

Print, Profit, and Perception

IDEAS, INFORMATION AND KNOWLEDGE
IN CHINESE SOCIETIES, 1895-1949



EDITED BY

PEI-YIN LIN AND WEIPIN TSAI

BRILL

Print, Profit, and Perception

*Ideas, Information and Knowledge in Chinese Societies,
1895–1949*

Edited by

Pei-yin Lin and Weipin Tsai



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Cover illustration: Woodcut print, 1949, by Shi Ke (石可). The image is provided by Zang Jie of Liangyou Books.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Print, profit, and perception : ideas, information and knowledge in Chinese societies, 1895–1949 / edited by Pei-yin Lin and Weipin Tsai.

pages cm. — (China studies, ISSN 1570-1344; volume 28)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-90-04-25910-2 (hardback : acid-free paper) — ISBN 978-90-04-25911-9 (e-book)

1. China—Relations—Taiwan. 2. Taiwan—Relations—China. 3. China—Intellectual life—20th century. 4. Taiwan—Intellectual life—20th century. 5. Printing—Social aspects—China—History—20th century. 6. Printing—Social aspects—Taiwan—History—20th century. 7. Capitalism—Social aspects—China—History—20th century. 8. Capitalism—Social aspects—Taiwan—History—20th century. 9. Intercultural communication—Case studies. 10. Transnationalism—Case studies. I. Lin, Pei-yin. II. Tsai, Weipin, 1974–

DS740.5.T28P75 2014

303.48'25105124909041—dc23

2013045971

This publication has been typeset in the multilingual 'Brill' typeface. With over 5,100 characters covering Latin, IPA, Greek, and Cyrillic, this typeface is especially suitable for use in the humanities. For more information, please see brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 1570-1344

ISBN 978 90 04 25910 2 (hardback)

ISBN 978 90 04 25911 9 (e-book)

Copyright 2014 by Koninklijke Brill nv, Leiden, The Netherlands.

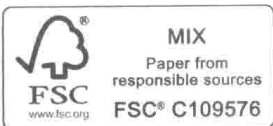
Koninklijke Brill nv incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Global Oriental and Hotei Publishing.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill nv provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

Brill has made all reasonable efforts to trace all rights holders to any copyrighted material used in this work. In cases where these efforts have not been successful the publisher welcomes communications from copyright holders, so that the appropriate acknowledgements can be made in future editions, and to settle other permission matters.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.



Printed by Printforce, the Netherlands

Print, Profit, and Perception

China Studies

Edited by

Glen Dudbridge
Frank Pieke

VOLUME 28

The titles published in this series are listed at *brill.com/chs*

Notes on Contributors

Paul Bailey

is Professor of Modern Chinese history at University of Durham. His research interests include the social and cultural history of modern China. He has authored several books, most recently *Women and Gender in Twentieth-Century China* (2012). Two more books, respectively on Vietnamese history and Chinese overseas labor in France during the First World War, are forthcoming.

Che-chia Chang

is Associate Research Fellow at the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, Taipei. His main research field is the modern medical history of China, especially the interchange among China, the West, and East Asian countries. He is also interested in the history of both astrology and chemistry, and has published extensively.

Elizabeth Emrich

is a graduate student at the Department of the History of Art and Visual Studies of Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. Her primary research focus is alternative modernities and nationalism as expressed through Chinese painting and woodblock prints of the late Qing and Republican eras.

Tze-ki Hon

is Professor of History at SUNY-Geneseo, New York. He specializes in classical Chinese thought and the cultural history of late imperial and modern China. His recent publications include *Revolution as Restoration: Guocui xuebao and Chinese Nationalist Modernity* and *Teaching the Book of Changes (Yijing)*.

Max K. W. Huang

is Research Fellow and Director of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, Taipei. His main research fields include modern Chinese intellectual history and Ming-Qing cultural and intellectual history. He has authored two local gazetteers and four monographs on Liang Qichao and Yan Fu.

Mei-e Huang

is Professor at the Institute of Taiwan Literature, National Taiwan University, Taipei. Her research interests include traditional Taiwanese literature in the Qing dynasty, Taiwan's Chinese-language literature under Japanese colonial rule, and Taiwanese aboriginal culture in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Shi-chi Mike Lan

is Assistant Professor at the Department of History, National Chung Cheng University, Taiwan. His main research areas include modern East Asian history, Taiwan history, war memories and identity formation, and international politics.

Pei-yin Lin

is Assistant Professor at the School of Chinese, University of Hong Kong, where she teaches modern Chinese literature, Taiwan literature, and Sinophone Chinese literature and cinema. She has published several articles and book chapters on Taiwan literature.

Weipin Tsai

is Lecturer at the Department of History, Royal Holloway College, University of London. Her principal research interest is Chinese modernization from the 19th century onward. Her research topics include the Chinese Maritime Customs Service, the Chinese postal system, and Chinese newspapers.

Acknowledgements

For a project like this, completion would not have been possible without considerable support from others. We would like to acknowledge the generous funding from the National Science Council of Taiwan, the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange, and the American Council of Learned Societies for its "Comparative Perspectives on Chinese Culture and Society" grant.

Many people have offered valuable help at different stages of this volume. We would like to thank particularly our colleagues and friends who took part in the two conferences held at Cambridge in 2009 and Royal Holloway College, University of London, in 2010 for their assistance and comments. We want to thank Professor Mei Chia-ling at the National Taiwan University for her help in bringing her team to Cambridge to share with us their research findings and ideas.

We would like to thank Elizabeth Emrich for reading several chapters for us during the editorial process, and would also like to express our gratitude to the Trustees of Miss Isobel Thornley's Bequest to the University of London, and the University of Hong Kong for supplying internal grants to fund the copy-editing work.

Contents

Notes on Contributors vii

Acknowledgements ix

Introduction 1

Pei-yin LIN & Weipin TSAI

1 Cultural Connections in a New Global Space: Li Shizeng and the Chinese Francophile Project in the Early Twentieth Century 17

Paul J. BAILEY

Early Years in France 18

Sino-French Cultural Interaction 27

Li Shizeng's Philosophy of Work-Study 32

Conclusion 36

2 Health and Hygiene in Late Qing China as Seen Through the Eyes of Japanese Travelers 40

Che-chia CHANG

Networks of Travelers 43

Categories of Traveler 45

First Impressions: Dirty! Dirty! Dirty! 51

Understanding the Japanese Viewpoint 55

Conclusion 59

3 Modernity through Experimentation: Lu Xun and the Modern Chinese Woodcut Movement 64

Elizabeth EMRICH

Alternative Modernities and Lu Xun's "Grabism" 66

Lu Xun in Shanghai and His Translations on Art 69

Lu Xun and Woodcut Publications 72

Humanism and Social Construction in Woodblock Prints 77

Lu Xun and Woodcut Print Societies 85

Conclusion 90

4 Technology, Markets, and Social Change: Print Capitalism in Early Twentieth-Century China 92

Tze-ki HON

Local Initiatives and Domestic Factors in Technology Transfer 95

Markets, Circulation and Profits 97

National Learning as Cultural Capital 102

Professional Geographers and Public Intellectuals 105

Conclusion 111

- 5 Medical Advertising and Cultural Translation: The Case of *Shenbao* in Early Twentieth-Century China** 114
Max K. W. HUANG
 Understanding the Human Body in Early Republican China 117
 Medical Advertising and Cultural Translation 121
 Conclusion 145
- 6 Planet in Print: The Scientific Imagination in Zheng Kunwu's Fiction during Taiwan's Colonial Period** 148
Mei-e HUANG
 From Astronomical Reports to Fiction Writing 150
 Scientific Fantasy and Humanistic Reality 158
 Between Science Fiction and Detective Story 161
 Conclusion 163
- 7 Shaping Perception of the Second World War: A Study of Textbooks in Taiwan in the 1940s** 165
Shi-chi Mike LAN
 Presentation of the War in Japanese Colonial Texts Before 1945 166
 The War in Chinese Nationalist Texts After 1945 175
 Localizing the War in Textbooks: Before and After 1945 180
 Conclusion 183
- 8 Envisioning the Reading Public: Profit Motives of a Chinese-Language Tabloid in Wartime Taiwan** 188
Pei-yin LIN
 Positioning the Chinese-Language Tabloids in Colonial Taiwan 195
 Chinese Literati-Courtesan Connections and Western Exotica 198
 Appropriating and Speculating about Love 204
 From Freedom of Love to Condemnation of Unrestrained Free Love 206
 Alternative Modernity and Re-Appropriation of Love 211
 Conclusion 213
- 9 The First Casualty: Truth, Lies and Commercial Opportunism in Chinese Newspapers during the First Sino-Japanese War** 216
Weipin TSAI
 War Reporting in the West and in China in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century 216
 Battle-Ready and Eager for the Fight 220
 The War for Readership 226
 In the Newspapers' Defense 234
 Conclusion 237

Bibliography 241

Index 267

Introduction

Pei-yin Lin & Weipin Tsai

The essays collected in this book survey a critical dimension of modern Chinese history: the dramatic expansion in the production, dissemination and consumption of texts, which both reinforced and deepened the dynamic processes associated with globalization. By exploring a variety of genres, from historical narratives and fictional writing to travelogues, expressed in media as disparate as newspapers, textbooks, woodcut prints, and literary and geographical journals, the critical interdisciplinary and empirically grounded case studies it contains examine the massive cultural exchanges going on in China and Taiwan from the first Sino-Japanese War in 1895 to the mid-twentieth century.

The selection of this specific period, bounded by critical events in Chinese history, gives the volume a particular clarity of frame that enables fruitful study. Both China and Taiwan during this period witnessed linked, dynamic but sometimes contrasting cultural transformations, accelerated by drastic political upheaval, all of which found widespread expression in print media.¹ Bringing together a widely dispersed group of scholars, our volume engages with the existing literature on perceptual exchange, textual dissemination and print culture.

It places particular emphasis on three areas. First, it explores how individuals and particular groups in both China and Taiwan selectively appropriated foreign discourses and transformed them to meet the needs of their local contexts. Some chapters in this book discuss the transnational flows that were in play by taking into account intra-Asian cultural encounters, while others trace various competing forces (whether Anglo-American, Japanese, or Chinese) that contemporaries encountered. In one way or another, all the chapters address the interaction of processes of globalization and localization in greater Chinese society.

Second, this project highlights personal networks, as distinct from governmental and institutional structures. We regard certain individuals and social groups as important cultural agents, and approach the issues on a micro level

¹ Due to limits of space, we have not included studies of Hong Kong and Macao, though we fully acknowledge that during this period dynamic exchanges with China and Taiwan were occurring in both places. Please also note the convention of this volume that mainland names are Romanized in Pinyin, while Taiwanese names are in whatever Romanization was customarily used by each individual.

by examining personal interactions and the roles that particular intellectuals, travelers, writers, scholars and editors played in individual cultural encounters and their participation in conceptual exchanges. We scrutinize the various tactics employed by these actors as they pursued their divergent and sometimes conflicting agendas.

While acknowledging the important role technological advancements played in making print capitalism possible, we are more curious about the personal involvements. How important was the profit motive? How did it express itself? How exactly did commercial issues have an impact on the individuals and social groups involved? What strategies were used to build popularity or influence for a particular journal? Several chapters examine commercial perspectives that remain relatively understudied, notably the financial imperatives which brought together writers, editors, publishers and their readers in profit-driven networks across all of the geographies under discussion.

Finally, this project brings Taiwan into the discussion, and adopts an interdisciplinary approach which combines literary analysis with historical study. We are thus able to explore the importance of Taiwan in the process of Chinese modernization, as well as Taiwan's response to changes on the mainland in areas that go beyond trade. This dynamic is complicated by the impact of Japanese colonialism, providing a distinct contrast with several articles in the volume that focus on Western colonial influences on the Chinese world.

Chinese Modernities Revisited: Globalization and Localization

Scholarship surrounding the concept of globalization can provide us with an analytical framework to evaluate Chinese and world history. Kenneth Pomeranz, for instance, placed Chinese history side by side with that of Europe, tracing the very diverse experiences of North West Europe and East Asia across the centuries.² In this volume, we use the word "globalization" to refer to a phenomenon whereby texts, commodities and people were exchanged in an unprecedentedly rapid way across cultures and continents.

It would be naïve, however, to suggest new discourses and ideas might automatically or unreservedly be accepted by any given community. Localization is therefore seen by us as a natural prism through which to examine novelty, and at the same time to articulate cultural practices which reinforced iden-

2 See Kenneth Pomeranz. 2001. *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, and Pomeranz. 2002. "Political Economy and Ecology on the Eve of Industrialization: Europe, China, and the Global Conjecture," *American Historical Review* 107 no. 2: 425–46.

tities at a local level, often through comparison and contrast with other cultures.³ Equally, the feedback generated through localization became critical reinforcement for the expanding waves of globalization. We see this process in various communications between China and Western countries in trade, military training, and science; we also find it in Taiwanese society under Japanese colonial rule, a point we will explore in the coming chapters.

Following military defeat in the Opium Wars, China was forced to open many ports to foreign trade, and its hitherto aloof relationship with the world began to change radically. Foreign consulates were established, Western powers became involved in the Chinese Maritime Customs Service, and the Chinese government started to send students abroad. Socio-cultural, technological and economic interactions between larger Chinese society (the term we use in this book to refer to China and Taiwan in the period under discussion) and foreign countries took place at an unprecedented speed. Across the Taiwan Strait, cross-cultural exchange was also vibrant. The fifty years of Japanese rule on the island of Taiwan saw an unprecedented increase in the numbers of overseas students, the creation of new schools where Japanese was taught, and the eventual decline of traditional educational models.⁴ Growing literacy (notably in the Japanese language) in urban areas of Taiwan drove the growth of a thriving print culture, in which popular journals co-existed with elite-oriented publications, and readers could choose between Japanese, Chinese, and bilingual journals, as well as between semi-official and non-official newspapers.⁵

3 Alfonso Gumucio-Dagron and Thomas Tufte, eds. 2006. *Communication for Social Change Anthology: Historical and Contemporary Readings*. South Orange, NJ: Communication for Social Change Consortium, p. 686.

4 Many earlier overseas students went abroad to study medicine. Well-known figures include Tu Tsung-ming 杜聰明 and Tsai A-hsin 蔡阿信. See Chu Jen-yih 朱真一. 2004. *Taiwan zaoqi liuxue oumei de yijie renshi* 台灣早期留學歐美的醫界人士 (Medical People Who were Early Overseas Students in Europe and America). Taipei: Wangchunfeng. Due to Japanese colonialism, Japan was a popular destination, though some people studied in Europe or the United States. For instance, Hsieh Hsüeh-hung 謝雪紅 and Lin Mu-shun 林木順 studied in Russia, and both Chen Hsin 陳忻 and Huang Chao-chin 黃朝琴 studied in the United States after studying in Japan.

5 Print culture during Taiwan's Japanese period has a rich history, and can be dated back to the early years of Japanese rule. *Taiwan shimpō* 臺灣新報 (Taiwan News) and *Taiwan nippo* 臺灣日報 (Taiwan Daily) were founded in 1896 and 1897 respectively, before merging in 1898 into *Taiwan nichi nichi shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 (Taiwan Daily News), the largest and most long-lasting semi-official newspaper in colonial Taiwan. In addition to the Taipei-based *Taiwan nichi nichi shimpō*, there were also the Tainan-based *Tainan shimpō* 臺南新報, founded in 1898, and the Taizhong-based *Taiwan shimbun* 臺灣新聞, founded in 1899. Despite their relatively small scale, these three newspapers created the foundation of a modern news media during Taiwan's colonial period.

The proliferation in publishing, education, and the promotion of a vernacular language were all significant factors during Taiwan's colonial period.⁶

While paying attention to the global flows of texts and discourses, we should also allow for the specific context in which such flows took place. This was a period in which China felt the impact of imperialist maneuverings and Taiwan fell under the rule of Japanese colonizers. These events continue to resonate today, and as a result scholarship easily becomes partisan. For example, studies related to Japan's colonial legacy in Taiwan are frequently tinged with radical anti-Japanese or with Japanophile judgments. But giving in to the temptation to construct emotionally charged accounts not only presents us with a narrow picture of the period, but also leads toward the pitfall of simply reproducing unproductive nationalist discourses which are likewise a feature of the era.

By presenting the constant negotiations in which the Chinese were engaged for their cultural and political identities through exchanges with non-Chinese cultures and influences, this volume provides individual stories to exemplify the processes of globalization and localization at work in people's daily lives. Appadurai has argued that we should "think beyond the nation", in order to better grasp the reality of a world increasingly hybridized through the global flow of images, finance, and technology. He has also reminded us that the trappings of modernity are unevenly experienced. The global situation is multi-dimensional, and it has never been dominated by a single perspective or rationale.⁷ Each chapter thus lays emphasis on local perspectives. We are fully aware that there are inevitable constraints such as the acute power asymmetry between colonizer and colonized. However, taken together, the chapters

6 Some previous discussions of print culture and education in China and Taiwan during this period include Patricia Tsurumi. 1977. *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895–1945*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; Paul Bailey. 1993. *Reform the People: Changing the Attitudes towards Popular Education in Early Twentieth-century China*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 44–8; Christopher Reed. 2004. *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876–1937*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, pp. 203–56; and Robert Culp. 2008. "Textbook Publishing and the Production of Vernacular Language and a New Literary Canon in Early Twentieth-Century China," *Twentieth-Century China* 34 no. 1: 4–41.

7 Arjun Appadurai. 1990. "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," in *Public Culture* 2: 1–23; Appadurai. 1995. "The Production of Locality," in Richard Fardon, ed. *Counterworks: Managing the Diversity of Knowledge*. London: Routledge, pp. 205–225; Appadurai. 1996a. "Sovereignty Without Territoriality: Notes for a Postnational Geography," in P. Yaeger, ed. *The Geography of Identity*. Ann Arbor: the University of Michigan Press, pp. 40–58; Appadurai. 1996b. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Modernity*. London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

demonstrate that China and Taiwan were never passive recipients, but took an active role in the transmission and assimilation of a wide variety of new texts and discourses in this period.

Fluid Modernity and Ideas

Lydia H. Liu has explored several intriguing aspects of Chinese modernity in her book *Translingual Practice*. First, Liu portrays an inevitable “loss” or “misunderstanding” of original meanings through translation and adoption in the process of cultural exchanges. Second, she recognizes an element of psychological “darkness” and hesitation in the minds of Chinese intellectuals when they encountered foreign ideas and foreigners either overseas or at treaty ports in China, which then produced a reaction of overcompensation. Third, she explores the characteristic of unpredictability inherent in a situation where two or more cultures clash, adding a degree of uncertainty and instability into any interaction.⁸ As Liu’s analysis highlights the fundamental role of contingency and uncertainty, her perspective is relevant to this volume’s view of the fluid characteristics of Chinese modernity.

We attempt to extend this perspective across the larger Chinese community by recognizing that what was exchanged, accepted, rejected and retained in this period goes far beyond any framework, system or set of predictions. However, despite the volatile nature of cross-cultural encounters and wide-ranging cases of textual transmission, the profit motive remained common and crucial. Through the study of commercial interests and networks across those engaged in print-related activity, we can gain valuable insight into patterns around the exchange of knowledge and human relationships previously not transparent in historical discourse.

In one of his series of publications on material life in modern China, Frank Dikötter shows that the exchange and acceptance of foreign goods and ideas was not restricted to one class of people, but a pervasive feature of life in different social groups in the major cities. The complex channels through which commodities, printed goods, and ideas were transmitted were the means by which China began to enter the ambit of globalization. The penetration of the “new”—ideas as much as objects—went deep below the surface. Beside the acceptance of the mass-produced commodities of material life, political and social concepts passed into common currency, even for the working classes,

8 Liu H. Lydia. 1995. *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900–1937*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

through the newspapers they picked up and the publications they purchased and read. All this is clearly evidenced in the campaigns and boycotts which became a feature of public life as the period progressed.⁹

Exploring things from a more “local” perspective, the research of Bryna Goodman, Zhongping Chen and Karl Gerth on the history of chambers of commerce, native place associations, and associated activities for the promotion of Chinese native products, describes how from the late nineteenth century onward China developed a set of mechanisms to cope with its socio-economic transformation which reflected the new social conditions accompanying increased urbanization and industrialization.¹⁰ Together these works illuminate the role personal and professional networks played in managing human activities.

Multiple layers of social networks made possible the mobility of people, commodities, finance, and ideas within and outside China, crossing geographical boundaries and different legal systems. Henrietta Harrison’s work on Catholicism in rural China over the last four centuries successfully demonstrates how localization was possible at the intersection of religion, intellect, and daily life. Harrison shows, on the one hand, how Catholicism converted Chinese locals to its beliefs and practices through engagement in a variety of ways with people of different social and educational backgrounds; but also, on the other hand, how it was itself “converted” in the way it became combined with Chinese traditional elements in order to be more accessible to its new followers.¹¹

A similar fluidity in many aspects of daily life can be traced back at least to the Dutch colonial period. Tonio Andrade’s research on the “symbiotic colonialism” of European and Chinese rule in seventeenth century Taiwan stresses the co-existence of neo-colonialism and de-colonialism. He analyzes how the process of “co-colonization” under Dutch rule benefited from a steady stream of Chinese immigrants, and how the social status of Taiwanese aborigines

9 Frank Dikötter. 2008. *The Age of Openness: China before Mao*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, pp. 73–75. See also Dikötter. 2006. *Exotic Commodities: Modern Objects and Everyday Life in China*. New York: Columbia University Press.

10 Bryna Goodman. 1995. *Native Place, City and Nation: Regional Networks and Identities in Shanghai, 1853–1937*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press; Zhongping Chen. 2011. *Modern China’s Network Revolution: Chambers of Commerce and Sociopolitical Change in the Early Twentieth Century*. Stanford: Stanford University Press; Karl Gerth. 2004. *China Made: Consumer Culture and the Creation of the Nation*. Harvard: Harvard University Press.

11 Henrietta Harrison. 2013. *The Missionary’s Curse and Other Tales from a Chinese Catholic Village*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

was raised after they assisted Dutch suppression of a Chinese revolt caused by heavy taxation in 1652.¹² As to more recent centuries, multiple exchanges with mainland China, Japan, and the West have reinforced the fluid quality of Taiwanese history. One important idea that has facilitated this type of inquiry into Taiwan's role in the global stage is the concept of "Oceanic Taiwan," with which T'sao Yung-he 曹永和 is often credited due to his research on the Dutch and Spanish colonial eras.¹³ This approach not only extends the usual China-Japan axes to a global perspective in delineating Taiwanese history, but also enables us to examine the multiplicity of cross-cultural encounters that took place on the island as an independent site. Several subsequent scholarly works have expanded T'sao's interest in Taiwan's interactions and communications with the world. For example, Lin Man-houng 林滿紅 in her research on trading, communications, and migration between the 1860s and 1945 in larger Chinese society successfully provides evidence for active exchanges in all of these areas.¹⁴ Lin Yu-ju's 林玉茹 study of the junk trade between Lugang 鹿港, a port on the east coast of central Taiwan, and several native ports in Fujian Province during the late Qing period, tells a story of the multiplicity of interactions on a local scale typically based on personal trust, in contrast to the larger-scale international trade conducted in the treaty ports.¹⁵

While commodities, ideas, and people moved about, the intellectuals who reflected on this process were both transmitters and producers of texts and ideas. Lee Chun-sheng's 李春生 (1838–1924) trajectory was one of the most interesting. His multiple roles as a comprador working for the British in Amoy and Tamsui, as a self-made Dadaocheng 大稻埕 tea tycoon, and as a pious Christian and critic of evolutionary theory, illustrate that cultural transmission

12 Tonio Andrade. 2008. *How Taiwan Became Chinese: Dutch, Spanish, and Han Colonization in the Seventeenth Century*. New York: Columbia University Press.

13 See T'sao Yung-he's collaboration with Leonard Blussé et al. 1986–2000. *De dagregisters van het Kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1629–1662*. 4 vols. Hague: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis.

14 Lin Man-houng. 1997. *Cha, tang, zhangnao ye yu Taiwan zhi shehui jingji bianqian 1860–1895* 茶、糖、樟腦業與台灣之社會經濟變遷 (Tea, Sugar, Camphor and the Economic Change of Taiwanese Society). Taipei: Lianjing; Lin Man-houng. 2010. "Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the Pacific, 1895–1945," *Modern Asian Studies* 44.5: 1053–1080.

15 Lin Yu-ju. 2007. "Shangye wangluo yu weituo maoyi zhidu de xingcheng: shijiu shijimo Lugang Quanjiao shangren yu Zhongguo neidi and fanchuan maoyi 商業網絡與委託貿易制度的形成：十九世紀末鹿港泉郊商人與中國內地的帆船貿易 (Commercial Networks and the Formation of a Cooperative Commissioning System: The Traditional Junk Trade between Lugang Quanjiao Guild Merchants and Mainland China during the Late Nineteenth Century)," *Xin shixue* 新史學 (New History) 18.2: 61–103.