

Studying “Taiwan Studies:” The Evolution and the Transformations of a Multi-Disciplinary Sub-field, 1600 CE to 2013CE

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Introduction¹

In this essay I give you a grand and sweeping overview of Taiwan Studies. I discuss the evolution of our field/subfield and show how it developed within --and as witness to --the larger development of Taiwan as a political, diplomatic, economic, cultural and religious entity.

My essay is broken down into a four different sections and conclusion. Section I. focuses upon what I term Proto-Taiwan studies. This means, those books about Taiwan that were produced those long periods in Taiwan’s history—and the study of Taiwan , from the coming of the Dutch VOC merchants and missionaries to the conquest and development of the island by the Zhengs and the Qing to the creation of the Treaty Port culture to the Japanese colonization, to the coming of the ROC military men, bureaucrats and mainland business elites, to entry of the American MAG and AID representatives with their aid and technological assistance All this was a prelude to the modern, post-1959 period, that began with the arrival of the Fulbright/Foundation for Scholarly Exchange researchers and college instructors who augured era when a distinctive field of research and scholarly presentation that would be later called “Taiwan Studies” began to evolve.

In Section II., I examine the first period in the development of modern Taiwan Studies. This period began in the late 1957s, with the arrival of a number of American anthropologists to the island. It ends in 1978, just before the United States lifted its diplomatic recognition of the ROC and threw this nation into a kind of international limbo, until the creation of the AIT/TECO agencies that were the “children” of the Taiwan Relations Act. This first formal period is both the formative period of Taiwan Studies and a period in which Taiwan becomes, becomes as China for purposes of on-site research—for it is the only China scholars could go to.

Section III covers the years from 1979 to 1999. What I suggest is that the sense of "Taiwan as China" is put to death and that Taiwan and Taiwan studies are changed radically with De-recognition of Taiwan by the United States. That singular act ushers in a period from 1979 to 1999 that saw Taiwan becoming a very new kind of nation and, at long last, is the true center of Taiwan Studies. Students of the mainland China could now go to that evolving and then still an unsettled state that was beginning recovering from the disasters of the two and a half decades of hyper Maoism that preceded it.

In Section IV, we follow the development of Taiwan Studies within the history of Taiwan through the first decade of the 21st century. It was as we know all too well, an often dramatic --- and at moments serio-comic--period in the history of Taiwan and an equally dramatic and difficult and soft-times exhilarating era in the history of our unique multi -disciplinary field of study. What we saw and studied and wrote about were no less than the series of large scale sea-changes that governments and the populations of Taiwan, PRC and the third player in the great game, the United States all experienced and dealt with .

Section I. The Long, Long Prelude: a Brief Look at the Pre-1959 Literature about Taiwan 1603-1959

The deep and detailed study of Taiwan –of what we now call the field of Taiwan Studies did not begin *exnihilo* in 1959. What that date does mark, as I suggested, is the starting point of a grand American attempt to help shape Taiwan’s scholarly and educational spheres. Rather it was preceded by three hundred and fifty seven years of a long , long prelude of sorts that make up an intellectual entity I term “Proto-Taiwan Studies. “ of course the irony of all this is that Prot-Taiwan Studies was in existence, if informally, for more than seven times long than the sub-field itself.

What we realize as we study the formal history of Taiwan, and of Taiwan Studies, is that is that we must go further and further back in time to discover the nature of the origins of the scholarly roots of our sub-field and formal and informal study of the island of Taiwan. This, one soon discovers, will take us back to of the to the years of the late 16th and then the early 17th Centuries, decades that were witness to ongoing and sometimes successful attempts of Chinese and westerners from a host of European and later North American nations to both learn about the island of Taiwan—and attempt to transform and /or exploit it. It was then that this island that was located one hundred potentially treacherous miles east of Fujian first appeared in the Chinese and then the Western –here read Portuguese , Spanish and Dutch consciousness and on a host of what must be called, to use the present day business jargon, “to do” lists.

It then takes to the period when the warlord, pirate and Ming loyalist and his family ruled the island.

Let us begin with an older and now- quaint mode of data storage and presentation, ---the printed page. Our major source of “older” and less high tech materials is a very important book of translated sources. What we have readily available to use for this first forty or so years of this span of 60 years of Taiwan under quasi-alien rule begins with the Dutch conquest in 1625 ends with to takeover of Taiwan by Koxinga, the warlord pirate and Ming loyalist in 1662 is a book published in English in 1905. This book is *Formosa Under the Dutch Described from Contemporary Records*, edited by Reverend William Campbell and first published in London by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company in London in 1903. This 619 page compilation of sources translated from Dutch into English provides the historian and lay leader and student of missionary studies with a rich body of original material. It covers a number of events, issues and topics related to the various Dutch activities, military, economic, cultural and religious that the VOC military men, bureaucrats and Dutch Reformed pastors/missionaries were involved in. For the modern reader it is a fascinating and very detailed window to this more than forty year long period. And carefully used, as Tonio Andrade has shown, it makes this dramatic and ultimately unsuccessful imperialistic enterprise quite understandable as human drama.

When we look at the Qing period that began in 1682 with the Qing conquest of the Zheng family-held island and ended with the Japanese take-over of the island as a spoil of war in 1895 we discover that there number important original sources on Taiwan’s history that can be found in a variety of different venues. One of the most important of these venues is a scholarly monograph written in 2004 that makes excellent use of use of a number important Qing accounts written by Qing officials and travelers to the Qing prefecture that later became a province. Emma Teng has written this well written, well thought through and deeply research study that examines how these observers and officials saw and wrote about the island at its

people at different moments of Qing control. It is titled *Taiwan's Imagined Geography* and is an important contribution to the way we understand the nature of Qing Empire and its rulers came to realize the significance of their maritime frontier. In this sophisticated combination of literary studies and historical analysis, Teng, examines how Chinese came to learn about and write about the island from Ming to late Qing and then the half century of Taiwan's occupation by the government of post-Meiji Imperial Japan, what makes the book fit though no neatly in the Proto-Taiwan Studies category is that the author gives long quotations from many of the books and reports that she used to make her argument.²

There are, one must add another whole category of materials from the Qing era, the Japanese era, and first fifteen years the ROC-on-Taiwan era that followed it. This consists of published books from these earlier periods that found in libraries and also as reprints in major books stores and publishing houses on Taiwan such as the Southern Materials Center located near the headquarters of the Presbyterian Church on Taiwan. Here I will just make mention of a few of the publications that I found and purchased and added to my own collection of materials on Taiwan over the past thirty years. Each of these books deals with the late Qing period and the early decades of the Japanese Colonial era.

As we know, western merchants, missionaries and diplomats were, after 1860, and by the terms of the Tianjin and Beijing treaties, allowed to settle in key cities on Taiwan. Presbyterians representing the British and Scottish Presbyterian Church set up base areas in Tainan then, over the decades that followed their arrival in 1865, set up hospitals and clinics, middle schools and high schools, churches among Minnan Han and Yuanzhumin, and finally, seminaries. Similar organizations and networks of churches were set up in Tamsui and then in the Taibei Basin by Canadian Presbyterians. Merchants and diplomats from European nations—here read Great

Britain and the United States were also active in finding places for themselves and beginning to do business with the people of Taiwan. The Diplomats were there to protect them and guarantee their rights, and given Taiwanese resistance to this incursion of “red haired barbarians” this protection was quite necessary. The books published about these decades make fascinating—close-to—the events reading.

The first of these books is George Leslie Mackay, D.D., *From Far Formosa: The Island, its People and Missions* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1896).³ This book is an interesting amalgam of elements. It begins on a deeply personal note about how the great missionary pioneer of the Taibei Basin feels about his adopted home of many decades and about his early years in country. It then shifts from autobiography to detailed overview of the island’s geology, flora and fauna, historical development, population, patterns of governance and then his own experiences from his first years there in the early 1870s to the mid 1890s when he returned to Ottawa and his home in Sora with the body materials that would be turned into this book by a dedicated and admiring editor that was published a year or so later. It gives us the man as he sees himself and an example of what I have called in a paper-turned article, “Missionary Orientalism.”⁴

A second and very different type book, published two years later, is W.A. Pickering, C.M.G, *Pioneering in Formosa: Recollections of Adventures among Mandarins, Wreckers and Headhunting Savages*⁵ Pickering is a Horatio Alger like story of a man who rose from a young member of a ship's crew, to, “the protector of the Chinese”, to use his formal title in the British-held Straits Settlements—the modern nation of Malaysia. He tells this story very well and we come to like him—a spirited young man with a talent for languages who learns about the Chinese Southeast coast, the island of Taiwan and British South East Asia. He is a good

observer and a skillful right and an adventurous soul and his book gives the reader a good sense of Taiwan in the Treaty Port era as seen through the eyes of a real player, young though he was at the time.

The third of these books is the largest and most substantive in a host of ways. This is J. W. Davidson, *the Island of Formosa: Past and Present*.⁶ Davidson was the American Consul and spent considerable time on the island and his book reflects his deep and broad study of the island. It is a monster of a book and a quite impressive and beautiful in many ways. He starts with the centuries before the 16th century and gives us a history of the Dutch, Cheng, Qing, Treaty Port and early Japanese periods. As he comes closer to his present, his range of topics becomes wider and the detail becomes ever richer. This book remained a must-read for those interested in Taiwan before the appearance of the large synthetic works or edited histories of the late 20th Century such as those listed in the Bibliography at the end of this paper/speech.

A final such book from this period that remains available are The Reverend Campbell's own memoir of his more than four decades on Taiwan. This book resembles Mackay's but does not contain the chapters on geology, flora and fauna and the human ethnic and sub-ethnic landscape. The biases found in the Mackay and the Pickering volumes and in the famous book by the missionary Smith, *Chinese Characteristics* and demonstrating the existence of Missionary Orientalism are all there as well. These men are creatures of their times and of the then triumphant Western cultural imperialism then 19th and early to mid 20th Centuries.

When we examine the Japanese period, we find a number of published sources in English and of course the monumental records of the Japanese colonial government that a host of important scholars have made very good use of. John Shepherd's new work in mortality on

Taiwan, given as a presentation at the Cohen/Rubinstein Taiwan Seminar series at Columbia University in the spring of 2011, demonstrates how one scholar has used this material. The Wang/Liao edited volume on the Japanese colonial era published by Columbia, demonstrates it as well, as does the rich body of scholarship produced by of Caroline Wenhui Tsai of the Institute of Taiwan History at Academia Sinica in Nangang.

One manuscript from that period that covered both the mid and later years of Japanese colonization and the early years of the ROC's Retrocession that followed was Wu Zhuolin's :The Fig Tree.⁷ This book was written in Chinese by a Taiwanese teacher who had taught in the Japanese colonial educational system on Taiwan, in Japanese, then moved to Japanese –held coastal China, and then returned to Taiwan after August of 1945 when the ROC took over. There he was witness to the KMTs harsh occupation of what they saw as an island of people who had collaborated with the Japanese enemy. The mistreatment of the local people, new governments takeover –legal theft of Japanese held resources and the way the new liberators acted more like an army of predatory occupation under Chenyi led to resentment and revolt—the 2-28 incident of 1947. It was as we know, brutally suppressed and the now pacified island was ready for what some knew would happen given the state of KMT rule in China, the movement of the ROC's government to the former Japanese capital on Taiwan, Taipei. The author of *The Fig Tree* was there and his is a powerful eyewitness account. That Chinese book was translated into English and is a major contemporary account of the Japanese Period and the Retrocession.

The first period of Retrocession came to an end with the ROC retreat in 1949 and the survival of the island as ROC bastion became a reality with the coming of the Korean War and the decision of the PLA to enter the battle on the side of the North Korea—and Soviet supported, Communist regime.

That early period in KMT-on Taiwan history , and to a lesser extent, the history of the US involvement as savior and patron was the subject of a fascinating, and totally non-objective reporter's book, *Report from Formosa*.⁸ The author is a strong supporter of Chiang Kai-shek and says so at various points throughout the book. However, he is not a fan of Chiang Ching-kuo, a man he sees as a dark and dangerous wielder of awful power and the man behind the infamous Taipei ballpark killings of the White Terror that was aimed at Mainlanders . What he does give us—and it is valuable indeed, is a picture of the first years of Taiwan as the new ROC bastion. He has a good eye and is a savvy political and geopolitical observer and his views represented those of many in the west who were wary of the new PRC and were anti-communist in this early stage of the Cold War. The book is thus a gem and a real find for the student of this formative period in KMT rule of Taiwan as a nation/province.

There is one more book to be mentioned and it is important in a number of ways. It is Vice President Chen Cheng's *Land Reform in Taiwan*.⁹ This book was published in 1961 but it deals with perhaps the single most important ROC policy implementation of the 1950s, the grand redistribution of land to the farmers of the island. The author was a military man who was the godfather of the economic miracle and found technocrats who were able to plan and implement a wide number of changes, first in the agricultural sector and then in the commercial and industrial sectors. This book published in English by the China Publishing Company charts that process from the inside. It is the first of a number of such insider/official books that spell out the steps of the developmental process from the viewpoint of the technocrats that put them in place and is the beginning of a new and too often underutilized literature on this phase of the ROC's transformation into a Little Dragon (or Tiger—make your pick).

Let us end our look at the proto Taiwan Studies period here and move ahead to 1959 and the coming of the Fulbrighters.

Section II. Taiwan Studies as China Studies: Taiwan as China Surrogate, 1959-1978

Taiwan Studies as clear field/subfield begins on Taiwan with the coming of the Fulbright Program and its research and teacher exchange programs. It is then that Americans and other westerners come to Taiwan to study Taiwan as what they saw as a clear cut “China surrogate.” Many of the members of that generation of western China hands have come to see these years, from the late 1950s until 1979—the year of the traumatic “de-recognition” as just such a period. The end of formal relations with the United States marked the end or near end of the Taiwan-as-China period.

We can see the years of 1957, 1958 and 1959 as the very beginning of what will evolve over the passing decades as a formal and determined effort by key American governmental agencies to bring students of China to the only China they could readily visit and study. The first group of scholars of China and then students they were working with would begin to come to Taiwan first on their own and then under the protective umbrella of the Fulbright Foundation. On Taiwan it would take the form of a sort of education/research oriented “joint commission” that would be titled the Foundation for Scholarly Exchange. Both scholars who were doing

research and college level instructors who would work in the ROC's universities and colleges were part of this organization. It was both the educators and the researchers who would emerge from their time "in country" as China scholars with a real feel for Taiwanese realities even as they saw "China" in Taiwan society, culture, and religion and then, only very slowly, began seeing Taiwan as itself, a unique place with a many layered historical experience that was different from China's.

Let me suggest that the motives of the Fulbright Foundation and its masters in the USIA and above that in the State Department's ruling circles, while seeming noble were not were not totally altruistic. The Fulbright Foundation -driven initiatives to learn about Taiwan were related to a larger project, that, like that of the Agency for International Development (AID), it's "cousin" of within the US State Department. That project was—to put it most baldly, to transform Taiwan's society and its economy and its culture in ways more western---more capitalist and democratic. Taiwan was the second clear example --with Japan the first ---of a process that we now term, thanks to George W. Bush, "nation building."¹⁰

When one looks at this period from a distance, one sees that it has certain shapes and contours that were not clear to those experiencing it at those moments in time. Only years later did this pioneering cadre of Americans realize what they had seen and done and how these experiences shaped their scholarship and more. The problem that faces us as Taiwan Studies hands is the cruel joke that the years from 1959 to 1978 as a period in which Taiwan became the only China that scholars could come to know. One came to Taiwan to study Chinese at Taiwanese universities such as Shida on Hoping Donglu or at the evolving Stanford Center /Interuniversity Program based at the Taida campus, off XinchengNanlu in central Taipei. One then, if one was an historian of Ming or Qing China, made use of the Palace Archives taken from

Beijing and kept at that grand and glorious center of Chinese art of civilization, the Palace Museum in Shilin. Other materials could be found in the collections at the various institutes of Academia Sinica and at the National Central Library now located across the street from the Chang Gong Memorial hall complex. The number of major dissertations and book that were researched at these sites is substantial and a number of them are classic works.

But where was Taiwan in all of this? That was a problem in a number of ways. First, the KMT regime wanted Taiwan to be seen as “China” and were doing all they could to maintain the image of their Republic of China as the “true and classic China,” , imposed though it was on a population that after the 2-28 repression and the ongoing “white terror” that would last until 1987, cowed into submission. It was this China, ROC leaders would argue, that treasured its own past and did not destroy it. One came to Taiwan, for many years, to study that China and not the small province of Taiwan with its Minnan and Hakka speaking Han and its often violent and primitive tribal aborigine populations. Furthermore, Mandarin—Guoyu was the language of discourse not the language of the Fujian and northern Guangdong immigrants who made up the island’s majority population. The deep seated sense of Taiwan as China would remain a reality and for some an intellectual and moral problem until the fateful day of American de-recognition on January 1 of 1979.¹¹ After that there could be no holding on to the fiction of Taiwan as somehow the true heir to the Chinese heritage.

Let us begin this first period of Taiwan Studies by focusing on the work of the men in the field--the anthropologists whose work lies at the very heart of this subfield. Arthur Wolf and his then wife, Margery—first from Cornell and later at Stanford, began their efforts in the late 1950s in the southwestern region of the Taipei Basin known as Haishan and would bring more and more people into the mix in grand and multi-leveled study of these. Their students, the next

generation, and one that followed that, more or less—such scholars as Emily Martin Ahern, Stevan Harrell, Steven Sangren, and Robert Weller would continue to work on this region as can be seen the books that they produced. Other major scholars also were part of the first and second wave in Taiwan. As mentioned before, individuals such as Myron Cohen, then graduate student of Columbia University, David Jordan, a student at the University of Chicago, and Norma Diamond, a student at Cornell studying with Arthur Wolf, became aware of the reality of Taiwanese distinctiveness that manifested itself in a number of important ways and the scholarship they publish suggests the tensions between Taiwan-as-China and Taiwan-as-Taiwan.

A brief look at some of the dissertations and books these scholars and a related groups of scholars produced about Taiwanese society is necessary at this juncture. As I suggested Arthur Wolf and his then Wife Margery, were among the first scholars on the Taiwan of the late 1950s. Wolf 's own dissertation, “Marriage and Adoption in a Hokkien Village “ was completed in and was accepted by the Anthropology faculty of Cornell University in 1964.¹²I suggested its focus on Chinese patterns. Having said is to recognize that it is a product of its time—as a first immersion in a Taiwan that western scholars did not really know well. It is , with this China bias taken into account, a superb piece of research and writing , rich with insights that would mark his work in the decades that followed. He would continue to work on these patterns of marriage with Taiwanese anthropologists, some based at the Institute of Ethnography/Ethnology at Academia Sinica in Nangang , Taipei. He also edited and published a seminar book with a number of articles about Taiwan and one that demonstrated , to a degree, his “China-centeredness” in 1978. This book is *Studies in Chinese Society*.¹³

Margery Wolf was also an active scholar during these decades and in 1973 her very important book of women in Taiwanese society was published. This is her now classic ethnographic study, Margery Wolf, *Women and the Family in Rural Taiwan*¹⁴ It is written with deep understand of place and people and can be seen as a forerunner of the important contributions that female anthropologists and students of Taiwanese feminism have made in the years that followed. Contemporary anthropologists such as Anru Lee of John Jay/CUNY and a host of others are her heirs in any number of ways.

A third scholar who produced a major work during the 1960s was Bernard Gallin. Gallin had been one of the first American anthropologists working on the island, doing his fieldwork in 1957 in agricultural village of HsinHsing, near Changhua and Lugang along central part of Taiwan's west coast. He completed his Ph.D. at Cornell in the early 1960s and then turned that dissertation into this pioneering book. In it he shows just what such a village was like in a myriad of ways. While his book is titled *HsinHsing, Taiwan: A Chinese Village in Change*, it is clear from his long and wise introduction and his background chapter that he sees the village as a part of the distinctive Taiwanese regional/provincial culture. Gallin also shows us how Taiwan's extensive and society-changing land reform helped to push the process of the island's modernization forward in a host of ways. He went on to published a long series of important articles in the years and decades that followed and thus is one of the major father-figures in the development of anthropology on Taiwan, along with Wolf, and Cohen and Jordan, both of whose work we shall now discuss.

A fourth scholar doing fieldwork during the 1960s and then completing his graduate degree in anthropology was Myron Cohen. Cohen is an engaging man, if seemingly gruff man,

and a now legendary figure to those who many scholars and students know him. He has spent the better part of the last fifties years in Columbia's famed Department of Anthropology and in what is now the Weatherhead East Asian Institute. He studied one Hakka village in southern Taiwan, Meinong. He remains, to this day, in contact with it and forever connected to it, as his plaques given to him by the leaders of the village of Meinong and now found in the Chair's office of the Weatherhead Institute that he now leads. The first book that came out of his years of fieldwork is *House United House Divided: the Chinese Family in Taiwan*¹⁵ (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1976). He then studied a variety of sites on the Chinese mainland produced a book and articles based on that fieldwork. He is now working on a collection of contracts from the Qing period from the town of Meinong that he has put together and will have a book on the subject, with translations and analyses of these documents out in a few years. Here we see that the Taiwan experience of the 1960s helped define him as scholar and as teacher, as it did in the case of Arthur Wolf and a number of the other scholars I make mention of in this essay/speech.

A fifth important scholar and pioneer is David Jordan. Like Cohen he worked in Southern Taiwan in the south in a village he called Baoan. It is north and west of Cohen's site of Menong in Hakka Taiwan. He completed that degree at the University of Chicago in 1969. His book is ethnography, in the larger sense of the term, and also a detailed look at Taiwanese popular religion in a specific community. Jordan wins the reader over with his accessible style and deep knowledge of the area. Jordan is also a scholar who clearly sees Taiwan as Taiwan and points this out at key points in his wonderfully readable monograph, *Gods, Ghosts and Ancestors: Folk Religion in a Taiwanese Village*.¹⁶

There were others who did a form of on-site and also textual scholarship on one major anthropological topic, religion, but who were not formally trained as anthropologists. These were missionaries who came to know religion on Taiwan, study and write about as a way of understanding the people they were trying to bring to Christ. The early Presbyterian missionaries and observed and wrote about Taiwanese religion as they knew it. In 1940s, the 1950s and 1960s and beyond, the missionaries from the various western churches that made up what would label, the “missionary “invasion of the late these three decades came to know Taiwan, learned about its culture and try to win its people from those religious traditions they came to know very well.

The missionaries wrote a number of studies of the progress of their western faith on Taiwan. Such individuals as Allen Swanson, a professor at the Taibei Evangelical Seminary wrote two such books, *Mainline Versus Independent Church* and the *Church on Taiwan: Profile 1980*.¹⁷ Each is important to students of the Christian missionary enterprise on Taiwan and to students of Taiwanese religious history. A second Taiwan -based missionary, Dorothy R. Raber, wrote another important study, *Protestantism in Changing Taiwan: Call to a Creative Response*.¹⁸ This is an interesting book that deals with the harsh reality that missionaries faced in the 1970s. Their western faith, which had increased its number of conversions in the 1950s and early 1960s, had now begun to lose ground and that growth in numbers had leveled off. Raber’s book examines this important problem and tries to come up with solutions—but as the later history of Christianity on Taiwan shows, the numbers remained steady and only about three percent of the population describe themselves as Christian.

Let us look at two other more focused missionary books that take aim at what might be called knowing your enemy. These books each dealt with Taiwanese religion but in rather

different ways. Some members of these Western missionary bodies became pioneers of sorts, like the secular anthropologists whose work I have discussed, in the study of Taiwanese religion in all its fascinating, and often perplexing—and to missionaries, paganistic, glory. Two books published in the 1960s on Taiwan demonstrate this.

The first of these is a book first published in Taiwanese under the title *Ki-tok-to Kap Tai-on Koan-siokand* was titled, most tellingly, in English as *A Guidebook for Christians On Taiwanese Customs and Superstitions*. The English translated into English by a Taiwanese scholar, Go Sin-gi and a pastor/missionary in the Lutheran Evangelical Church, Rev. Ardon Albrecht and published on in Taipei in 1965. The book is good on details and is thus useful as starting point for reading about the ritual year and patterns of popular religion. It is also valuable as a take on the missionary mindset for after each description of ritual, it states that Christians should not believe in a certain god or participate in the rituals described. The “true believer” mindset, that makes many Taiwanese uncomfortable with Christianity, is on full display here.

A more careful, and more objective approach the *minjian* traditions and rites can be found in *An Introduction to Taiwanese Folk Religion* written by Gerald Kramer and George Wu.¹⁹ It, too was designed as a guide to the newly arrived missionary or the interested American or European businessman, but provides a starting point for scholars and for western students as well. It is brief but comprehensive and gives the reader a good sense of what he or she is witnessing. These are not scholarly books, but each is a book that would be researcher could have used.

Historians also did work on Taiwan and related to Taiwan during this period, though more did work on China and its imperial past, making use of the libraries at Academia Sinica and

the Qing Palace Archives at the Palace Museum and other sites and collections as well. Perhaps the most important book that was reached on the subject of Taiwan during the 1960s was a pioneering book about a Taiwanese pioneer family, the Lins of Wufeng, a family—with their related family, the Lins of Banjiao-- have become a sort of research cottage industry on Taiwan. This is of course Johanna MenzelMeskill's *A Pioneer Family on Taiwan: the Lin's of Wu-feng*²⁰ (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979) .

A second important study from this period centers a major hero/ villain in the island's early history Koxinga/ZhengChengong. This Ralph C. Crozier's important and wide-ranging monograph *Koxinga and Chinese Nationalism: History, Myth, and the Hero*.²¹ Cambridge, East Asian Research Center, Harvard University: distributed by Harvard University Press, 1977.

Yet a third important piece of history is covered, quite brilliantly, I must add, by the anthropologist John Shepherd , one of the major students of Arthur Wolf. Shepherd did both fieldwork and archival work on Taiwan in the 1980s with his classmate and close friend, P. Steven Sangren. Shepherds title tells us exactly what his long detailed and often fascinating tome is all about--- *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Qing Frontier, 1600-1800*²²This a detailed look at Taiwan under the Qing that explores a host of major issues and in its own way explains the Taiwan that Johanna Meskill wrote about.

Economists and students of management and organization their also found that Taiwan was a unique place in terms of the patterns of its transition from corporatist command economy to a more market driven and limited free market economy. To be sure, The ROC did remain, for decades, a planned economy on certain levels with a watchful government, a strong connection between the KMT and the economic interests and its own set of five and ten year plans for the

construction of a modern infrastructure. The Chinese/Taiwanese scholars as well as an increasing number of westerners had a field day in observing the Taiwan Miracle at close hand and, at given moments contributed to that development as advisors and analysts whose advice was taken serious by the technocrats who planned and implemented the “miracle” that unfolded in the 1960s and 1970s and 1980s.

A number of important works on the economic miracle as it was taking place capture the nature of this seminal process of socio-economic development.

One major author who contributed a number of books to a growing body of work on the Taiwanese economy was one of the most important architects of that singular economic miracle, K.T. Li. His first book, based as were the ones that followed on his speeches and essays, was *The Experience of Dynamic Economic Change*.²³ This is look at various aspects of the developmental process that began in the 1960s and was under full steam as Li wrote, and had this book edited published in the mid 1970s.

A second K.T. Li book that is more coherent than this first book was published in the United States in 1981. It is titled *The Evolution of Policy behind Taiwan's Development Success*.²⁴ It is edited and introduced by Gustav Ranis and has a second introductory article by John H. C. Fei. I see it as a clearly organized and more straightforward book than *The Experience ...* or then a later K.T. Li book, discussed below. For the student of Taiwan's economic history this perhaps the most accessible of the he three K.T. Li books I am introducing.

A third and larger and more impressive of Li's books came out in 1988. This was *(the) Economic Transformation of Taiwan (ROC)*.²⁵ This book dealt with issues Li had been involved in the 1960s and also dealt with his important role in pushing Taiwan into the hi-tech

sector as the man who helped to promote the development of Xinzhu Science Park that made Jiaotong University the neighbor of important chip manufacturing firms and similar firms in the new Taiwanese computer industry.

Academic economists also had their say and still do so in what may be seen as a cottage industry of sorts. Perhaps the best of the books produced in this first period of Taiwan Studies and the one I have found most useful to my own work is Lin-Yuan Ching's *Industrialization in Taiwan, 1946-1972*. This is a broad yet detailed book that provides the reader with a comprehensive picture of the key stages of Taiwan's well-planned and rapid process of multi-faceted economic and industrial development. If we move beyond economics to different disciplines found in a college such as Baruch/CUNY, my own academic home for more than forty years or the Columbia School of Business with its now controversial dean, Glenn Hubbard—made famous --or infamous in the 2010 Oscar winning documentary critique of the American economic meltdown of 2008-2009, *Inside Job*, we find *Management and Business Organization*. The NYU professor Robert H. Silin has given us a very valuable picture of the business organization and management patterns of large scale Taiwanese enterprises. Silin did his fieldwork on Taiwan in the mid 1970s and then wrote what I see a wonderfully accessible study that highlights issues of local Taiwanese modes of management and the larger processes of institutional organization.²⁶

Another important book fits here as a study of management and organization and also a topic in international affairs and thus is a good bridge between disciplinary domains. That book is Neil H. Jacoby's *U.S. Aid to Taiwan: A Study of Foreign Aid, Self Help, and Development*. Jacoby was a specialist in Organization and Management at UC Berkeley and was the perfect man to write a detailed history, description, and analysis of the American Agency for

International Development program on Taiwan from 1951 to 1964. His book put this effort into IST different contexts and spells out the nature of the AID programs and the work of the Joint Commissions as well. To that degree it parallels the work of Chen Cheng and KT Li who both give us the ROC perspective on these programs and cooperative efforts and the impact they did have on Taiwan's economic system and its society. It is a very, very useful study that is similar in scope to Theodore Cohen's study of the US role in the transformation of Post-War Japan.

Let us now look, albeit all too briefly at Political Science and International Relations as aspects of Taiwan Studies and discuss a few of the major books published during the 1957 to 1978 period. Western political scientist and IR people were on Taiwan during these years doing their own types of research including fieldwork and interviews and participant observation. Bruce Jacobs lists thirteen pages of articles, government reports and publications and scholarly and more popular books in these linked disciplines. A perusal of this body of publications show just how much scholarly interest there was and just how much attention key figures in the ROC government paid to creation of a better image of themselves and the work of the regime.

One of the major figures was Arthur J. Lerman, a faculty member in the Political Science Department at Baruch College, your speaker's academic home for more than forty years, and then a key figure at Mercy College in Tarrytown, New York. His book based upon his Princeton PhD thesis is a readable and very insightful look at local and county level politics in the ROC. His title spells this out with perfection: *Taiwan's Politics: the Provincial Assemblyman's World*. This is one of the first detailed looks we have at this institution and the way this assembly, one that represented the people of the "province" of Taiwan, rather than the nation of China. Lerman know his theory and knows how this body was organized and how it functions and also the

nature of close-to-the-ground politics that took place. It is a very important, if all too neglected book and more scholars should know and make use of it. A second important book on local/provincial politics was researched in the 1970s and then published in 1980, a year after de-recognition took place. It was written by J. Bruce Jacobs, a Columbia University-trained political scientist who had moved to Australia to teach. His book is titled, *Local Politics in a Rural Chinese Cultural Setting: a Field Study of Mazu Township, Taiwan*. (Canberra, Australia: Contemporary China Centre, Research School of Pacific Affairs, ANU, 1980). (add endnote)

Another book, this one more ambitious and far broader was by a US. Diplomat-turned-Taiwan/China Scholar. He is Ralph Clough and his book *Island China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978) is one of first introductions to the island readers turned to get a good sense of the nature of the island. In one relatively brief volume, Clough covers domestic politics, societal issues and Taiwan's then troubled relationships with the United States and with the PRC. It is no nonsense in its approached and clear and near-elegant in its prose and can be seen as a predecessor to former AIT head, Richard Bush's important books of the early 2000's.

This research and publication can be seen as the more or less formal beginning of a subfield. But was this about Taiwan? As I have suggested at various points in this section is that it is and it isn't. Here we must discuss set of related questions. The first is this: Did Taiwan become a China surrogate with scholars looking through Taiwan to find the China they really wanted to study but couldn't. A second is this: Did scholars try to find China but found a Taiwan that was more real and fascinating than the Chinese model they were looking for? A Third is this: Did scholars come to see Taiwan as Taiwan and realize that that was what they really wanted to study and understand and appreciate—and thus become Taiwan Hands? I see these interlinked questions lying at the core this first period of Taiwan Studies.

What can be seen when looks at some , but not all , of the literature on Taiwanese life published in the 1960s and the 1970s is that many of these scholars were indeed “looking through” Taiwan for the China they expected to see. There seems to be a need to tell the scholarly and the lay audience that this little island ruled by a failed mainland regime really was what China had been like. The real and very different Taiwan was there in the descriptions of what these men and women had witnessed, by the rhetoric –the analytical insights continued to present a Chinese and not a Taiwanese reality. Men who would become senior figures in that discipline such as Arthur Wolf, Boris Pasternak, and Bernard Gallin began to do research on Taiwan-as-Taiwan as early as 1957 seemed caught in this “Taiwan as China trap and even the titles of their books reflected it.” The first major book published in anthropology during the 1960s, Bernard Gallin’ *HsinHsing, Taiwan, and a Chinese Village in Change*. Suggests “Taiwan-as-China” in it very title. Something of the same thing may be said of Wolf’s dissertation, for reading much of it, one gets the impression those “Chinese” patterns and not “Taiwanese” patterns of family relationships are being dealt with.

It is fair to say, and some such as Myron Cohen, Chair of the Columbia University’s Weather East Asian Institute, now do say that what these scholars expected to see were the patterns of Chinese life found in various provinces of the Chinese mainland, north, middle and south as defined by scholars such as Maurice Friedman. However what they did find and eventually did write about was the fact that Taiwan did not fit that classic mainland Chinese model . Rather it fit what must be called a “Han- immigrant-- to Taiwan” model. This model of society was less structured along classical lineage and surname lines and was decidedly more open, and more violent, in nature—it was an island that was a rough and tumble maritime frontier full of Han- *yuanzhumin* conflict and the kind of Han inter sub-ethnic tension that one

found in various parts of the Fujian and northern Guangdong that most of the Han immigrants to Taiwan came from. That *xiedou*(local conflicts)has been described so well in the work of the historian Harry Lamely. What we also can read in these first centuries is the nature of Han society on Taiwan that existed from the Dutch years to the years through the years of Qing dominance. This can be found in anthropologist/historian John Shepherd's masterful account of early and mid Qing Taiwan, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Qing Frontier, 1600-1800*²⁷is that Taiwan was different from historically important ways and Shepherd's discussion of the Han-aborigine encounter demonstrates this difference clearly.

If we look the missionary literature we also see Taiwan as Taiwan. Taiwan gave missionaries a new lease on the life of evangelization the missionaries had lived on the Chinese mainland. What the books by Swanson and Raber show is that the very process of evangelism was different and was not like what went on the mainland. Taiwanese seemed open at first but with economic growth and social change, they returned to more traditional Taiwanese modes of religiosity. They thanked the gods for their new found comfort and wealth and reject Christianity in and went back to the temples of the minjian gods, the temples of the Buddhists and the temples and ceremonies of the Daoists masters even as they accepted to a degree the patterns of Confucian patriarchy. The literature we have demonstrates this.

With the end of the formal American/ROC diplomatic relationship this first period in the evolution of Taiwan Studies ended. Westerners would now go to the "real" China and Taiwan would reinvent its relationship with the US and the nations of Europe even as they began, slowly to reach out to the PRC. And after 1978 scholars who really wanted to study "Taiwan-as-Taiwan" began to do more research on this somehow more pure more Taiwanese Taiwan.

Economists had started this process as had some anthropologists and now many others would follow them.

Section III. Taiwan Studies as “ding-an-sicht”, 1979-1999

Over the course of the late 1970s and into the 1980s and then the 1990s,, as Taiwan moved from what Edwin Winkler has defined as the transition from hard totalitarianism to soft totalitarianism to what might be called an embryonic democracy, Taiwan Studies ---with its members seeing that they could live through the long awaited diplomatic reorganization the break with the United States-- began to see Taiwan in a new way as a “ding-an-sich” an historical-political-economic and socio cultural entity unto itself.

The first months of the transition were troubled ones but new quasi -diplomatic organizations were created and the AIT and TECO replace the more normal diplomatic pattern of embassy to embassy/nation to nation relationship. Various institutions such as the Military Assistance Group (MAG) had to leave the island and key organizations of intellectual exchange had to change the way they work in a variety of small ways, but the process of Fulbright centered scholarly and educational exchange went ahead. That meant that scholars could come to the island to do their research and Senior Lecturers like you author could come to the island and both teach and do research on Taiwan-related projects. The western scholarly community on Taiwan recreated itself and new bonds were established that expanded the reach and degree of intellectual exchange between the researchers and the college instructors and members of Taiwanese academic and research based (here read Academia Sinica based) scholars. All this meant that a new and different and more exciting era in Taiwan Studies was beginning to take shape, as I learned over the course of 1979-1980 as I taught at two Taiwanese universities and

did research at Academia Sinica and in the field on topics related to Christianity in Taiwan and a set of other areas of research and reading.

In this section I suggest what this new era in our subfield was like and discuss a variety of scholarly books that demonstrate the coming of age of a new more focused and truly Taiwan Centered “Taiwan Studies.”

The first thing one sees is a sense of continuity. The Fulbright year went on as planned of 1979-1980, for example went on as planned .

Scholars and their families reached Taiwan in August and settled in and orientation began. What difference one did see was in the classroom, on some occasions. I taught courses in Sino American relations and students were open in their expressions of resentment toward the United States for the formal diplomatic break with Taiwan. In the local media, editorialists seemed to take special glee at the various US diplomatic disasters such as the Iran hostage crisis and the failure of the totally botched rescue plan. America, it was implied was suffering from the bad karma of abandoning the ROC and even the gods and the Buddha were angry.

By the spring of 1980, however, the hostility waned as the Taiwan Relations act went to effect and as one of its architects, visited Taiwan and spoke to the students and faculty at Furen Catholic University, an event your speaker was witness to.

There were, however different tensions and real political problems that the CCK regime faced and these did have their impact upon American scholars on the island. The hostility between the Dangwai and the KMT flared into open demonstrations and the rally that was held in front of the Gaoxiong Railroad Stations became an open confrontation that led to the arise of the major Meilidao leaders and, a later the arrest of Pastor Gao of the Presbyterian Church of

Taiwan. Some Americans, most notably a few Maryknoll priests and nuns were thrown out of the ROC for their open support of the Dangwai and Linda Arrigo, the wife of the *Meilidao* “Lenin” Shi Mingde was also sent back to the United States where she would remain until allowed back into the country in 1990. These events did have their impact on the US scholars, most especially one such as myself who was beginning to come to know and to do research on the PCT in Taipei. I was warned to be careful by my new friends at the American Studies Institute at Academia Sinica.

Yet other major programs did go on. One was the Stanford Language Program based at Taida. A second was the informal wandering seminar that some Fulbrighters and Stanford students and other American researchers all participated in. What were evolving were a network and a set of friendships that last until this day. Among those who were part of that informal seminar were Vivian Nitrify, of UC- Riverside, Parks Coble of the University of Nebraska, Jack Meskill, Prof. Emeritus, Barnard/Columbia University, and Steven Teiser, Princeton University. Few of these individuals did do work related to Taiwan, but all were affected by their year or more on Taiwan and by what they learned there.

What one also could see in the 1980s, and over the course of the 1990s, was that the ongoing process of research and publication in Taiwan Studies continued and expanded. In each of the disciplines we have discussed in the previous section, high levels of publication could be seen. Politics was a rapidly shifting realm of study from 1980 until the very end of the decade and social scientists in a variety of overlapping disciplines worked had chart emerging trends and analyzes events that demonstrated decide shifts in the way the island was governed.

What had been a repressive regime at the end of the previous decade took a more moderate approach to Dangwai political activism by 1982 and in the years that followed, years that marked the twilight of the CCK era. Those things were change was clear in the various volumes and articles published over the course of the 1980s by those who were at the time, Taiwan Hands.

A book by C.S. Song, a Presbyterian Pastor and political activist, gives us a sense of this period from the inside. His book is titled *Self Determination: the Case for Taiwan*.²⁸ This is a well written, and deeply emotional, yet clear eyed tract/ activist statement and it makes cause of Taiwanese human rights and for democracy very clear.

A second book, one by an American observer and also an activist is also important in the way it gives a fuller and deeper picture of what Taiwan was experiencing than C.S. Song did. This is Marc J. Cohen's overview of Taiwanese life in the late 1980s, *Taiwan at the Crossroads: Human Rights, Political Development and Social Change on the Beautiful Island*.²⁹ This is a powerful book with rich descriptions and detailed accounts of events. It carries the year with it and shows how much outsiders such as Cohen and the human rights activist and scholar James Seymour could and did contribute to our understanding of these years in the ROC.

A more objective volume, edited by Edmond Winkler and Susan Greenhalgh, covers this same dramatic period on Taiwan. It is *Contending Approaches to the Political Economy of Taiwan*. (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1988)³⁰ is yet another important book published this same dramatic year, 1988. The essays in this volume are sophisticated in the theoretical approaches and in the way they deal with available data in a variety of areas of study. What one also sees is that the contributors mark a change in generations of sorts and thus we encounter

Winker and his then wife Susan Greenhalgh who have different skill sets. We also meet Thomas Gold who will emerge as one of the major voices in what must be called the “sociology of development” who writes a fine piece of economic and social history. Denis Fred Simon is there with one of the articles of his in the important subject of technology transfer. This one volume contains examinations of major problems on Taiwan. It is a landmark in the development of the field of Taiwan Studies---and more.

Let us follow the political thread a bit further. By 1988-1990 things began to change as Lee Tenghui fought for control of his party and government. His handling of a student demonstration in the spring of 1990 ended peacefully, with the sociologist Chu Haiyuan acting as negotiator and President Lee ended it by promising the convening of a large scale consultative meeting that did take place in the summer of 1990 with a wide range of political figures, KMT and DPP involved. This in turn, led to the abolishment of the National Assembly—the “old legislature” and a concentration of power in the Legislative Yuan. More was done in transforming other organs of government as well. These changes, and the formal end of Martial Law began an age of more open and democratic elections and a more responsive government. Scholars and activists in Taiwan and in the west began writing about these events soon after they took place and the books of the 1990s reflect these events and what resulted from them. I will discuss a number of these books as a further example of the growth of a more Taiwanese Taiwan Studies.

One of the first of these was edited by the American diplomat and one of the key figures in the development of the Taiwan Relations Act, Harvey Feldman. Feldman and Joseph Bosco, edited a book titled *Taiwan in the modern world: Constitutional reform and the future of the Republic of China*, Studies of the East Asian Institute (Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1991). This book made use of talks and papers delivered by KMT members and DPP members

discussing the events and results of the National Consultative Conference of the summer of 1990. It captured the flavor of the meeting held at the International Studies Building of Columbia University and brought together the diplomatic old professional, Feldman with the scholar in the making, Joseph Bosco, now an anthropologist at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. These men have given us a very useful book and a glimpse of a key event.

An important monograph that examined the complex relationship between ethnic/national identity and political development came out in 1994. This was *Taiwan: National Identity and Democratization* (M.E. Sharpe 1994). It was written by Alan Wachman, of the Tufts University Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. Wachman is a political scientist but this, his first book, reads like a work of political anthropology with its fieldwork and numerous interviews. He captures important elements of Taiwan's political culture during decade of political transformation for soft totalitarianism and quasi-democracy to full democracy.

The Legislative Yuan election of 1992 proved to be a crucial one in which the DPP made important gains and demonstrated skill in developing a party platform and challenging the entrenched and powerful KMT. Tian Hongmao, then a professor of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin and later a member of the Chen Shuibian administration, held a conference that produced a most useful book. This was *Taiwan's Electoral Politics and Democratic Transition* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1996).

Each of these books dealt with politics and political and administrative development. There was another aspect of the "political" and that is in the related realm of international relations. In this discipline, we also find new and important books published, books that reflect Taiwan's changing international realities. One major book here is *Taiwan's Expanding Role in*

the International Arena, edited by Maysing Yang, a high ranking figure in the DPP's Department of Foreign Policy and published by M. E. Sharpe's Taiwan in the Modern World Series.

If look at the Taiwanese economy w, we find yet another M. E. Sharpe book of some importance. This was N. T. Wang, editor, *Taiwan's Enterprises in Global Perspective* (Armonk, N. Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1992). Another book that covers similar ground, but from a different perspective is the Steve Chan and Cal Clark collaboration, *Flexibility and Foresight in Taiwan's Development: Navigating Between Scylla and Charbdis* (London: Routledge, 1992).

Let talk about this series for it is one that I know from the inside. I became acquainted with Douglas Merwin the EastAsian editor of M. E. Sharpe, when I submitted the manuscript of my first book, *The Protestant Community on Modern Taiwan*. That book was published in 1991. I would go on to publish three more books with Sharpe, each an edited volume about different aspects of Taiwan's history, society and culture. By then Sharpe had published a number of important books about Taiwan and Merwin saw the field had great potential as it was evolving ever faster. He asked if I would serve as the series editor of what became Taiwan in the Modern World and over the next ten to twelve year a larger and larger number of books would be published in that series. Only a major change in Sharpe's editorial direction did the series come to an end. For me, it was a sad end to a long and successful run—if I may use that Broadway or TV term.

Let us shift now to another discipline we examined in the previous section, anthropology. I had suggested that students of the first and second generations of anthropologists had been doing field work on Taiwan during the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s. Over the course of

the 1980s, a number of these scholars published their first books. P. Steven Sangren, Arthur Wolf's student published his masterful study, *History and Magical Power in a Chinese Community*

(Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987), a book that combined fieldwork with sophisticated theoretical perspectives and analyses. This book appeared in 1993. That same year, Emily Martin Ahern's student, Robert Weller had his equally masterful study of religion in a Taipei Basin village, *Unities and Diversities in Chinese Religion* (London: Macmillan, 1987) was published. He, like Sangren would go to produce more monographs and research based articles and essays over the decade and a half that followed and would emerge as major figure in their field. Each man would also work with numerous students who would produce their own body of articles and books by the time this bibliographic essay you are reading was completed.

A new field of academic study also evolved during this Taiwan-centered period that began in 1979. That field was Feminist Studies. In 1990, the year of the *Guoshihui*, three scholars combine resources and published *Women in Taiwan Politics: Overcoming Barriers to Women's Participation in a Modernizing Society*. (Boulder Colorado, : Lynn Reinner, 1990). Chou Biher, Cal Clark and Janet Clark wrote a brief but detail study of the role of women in the new Taiwanese democracy. What they showed was women had come to find a place in the various legislative organs and in the administrative organs as well. This book was proof of the fact that the new feminist movement, with its many participants and multiple grassroots organizations had succeeded in carving out space and made what had been a powerfully patriarchal society open its ranks to the other sex. More hand to be done, the authors recognized, but accomplishments had been sizable.

Four years later, your author first edited volume of essay, one that examined the underside of the Taiwan Miracle was published. It was titled *The Other Taiwan* (Armonk, New York, M.E. Sharpe, 1994). Articles covering a wide variety of disciplines and topics were included in that book. Ethnic politics, dissident politics, radical religion, and environmentalism were all among the disciplines covered. Another of those disciplines was emerging Feminist Studies. Chou Biher wrote on women in the ROC labor force in a very useful article. However, it was the other article on women that had greater impact. This was a history of the Taiwanese women's movement written by its founder, the lawyer, feminist activist, author and dissident political leader, Lu Annette Xiulian. This was well written and impassioned piece of writing and it gave western readers a feel for an important Taiwanese social movement. Your speaker would return to Ms Lu and her career in an edited volume on women in Taiwan published in the first decade of the 21st Century.

There is a distinct overlap, in some cases between Women's Studies and the study of Taiwanese literature. We can see this most clearly in a book of translations of the work of the Taiwanese novelist, columnist and feminist activist Li Ang. Howard Goldblatt, the master of translation and literary analysis is now teaching at Notre Dame University with his wife and collaborator—and student of Taiwanese (and Chinese) novels and films, Sylvia Lin. In 1990 she wrote an introductory essay about and then translated and had published translations of Ms. Li's famous first novel *Shafu* (literally "kill(the) Husband") or *The Butcher's Wife* and number of her short stories. It is an excellent introduction to this prolific and controversial Taiwanese author and political activist. She and her powerful Lugang-based old-Taiwan family, Shi's—descendants of Shi Lang, the Qing Dynasty conquerer of Taiwan, supported Ms. Lu over the

course of her careers as feminist activist and Dangwai/DPP political leader. The present and impact *guanxi* are to be found wherever one looks on Taiwan.

When we look the works of other major students of literature and a related set of collaborative volumes, we see this relationship between feminism and literature and much more. Four of the other most talent and sophisticated students of Taiwanese literature I have come to know are Yvonne Chang, David Wang, and Christopher Lupke. Here let me introduce some of the major work of Sun-sheng Chang and in the next section, on the period 2000 to 2011, discuss the work that the others have done as book editors and as authors of essays and monographs.

Sung-sheng Yvonne Chang did her undergraduate work at Taida, her MA in Literature at Michigan, and a double Ph.D at Stanford and has written two histories of Taiwanese literature and a host of important articles. Here I shall introduce just one her works, *Modernism and Nativist Resistance: Contemporary Chinese Fiction From Taiwan*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993). This a clearly written, well defined, and sophisticated analysis of the major stages of the development of Chinese literature on Taiwan. It goes up to the early 1980s. Second book on the history of Taiwanese literature was published in the decade that followed. I see this as the one book students of Taiwanese Studies must read about literature and literature criticism about Taiwan. It opens us to as world most of us simply do not know.

Let me make mention of another book, here. It is a book that was an attempt to create edited volume that brought together specialists in different aspects of Taiwan's history, economic and political development, and cultural/religious development. This book is *Taiwan, a new history*(Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1999) and it was edited by your speaker. For many in

the United States and beyond, I have discovered, it has met that need. That book was published as the 20th century came to its near end in 1999. A second, expanded version appeared in 2007.

There is yet one more book we must discuss and I have waited for this point in my speech to do so. This is Stephen O. Murray and Keelung Hong, *Taiwanese Culture, Taiwanese Society* (Lanham, Maryland: American University Press, 1994). This is a difficult book to write about because it critiques the field we have examined thus far, Taiwan Studies, in a harsh and critical way that I say it does not deserve. It is, to put it simply, a declaration of war on mainstream scholarship about Taiwan. This is Stephen O. Murray and Kelung Hong's *Taiwanese Culture, Taiwanese Society*. This book first appeared as a harsh attack on Taiwan Studies by two scholars who defined themselves as outsiders who represented a more realistic and Taiwan-centered view of the field. Deservedly harsh criticism followed and the authors then decided to moderate their own study and also add a valuable listing and discussion of many articles that had been written on the field up to the book's publication date of 1996. The book as now written contains much that is useful to the reader, though some of the language of the "attack dog" does remain in place. Students of our field will find it useful, even if the rhetoric does sound somewhat strident at times.

Now let us move on the first decade of the new millennium and see what trends in Taiwan Studies can be found.

Section IV. Taiwan and Taiwan Studies in the New Millennium, 2000-2011

This final section examines the development of Taiwan Studies as it evolved within the context of the larger Taiwan experience of the first decade of the 21st century. It has been, as we here long us know all too well, an often dramatic --- and at moments serious-yet –comic period in the history of Taiwan> it has been, as well, an equally dramatic and difficult and oft-times exhilarating era in the history of our unique multi -disciplinary field of study. What we have seen and studied and written about have been no less than the series of large scale sea-changes that governments and the populations of Taiwan, PRC and the third player in the great game, the United States all experienced and dealt with .

We all know the political events of this first decade of the new century and of the failure of a man, Chen Shuibian, but not a party, the DPP.

Whatever the failures of President Chen—and they are many in domestic and foreign policy and in cross strait relations, there was one thing he did do successfully—he pushed an agenda of Taiwan as Taiwan and strove to help the various ethnic groups define their own distinct identities. He also pushed the educational system to include such things as Hakka Studies and gave new encouragement to *yuanzhimin* tribal/linguistic populations in their search for self-hood. Some of the new scholarly literature of the period reflects this change.

His sometimes troublesome vice president started badly by alienating various groups and at times embarrassing the president. However she was also an asset and did take heat that the president would have taken for his seeming indecision on various issues such as Nuclear Power Plant #4.

The Chen government's China policy, such as it was, was also troublesome.

What the DPP president did was let his political base run his policy, or so it seemed. He was never able or unwilling to accept the harsh reality that had begun emerging since the early 1990s—that Taiwan was already heavily engaged in multiple levels of cross-strait relations. The major industrial firms had shown they were aware of China and the opportunities that China presented as a place for direct investment of capital resources and manpower resources. Both the high tech sector and the twilight, low tech sector began to invest in key areas of China, thus helping the new and more open Chinese economy develop as quickly as it did. The US government realized this as did the Rand Corporation and the publications of a key congressional committee and the Rand report, *Shanghaied* made this clear.³¹ Another major observer of the shift in ROC assets was the American Chamber of Commerce in Taipei. Amcham was both player and observer and its magazine *Topics* is an incredibly rich source of data that not enough scholars take advantage of. Over the course of the 1990s and into the first decade of the 21st Century, *Topics* provide article after article spelling out the nature of the major shift in industry and in personnel involved with that industry in its monthly issues.

The Chen government's formal policies with the PRC were troublesome as well and the decision to have a referendum on ROC-PRC policy in the 2004 election and the reaction of both the Taiwan populace and the PRC demonstrated how misguided the policy was. All that gave him victory that year was the assassination attempt that many observers suggest was the work of the Taiwanese criminal underground that had bet heavily on Chen's victory and ended up giving it to him. The chaotic second term, with the many attempts to remove the president or at least handicap him demonstrate his weakness and ineptitude even more tellingly

Did Chen do anything right. I would argue that what this administration government did do right—and pretty well, from the perspective of those in Taiwan Studies, was push for

institutional change that helped promote the island's Taiwanese-ness. Taiwan Studies became a viable field for many institutes of Taiwan Studies took root. Even Academia Sinica joined in with its own Taiwan History Institute and the continued Taiwanization of what had been a Mainlander academic stronghold in the 1970s, as many of us remember.

Our examination of trends in scholarship have been central to this speech, but here we must shift a bit and discuss related issues, before returning once again to the production of scholarly works. Let me begin with the expansion of the field itself in various institutional contexts. What we see from the 1980s onward is an attempt to define a field through organization. Thus the founding of the Taiwan Studies Group of the AAS in the 1980s with its headquarters at Michigan State University came at a key moment in the life of the field. Jack Williams, a professor of Geography at that great university, was one of the founders and leaders the TSG and he was followed by Paris Chang of Pennsylvania State University and then myself, Murray A. Rubinstein.

One of the highpoints in the life of that organizations came in 1988 when a Taiwan Studies Conference that including scholars from the PRC, Taiwan—including Lu Xiulian, the United States, with Jack Williams, Jack Wills, Hill Gates, and a host of others—including your author, in attendance. For me, that conference was a critical moment and redefined my research. It was the beginning of three research and *guanxi* trips to Fujian that resulted in a number of articles on religious pilgrimage from Taiwan to Meizhoudao, the home of the Mazu Cult and a related number of articles and self-made and edited amateur documentaries.

The organization had vital and viable existence throughout the 1990s and into the new millennium. It still exists, though with a lower profile and my hope is that some younger and

more enterprising scholar will accept the reins of leadership now that I am retiring from a fulltime teaching at college, Baruch that is part of a major urban university system, the city University of New York. I must at that at one of the last formal meetings of the TSG the question “ Is Taiwan Studies Dead” was raised by me and answers were given by many of those in attendance. This took place at the San Francisco-based AAS Annual Meeting of 2006.

About a decade ago, a new European association dedicate to the study of Taiwan was established and began to hold annual meetings. This is EATS—the European Association of Taiwan Studies, based at SOAS. The meetings are held a nations and cities throughout Europe and in recent years universities in Madrid, Prague, Tubingen and Slovenia have been held with scholars such as Henry Tsai, Thomas Gold and your author giving the keynote addresses. I see this as an important body and have been and will continue to be involved with it in the years to come, giving papers, meeting a wide range of scholars and, hopefully developing new projects devoted to Taiwanese issues and problems.(ff EATS website) .

By the 1990s Taiwan Studies programs had begun at such educational institutions as Tamkang University in Tamsui. New programs in Taiwan Studies in the west and on Taiwan have also been developed, often with Jiaoyubu support over the course of years that followed. We now see the program at the University of Texas in Austin with Yvonne Chang as its chair as one such program. Another is found at the University at Tubingen in Germany. Such institutes and programs proved to be a red flag to PRC officials and they responded to this perceived ROC scholarly threat by funding so called Confucian Institutes at a number of universities in North America and in Europe. One is at Pace University in New York and is led by the superb SOAS-trained scholar of Chinese Christianity, Joseph Li. Another is at the university in Leipsig and is

headed by Philip Clart, a student of Daniel Overmeyer of the University of British Columbia and a masterful specialist in Chinese and Taiwanese religious history in his own right.

With ROC backing, Taiwan-Centered seminars were put into place at such major institutions as Harvard. Over the years that followed other universities put in place seminars on Taiwan or held annual meetings on Taiwan Studies. The one that has been existence the longest, to my knowledge is the one based at the James (Dixie)Walker Institute of International Studies of the University of South Carolina. Here TECO provides support on a host of levels as it has done at Harvard at the University of South Carolina. Chairs dedicated to Taiwan Studies—such as the one at the University of California, San Diego were also established, here with private funding. Liao Pinghui, formerly a key member of faculty and more at Xinghua University was appointed to that position. Taiwan Studies courses, such as the one I taught at Baruch CUNY, have recent helped to develop and teach at Columbia, as the result of a TECO grant are also now in place. There are now a host of institutes, many with their own websites.³²

Before I return to my review of scholarship I must discuss what of the new technology that gives us greater access to material related to Taiwan. It must be clear to all of us here that the new information technology has revolutionized the nature of creating archives and allowing scholars to access them and Taiwan as a major player in the development of information systems hardware and software is one place where we can see the new modes of research at first. As one who has been coming to Taiwan for more than thirty years, I was witness to the revolution in each of its stages—down to present. What I have seen is that the Taiwan of 1979 was deeply involved on setting up conventional forms of archives, many of which were open to scholars. The research institutes of Academia Sinica, the major public libraries such as the National Central library, and specific institutions such as seminaries and churches and temples

all had their own collections and many of these were open to the researcher . As the new technologies took hold some of these institutions were at the cutting edge, learning about and the making use of the new storage and access technologies that change the very nature of modern data storage and access. I must add that as a man who had a wife who had a thirty five year long career in IT with a host of major companies often at the cutting edge of this process of IT related development, I could understand what I was seeing evolve before year after year after year. And today, as one writing about the process of technology transfer and the role of American companies in Taiwan's consumer electronics and computer/peripheral/chip industry, I understand the process even more deeply. One might call this the data-base/ website revolution. Over the course of that last decade or more, the Taiwan -based websites have been created by major institutions and host of other organizations from churches to business advocacy umbrella groups. Many of these public and private bodies have been made accessible. A number of these institutions have created electronic files of their own with their large collections of Taiwanese - centered archival materials . These are readily searchable by scholars and students. They are a new goldmine for the modern scholar and we can see the impact of these new online materials in a number of important new essays and books. When one adds to this the number of scholarly works like M.A theses and doctoral theses from Taiwan and the west on line that deal with major pre-1959 research topics we get an even better idea of how readily this first period of Taiwanese history and those that followed can be studied by even the lay reader. Obviously this new technology is not a product of the Proto-Taiwan Studies period. However, the materials available as a result of this new technology that deal with these early stages of Taiwan's historical development is now available to an unprecedented degree and thus I felt I had to discuss this issue, so central to what we all are at this juncture in my talk.

But now I must return to scholarship and present the conclusion to my large scale overview. I start with the dismal science, economics and a number of books that dealt with the Taiwan Miracle from the vantage point of the 1990s and the years 2000-2011. The first such book is a large scale one. This is Li-min Hseuh, Chen-kuo Hsu and Dwight Perkins, *Industrialization and the State: the Changing Role of the Taiwan Government in the Economy, 1945-1998*. This is a large and detailed work that covers the various time periods of development carefully and in a sophisticated and clear fashion. It is basic reading on this important subject. A second and equally important book that focuses on the political dynamics of the developmental process is Yong-ping Wu, *A Political Explanation of Economic Growth: State Survival, Bureaucratic Politics and Private Enterprises in the Making of Taiwan's Economy, 1950-1985*. Here we have a detailed inside look at the workings of the developmental process on Taiwan that places things on the level of human interaction. Again, I must say that it is a must read. Yet a third is a detailed study of a late period in the process that focuses on the human dynamics involved. This is Anru Lee's Anru Lee, *In the Name of Harmony and Prosperity: Labor and Gender In Taiwan's Economic Restructuring*. This is the work of a young anthropologist who shows us the nature and impact of the shift of industrial resources to the PRC. Lee then began studying the development of the MRT systems in Taipei and Gaoxiong and show how differently these systems operated and what impact each had on life in each of these major cities, north and south. It is a natural follow-up to Lee's first book. A fourth book that covers the process of development from another perspective is J. Megan Greene, *The Origins of the Developmental State in Taiwan: Science Policy and the Quest for Modernization* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008). Here we have a book that centers on the way science began to serve the needs of the state's industrialization process. It also gives us a sense of the importance of the role

of one major actor, K.T. Li. Li was a man many considered to be the architect of the modernization process and the man who brought American hi-tech companies to Taiwan to serve as the vanguard of the Taiwanese miracle. Li's life and work and impact is the subject of another important recent book, Sophia Wang's detailed *study K.T. Li and the Taiwan Experience*.

Let us now shift to Religious Studies. Here I want to discuss the work of one major younger scholar in our field, Paul R. Katz. Katz did his undergraduate work at Yale and his graduate work in Chinese Religion at Princeton under the well known and very productive student of Chinese Buddhism, Steen Teiser. He has spend his teaching and research career on Taiwan and the PRC and his work has become increasingly sophisticated and important His two first books deal with god with the or origins in the Chinese Mainland. One of those gods(or set of gods), Wang Yeh, does become linked to Taiwan. This is Paul R.Katz, *Demon Hordes and Burning Boats: The Cult of Marshal Wen in Late Imperial*. Let us now shift to Religious Studies. Here I want to discuss the work of one

The three English language books that followed centered on Taiwan. The first of these was co-edited edited volume of essays, *Religion and the Formation of Taiwanese Identities* (New York: Palgrave-MacMillan, 2004) The second of these was a study of millenarian rebellion against the Japanese that occurred in the second decade of the 20th Century, *When the Rivers Ran Red with Blood* (Honolulu, Hawaii, 2005). The third was a book on the links between religion and judicial process in China and on Taiwan that came out in 2010. These works and numerous essays in conference volumes and edited books such as the Clart and Jones book on post war Taiwanese Religion demonstrate how one westerner has come to change the way we see various aspects of Taiwan's (and China's) rich religious heritage and religious life.

There is another impressive younger scholar who has produced a strong body of work in this decade as well. This is Marc Moskowitz of the Anthropology Department of the University of South Carolina. His first major book was the monograph, *The Haunted Fetus: Abortion, Sexuality, and the Spirit World in Taiwan*. It is a fascinating picture of abortion and its relationship to the spirit world and popular religion on Taiwan. His second book is an edited volume, *The Minor Arts of Daily Life: Popular Culture in Taiwan*. This is a rich book that highlights many aspects of Taiwanese life, from Mandopop to Gay culture in Taiwan, to night markets to baseball. His second monograph deals with popular music on Taiwan and in China--Mandopop. This is a richly detailed look at a form of music that blends western and Taiwanese and Chinese pop culture and provides a valuable and exciting form of entertainment, and often performance, for the individuals on both sides of the Taiwan Strait. Moskowitz's new project shows us another important trend, the willingness of students of Taiwanese culture and society to move to China to find new topics to study and write about. His new research is on *Weichi* and masculinity in Beijing and this demonstrates his new topic and his new site in the capital of the PRC.

In the previous section, I discussed the new literature on Taiwanese feminism. This field expanded as well in the new century. One such book was an edited volume put together with your author, Anru Lee and Catherine Farris. This is *Women in the New Taiwan* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2007). Reviewers and scholars have found this to be an interesting volume that contained a set of valuable essays, and essays that students of Chinese and Taiwanese feminism and Taiwanese society could put to good use. A second and equally important recently published monograph deals with women's history. This is Doris T. Chang's *Women's Movements in Twentieth Century Taiwan* (Urbana Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2009). This is a detailed,

well thought through and well written piece of intellectual and social history. It will be standard work in the field for years to come.

There is one final aspect of Taiwan Scholarship in this period to look at—history. Two of the most important works in this discipline were written by Prof. Shih-shan Henry Tsai, our host. Lest this sound like I simply feel I have to show my obeisance to our host, let me say that I knew of his work on the Ming Dynasty before I was asked to review for publication his well-written, carefully researched and sensitive biography *Lee Teng-Hui and Taiwan's Quest for Identity* (New York, N.Y.: Palgrave, 2005) and his *Maritime Taiwan* (Armonk, N.Y. : M. E. Sharpe, 2008). I enjoyed my time with each book and was happy to tell the publishers that. Thus I wanted to make mention of each of them. They are very valuable books--- wise, wonderfully written and accessible.

Let me end my review of scholarship here and, in the conclusion deal with the “Is Taiwan Studies Dead?” problem.

Dealing with the “Is Taiwan Studies Dead” Problem: Some Conclusions to a Study of Taiwan Studies in Mid- 2013

“Is Taiwan Studies Dead?”³³: That was the question that I asked and attempted to answer in my keynote speech given at the annual conference of the European Association of Taiwan Studies (EATS) held in Madrid in 2008 . The Q& A session that followed that speech proved to be a lively one and a number of the younger scholars who were in attendance found the speech provocative and disturbing and was more than willing to challenge me.

That answer to the question that I asked my audience—and myself -- in that essay was seemingly. In the essay itself, I began by creating an historical context by spelling out, as I will do, in a somewhat more sophisticated fashion in this speech/essay, how Taiwan studies as a distinctive subfield evolved from the late 1950s until 1987 and beyond. It was, I suggested, a multi-staged process of development that reflected the major changes in the very nature of Taiwan itself over the course of those important and often dramatic years in recent ROC history. To understand Taiwan Studies, as it now exists, I argued then, meant that one had to understand the major sets of changes in Taiwan's foreign policy, its domestic politics, its economic development, its society and its culture during the over the course of that span of years. I then argued that the dramatic changes that had begun in 1987 with CCK's announcement of the end of martial law and the opening to the Chinese Mainland --to the PRC --was to be limited at first, but it soon expanded ever more rapidly and led to the beginning of anew and even more dramatic sets of transformations that are still unfolding as I speak. I then argued that those changes in the public sphere—in the reality of Taiwanese life as it was then -- began to force those of us who studied Taiwan to recognize that we might have to rethink what we do in each of our areas of research and writing and teaching. It became clear, that year after year our field, like the nation of Taiwan/ROC that it reflects, was being directly and profoundly affected by the increasingly rapid transformation of the multi-leveled PRC/ROC relationship, as well as its relationship with the United States and the nations of Western Europe and East Asia and Southeast Asia. This new relationship also had and would continue to have an ever larger impact on the Taiwan's in-island domestic development. Those of us in Taiwan Studies could not stand still: We found--and continue to find ---that these "sea changes" were now having a direct effect on the very nature of

and meaning of and course of research in our sub-field , one that many of us here are so totally involved in and so passionate about.

In the years since that conference in Madrid, I have meditated upon some of those questions and comments and on the comments of some of those scholars in attendance such as the European scholars (but individuals who were often Taiwan –based) Stefan Corcuff, Ann Heylen and Jens Dam have spoken to me or written to me. We were then and continue to dialoguing with these and a host of other European “Taiwanologists” over the years months since that EATS conference in that most marvelous of Spanish cultural capitals, Madrid.

My rethinking of the essay, “Is Taiwan Studies Dead” and its and its sober message really began at the EATS conference in Madrid when, instead of thinking about the years of retirement that lay before me, I began to re-immense myself in the study of Taiwan, with an ever increasing degree of intensity. The idea becoming the country gentleman—of sorts was and remains alluring. I looked forward to having with nothing more to ponder than the level of my golf game and the quality of my growing collection of golf sets. I must admit here that I have my own golf museum of sorts that includes several Made-In-Taiwan sets among the forty or more that I now own and display in my now very crowded garage. However Taiwan-related project were calling from many directions. Book manuscripts, thankfully on line, had to be read and commented upon. Books related to Taiwan had to be reviewed. Research proposals on Taiwan centered projects had to be analyzed and commented upon from grant giving bodies in the United States, Canada, Europe and Hong Kong. The demand to become ever more the Taiwan hand was overwhelming. And then fate stepped in to draw me back to the source. The Director of the Cultural Affairs division of TECO in NYC asked if I wanted to apply for Senior Scholar Grant and thus in the late summer of 2009 was back in Taipei again, working on a project I called “The

Americanization of Taiwan.” I began to see more and more of what was being done in the field. 2010 saw me there again for both research and explorations of the island and its mother province, Fujian with my wife, Arlene, who had not been back to Taiwan since the year of my year as Senior Fulbright professor at Furen and Tamkang in the 1979-1980 school year. When I returned to NY in late June I began to work on a new project, developing Taiwan Studies as a teaching field and a research field by presenting papers at various conferences. I became, at the invitation of Myron Cohen, Chair the Weather head Institute of East Asian Studies of Columbia University—a visiting professor at that institute and a member of the Department of Anthropology. Professor Cohen and I developed three new courses in Taiwan Studies I taught and co-taught another with Professor Cohen. Here again TECO been involved by funding the Weather head Institute and thus allowing us to develop these new and exciting courses for Columbia’s students number of new courses about Taiwan. That process of course development /teaching is now over, as is my long career as Professor of History at Baruch/CUNY, but my new life, one devoted to Taiwan Studies and yes, golf and travel , now begin in the 1011 Jiatong conference and has taken me to Taiwan for the first International Congress of Taiwan Studies in 2012 and to this conference.

As I have suggested over the course of this paper I saw again and again Taiwan Studies has been reborn in spirit and substance and approach even as the nation we study has reinvented itself and dealt with the realities of a new and deeper relationship with the PRC. Thus over these last years ,since roughly 1988, it has and continues to undergo a process of transfiguration that parallels the transformation/transfiguration of the island nation (province) of Taiwan that this highly inter-disciplinary field of ours centers on.

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¹When I had almost finish writing this speech/essay I discovered two very useful articles in Issues and Studies that had been written on the evolution of Taiwan Studies. What I found were important similarities and differences with the approach I have taken. I will cited these articles at times and show where I am in agreement and where I differ with the time-line and other aspects of my own article/speech these two important pieces. The first of these is T.J. Cheng and Andrew Marble, Taiwan Studies and the Social Sciences”*Issues & Studies*(40, nos. ¾). September/December 2004) 9-57.The second is Deborah Brown, Organizations That Support

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⁷Wu Zhuolin, (with translation by Duncan Hunter) *The Fig Tree: Memoir of a Taiwanese Patriot* (Bloomington, Indiana: Duncan Hunter, 2002).

⁸ H. Maclear Bate, *Report from Formosa* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1952).

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¹⁰ The best book on the Japanese that makes this case for the “nation building/democratization” strategy that I have read is Theodore Cohen, *Remaking Japan: the American Occupation as New Deal* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).

¹¹ This argument that Taiwan became China was spelled out in detailed, and with a fiery rhetoric all its own, by Stephen O. Murray and Keelung Hong, in their still controversial and challenging book, *Taiwanese Culture, Taiwanese Society: A Critical Review of Social Science Research done on Taiwan*. See Stephen O. Murray and Keelung Hong,*Taiwanese Culture, Taiwanese Society: A Critical Review of Social Science Research done on Taiwan* (Lanham Maryland: American University Press, 1994).

¹² Arthur Wolf, “Marriage and Adoption in a Hokkien Village” Dissertation (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, 1964)

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- ³¹ Your speaker has examined these materials in a long and yet unpublished essay
- ³²These institutes and centers include the following:

Graduate Institute of Taiwan Studies - Chang Jung Christian University

Tainan, Taiwan 

Taiwan Institute of the Foreign Policy Association (NY NY)

The Taiwan Studies Programme at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS)

The Taiwan Programme at the Institute of East Asia, Normal Superior School, Lyon

The European Research Center on Contemporary Taiwan the University of Tübingen (Germany)

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The Institute of Taiwan Studies, The School of Asia-Pacific Studies, Sun Yat-Sen University,
Guangzhou, China

Institute of Taiwan Studies (ITS)
Tsinghua University

³³ Murray A. Rubinstein, "Is Taiwan Studies Dead," EATS Conference, Madrid Spain, 2008

