Japanese settings and historic locations, as well as the royal tour to Kyoto and Osaka, were actually shot by TES cameramen dispatched in 1921 for the "Introducing Current Situations in Taiwan" project.

Even though the TES boasted about the great success of these films, as well as the events mentioned above, their actual effectiveness is dubious. The misconceptions of mainland Japanese about Taiwan were so deeply rooted that any effort on the part of the colonial government to correct them seemed futile. According to actor Sawamura Kunitaro, as late as 1942, cast and crews of the "national policy" film *Clan of the Sea* (*Umi no gōzoku*, dir.

Arai Ryōhei, 1942) still dreaded going to Taiwan for location shooting because of their stereotypes about it—a place rife with aborigines, poisonous snakes, and malaria.¹¹¹

Nakamura lamented that propaganda efforts by institutions such as the Bureau of Colonial Production (*Shokusankyoku*) had put too much stress on Taiwanese culture, aboriginal dances, and exotic produce, such as bananas, coconuts, betel nuts, and so on, and rarely mentioned industrial products, thus creating misconceptions.¹¹² However, screening *Taiwan*, a film with positive images of industrial development, in elementary schools in Japan proper did not seem to achieve the effects expected by the colonial government in Taiwan.

Twenty-five years of efforts to create a positive image of colonial Taiwan in mainland Japan, starting in 1907 with *An Introduction to the Actual Conditions in Taiwan*, turned out to be an uphill battle by the colonial government and Japanese living in Taiwan. After almost half a century of Japanese rule, Taiwan was still seen by many Japanese in the homeland as a backward area of the empire! No wonder *wansei*, Japanese born and living in Taiwan, were despised by people in Japan proper even after the Second World War.

The Manchurian Incident, and the ensuing Shanghai Incident in January 1932, did not change the direction of the TES's photography department, which continued to make supplementary films and engage in training programs. However, two years later, following the League of Nations' condemnation of the invasion of Manchuria by Japan, the direction of filmmaking and attitudes toward film in Taiwan altered.

Isolation from the world made the Japanese government and military more eager to use film for propaganda purposes, such as "proclamation of a national state of emergency and the need for absolute national unity," to quote from an article in the Home Bureau's Censorship Annual in 1934.¹¹³ In other words, films made by the TES after 1934 showed a tendency to promote patriotism, militarism, and the Japanization of Taiwan.

The use of film by the Taiwan governor-general, and intermediary organizations, thus entered a new phase in film history.

CONCLUSION

Taiwan was imperial Japan's first colony. During the first and last periods, it was ruled by the military, with seventeen years of civilian rule interposed

from 1919 to 1936. Because of these changes of administration, as well as the turbulent political and military events during the first half of the twentieth century in Japan and East Asia, when Taiwan was ruled by the Japanese empire, the colonial government's use of film varied in different administrations and different historical periods. In this chapter, I have illuminated how colonial and imperial policies dictated the ways film functioned in Taiwan between 1895 and 1937. We can also deduce, from the ways film had been used before Japan actively engaged in a prolonged war, variations in the focus of different administrations.

Taiwan was one of the earliest territories in the world to use film for political rule, before Japan's other colonies, such as Korea and Manchuria, let alone the Japan home islands itself.

Differential treatment is the basis for colonial rule. One cannot disregard that during Japanese colonial rule of Taiwan, a master-slave relationship existed between the colonizer and the colonized. All Taiwanese, including the indigenous, were deprived of their subjectivity.¹¹⁴ Thus, as a tool to promote colonial policy, it was natural for film to be used to promote Japanese history and culture, and to help establish identification with the emperor and imperial Japan.

The fifty-year history of film policies of the Government-General in Taiwan may be summarized in three stages: (1) propaganda and enlightenment, between 1900 and 1917, in which films were used to enlighten, and promote government policies among, native Taiwanese, and to promote a modern images of Taiwan among mainland Japanese; (2) social and school education, between 1917 and 1937, at first with emphasis on social education in order to improve the quality of local manpower, and later to make films as supplements to textbooks; (3) propaganda, after 1937, to promote nationalism, militarism, and the policy of Japanization.

Notes

1. Tze-lan Sang took the same view in her recent paper on the state of the field in Taiwan cinema studies. "There are relatively few publications in English that offer a long view of the development of Taiwan cinema." She cited this author's *Historical Dictionary of Taiwan Cinema* (2013) and Guo-juin Hong's *Taiwan Cinema: Contested Nation on Screen* (2011) as two rare examples; Tze-lan Sang, "The State of the Field in Taiwan Film Studies" (presentation at the Second World Congress of Taiwan Studies, London, June 18–20, 2015).

2. Ye's book contains countless errors in fact and far-fetched description or baseless inter-

pretation of historical accounts. Misawa Mamie has pointed out some of these troublesome errors and misinterpretations in her book *The "Screen" under Colonial Rule: The Film Policy in Taiwan in the Japanese Colonial Period (1895–1942)*. One of Ye's most serious mistakes is the claim that Edison's Kinetoscope had been introduced by a Japanese merchant to Taiwan in August 1896, three months earlier than its appearance in Kobe, Japan. Such a claim, highlighted in both Hong's and Zhang's books, was disputed with very strong arguments in Misawa's book; Misawa Mamie, *Zhimindi xia de yinmu: Taiwan zongdufu dianying zhengce zhi yanjiu (1895–1942)* [The "Screen" under Colonial Rule: The Film Policy in Taiwan in the Japanese Colonial Period (1895–1942)] (Taipei: Avanguard Publishing, 2002), 265–268.

3. The Lumière brothers' Cinématographe was shown in Taiwan in June 1900. "Tansuikan getsurei kai yokyōhyō" [A Criticism on the Entertainment Program of Monthly Meeting at Tansui-kan] and "Katsudōshashin" [Motion Pictures], *Taiwan nichinichi shimpō* (Taihoku), June 19, 1900, 5.) It was brought in by a Japanese businessman living in Taipei, Oshima Inoshi, who had invited projectionist Matsuura Shōzō from French Auto Phantom Pictures Association (Futsukoku jidō maboroshi-ga kyōkai) in Osaka to show the Lumières' films in the newly acquired colony. Nine months earlier, in September 1899, an Edison Vitascope was shown in a Taipei theater. ("Jūjikan no katsudōshashin" [Motion Pictures at Jūjikan], *Taiwan nichinichi shimpō* (Taihoku), September 8, 1899, 5.) There was another report in the local newspaper on September 5, which stated that a Cantonese had utilized a "Western Electric Picture Machine" for a show a month ago in a local Chinese community in Taipei. ("Diandeng yingxi" [Electric Lantern Pictures], *Taiwan nichinichi shimpō* (Taihoku), September 5, 1899, 4.) The exact nature of the moving pictures that were shown is not clear, however.

4. Tom Gunning defines "the cinema of attractions," an earlier conception of cinema that dominates cinema until about 1906–1907, "a cinema that bases itself on the quality that Léger celebrated: its ability to show something." Tom Gunning, "The Cinema of Attractions: Early Film, Its Spectator and the Avant-Garde," in *Early Cinema: Space, Frame, Narrative*, ed. Thomas Elsaesser (London: BFI Publishing, 1990), 57.

5. Matsumoto Kappei, *Nihon shakai shugi engekishi: Meiji Taishō hen* [History of Japanese Socialist Theater: Meiji Taishō Part] (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1975), 45–46.

6. Even though no direct evidence can prove it, circumstantial evidence leads Wan-shun Shih to conclude in her article "Takamatsu Toyozirō and the Inauguration of Modern Taiwanese Theater" that Takamatsu indeed came to Taiwan in 1901 to screen films. Such evidence includes a report in *Taiwan nichinichi shimpō* in October 1901 describing a film screening activity held in Taipei, which did not specify the person or organization behind the event. Takamatsu Toyojirō is believed to be the one responsible for it because many sources, including his own articles, stated that Takamatsu came to Taiwan to screen films in (October) 1901. A recent discovery by this author of Takamatsu's approved application of a passport to travel from Tainan, a seaport in Southern Taiwan, to Hong Kong and Xiamen on March 25, 1902 reveals that Takamatsu must have been in Taiwan in late 1901 and stayed on until early 1902. His purpose in traveling to Hong Kong and Xiamen needs further exploration. See "Gekisen katsudōshashinkai"

[Fierce Battle Motion Pictures Screening], *Taiwan nichinichi shimpō* (Taihoku), October 23, 1901, n.p.; Ichikawa Sai, “Taiwan eiga jigyo hatsutatsu shikō” [A Preliminary History of the Taiwan Film Industry], in *Ajia eiga no sōzō oyobi kensetsu* [Creating and Developing an Asian Cinema], edited by Ichikawa Sai (Tokyo: Kokusai Eiga Tsūshinsha Shuppanbu, 1941), 86; and Matsumoto, *Nihon shakai shugi engekishi*, 306.

7. “Huodong huandeng” [Moving Magic Lantern], *Taiwan nichinichi shimpō* (Taihoku), November 21, 1901, 4.

8. Okabe Ryū, ed., *Shiryō: Takamatsu Toyojirō to Okasawara Meihō no gyōseki* (*Nihon eigashi sukō* 9) [Documents: The Business Traces of Takamatsu Toyojirō and Okasawara Meihō (Unedited Manuscripts of Japanese Film History 9)] (Tokyo: Film Library Council, 1974).

9. Matsumoto, *Nihon shakai shugi engekishi*, 306. Gotō was handpicked by Prime Minister Itō Hirobumi to be the chief civilian administrator in Taiwan. It is obvious that Gotō followed Itō’s orders and protected Takamatsu’s film screenings from being harassed by the police in Taiwan.

10. E. Patricia Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895–1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), 10–11.

11. Takamatsu Toyojirō, *Taiwan dōkakai sōsai Itagaki hakusha kukakka kangei no ji* [A Welcome to Count Itagaki, President of the Taiwan Assimilation Society] (Taihoku: Taiwan Dōjinsha, 1914), 6.

12. Ichikawa, “Taiwan eiga jigyo hatsutatsu shikō,” 87.

13. Rotem Kowner, “Between a Colonial Clash and World War Zero: The Impact of the Russo-Japanese War in a global perspective,” in *The Impact of the Russo-Japanese War*, ed. Rotem Kowner (London: Routledge, 2007), 19.

14. Fujii Shizue, *Lifan: Riben zhili Taiwan de jice* [Administering Aborigines: The Strategy of Japanese Rule] (Taipei: Wenyingtang, 1997), 181.

15. Isolde Standish, *A New History of Japanese Cinema: A Century of Narrative Film* (New York: Continuum, 2006), 120.

16. Following the advice of Counselor Mochiji Rokusaburō, the Japanese colonial rulers in an Aboriginal Affairs Committee meeting in 1902 decided to divide Taiwan’s indigenous people into three groups, based on the degree of “evolution” and their “obedience” to Japanese rule: those who had evolved to the standard of the Chinese, lived in the Japanese administrated area, and obeyed Japanese laws were “ripe aborigines” (*jukuban*); those who had evolved somewhat, lived outside the Japanese administrated area, and obeyed Japanese laws, such as paying taxes, were “acculturated aborigines” (*kaban*); “raw aborigines” (*seiban*) were those who had not evolved much, lived outside the Japanese administrated area, and never obeyed the de facto rule of imperial Japan. See Fujii, *Lifan*, 154–157.

17. Films shown in the touring exhibitions were mainly historical drama, samurai stories, and films adapted from family novels. The total number of film titles was between twenty and thirty. See Ōhashi Sutesaburō, *Aikoku Fujinkai Taiwan Honbu enkakushi* [History of the Development of the Patriotic Women’s Association Taiwan Main Office] (Taihoku: Aikoku fujinkai Taiwan honbu, 1941), 137.

18. Ōhashi, *Aikoku Fujinkai Taiwan Honbu enkakushi*, 141–142; Tanaka Jun'ichirō, *Nihoneiga hattatsushi I: katsudōshashin jidai* [A History of the Development of Japanese Cinema I: The Katsudo Shashin Era] (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1961), 89.

19. See Ōhashi, *Aikoku Fujinkai Taiwan Honbu enkakushi*, 142, as well as “Tōban to aikoku fujinkai” [Subjugating the Aborigines and Patriotic Women's Association], *Taiwan nichinichi shimpō* (Taihoku), February 10, 1912, 7; and “Engei: Zenshin-tai katsudō shashin” [Entertainment: Advance Corps' Motion Pictures], *Taiwan nichinichi shimpō* (Taihoku), April 3, 1912, 7.

20. “Santan taru riban no jikkō” [Difficult State of Ruling the Aborigines], *Yomiuri Shimbun*, February 12, 1912, 3.

21. “Shokuminchi to katsudō shashin” [Colony and Motion Pictures], *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun*, October 4, 1912, n.p., quoted in Matsuda Kyoko, *Teikoku no shikō: nihon “teikoku” to taiwan genjūmin* [The Thinking of the Empire: The “Empire” of Japan and Taiwan Indigenous Peoples] (Tokyo: Yūshi-sha, 2014), 173.

22. Titles of these films are *Houses of the Aborigines and Aboriginal Woman in Front of Skull Shed*, *Minister Uchida's Inspection and inside the Village of Gaogan Tribe*, *Building a Bridge to Link Bonbon Mountain*, *Marching Police Troupe*, *Activities of Subjugation Corps*, and *Bombarding Baron Mountain* (Matsuda, *Teikoku no shikō*, 173).

23. Matsuda, *Teikoku no shikō*, 173.

24. Ōhashi, *Aikoku Fujinkai Taiwan Honbu enkakushi*, 141–142.

25. Fujii, *Lifan*, 228.

26. The list of films donated (or deposited) to the Taiwan Education Society showed twenty titles related to the military operations against the aborigines. See “Kaihō: Katsudōshashin fuirumu kizō” [Bulletin: Motion Pictures Films Donation], *Taiwan Education* 176 (1917): 84.

27. See Ōhashi, *Aikoku Fujinkai Taiwan Honbu enkakushi*, 142, as well as “Seiban tsuitachi no yūran” [One Day Sightseeing of Raw Aborigines], *Yomiuri Shimbun*, May 6, 1912, n.p., and “Seiban ikkō kaeru” [The Raw Aborigines Group Returns Home], *Yomiuri Shimbun*, May 13, 1912, 3.

28. Ōhashi, *Aikoku Fujinkai Taiwan Honbu enkakushi*, 142.

29. According to Fujisaki, “mainland sightseeing” began in 1897 when thirteen representatives from four indigenous tribes—Atayal, Bunun, Tsou, and Paiwan—were sent to visit Nagasaki, Osaka, Tokyo, and Yokosuka Port. See Fujisaki Seinosuke, *Taiwan no hanzoku* [Aboriginal Tribes of Taiwan] (Tokyo: Kokushi kankōkai, 1936), 874.

30. Fujii, *Lifan*, 258–261. It should be noted that in 1907 when Takamatsu Toyojirō brought *An Introduction to the Actual Conditions in Taiwan*, a film he produced on behalf of the colonial government, to Japan proper to screen at the Tokyo Industrial Exposition, the Reichstag (teikoku gijidō), Eastern Association, as well as the Yūrakuzā Theater in Tokyo, Kakuza Theater in Osaka, and theaters in other major Japanese cities from Hokkaido in the north to Hokuriku, San'in, Chūgoku, and Kyūshū in the south, he had brought with him five young aborigines from Alisan Mountain to perform indig-

enous dances before the screenings. See reports published in *Yomiuri Shimbun*, October 28, 1907, 3, and “Fanren zhi neidi guanguang” [Aborigines’ Mainland Sightseeing], *Taiwan nichinichi shimpō* (Chinese edition), December 26, 1907, 5, as well as Toyojirō, *Taiwan dōkakai sōsai Itagaki hakusha kukakka kangei no ji*, 10–11. Takamatsu took these indigenous people to famous sightseeing places and visited troops and warships. The young visitors were summoned by Emperor Meiji in the royal residence in Aoyama. They returned to Taiwan at the end of 1907, and were summoned by Governor-General Sakuma before being sent back to Alisan Mountain. Takamatsu called the trip to Japan for the Tsou indigenous “mainland sightseeing” as well.

31. Ichikawa, “Taiwan eiga jigyo hatsutatsu shikō,” 89–90.

32. A report in *Taiwan Daily News* (*Taiwan nichinichi shimpō*) on April 12, 1907 stated that the film would be shown in Taipei in May, and then at the Tokyo Exposition. (“Katsudōshashin satsuei no shūryō” [Photographing of Motion Pictures Ends], *Taiwan nichinichi shimpō*, April 12, 1907, 5.)

33. Hu Chia-yu, “Bolanhui yu Taiwan yuanzhumin: zhimin shiqi de zhanshi zhengzhi yu ‘tazhe’ yixiang” [Great Exhibitions and the Taiwan Indigenous Peoples: The Politics of Representation and the Images of “Others” in the Colonial Period], *Journal of Archaeology and Anthropology* 62 (2004): 8–9.

34. Yosaburō Takekoshi, *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, trans. George Braithwaite (London, New York, Bombay and Calcutta: Longmans, Green and Co. 1907), 2.

35. For example, when films depicting the military operations against the Atayal “raw aborigines” were screened in the PWA’s headquarters in Tokyo in 1912, they were said to include films about the 1911 flood in Taiwan and religious rituals of native Taiwanese as well (“Tōban to aikoku fujinkai”). These films must have been produced by Takamatsu since he was responsible for the screening of these films in Tokyo. Takamatsu’s company Dōjinsha was also hired by the Taiwan Education Society, an intermediary organization of the colonial government, to film the 1916 Taiwan Industrial Exhibition, celebrating the twentieth anniversary of Japanese colonial rule. The film was then brought back to Japan by Takamatsu to screen for the royal family and politicians, before touring across Japan.

36. Two news films related to the colonial government’s conquering activities were shown in theaters in Tokyo respectively in August and October of 1910. M. Pathé’s *Heroes of Taiwan Punitive Expedition* (*Taiwan tōbatsutai no yūshi*) was shown on August 7 in Tokyo’s Engiza Theater. Yokota Company’s *The Actual Conditions of Conquering Taiwan’s Rebels* (*Taiwan dohi seitō no jikkyō*) was shown on October 5 in Tokyo’s Seikaikan Theater. Though there’s not much detail about these two films, considering the tight control of activities regarding military activities in Taiwan at the time, these films might either have been edited from the existing films or have been invited or assisted by the colonial government.

37. Yanaihara Tadao, *Teikoku shugika no Taiwan* [Taiwan under Japanese Imperialism] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1929), 199, 208.

38. Yanaihara, *Teikoku shugika no Taiwan*, 206–207.
39. Michael Baskett, *The Attractive Empire: Transnational Film Culture in Imperial Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 14.
40. Yanaihara, *Teikoku shugika no Taiwan*, 161.
41. Due to the Bureau of Police Affairs' rather limited use of film in administrating "raw aborigines," this chapter will not deal with such usage by the BPA. It will concentrate on the use of film by the Ministry of Educational Affairs of Taiwan colonial government.
42. Some of the TES's budget came from government-related foundations, such as the emperor-endowed Taiwan Beauty Promotion Society Foundation (*onshi zaidan Taiwan saibi-kai*) and the emperor-endowed Taiwan Student Encouragement Society Foundation (*onshi zaidan Taiwan shougaku-kai*), which were both administrated by the Government-General of Taiwan. Some of the money was given specifically for producing or purchasing educational films.
43. *Taiwan gakuji yōran—Taishō yonmen* [Taiwan Educational Affairs Handbook, Taishō Year 4] (Taihoku: Ministry of Educational Affairs, Government-General of Taiwan, 1915), 75–76.
44. According to the Taiwan Education Society, even by early 1930s, almost forty years after colonization, there were still only slightly more than 1 million Taiwanese (around 22 percent of the population) who were able to understand the Japanese language; *Shōwa kyūnen nigatsu Taiwan shakai kyōiku gaiyō* [Summary of Taiwan Social Education—February of Showa Year 9] (Taihoku: Taiwan Education Society, 1934), 3.
45. According to the Taiwan Education Society, by the early 1930s only twenty thousand (less than 3 percent) of young Taiwanese were educated in schools, and another fifty thousand received their education from the Youth Corps or other youth organizations; *Shōwa kyūnen nigatsu Taiwan shakai kyōiku gaiyō*, 3–4.
46. *Shōwa kyūnen nigatsu Taiwan shakai kyōiku gaiyō*.
47. *Shōwa jūnen jūgatsu Taiwan shakai kyōiku gaiyō* [Summary of Taiwan Social Education—October of Showa Year 10] (Taihoku: Government-General of Taiwan, 1935), 98.
48. The statistical numbers were from page 31 of *The 16th Statistical Books of Government-General of Taiwan's Annual Report of Educational Affairs*, which was published annually between 1904 and 1940 by the department in charge of educational affairs for the Government-General of Taiwan.
49. "Kaihō: Dai jūyokai sōkai" [Bulletin: The Fourteenth General Assembly], *Taiwan Education* 186 (1917): 90.
50. Peter B. High, *The Imperial Screen: Japanese Film Culture in the Fifteen Years' War, 1931–1945* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), 10.
51. Nakamura Tsurayuki, "Taiwan ni okeru eiga kyōiku" [Film Education in Taiwan], *Taiwan Education* 360 (1932): 48.
52. Tsai Chin-tang, "Jiaoyu chiyu, yuzhenying yu xiushen jiaokeshu" [The Imperial

Rescript on Education, the Imperial Portrait, and Teaching Morals Education], *Journal of Taiwan History* 2 (2006): 142.

53. Kurita-sei, "Tsūshin ihō: Taihoku tsūshin" [Communication Bulletin: Taipei Correspondence], *Taiwan Education* 166 (1916): 52–53; "Ontairei katsudōshashin haikan" [Have the Honor of Seeing the Film about the Accession Ceremony], *Taiwan Education* 167 (1916): inside front cover.

54. Misawa, *Zhimindi xia de yinmu*, 128–132.

55. Tanaka said that it was the first time ever for an emperor-to-be to travel abroad. Therefore, the crown prince's activities were of great interest for the Japanese at the time. It was estimated that 7 million people, about one-tenth of the population of Japan, had seen the film; Tanaka Jun'ichirō, *Nihon kyōiku eiga hattatsushi* [History of the Development of Japanese Educational Film] (Tokyo: Kagyūsha, 1979), 43–45.

56. "Taiwan kyōikukai sōkai" [General Assembly of Taiwan Education Society], *Taiwan Education* 270 (1924): 87. According to *Taiwan Education*, the film was reviewed by the crown prince on September 30, 1923, almost five months after his departure from the port of Kiryū (Keelung).

57. Toda Seizō, "Katsudōshashin ni tsuite" [About Motion Pictures], *Taiwan Education* 261 (1924): 74.

58. For example, the annual memorial service to celebrate the promulgation of the Education Rescript on October 30, 1923 was canceled. Instead, donation boxes were installed throughout the island to collect money and material to be donated to the student victims of the Kantō Earthquake; "Tsūshin ihō: Taihoku tsūshin" [Communication Bulletin: Taipei Correspondence], *Taiwan Education* 258 (1923): 79.

59. In a rare report that did mention the screening of the film produced by the TES about the crown prince's Taiwan visit, Kaihase-sei said that the touring screening of the film (and some other films) in schools at each village in the Ryūtan area, sponsored by the education department of the Shinchiku Shū government, would begin in September 14, 1923; Kaihase-sei, "Tongxin: Longtan tongxin" [Correspondence: Ryūtan], *Taiwan Education* (Chinese-language edition) 256 (1923): 8.

60. "Taiwan kyōikukai sōkai," 88.

61. "Tsūshin ihō: Taihoku tsūshin," *Taiwan Education* 258, 80–81.

62. Tanaka, *Nihon kyōiku eiga hattatsushi*, 42.

63. Shimo-sei, "Tsūshin ihō: Taihoku tsūshin" [Communication Bulletin: Taipei Correspondence], *Taiwan Education* 168 (1916): 73.

64. Shimo-sei, "Tsūshin ihō: Taihoku tsūshin"; According to a report, the six-thousand-foot film is composed of five reels, three of which are about activities of Prince Kan'in-no-miya Kotohito Shin'nō and his wife, inside and outside the Exhibition; "Kyōshinkai fuirumu kyōikukai nite eisha" [Exhibition Film: Screening by TES], *Taiwan nichinichi shimpō* (Taihoku), April 29, 1907, 7.

65. Takamatsu Toyojirō migrated to Taiwan in 1908, and expanded his business from touring film exhibitions to building theaters for film screenings and stage performances

across the island. He established an entertainment empire in Taiwan through his company Dōjinsha. However, Takamatsu suffered great losses both in show business and for running for political office several times in mainland Japan. Takamatsu closed all his businesses in Taiwan in 1917 and returned to Tokyo to start an educational film production company there.

66. Due to the similarity in Kanji writing and pronunciation of Hagiya Kenzō's family and given names, various references to that name were reported from different information sources in the late 1910s and 1920s in Taiwan. After carefully checking the name used in the first report about him, printed in the *Taiwan Daily News* (*Taiwan nichinichi shimpō*), I found that it was the same as the name used more consistently in reports published in *Taiwan Education*, monthly journal of the Taiwan Education Society, in the 1920s, and confirmed that the correct name of the cameraman hired from M. Kashī in Tokyo by the TES is Hagiya Kenzō. His past employment record is similar to Oginō Kenzō, a cameraman with a similar name in Kanji. According to Tanaka Junichirō, Oginō Kenzō worked for M. Pathé (1906–1912), funded by Umeya Shokichi, who also funded M. Kashī (1915–1916). (Tanaka, *Nihon kyōiku eiga hattatsushi*, 25.) It is very likely that Tanaka Junichirō made a mistake in the mention of the cameraman's name in his book.

67. "Kyōikukai katsudōshashin kiteisō suiejō satsuei" [TES Motion Pictures: Photographing in Kote Shō Swimming Site], *Taiwan nichinichi shimpō* (Taihoku), August 16, 1917, 7.

68. An interesting article in a journal vividly described the filming of Taipei schoolchildren practicing swimming skills in the Kote Shō swimming site. The swimming site was actually part of the Shinten (Hsintien) River. Children were supposed to swim from the swimming site six miles downstream to Monga. Shooting of the activity had to be postponed for a week due to a typhoon. Water was still quite muddy and cold on the day of the shooting. Among the ninety-two students who participated in the long-distance swimming activity, only forty-nine managed to finish the full course; "Shōgakusen no enei: dakuryū wo sagaru sanriyō" [Primary School Students' Long-Distance Swimming: Down the Muddy Stream for More than Three Miles], *Taiwan nichinichi shimpō*, August 25, 1917, 7; Keifū-sei, "Jidō no suiren jikkyō wo mite" [Watching the Actual Scenes of Children Practicing Swimming Skills], *Undō to shumi* 2, no. 9 (1917): 37–39.

69. The need to expand its capability to make and screen more films prompted the TES to hire new technicians. In 1922, cameraman Miura Masao was brought from Japan to work with Hagiya. Between October and December 1922, the two of them produced four nonfiction films, *Hot Springs in Hokutō* (Beitou), *Hygiene Campaign in Taichū Shū* (Taizhong prefecture), *Motorized Military Maneuvering in Taichū Plain*, and *Fire Prevention Campaign in Takao Shū* (Gaoxiang prefecture).

70. It was claimed that such a large-scale exhibition on hygiene had never before been held in Taiwan; "Zappō: Taichū eisei tenrankai" [Miscellaneous Report: Taichū Hygiene Exhibition], *Taiwan Police Association Journal* 4 (1917): 72–73.

71. Caroline Hui-yu Ts'ai, *Taiwan in Japan's Empire Building: An Institutional Approach to Colonial Engineering* (London: Routledge, 2009), 110.

72. Ts'ai, *Taiwan in Japan's Empire Building*; Ming-cheng M. Lo, *Doctors within Borders: Profession, Ethnicity, and Modernity in Colonial Taiwan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 40. Ts'ai pointed out that only 164 Japanese died in battle when the Japanese took over Taiwan; in contrast, 4,642 Japanese soldiers died from malaria or other contagious diseases, and an additional 26,094 contracted diseases.

73. Ts'ai, *Taiwan in Japan's Empire Building*, 110.

74. "Kaihō: Katsudōshashin satsuei" [Bulletin: Motion Pictures Photographing], *Taiwan Education* 185 (1917): 66.

75. Katō-sei, "Tsūshin ihō: Taihoku tsūshin" [Communication Bulletin: Taipei Correspondence], *Taiwan Education* 209 (1919): 50.

76. *Taiwan gakujū yōran—Taishō yōnen* [Taiwan Educational Affairs Handbook, Taishō Year 10 (Taihoku: Ministry of Educational Affairs, Government-General of Taiwan, 1921): 35.

77. Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education*, 93.

78. Ts'ai, *Taiwan in Japan's Empire Building*, 149–150.

79. Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education*, 94–100.

80. Nakamura, "Taiwan ni okeru eiga kyōiku," 48.

81. Two of each from Taihoku (Taipei), Shinchiku (Hsinchu/Xinzhu), Taichū (Taichung/Taizhong), and Taitō (Taidong); seven from Tainan; nine from Takao (Kaohsiung/Gaoxiong); and one each from Hualian and the police bureau; Katō-sei, "Tsūshin ihō: Taihoku tsūshin" [Communication Bulletin: Taipei Correspondence], *Taiwan Education* 241 (1922): 69.

82. "Shinchiku Shū shusai katsudōshashin eishajutsu kōshūkai" [Training Sessions of Motion Picture Projection Techniques Conducted by Shinchiku Shū], *Taiwan Education* 260 (1924): 136.

83. "Eisha gijutsu kōshūkai" [Projection Techniques Training Sessions], *Monthly Report of Taiwan Taxation* 245 (1930): 46.

84. Tanaka, *Nihon kyōiku eiga hattatsushi*, 47.

85. For example, to celebrate Education Day, each year the TES would hold film screenings in the Taipei area. On October 30, 1922, however, the evening screenings in Taipei Park and Monga were funded by the government of Taihoku (Taipei) City, while in Daitōtei they were supported by Taihoku Shū; Katō-sei, "Tsūshin ihō: Taihoku tsūshin" [Communication Bulletin: Taipei Correspondence], *Taiwan Education* 246 (1922): 66.

86. The TES held 70 screenings that year, while local governments' projection units held 561 screenings in total. Of these, Tainan Shū was responsible for 171, and Shinchiku Shū, 102 screenings; "Taiwan kyōikukai dai nijū kai sōkai" [The Twentieth General Assembly], *Taiwan Education* 300 (1927): 150.

87. "Ippan kyōka" [General Education], *Taiwan Education* 351 (1931): 137.

88. *Shōwa kyūnen nigatsu Taiwan shakai kyōiku gaiyō*, 71.
89. Toda, "Katsudōshashin ni tsuite," 74.
90. "Taiwan kyōikukai dai nijū kai sōkai," 151–152.
91. A full list of these films can be found in Toda, "Katsudōshashin ni tsuite," 74–77.
92. Films such as *Funeral of Former Governor-General Akashi*, *The Landing of a Navy Airplane in Kiryū*, *The Activities of the Army's Heat-Resisting Automobile Troops in Takao*, *Scenes of People Celebrating the Tenth Anniversary of the Day for Commemorating the Beginning of the Japanese Rule*, *Scenes of HRH Prince Kuni-no-miya's Visit*, *Scenes of HRH Prince Kitashirakawa-no-miya's Visit*, *Governor-General Uchida's Landing on Taiwan*, *The Advanced Flying Skill of the Police Air Force*, *The Submarine in Kiryū Port*, *Inspecting the Military Parade in Front of the Office of the Governor-General on January 8, 1924*, as well as films about the crown prince's activities (including, of course, his visit to Taiwan) and Taipei citizens celebrating the crown prince's marriage on January 26, 1924.
93. One film was about the ceremony celebrating the birthday of Lord Cheng Huang, one about the ceremony celebrating the birthday of the deity Mazu at the Chaotian Temple in Hokukō (Beigang), one about dragon-boat racing, and one recording indigenous dances.
94. The titles of these films are *Taiwan Education*, *Kiryū Seaside School Attached Primary School (Kiryū rinkai gakkō fushoku shōgakkō)*, and *Aborigine Children's Education*.
95. Misawa, *Zhimindi xia de yinmu*, 141–142.
96. Katō-sei, "Tsūshin ihō: Taihoku tsūshin" [Communication Bulletin: Taipei Correspondence], *Taiwan Education* 215 (1920): 51.
97. Katō-sei, "Tsūshin ihō," 51–52.
98. "Xuanchuan Taiwan shiqing" [Publicize Situations of Taiwan], *Taiwan nichinichi shimpō* (Taihoku), May 4, 1920, 5.
99. The total attendance was added up by this author, based on the number of viewers at each screening, which was provided in reports about events taking place at each location in Kyushu and Tokyo. See "Taiwan kyōikukai shusai Taiwan jijō shōkai kōenkai nami katsudōshashinkai jōkyō hōkoku" [A Report on the Situation of TES-Sponsored Lectures and Film Screenings Introducing Current Situations in Taiwan], *Taiwan Education* 218 (1920): 51–53.
100. A special page was dedicated to reporting this great honor in *Taiwan Education* 217; "Honkai sendentai no katsudōshashin Tomiya denka kaku ōji denka no tairan wo tamaharu" [HRH Tomiya and Other Princes Did TES the Favor of Watching Films Screened by Our Propaganda Team], *Taiwan Education* 217 (1920): 46.
101. Misawa, *Zhimindi xia de yinmu*, 142.
102. Hisazumi Eiichi, "Taiwan jijō shōkai zakkan" [Miscellaneous Thoughts about the "Introducing Current Situations in Taiwan" Project], *Taiwan Education* 234 (1921): 33–37. According to *Taiwan Education*, 240, Toda Seizō, head of the motion pictures unit, made a trip to Tokyo in March 1922 to show films introducing the Taiwan situation. This trip was specifically to show the educational affairs situation at the Tokyo

Peace Expo. The motion pictures unit of the TES had been preparing material for the occasion since January. This activity was dissimilar and had no relationship with the previous two “Introducing Current Situations in Taiwan” projects. However, it further confirms the TES’s role as “propagator of Taiwan images”; Matsui-sei, “Tsūshin ihō: Taihoku tsūshin” [Communication Bulletin: Taipei Correspondence], *Taiwan Education* 240 (1922): 84.

103. Several issues of *Taiwan Education* had reported about the content shot by the motion pictures unit led by Toda and Hagiya: logging on Alishan Mountain, whaling in Tsuneharu (Hengchun), the salt plains at Hotei Kuchibashi (Budaizui), workers producing camphor in Sankaioku (Sanxia), the Shimotansui (Xiadanshui) River Iron Bridge, Bingdong (Pingtung) Airport, sunrise and moonlit night at Sun Moon Lake, picking tea leaves in Dora (Tongluo), and producing tea in Kansai (Guanxi), etc.

104. Hisazumi, “Taiwan jijō shōkai zakkan,” 33–36.

105. “Taiwan kyōikukai sōkai,” 90.

106. For example, similar screening sessions took place in 1924, five times in Kyoto, twelve times in Tokyo, and twice in Kumamoto City. (“Taiwan kyōikukai dai nijū kai sōkai,” 150.) In March 1925, governor-general of Taiwan Izawa Takio entertained members of the Noble Houses and the House of Representatives at the Imperial Hotel (Teikoku Hotel), showing them films to introduce conditions on the island of Taiwan; “Taishō jūyonnen Taiwan kyōikukai jūyō kiji” [Important Accounts of Taiwan Education Circle in Taishō Year 14], *Taiwan Education* 283 (1926): 95. The TES’s head of the motion pictures unit, Toda, went to Osaka and Nagoya for two weeks in May 1926, also to exhibit films about the current situation on Taiwan; “Jinji issoku” [Personnel Notice], *Taiwan Education* 288 (1926): 65.

107. Yasuyama-sei, “Tsūshin ihō: Taihoku tsūshin” [Communication Bulletin: Taipei Correspondence], *Taiwan Education* 322 (1929): 133.

108. Nakamura, “Taiwan ni okeru eiga kyōiku,” 51–53.

109. Nakamura, “Taiwan ni okeru eiga kyōiku,” 49.

110. Titles included *Tokyo* (three reels), *Kyoto*, *Osaka*, *Yokohama*, *Kamakura*, *From Kiryū to Kobe*, *Nagoya*, *Meiji Jingū*, *Nikkō*, and *Nara*; “Zappō: honkai sakusei no kyōzai eiga nit suite” [Miscellaneous Report: About the Educational Films produced by the TES], *Taiwan Education* 357 (1932): 150–152.

111. Baskett, *The Attractive Empire*, 15–16.

112. Nakamura, “Taiwan ni okeru eiga kyōiku,” 50.

113. Quoted from High, *The Imperial Screen*, 54.

114. Chou Wan-yao, *Taiwan lishi tushuo: Shiqian zhi yijiusiwu nian* [Illustrated History of Taiwan: From Pre-history to 1945] (Taipei: Linking Publishing, 1997), 154–159.