

4. Gentry and Their Social Activities at Jiangshanlou

The gentry class in traditional Chinese society had a great influence on the public, because they were either governmental officials or closely associated with the ruling power. Their social rank was higher than that of businessmen. The Han people brought this idea to Taiwan, however this situation changed over time. After the Shimonoseki Treaty, the Japanese became the ruling power and the term “gentry” came to include wealthy businessmen. Jiangshanlou became an excellent place for the gentry to socialize with the new ruling power. Issues concerning Taiwan’s new gentry will be discussed in this chapter and some famous members of the gentry will be introduced.

4.1 Definition of the gentry

The term “shen-shih (gentry)” in Chinese referred to people in the upper class of the society. Fei Hsiaotung defined the gentry as a class of persons with a definite position and function. Chang Chungli, in his research on the Chinese gentry in the nineteenth-century, stated that a gentry position was obtained through “the acquisition of a title, grade, degree, or official rank which automatically made the holder a member of the *shen-shih* group. The titles, grades, and degrees were meant to indicate the holders’ educational standing. Official rank was generally conferred only upon people who had such proof of their educational standing.”¹ In general, Chinese society respected the gentry and regarded them as a high social class, thus many people tried to promote themselves to this class.

People could promote themselves to the gentry through two methods. One was to pass the official exams through educational qualifications, which usually took decades,

¹ Chang Chung-Li, *The Chinese Gentry: Studies on Their Role in Nineteenth-century Chinese Society*, p.3.

while the other way was to buy an educational title. “In their educational standard and social position these members of the gentry who had achieved their position through examination were superior to those who had purchased their titles.”² Those who purchased academic titles could also purchase official ranks or positions. Whether the title was obtained through examination or purchase, the gentry usually had great influence in Chinese society.

Traditional Chinese society reserved honor and respect for those who were scholars, because they usually had traditional virtues and social reputations, and it was easier for them to obtain official titles and positions. In the past, both national and local leaders were supposed to be people of learning, retired officials or landlords. Businessmen in Chinese society were regarded as holding a lower social rank and could not be leaders. They were not allowed to have social intercourse with the gentry. On frequent occasions society requested businessmen and peasants to contribute money to public affairs, but they were denied participation in the administration of affairs. Nevertheless, rich salt merchants, owners of big pawnshops, and merchants of shipping business may have gained some control over local affairs by spending a lot of money on local officials or on corrupted members of the gentry under the table.

However, when the Qing government was confronted by the inevitability of industrialization, the social status of businessmen was upgraded. “In the years of revolution both the revolutionists and the warlords had alike to rely on merchants, bankers and factory proprietors for war and government finances.... In both the national and local governments there were high officials whose backgrounds were in business. On many occasions and in numerous cases they were influential officials,

² Chang, Chung-Li. *The Chinese Gentry: Studies on Their Role in Nineteenth-century Chinese Society*, p.p. 3-4.

that is, they had the real power.”³ Businessmen’s contribution to the government helped them to obtain real power and enable them to become gentry. The boundary between the gentry and businessmen thus became blurred. Fei Hsiaotung divided the Chinese political structure into central authorities and half-autonomous local administrations. He stated that there should be lubricants between them such as local heads and the gentry. Local heads included officials of the lowest administrative positions and quasi-officials. Quasi-officials, such as zong-li, dong-shi, zhuang-zheng and zhuang-fu, were recommended by local villages to maintain public security. Though they did not have real administrative power, the government relied on them to inspect households and collect taxes. Unlike local heads, the gentry did not depend on the official classes; on the other hand, the government usually took the initiative in cooperating with the gentry, known as guan-shen-he-zuo and guan-shang-he-zuo.⁴ As the gentry and businessmen, most of whom were wealthy, merged at the end of the Qing dynasty⁵ the term “gentry” came to refer to traditional Chinese gentry with scholarly proclivity and wealthy businessman. In the development of Dadaocheng, business activities and organizations were the main components. Businessmen created economic profits in Dadaocheng, and thus became local leaders. In the Qing dynasty, many wealthy businessmen sought to propel themselves into the gentry after their business had stabilized. In order to obtain the title of “gentry”, many businessmen either purchased the title themselves or forced their children to study and take the national examination.⁶

After the Japanese came to Taiwan in 1895, Qing government officials with little interest in Taiwan went back to China. However, many businessmen and landlords chose to stay in Taiwan and took on posts in social associations such as bao-liang-ju, i.e., the public security organization,⁷ and had dealings with the new Japanese

³ Yang, M. C. Martin. *Chinese Social Structure: A Historical Study*, p.p.316-317.

⁴ Su, Shuo Bin had a detailed research on local heads and gentries in his paper “Taipei Society in Late Imperial China: The Practical Order Between the Society and the State”.

⁵ Ibid. P.49.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Yang, Jong Bin described in his thesis that Gu Xianrong suggested the Minister of Civil Affairs to establish bao-liang-ju in Taiwan to control public security, and Li Chunsheng was in charge of the project in Taipei. Li wrote in the project that the purpose of bao-liang-ju was to play the intermediate role between the government and the citizens so that the policies could be practiced smoothly and the

authority. Lamley's description explained the situation: "The initial group of Taiwanese servitors consisted of a marginal set of collaborators, along with local spokesmen, who cooperated with the Japanese mainly to protect their neighborhoods and villages from armed conflict. Among the latter type were merchants and gentry holdovers who managed bureaus (pao-liang-chu)⁸ to protect law-abiding inhabitants and, subsequently, the pao-chia bureau and branches. Some of these managers were appointed to minor posts later on or else served as hoko functionaries, as did other inhabitants who had been pao and chia head."⁹

Those who took the posts were mainly composed of rich business tycoons such as Gu Xianrong and Li Chunsheng. When Kodama Gentaro and Goto Shimpei were in power, they intended to cultivate a large range of gentry who would cooperate with the government and bridge the gap between the Japanese and the Taiwanese. The "Shinsho medal" was invented to honor the gentry, many of whom were involved with business. The thriving business in Dadaocheng created a new gentry class. The gentry participated in local affairs and associations to maintain their relationships with the gentry and the government; meanwhile, they played intermediate roles between the Japanese authorities and Taiwanese citizens and thus became social elites who had great influence over society and were protected by the Japanese authorities.

4.2 Some famous members of the gentry in Dadaocheng under Japanese rule

public's voice could be heard in hopes of preventing rumors and stabilizing the society.

⁸ In Lamley's article, "bao-liang-ju" is spelt as "pao-liang-chu" and "bao-jia" is spelt as "pao-chia".

⁹ Lamley, J. Harry. "Taiwan Under Japanese Rule, 1895-1945: The Vicissitudes of Colonialism" in Murry A. Rubinstein, ed., TAIWAN: A New History, p209.

4.2.1 Li Chunsheng (1838~1924)

Li Chunsheng was born on January 12th, 1838 in Amoy, Fukien Province, China. His father, Li Desheng, was a boatman and the family led a hard life. Li Chunsheng was the youngest of three brothers and a sister. Though Li Chunsheng at one point attended the si-shu¹⁰, he was forced to drop out of school to sell candy due to poverty. He converted to Christianity at fourteen and came into contact with many clergymen from the West, learning to speak fluent English. In 1857, in his twenties, Li served as a comprador in the British company Elles & Co. in Amoy. He was in charge of the import and export of tea leaves as well as some foreign commodities. He was diligent in his work and thus won the trust of his boss. When the “Taiping rebellion”¹¹ occurred, insurgent troops occupied Fukien, and all businesses were interrupted. His boss closed down the company in Amoy in 1865 but recommended Li Chunsheng to his friend, John Dodd, who had established Dodd & Co. in Tamsui. Dodd & Co. dealt in Taiwanese camphor and tea leaves, at one time operating a ship dismantlement business in Taiwan. Dodd was recorded as the first person who popularized Taiwan tea leaves. Li came to Taiwan and worked for Dodd in late 1860’s as their general comprador in Manka. There are conflicting reports about the time when Li Chunsheng came to Taiwan. Nakanisi Gorou wrote a biography of Li Chunsheng (published in 1908) stating that Li came to Taiwan in 1865; but in the historical manuscripts of Taiwan annals, Li wrote that he came to Taiwan in 1866; and on his epitaph it was inscribed that he came to Taiwan in 1868. Whichever statement is correct, both Li and John Dodd played important roles in helping to popularize Taiwanese Oolong Tea.

¹⁰ A si-shu was a private Chinese school, where Chinese and Taiwanese parents sent their children to study Chinese. The teaching method in a si-shu was usually lots of drill in reading and writing.

¹¹ Hong Xiuchun (1814~1864) initiated a revolution in Guangxi province to rebel against the Qing government in the name of Christianity in 1851. The insurgent troops were named “Taiping-jun”, because Hong established his own kingdom in southern China under the name of “Tai-ping-tian-guo”. The whole event was called “Taiping rebellion” in Chinese history.

When Dodd came to Taipei, he found that local Taiwanese were not capable of refining tea leaves. Accordingly, he looked for high quality tea stems and encouraged farmers to plant and refine high quality tea leaves. The boom in Taiwan tea led to a decline in the tea business in Amoy and Fuzhou, and many tea businessmen subsequently moved to Taiwan.

After Dodd & Co. Company closed down, Li started his own business from scratch, trading tea leaves and coal oil. Because he was a good manager, his business prospered, and made him wealthy. He read newspapers and magazines such as the Herald every day so that he could keep up with the times. His trading business grew in size as time went by, exporting coal, camphor, tea, rice, sugar and imported coal oil, drapery and other daily goods; therefore, he became a member of the “nouveau riche” in Taiwan.

Since Li was involved in international trade, he was in touch with world events and thus more open-minded than the Chinese public. He criticized the Qing government for their superficial reforms in the 1860s. When the Mudanshe Incident¹² occurred (when the Japanese government invaded Taiwan in 1874) Li submitted a comment to *Zhong-wuai Xin-bao*, a newspaper in Hong Kong, to attack the advocators of wars against Japan. He criticized the Qing government for not recognizing that Japan had grown in strength after the Meiji Reforms. He suggested that the Qing government practice pragmatic reforms in Taiwan first and put forward effective reform policies for China. Li also advised the government to reinforce coastal defenses around Taiwan,

¹² In 1871, a tempest drove sixty-nine fishermen from Ryukyu Islands to Bayaowuan in southeast Taiwan for refuge. Three of them drowned in the Pacific Ocean and sixty-six of them drifted to Taiwan. However, they were deemed invaders and fifty-four of them were killed by Mudanshe aborigines (some of the historical literatures doubt that they were not killed by Mudanshe aborigines). The Japanese government took the incident as an excuse to invade Taiwan in 1874. It is called “Mudanshe Incident” (also termed as “Mudan incident”) in Taiwanese history.

allow immigrants to cultivate wastelands and promote industries in Taiwan. Li was not a person of empty words, and similar to Lin Weiyuan he contributed a lot towards the construction of Taipei city. When Liu Mingchuan planned the building of the first railroad in Taiwan from Keelung to Hsinchu, he supervised the measuring and drafting work along the Tamsui River in Dadaocheng. Later he and Lin Weiyuan responded to Liu Mingchuan's new scheme of constructing Jianchang Street and Qianqiu Street by building two-story shops along these streets and renting them to foreign companies. The completion of these schemed streets contributed a lot to the tea business in Dadaocheng.

Li was awarded an official position in 1891 due to the completion of the railroad. The Qing government sought special favors and help from him, because of his position as a powerful member of the nouveau riche. It was the government who made the request of "guan-shen he-zuo (cooperation between the officials and the gentry)". He also served in many other posts, such as the supervisor of the Foreign Pharmaceutical Tax Bureau, a consultant of many Taiwan tea associations and as a committee member of the Taipei Land Measurement Bureau. He was the intermediary between the government and local people. Li Chunsheng was a good example of a gentry-businessman.

After the Shimonoseki Treaty, anti-Japan residents in Taiwan founded "Taiwan Min-zhu Guo (Republic of Taiwan)" with some officials who had been garrisoned Taiwan during the Qing Dynasty. However, many officials of Taiwan Min-zhu Guo fled to China when the Japanese came to Taiwan. Many skirmishers and bandits looted Taipei, where the situation became anarchic with Taipei in turmoil. Taiwanese gentry-businessmen, including Li Chunsheng, quickly held meetings and decided that

Gu Xianrong should negotiate peace with the new incoming regime and welcome the Japanese to Taiwan to repress the bandits. Although the Japanese commenced administration of Taiwan on their arrival in Taipei, society was still turbulent. In order to suppress Taiwanese opposition, Japanese troops had to practice strict methods, and occasionally they arrested the wrong people mistaking innocent citizens for criminals. Some crafty Taiwanese even made use of the Japanese and took advantage of local people.

In July Li invited heavyweight gentry-representatives to sign a petition requesting Sotofuku to set up the bao-liang-ju as intermediary to stabilize Taiwanese society. The petition stated that the purpose of bao-liang-ju was to play an intermediary role between the government and the citizens in hopes of preventing rumors and stabilizing society so that policies could be carried out smoothly and the public's voice could be heard.¹³ The Japanese administration responded promptly and positively. In August the bao-liang-ju was established in Quanxing Tea House on Jianchang Street in Dadaocheng. The first bao-liang-ju was established in Quanxing Tea House and many more associations were established in Jiangshanlou later. Jiangshanlou, as well as many other restaurants in Taiwan, offered a place for these organizations to meet. Its importance will be discussed in later sections. The president of the bao-liang-ju was Liu Tingyu, who had obtained an educational title during the Qing Dynasty; Li Chunsheng was the chief executive. The organization helped safeguard the local Taiwanese from false charges against them. Later the Japanese administration even supported the bao-liang-ju financially. Li Chunsheng and Gu, Xianrong were commended by the Japanese governor-general for organizing the bao-liang-ju to maintain public security. The bao-liang-ju was closed down in June of 1896 after the

¹³ Yang Yong Bin. *The Relationship of Taiwan Gentry and Japanese Colonial Regime: 1895-1905*, p 21.

Japanese formed its own administrative system in Taiwan.

Li Chunsheng acquired his wealth in Dadaocheng and thus he organized “Dadaocheng Gong-shang Gong-hui (Business and Industrial Union of Dadaocheng)” to serve the businessmen in Dadaocheng. Though he formed the union partly for himself, the union did help the growth of business in Dadaocheng. Rich as he was, Li donated a lot of money to churches as well as public welfares. Table 6 is a brief list of his contributions to the society.

Year	Donations	Motives
1909	500 yuan	To aid the poor in Penghu islands
1911	600 yuan	A relief to the flood-hit areas
1912	200 yuan	To help build the public elementary school in Dadaocheng
	300 yuan	Relief to the flood-hit areas
	100 yuan	To aid those who became orphans after floods
1913	200 yuan	To contribute to the public elementary school in Dadaocheng again
	600 yuan	A relief to help those suffered from floods and typhoons
	200 yuan	A donation to Hualian Christian church
1914	10,000 yuan	To build Dadaocheng Christian church
1915	6,000 yuan	To contribute to Taichung High School ¹⁴
	1,000 yuan	To contribute to public high schools in Taichung
1918	2,000 yuan	To contribute to Private Vocational School of Taiwan
	100 yuan	A relief to Puli

¹⁴ It is now Taichung First Senior High School.

1921	400 yuan	A relief to northern China suffering from drought
1922	3,000 yuan	To contribute to Tamsui High School
	200 yuan	Relief to flood-hit Shantou in China

Table 6 Li Chunsheng's contributions to public welfares

The data of this table were from Zhuang Yongming's book *Taipei-shi Wen-hua Ren-wu Lüe-zhuang* (Brief Biographies of Taipei City Intellectuals), p.p.21-22.

Being a Presbyterian, Li devoted himself to religion in his old age and wrote many religious books to propagandize Christianity. He wrote *Min-jiao Yuan-yu Jie* (Methods to Conciliate the Public) to preach Jesus' words and to propose strategies for stabilizing society in 1902. Because he opposed evolutionism, he added more to his former book and published *Min-jiao Yuan-yu Jie Xu-pian* (Continuation of Methods to Conciliate the Public) the next year. *Ye-su-jiao Sheng-chen Chan-shi Bei-kao* (An Elaboration of Christianity) was written by him to elaborate both the Old Testament and the New Testament of the Bible. Though he believed in Christianity, he was also a Confucian. He once commented that Confucianism was to administer the country and Christianity was the way to save the world thus these two approaches complemented each other. He also wrote books to advocate his philosophy, such as *Dong-xi zhe-heng* (Philosophy of the East and the West) and *Zhe-heng Xu-bian* (Continuation of Philosophy of the East and the West). Though he might not be a famous ideologist, he was certainly a contributor to Taiwanese society in the late Qing Dynasty and in the Japanese period. Two churches concerning Li Chunsheng still exist in Dadaocheng nowadays¹⁵.

¹⁵ One of the churches (the one established in 1914) is under reconstruction now (year 2008).



Figure 8 The Memorial Presbyterian Church of Li Chunsheng is now situated in Dadaocheng.

Source: Datong Distric Office, Taipei City.

<http://www.taipei.gov.tw/cgi-bin/SM_theme?page=473d4f4b>

4.2.2 Chen Tianlai (1872~1939)

Tea, sugar and camphor were the most important exports of Taiwan under Japanese rule. As tea exports were deeply connected with Dadaocheng, there was another important figure who had great impact on the tea business in the area- Chen Tianlai.

Chen Tianlai was born in 1872 in Dadaocheng. His father, Chen Zesu was a good friend of Li Chunsheng, and both of them used to work in the same foreign company, Elles & Co., in Amoy. Afterward they came separately at the same time to Taiwan, unbeknownst to each other. When Chen Zesu first came to Taiwan, he sold firewood

and coals for curing tea leaves. Chen Tianlai was the second son among the seven sons of Chen Zesu. Because Chen Zesu's eldest son died at a young age, Chen Tianlai acceded to the family business and started helping his father later setting up the Jinji Tea Shop in 1891 when he was twenty. The Jinji Tea Shop cured tea leaves and dealt with the tea international trade. Being a famous tea shop, the Jinji Tea Shop expanded its business into the Jinji Tea Corporation however business declined after World War II. The vicissitudes of Jinji Tea Corporation mirror the history of half of the tea businesses in Taiwan.



Figure 9 Jinji Tea Corporation

Source: Taipei National University of the Arts, and Academia Sinica.

<<http://www.sinica.edu.tw/photo/subject/D-4-GIS/street/street-e.html#street-e2>>

Chen Tianlai caught up with the times and promoted the tea business in his youth. With his brilliant social abilities, he maintained good relationships with the Japanese authorities and made his tea business more prosperous; for instance, he had the tea business tax abolished. He was another good example of an influential gentry-businessman in Taiwan under Japanese rule. He took an official post on the Taipei City Council in 1920. In addition to the tea business, he also made contributions to education and the arts, founding the “Dadaocheng Kindergarten” in 1920 with his

own funds and he was also a shareholder establishing “Taipei Yonglezuo” in Dadaocheng, the most famous theater in Taipei under Japanese governance. When he passed away in 1939, his third son, Chen Qingpo, took on the post of general manager of Taipei Yonglezuo. At that time, Chen Qingpo was already the general manager of Taiwan First Theater¹⁶. Almost all of Chen Tianlai’s sons went on to make contributions to Taiwan.



Figure 10 Chen Tianlai’s house

Source: Datong Distric Office, Taipei City.

<http://www.taipei.gov.tw/cgi-bin/SM_theme?page=473d49e4>

Chen Tianlai’s greatest contribution was to the tea business. The Cha-jiao (tea guild) was named “Yonghexing” in the Qing Dynasty, being restructured into the “Taipei Tea Business Union” in 1898 under Japanese rule. Chen Chaojun was the chairperspm and Chen Tianlai was a key founding member of the union and one of the three executives.

¹⁶ Taiwan First Theater was founded on August 31st, 1935, four years before Chen Tianlai passed away. His third son, Chen Qingpo, was the first general manager of Taiwan First Theater.

Later he was elected the third chair of Taipei Tea Business Union and he stayed in that position from 1927 until he died in 1939, being the longest chair in Taipei Tea Business Union. The union played an important role in Taiwan's tea business and it had great impact on the development of Dadaocheng. The table below listed the twenty-three founding members of the union, sourced from *Taiwan Cha-shang Gong-hui Yan-ge Shi* (The History of Taiwan Tea Business Union), edited by Chen Tianlai himself.

Address	Name
No. 71, Deshengwai Street, Dadaocheng, Dajianabao	Chen Chaojun
No. 361, Shuifanjiao, Shidingbao	Li Wuanju
No. 35, Taipingheng Street, Dadaocheng, Dajianabao	Guo Hanquan
No. 1, Tong Street, Tongbao	Chen Tianlai
No. 31, Tong Street, Tongbao	Hu Shizhen
No. 16, Jiujianzi Street, Tongbao	Chen Ruifeng
No. 13, Taipingheng Street, Tongbao	Chen Guangshu
No. 39, Tong Street, Tongbao	Chen Songbiao
No. 22, Jianchanghou Street, Tongbao	Hong Qilong
No. 83, Tumingchaicheng Street, Ankengzhuang, Wenshanbao	Lai Yongcai
No. 42, Xingxing Street, Dadaocheng, Dajianabao	Lin Yuxun
No. 22, Erdingmu, Liuguan Street, Tongbao	Chen Yaoqin
No. 31, Fangqiao Street, Baijiebao	Luo Jincan
No. 107, Tumingyuanlin, Yuanlinzhuang, Tongbao	Lu Chiniu
No. 18, Chaoyang Street, Dadaocheng, Dajianabao	Jiang Qingyan
No. 13, Jianchang Street, Tongbao	Li Jinzhen

No. 65, Chaoyang Street, Tongbao	Wang Fangshun
No. 9, Tong Street, Tongbao	Su Liangdeng
No. 40, Yonghe Street, Tongbao	Su Zhouji
No. 304, Shuifanjiao Street, Tuning Shuifangjiao, Shidingbao	Su Shusen
No. 19, Yihexiang Street, Dadaocheng, Dajianabao	Huang Qingbiao
No. 6, Xingxing Street, Tongbao	Zheng Yanbiao
No. 5, Taipingheng Street, Tongbao	Huang Zhaoquan

Table 7 23 founding members of Taipei Tea Business Union

This table is translated from Chen Tianlai's book *Taiwan Cha-shang Gong-hui Yan-ge Shi* (The History of Taiwan Tea Business Union), pp. 14-15. For original Chinese list, please refer to Appendix ii.

4.2.3 Jiang Weishui (1890~1931)

In Dadaocheng, there is another important figure that can not be neglected. This is Jiang Weishui, a doctor, made famous by his efforts to awaken the national consciousness of the Taiwanese. Born in Yilan in 1890 and dying of disease in Taipei in 1931, Jiang lived most of his conspicuous life in Dadaocheng and was deemed one of the area's important figures. He participated in many social movements and was an anti-Japanese social activist.

When he was a pupil, he learnt to read from a Chinese scholar and did not enroll in gong school¹⁷ until he was seventeen years old. He graduated within three years however and entered Taiwan Sotokufu Medical School, where he spent much time participating in political movements. He graduated in 1915 and went back to Yilan to practice medicine, but returned to Taipei the next year and established Daan Hospital at

¹⁷ There were two kinds of public elementary schools in Taiwan under Japanese governance: gong schools and xiao schools. Most Taiwanese students attended gong schools, while most Japanese students attended xiao schools.

Taipingting in Dadaocheng. Being dissatisfied with his medical life, he founded a restaurant, Chunfengdeyilou, opposite his hospital in 1917. The restaurant was closed down in 1922 after Jiangshanlou was established close by.¹⁸ Despite being a popular doctor and successful businessman, he was more interested in awakening the general public's nationalist consciousness. In 1921 Jiang organized the Taiwan Cultural Association¹⁹ which was regarded as the organization most devoted to the development of Formosan nationalism. The highly vocal association announced that their purposes were to educate the public, encourage physical education, and foster public interest in art²⁰; in other words, to promote Taiwanese culture. The association disavowed any political intention, and claimed that their goal was to advance Taiwanese culture. In fact, it supported Taiwanese political movements calling for home rule and it also pushed for the establishment of a Taiwanese parliament. The Taiwan Cultural Association maintained close contacts with Taiwanese educational institutions as well as graduates. The association attracted wide support by means of public lectures. Its leaders also expounded cultural nationalism in articles and had them published in the *Taiwan Minpao*.²¹

Because Jiang Weishui was a doctor, he was nicknamed “Doctor of the Taiwanese” by local people. He delivered a speech at the founding rally of the Taiwan Cultural Association, and announced that “Taiwan is ill at present. Without remedying the

¹⁸ The close-down of Chunfengdeyilou will be discussed in Chapter five.

¹⁹ Taiwan Cultural Association was established on October 17th, 1921.

²⁰ A good example of art promoted by Taiwan Cultural Association was that it helped to launch a new mode of Taiwanese drama. Performances in the colony now reflected recent developments in Chinese and Japanese theatrical production as well as the influence of political and social change and the Western impact in East Asia. Generally, though, audiences tended to distinguish contemporary plays from traditional drama more in terms of the modern themes portrayed rather than changes in dramatic or stage techniques. After 1920, the study of Taiwanese folklore and modern styles of music and dance was also advanced by the association.

²¹ The English spelling of *Taiwan Minpao* is according to the spelling appeared on the original newspaper. The *Taiwan Minpao* was an important newspaper in Taiwan under Japanese governance. The perspective of the *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō* was considered more favorable to the Japanese authorities while the *Taiwan Minpao* was more favorable to the Taiwanese.

illness, there will be no literate Taiwanese. Therefore, the Taiwan Cultural Association can not help but to cure the root of the illness first. According to my diagnosis, now the Taiwanese are suffering from malnutrition of knowledge. The Taiwanese can not be cured without taking nutriments of knowledge. The cultural movement is the only remedy and the Taiwan Cultural Association is the professional organization to research culture and to promote it.” Jiang submitted a “clinical handout” to the premier journal of the Taiwan Cultural Association and regarded Taiwan as his patient. The premier journal was published on November 25th and was soon banned by the Japanese authorities. The association held humane lectures to the public, but there were frequent criticism by the authorities regarding the lectures.

The elites of the association established a social movement requesting the authorities to establish a Taiwanese parliament, with Jiang and Cai Peihou being the most active members. They were both prosecuted for violating the “Public Security and Police Law”. In addition to detention for sixty-four days, Jiang was sentenced to jail for another eighty days after three appeals by the prosecutor for the Japanese government. After he was released from jail, he advanced his goal from “treating people” to “treating society”. He practiced what he preached; for instance, when mahjong became popular in Taiwan, he forbade his comrades from playing mahjong. He even bought up mahjong sets from acquaintances so that he could destroy the sets by fire. He once wrote a column of the *Taiwan Minpao* to admonish the Taiwanese against opium, burning ghost money²², and squandering money on weddings and funerals. He simplified the funerals of his parents to set an example to the others.²³ In 1926, Jiang

²² Nether money is a kind of paper made to resemble money and burned as an offering to the dead after people worshiped gods and their ancestors. It is named “jinzhi” or “zhiqian” in Chinese. The habit has not been changed in Taiwan yet.

²³ When Jiang Weishui’s father, Jiang Hongzhang, died in 1927, he had the funeral rituals simplified. Two years later when his mother, Li Chou, passed away on September 24th, he announced it through a

founded the “Wen-hua Bookstore (Culture Bookstore)”, intending to introduce culture to the Taiwanese. In the Wen-hua Bookstore, he sold both Chinese and Japanese publications. Through Chinese masterpieces, he intended to popularize Chinese education; on the other hand, Jiang introduced labor and farmer issues through Japanese publications.

Additionally, he worked hard on establishing a political Taiwanese party. When “Taiwan Minzhongdang (Taiwan People Party)” was founded on July 10th, 1927, Jiang Weishui was elected as a central committee member of the party and director of the Financial Department. The Taiwan People Party was active in revolutionizing the culture of society and initiated many movements. For instance, the party pushed for Taiwanese autonomy, opposing the Japanese commemorating administrations over Taiwan, and sought to abolish the bao-jia system (police system). Many social movements turned out to be political movements and inevitably offended the Japanese authorities. The offence resulted in the suppression by the authorities. The Japanese police broke into the Taiwan People Party’s fourth member rally and disbanded the party on February 18th, 1931. Due to this severe strike, Jiang Weishui fell ill seriously and died on August 5th, 1931. His funeral was held on August 23rd in Yonglezuo²⁴. It was said that over five thousand people came to his burial in heavy rain, and there were memorials to him all over Taiwan after his funeral.

4.3 Gentry’s social activities in the Jiangshanlou

When Japanese commenced administration of Taiwan, they were in need of

short news release without a formal obituary. He discarded unnecessary and over-elaborate formalities.

²⁴ As mentioned in chapter 4.2.2, Chen Tianlai was one of the founding shareholders of Yonglezuo, which was the most famous theater in Taipei.

interpreters and the Taiwanese gentry took these roles. Yang Jong Bin states that in the beginning period of colonization many of the appointed Japanese administrators who came to Taiwan were of good literary attainments and enjoyed writing poems when they socialized with the Taiwanese gentry. They held banquets at poetry salons in the name of “guan-shen tong-yan (salons for officials and gentries)”.²⁵ There were poetry salons such as Yushanyinshe and Zhumeiyinshe. The Japanese authorities prohibited Taiwanese from establishing “shu-yuans”²⁶ and “si-shus”. On the other hand, the authorities encouraged poetry salons as a conciliatory policy; therefore, many poetry salons were set up. After Kodama Gentaro became governor-general, he had *Taiwan Shimpō* and *Taiwan Daily* merged into *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō*. It became the largest and the most authoritative newspaper in Taiwan and it also became an important medium for the literati and the gentry to exchange ideas. Two Taiwanese news reporters Xie Ruquan and Wei Qingde of *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō* were members of Yingshe and usually had their poems published in their newspaper. The members of Yingshe often chose Jiangshanlou as a location for routine meetings, like many other associations did. Evidences of news releases concerning these associations will be discussed in detail in chapter five.

²⁵ Yang, Yong Bin. *The Relationship of Taiwan Gentry and Japanese Colonial Regime: 1895-1905*, pp. 150-159.

²⁶ A “shu-yuan” was a traditional Chinese school, where students learned Chinese. Generally speaking, the meaning of a “shu-yuan” is the same as that of a “si-shu”.



Figure 11 Four important reporters of the *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpo*

The two, starting from the right, were Wei Qingde and Xie Ruquan, two important members of Yingshe.
Source: Transmission Books& Microinfo Co.

<<http://ntulib4b.lib.ntu.edu.tw/twhannews/user/index.php>>

Jiangshanlou was the most popular restaurant with the gentry and this is reflected in the many pieces of news connecting Jiangshanlou with the gentry in the *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpo*. Many poetry salons, meetings, banquets and feasts were held in the restaurant. The news at the same time revealed the gentry's social activities. Business associations such as the Tea Union, the Fabrics Union and the Pharmacy Union frequently held meetings and banquets in Jiangshanlou. There was also information in the newspaper about welcome banquets and weddings held for or by celebrities such as Dr. Du Congming and Gu Xianrong in the restaurant. As it was considered polite by people to choose a decent restaurant to receive guests, particularly when the guests were celebrities, Jiangshanlou was one of the gentry's favorites.

Another function of Jiangshanlou was to provide a location for wedding banquets. For instance, Chang Wojun, who initiated the Taiwan New Literature Movement, married

Luo Wenshu at Jiangshanlou in September 1925;²⁷ the wedding was witnessed by Lin Xiantang, who was regarded as “the father of the Taiwanese Parliament”. Dr. Du Congming, the first medical doctor in Taiwan to be awarded a doctor’s degree, mentioned in his autobiography that he was welcomed by Taipei’s gentry at Jiangshanlou after he had gotten his degree at Kyoto University. Dr. Du also wrote that he married Miss Lin Suangsui in the Taipei Christian Church and held his wedding banquet at Jiangshanlou on the evening of May 20th, 1922. His wedding banquet at Jiangshanlou was crowded, and many famous members of the gentry attended the banquet, such as Takagi Tomoe, Horiuchi Tsugio, Lin Xiongzhen and Yan Yunnian.²⁸ The gentry preferred to choose a luxuriant restaurant to hold banquets and weddings in order either not to “lose face” or to show off their social position. This showed that the Jiangshanlou was not just an ordinary restaurant and was used to host many social activities of the elite.

²⁷ Huang Tonghong. “Ya-bu-bian de Mei-gui: Ri-zhi Zhong-qi Taiwan Wen-hua Qi-meng Yun-dong.” *Taiwan Ren-wen Si-bai Nian* (400 Years of Taiwan Humanity History), p.123.

²⁸ Du Congming. *Hui-yi Lu (shang)* (Memoir I), p. 84.