

THE DIFFERENTIAL PROCESS OF 'MODERNIZATION' IN IMPERIAL JAPAN: THE BUILT TRADITIONS IN TAIHOKU DURING THE JAPANESE OCCUPATION

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Part one: The Differential Process of 'Modernization' in Imperial Japan

Introduction

Under Japanese colonial rule, Japan promised that the Taiwanese would share in “the benefits of “civilization and enlightenment” associated with modern progress in common with the *naichijin* (Japanese)” (Lamley 1999: 204). The benefits they promised were in line with Japan's self-identification as 'modern' and so they agreed, particularly in the early years of colonial rule that they would 'modernize' Taiwan. A similar idea of modernization was expressed in Cing Taiwan too, both through rhetoric and when adding to the built environment.

Yet what does it mean to be modern, beyond existing in the contemporary world? And what was the Japanese conception of modern during their colonization of Taiwan?

'Modern' is a concept left open to interpretation by its very definition. Conventionally it is defined as 'the present time' (Collins English Dictionary and Thesaurus 1993.) whilst more detailed definitions 'modern' are "new-fashioned, not antiquated or obsolete"; "produced by or embodying the most recent techniques, methods or ideas"; "characteristic of present or recent times"; and "belonging to the present mode". (The Oxford English Dictionary 1989, Websters Third New International Dictionary 1961, The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology 1966, and A Concise Etymological dictionary of the English Language 1927, respectively). As such, 'modern' is a distinguishing word that differentiates the recent from the past so that in the present age some aspects of society may be modern whilst others are not.

'Modern', in the sense described, is open to interpretation and changes in fashion. To apply to the case of Japan, the above definitions show that a modern person or place is recent, new fashioned and distinguished from the antique. Therefore one of the key components in being modern is being fashionable and 'keeping up' with the places deemed as more modern. Fashion is a social and cultural force based on shared meanings which develop over time. Fashions are also linked strongly with ideas of class and acceptance (Veblen 1899). Modernization has a similar process of diffusion and reconstitution, which is allowed by its vague definition. The concepts of 'modern' and 'modernization' are necessary only to distinguish between who has modern characteristics and who does not. Due to the class-like distinctions between being pre-modern and modern, being modern promotes feelings of superiority whilst not being modern is to be inferior.

This article will look at how the idea of modernization was used during the period after the Meiji Restoration, focusing particularly on Japanese occupation of Taiwan, Japan's first colonial project. It will first look at the characteristics of modernity through analysing the historical context of imperial Japan. Following this the focus will turn to the colonial policies in Taiwan and how Japan interpreted the western colonial ideal. The final section uses the Governor General's Office as a case study to show how the Japanese copied western cultural forms without full understanding of their meanings in their attempt to rapidly modernize. The paper finishes with the conclusion that this earlier interpretation of modernization as mimicry was necessary at that time but Japan's success at modernization means that a new model of modernization can be made which revives past cultural meanings rather than copying fashionable cultures.

Modernization Historical context of Imperial Japan: the Meiji Period

After the Opium War, China was forced to open five ports and Hong Kong was taken by Britain in 1840 after refusing to trade directly with some of the western powers. Japan noticed this threat and at the time was split on what to do to counteract it. In 1842, they repulsed foreign ships off the coast of Japan in order to avoid the western threat and continue their policy to close the country to international intercourse which had stood since 1601. However at this time Japan was militarily unable to compete with western technologies and as the Japanese rulers at the time were a military Junta, they had a more realistic assessment of military technology and their vulnerability as an island.

This weakness led to Japan being forced to open ports with the United States and sign the Treaty of Kanagawa. But, according to Reischauer, the largest consequence of open ports was to cause disorder to the economy as cheap foreign products severely undermined natively produced goods (Reischauer 1965: 210). The humiliation of these Treaties and the wish to be free from the western threat led to the establishment of a new doctrine of self-strengthening and the Restoration of the Emperor Meiji. The Japanese doctrine was promoted from the central government, particularly during the Meiji Period (1868-1912). The new government announced the "Five Charter Oath" In 1868, the fifth and most significant oath being "Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to strengthen the foundation of imperial rule" (Reischauer 1965: 228).

Under this principle of learning from the world, they soon established a western based political system, setting up the separation of powers by legislation, judiciary and administration. At the time liberalism, utilitarianism and democracy were concepts which saw increasing usage by the Meiji government. Westernization stretched further so that even western clothing became the official formal clothes for government officials. Other more substantial changes also occurred with western style buildings, public carriages (rather than sedan chairs), trains and gas lighting all appearing in Japan within decades of the Restoration. People started eating beef and drinking beer, activities which were earlier unseen in Japan. In 1872, use of the sun calendar (rather than the previous lunar calendar) and the 24-hour day was stipulated (鄭梁生 2003: 145). The principle of learning from abroad seemed, therefore, to apply to all areas of cultural and political life. Yet many of the changes described above are on the form of everyday

life, specifically, adopting western forms. But under this form, they ignore historically constructed meanings of western culture and therefore latently began eroding Japan's traditional culture.

The character of Japan's cultural development in this period was to make one's country rich, to build up its military power and to breed prosperous industries (鄭梁生 2003: 156). The main methods of doing this were through learning natural science, technologies and to develop a suitable education system. These methods were very salient during the establishment of the discipline of architecture in Japan.

According to Reynolds (2002), before the restoration there were no formal teaching colleges and 'architects' learnt their trade through working as an apprentice under a master, leaving no possibility to learn architectural history (Reynolds 2002: 530). In 1873 the Imperial College of Engineering was established, which taught western methods of engineering. By 1877, less than 20 years before Japan colonized Taiwan, the young British architect, Josiah Conder, was hired to organize a programme in architecture at the College.

The programme focused on learning western styles such as Gothic, Classicism and Renaissance and also learnt world architectural history. Conder emphasized that students should learn from history to improve architectural practices. The programme was therefore practical: in Reynold's opinion, "the purpose of school was to prepare Japanese to design buildings in Western architectural styles using modern building technology" (Reynolds 2002: 531). This was seen as essential due to the frequency of earthquakes in Japan. In addition, new "buildings were needed to house completely new activities, such as a university in which students would be taught subjects including modern technology and social sciences... A national museum, military barracks, and government offices were other examples of buildings urgently needed by the new administration" (Watanabe 1996: 22). It was far easier to imitate western building types than to integrate new functions with Japanese traditional architectural forms.

There was, therefore, little focus on Japan itself. The main course book for Architectural history was James Ferguson's "A History of Architecture in All Countries from the Earliest Times to the Present Day." The book hardly mentioned Japan though it had a short chapter on China and one of the four volumes was focused on India (Reynolds 2002: 531). This was likely to have given the students an in depth understanding of colonial architecture which could have influenced the architecture produced whilst colonizing Taiwan.

It was not until 1889 that there was a full course on Japanese architectural practices, taught by a Japanese practitioner. This course had a deep impact on second-generation architects, most famously the first influential Japanese architectural historian, Ito Chitu, who later taught at the university. He later promoted and used hybrid styles of architecture from the late 1920s.

However, the initial focus on western architecture forms had a profound impact on the practice of architecture in Japan, which would later be transferred to Taiwan. The prism through which Japan understood western cultural models was still profoundly dominated by the idea of western countries being more powerful than 'undeveloped' countries. Therefore in Taiwan under Japanese rule, when power and control were pressing concerns, western architecture was used almost exclusively for civic buildings.

Part two: The Built Traditions in Taihoku during the Japanese Occupation

Japanese colonial policies in Taiwan

The colonization of Taiwan in 1895 was symbolically very important for Japan because less than thirty years before, Japan was in considerable danger of being colonized. This turnaround was remarkable and almost uncomfortable for some Japanese.

Under the pressure of western and Japanese imperialism in the mid-19th century, Taiwan became more vulnerable and grew in strategic importance (Winkler 2005: 43). By 1895, the Chinese state had weakened to the extent that the resurgent Japanese were able to defeat China in the Sino-Japan war and Taiwan was ceded to Japan as war indemnity. Although in 1895 Taiwan was a poor Chinese island, on the periphery of the Chinese empire, by 1945 it had irretrievably changed:

Taiwan was supplying Japan with great amounts of industrial products, from wood pulp and chemicals to copper and foodstuffs. Its already impressive network of airfields was being expanded, as were the docking facilities at Keelung and Kaoshiung, and the entire railroad network. Chinese children on Taiwan were being thoroughly indoctrinated in the customs and values of Japanese life, and encouraged to learn the Japanese language rather than their own. Although the Taiwanese were thwarted in their attempts to set up a political assembly with their own representation, and even prevented from running their own

newspapers, the economy of Taiwan was prospering in the dependency alliance with Japan (Spence 1999: 429).

However, Taiwan was initially a great economic burden on Japan and the colonial government faced severe criticism at home for what was deemed an unnecessary luxury. Yet, Taiwan's importance was also symbolic: "As the only non-Western imperialist power... the possession by Japan of its first overseas colony became an exercise beyond purely economic considerations" (Ching 2001: 16-17). The importance to Japan of successfully colonizing Taiwan was not over stated by Goto Shimpei, the most important colonial administrator in Taiwan, who said "our nation's history as a Colonial Power commences with the story of our administration in Formosa [Taiwan], and our failure or success there must exercise a marked influence on all our future undertakings" (Takekoshi 1907: V). By the end of the Japanese occupation, Taiwan was the only colony of Japan which was both self-sufficient and paying for its own modernization efforts.

Japan's style of government in Taiwan was first debated in 1895 when it was decided to follow a French advisor's suggestion of integrating Taiwan into the Japanese empire, following Japan's laws and eventually eliminating dissimilarities between the countries. However, the British suggestion of emphasizing prestige was followed to a lesser degree by the colonial administrators particularly in the early stages of the colonial project when the government officials wore splendid western uniforms (figure 1) and commissioned "imposing classical architecture for its official buildings" (Townsend 2000: 102). This followed the tradition of having civic buildings designed in grand western styles particularly influenced by Josiah Conder (Reynolds 2002: 531).

One of the first actions of the Japanese was to organize a domestic law and order system, and separated courts from the main governance buildings. They also created "a much more economic infrastructure by building roads, railways, communications systems, factories, and harbors to facilitate export to Japan" (Ho and Park 2004: 4). The first period of colonial rule was from 1898 to 1918 and was called The Gradualism Policy, and was best articulated by the Civil Administrator, Goto Shimpei: "In governing Taiwan, first of all we must investigate scientifically the local customs and institutions, and not adopt any policy that provokes the locals" (Yao 2006: 46). As part of this an enormous land survey was produced over a seven year period which involved more than one and a half million personnel and gave the Japanese a comprehensive review of both the land so that 'nothing



Figure 1: Japanese Officials within Taipei's Chinese Yamen's garden, the main administration building for the Cing Government

Source: 薛 琴, 黃俊銘 2003: 9.

would escape the colonial government” (Yao 2006: 48). This concern with control was reflected in the elevated role of the police during Japanese rule: from the beginning the status and numbers of police were very high and in emergencies the police chief was empowered to direct the prefectural heads in his area (Ts'ai 2006: 100).

The second period of policy in Taiwan was from 1919 to 1936 and was called 'Nитай Yugo, Natai Encho', meaning good relations with Taiwan and extension of Japan to include Taiwan. This was partly because rich Taiwanese would send their children to Japan to be educated and the Japanese were worried they would find out that Taiwanese treated much less equal than Japanese. Japan therefore allowed public high schools to be set up by Taiwanese. Japan stopped segregation between Japanese and Taiwanese in education, Taiwanese were encouraged to participate in local politics and marriages between Japanese and Taiwanese were allowed. In 1935 Taiwa-

nese were allowed to vote for the first time (though not many only 0.7 percent and only half the parliament was elected). However, for Fewings, the differential treatment of Taiwanese continued and assimilation remained shallow (Fewings 2004: 20-21).

The third and final period of Japanese policy was from 1937-1945 and was called the Kominka Movement. This was because of the launch of the Kominka (Japanisation) Movement in 1937 after the beginning of Japan's war with China (Fewings 2004: 24-25). This had many consequences for Taiwanese culture: according to Takeshi, the teaching of classical Chinese in common schools was stopped, as were Chinese newspapers, Taiwanese style clothes, and Japan aimed to build a Shinto shrine in every village. Taiwanese were even encouraged to change their names to Japanese names (Takeshi 2001: 211).

Japanese colonial policies were designed primarily to exploit the full economic potential of Taiwan, particularly during the war with China. However Japan were always practical and sought to assimilate Taiwanese only to a degree suitable for their level of development. Japanese language was used as an effective measure to promote Japanese ideas and breed a loyal Taiwanese population. Japan also wished to practically demonstrate their superiority over their subject population and did so by building grand civic buildings, which required high western technologies. The largest and most evocative example in Taiwan is the Governor General's Hall, built at the end of the period of gradualism in 1918. Through analyzing the built traditions embodied in the building and its process of construction we will see the extent to which Japan had internalized western notions of cultural modernization.

The Built Traditions of the Governor General's Hall in Taipei

As mentioned earlier, governmental offices were a new building type that was needed to be developed during the Meiji period. It was therefore unsurprising that upon Count Kodama's appointment as Governor General in 1898, he professed two priorities: to build a Taiwan Shinto Shrine and a Governor General's Hall. Whilst the shrine was to unify national consciousness, "the 'Governor-General's Hall of Taiwan' was to show the prestige of Governor-General. Its purpose was to order the Taiwanese people to surrender and to threaten them; therefore, it should have an impressive style" (黃俊銘 2004: 38).

According to 薛琴, 黃俊銘, The Governor General's Hall was necessary because since Japan began to rule Taiwan, Japan has used the government official office of Cing dynasty whose structure had severally declined (薛琴, 黃俊銘 2003: 1). The design project team decided to use a design from a public competition. Competitions were a very popular method of attracting high quality. This was the only competition used in Taiwan during the colonial period and attracted more than 50 designs, all from mainland Japan rather than Taiwan. The architect who later became the technical director of the project, Matsunosuke Moriyama, failed to progress beyond the first stage of the competition. From archival data found thus far, all of the entrants designed using western architectural forms with few if any Japanese features. The winning design is in figure 2 below.

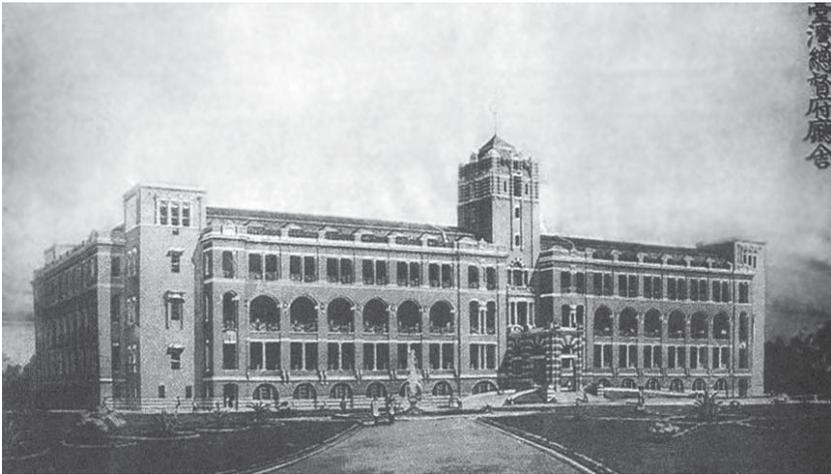


Figure 2: The initial design of Uheiji, which won the architectural competition

Source: 黃俊銘 2004: 101.

A new technical director, Matsunosuke Moriyama, was appointed who altered the design with greater consideration for local traditions and his own ideas but others criticized the panel for not allowing the winner to coordinate his own project. Moriyama's other buildings in Taiwan include the Taipei Water Pumping station, Tainan Post Office and court building, and the city halls of Taichung, Tainan and Taipei. Nevertheless, the Governor General's office was his most important building. He adapted the design to make it more or-

nate, increased the base height of the building and made the interior roughly symmetrical. Yet even his own revisions were revised; the Governor General was not satisfied with the main tower's height and wished for a more imposing tower to be designed. His subsequent design is shown below in figure 3.

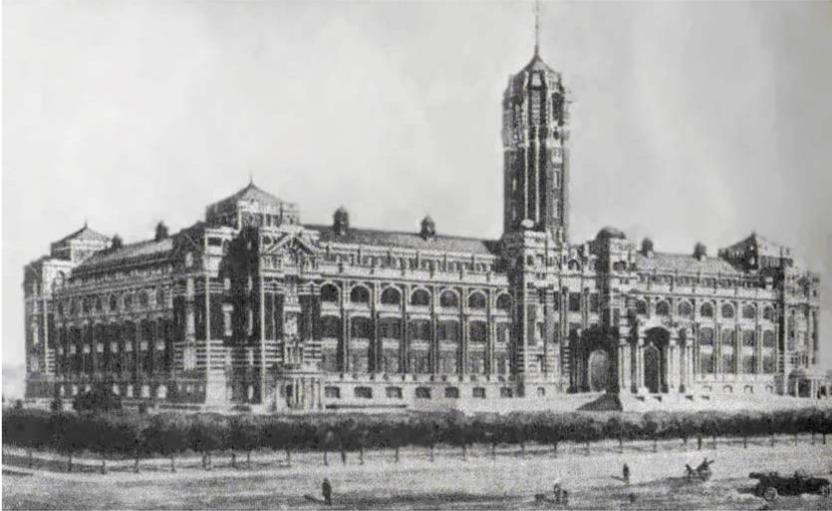


Figure 3: The final design for the Governor General's Hall

Source: 黃俊銘 2004: 113

The building's design was solely begun, examined, modified by inland Japanese: Taiwanese were only involved from the beginning of the Hall's construction. The manager of construction has applied for 1300 workmen and 200 laborers from inland Japan and 1300 laborers from Taiwan (薛琴, 黃俊銘 2003). Due to the techniques available and the scale of construction at that time, it required a huge amount of labor. As above, there were two kinds of laborers; workmen required more skills and the job was only available to inland Japanese. As for the laborers, they were only used for lower skilled work such as transferring materials. Even by 1932, although many Taiwanese had primary school education (281, 662), only 3,694 Taiwanese students attended secondary school and consequently even fewer attended college (247) and university (22) (The British Embassy 1932). It is therefore unsurprising that in 1915 Taiwanese were restricted to laboring work as they had neither the status nor the expertise to do higher level work.

The Governor-General's Hall is accepted as taking seven years and ten months to construct: from the 1st of June 1912 to the 31st of March 1919, so that by the end of the construction, the time taken was almost three times longer than was originally anticipated (薛琴, 黃俊銘 2003: 2-13). There appear to be numerous reasons for this; there were initially many problems associated with the foundations of the building, the fourth floor's function was changed, and administrative and funding problems were apparent throughout the building process. Whilst it is currently a mystery as to why the building process after 1915 took so long to complete it is likely that problems arose partly due to the size and scale of the building which were perhaps unanticipated by those who had worked on such large structures before, which used new technologies recently learnt such as re-enforced concrete. The completed building is shown below in figure 4.

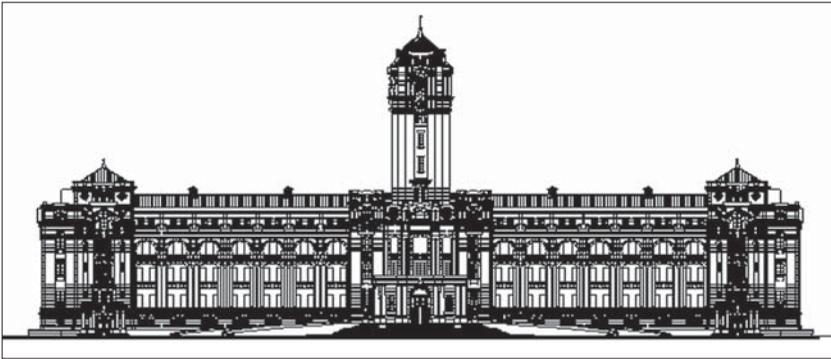


Figure 4: A detailed view of the Governor General's Hall front elevation

Source: 李重耀建築師事務所 [C.Y.LI ARCHITECTURE & ENGINEERS].

Whilst the building is a familiar style for Taiwan at this period it is imbued with a feeling a power lacking in other such buildings. At the time it could be seen everywhere throughout the city because the other buildings were usually not more than one or two stories high. As a visual feature in Taipei it was to become ever present and, for Taiwanese until the end of Japanese rule, inaccessible. A key policy of Japan in Taiwan was to use Western style buildings to embody the authority of a new central government and, for Watanabe, to show the people that the government was progressive rather than regressive as the old government was viewed (Watanabe



Figure 5: Post card, which showed an aerial view of the Governor General's Hall at the time of building

Source: 黃俊銘 2004:163.

1996: 23). This highly symbolic nature of the building was obviously a concern for the Governor General as by his order the initially quite modest tower was made larger on request from the government. As such, although the Japanese government did not follow the British example of allowing cultural separateness in their colonies, the Governor General's Hall offers supporting evidence that the Japanese did attempt to foster the prestigious 'image' of British colonial rule (Townsend 2000: 103).

The small windows dotted throughout the head of the tower, its highly restricted access and size meant the Office was a special symbol of power ideal for the Japanese colonial government attempting to emulate its western predecessors. It was a very public building, created at huge expense in terms of money, labor used and time spent, showing that the Japanese government was very willing to invest in its colonial possession.

Symbolically the Governor General's Hall was incredibly important for the Japanese. It represented of the power of the state and their pride with the building was shown in many postcards and posters of Taiwan, which were often used to propagate a certain image of Taiwan and Japan as the colonial government. In figure 6 below the background shows Mount Fuji

of Japan and Yushan (Mountain) of Taiwan, which was the taller mountain but represented as shorter. The foreground shows the façade of the Governor General's Hall (whose tower has been made longer) with a large, tall structure behind it, possibly representing the power of the Japanese state.

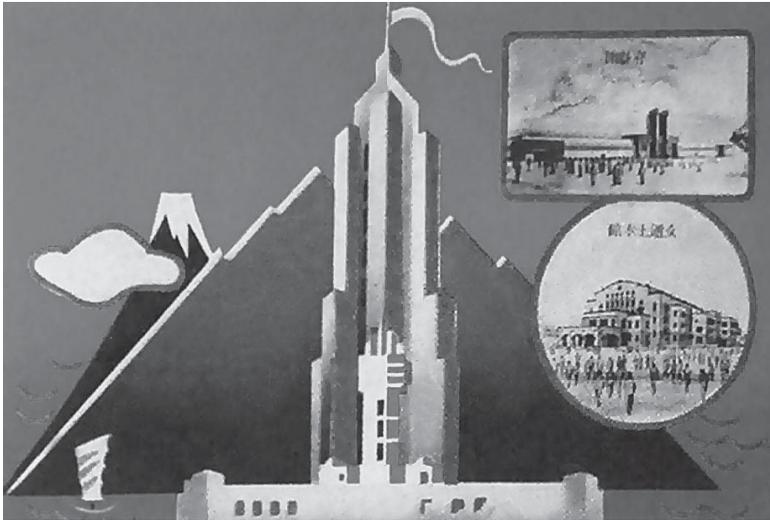


Figure 6: A poster commemorating 40 year of Japanese rule in Taiwan

Source: 黃俊銘 2004:163.

However, by far the most striking aspect of the building is how incongruous it looks compared to the architecture of traditional Japanese rulers' buildings. There is no indication of the cultural heritage of the designers, without exterior gates, dropping eaves and any evidence of woodwork. The highly westernized buildings built in Taiwan at this time redefine the idea of a singular 'Japanese style' and of what Japan really is.

Such a lack of focus on the culture of the 'motherland' is belied by the Japanese colonial policies mentioned earlier, which prioritize Japanese cultural learning at schools, particularly the compulsory learning of Japanese language. This policy seems to indicate the desire of Japan to extend their culture to other countries, a policy that gained greater strength towards the end of the colonial period. Yet compared to other colonial architecture as practiced by, for example, Britain, the Governor General's Hall shows a

distinct lack of awareness of the importance of emphasizing traditional architecture. Whilst the British-Indian style 'Indo-Saracenic' (see an example of this in figure 7 below), combined the traditions of the colonizer and the colonized the Japanese showed the lack of either.



Figure 7: Mysore Palace, India¹

Source: Wikipedia, Website.

The competition too was interesting as a characterization of Japanese architectural and colonial practice. Firstly, the seeming fact that all the applicants submitted designs which were western in form was, in remembrance of the architectural education system of the time, unsurprising yet the total acceptance of western models is still shocking. Secondly, the architectural competition showed a lack of concern with following the terms and conditions of the contest. Although favoritism and pre-determination of the winner has long affected architectural competitions (for English examples, see Cunningham 1981: 100) in substantially revising the original design the authorities showed small respect to the competitors artistic rights. The changes of the plans reflected the colonial authority's obsession with political meanings and status.

As shown earlier, highly skilled Taiwanese workers were totally absent on the construction of the Governor General's Hall. For Fewings, this indicates that, although it was the key aim for the Japanese government, Taiwan was not at that point a self-sufficient economy (Fewings 2004: 208). To perform

¹ Mysore Palace was built by the British architect Henry Irwin for the Regent of Mysore Province, India, in 1912. This was a strong example of Indo-Saracenic architecture whose domed red and gold roofs and distinctive small windows suitable for warmer climes were combined with gothic features to produce a new style of architecture.

works of great importance, expertise was still necessary to be imported from Japan's mainland, perhaps because they were so well versed in western and colonial architecture from university and contemporary practice.

The Governor General's Hall is illustrative of many issues that Japan was wrestling with through modernizing at the time of construction particularly representing governmental power, the erosion of traditional forms and national identity. Although architecture in Japan at this period was beginning to revive traditional styles and carpentry skills (for example, see the Kanto Earthquake Memorial Museum of 1923) the context of colonialism did not allow for this. Western buildings were symbolic of a certain prestige that Japan was aiming to attain and did so by emulating western powers colonial architecture for size and splendor, the case in point being the governor General's Hall, which was so symbolically important for Japan. In doing so, Japan was attempting to speak in a universal language of colonialism, but this was a language proved to be fundamentally biased by western powers. This bias will be further illustrated by two more architectural examples in Taipei below.

Comparison with other Buildings in Taipei

In the examples of the architecture of the Governor General's Hall, the Governor General's Residence, the City Halls of Taipei, Taichung and Tainan as well as many other important buildings in Taiwan and Japan, Renaissance and Baroque styles were dominant. However, for Taipei's Governor General's Museum (figure 9), Grecian/Roman revival style is much more prevalent.



Figure 8: The British Museum, London

Source: Pevsner 1976: 85.

This museum was built to commemorate the completion of the first north to south railway in Taiwan and housed over 10,000 artifacts on Taiwan. If we can compare the two figures below, the British museum (figure 8), as well as many other museums built in Europe in this period, was purposefully classical in its façade. The cultural meaning of this is that museums often have ancient artifacts and therefore the architecture harks back to antiquity.

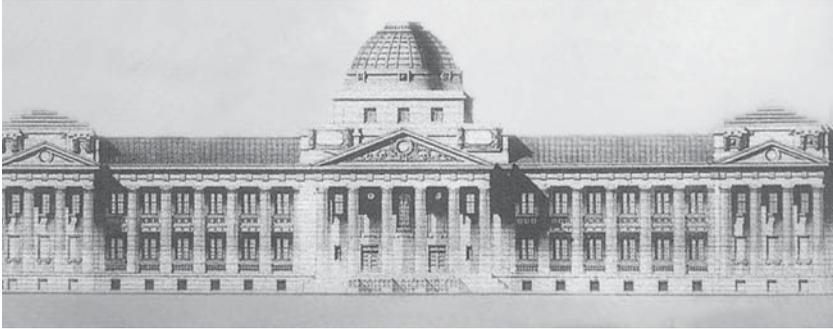


Figure 9: Governor General's Museum, Taipei

Source: 李乾朗 2002: 66.

For the Japanese to copy this shows a lack of understanding of this subtlety as Japan does not have a shared Greek and Roman historical background, being culturally and geographically distinct. This demonstrates that, as with the Governor General's Hall, the western style is only a form for the Japanese at that time: there is no historical meaning for them, only a majestic style. They are therefore copying cultural traditions which are not relevant to Japan.

The final example of a built tradition of the Japanese colonial period is the Governor General's Residence, where the Governor lived and hosted events for guests. The Residence was built with two gardens, one western style and one Japanese. The Residence is the large building in the middle of figure 10, with the western garden at the front entrance where guests would have entered and the Japanese garden at the rear. This follows the principle that Japanese architecture was shown only on more private areas in Taipei, with a, perhaps unwitting, sense of shame attached whilst the western design was the public face. This is another example of Japan in this period giving a higher status to other cultural traditions.

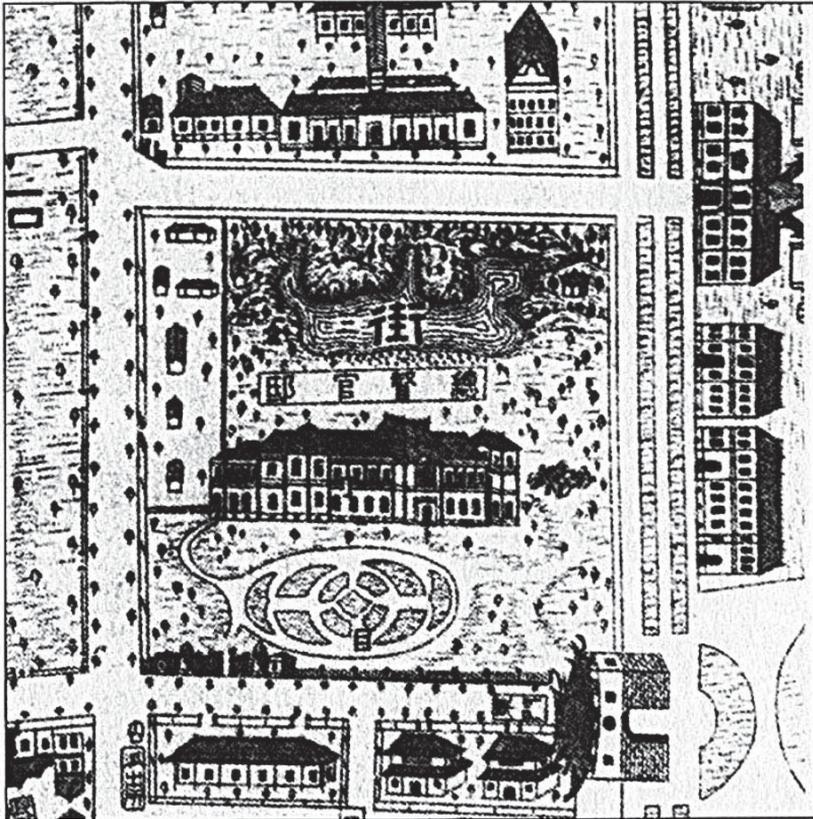


Figure 10: The Governor General's Residence

Source: 黃俊銘 2004: 58.

Conclusion

A principle difficulty in analysing architectural adoption of western forms in modernization is determining when judgments are based on ease of use or on notion of western cultural superiority. Many new types of buildings were used in this period such as mints, universities and banks for which it was far easier to adopt western forms than speedily attempt to alter existing Japanese architecture to fit these new functions. Although Japan

had a tradition of constructing Japanese style administration buildings it is unlikely they were fit for purpose of an expanding centralized authority. However the total lack of Japanese style architecture on the most important building in Taiwan indicates a total lack of confidence and confusion in national identity by refusing to develop traditional cultural forms in a new setting. It was claimed by contemporary Japanese that “western nations have long believed that on their shoulders alone rested the responsibility of colonizing... and extending to the inhabitants the benefits of civilization” (Takekoshi 1907: vii). In the field of architecture Japan did not fully take on this challenge as Japan mimicked western forms without exercising autonomy on developing new traditions in the face of modernization.

For the Japanese western buildings represented simply a ‘modern’ style with high class and prestige but the context is ignored. This occurred in both colonization and architecture. However whilst colonial policies betrayed a little of Japanese individual culture in converting Taiwanese to Shinto and to speak Japanese, architecture, like so many other cultural pursuits, was left only the decision of which western tradition to follow. An interesting question to explore is asking whether traditional architecture forms were more acceptable in private settings. It appears that for higher status buildings western forms were seen as required to gain credence.

I wish to close with the point that it is now past time to evolve past the stage of early modernization of blind copying. The idea of modern is one, which is open to differing cultures, and developing the fashions of modernity is a required evolution by Japan and other non-western countries in setting fashions as well as reacting to them.

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Abstract

During the 19th century, in Asia the constant political backdrop for home ruled countries was the threat of colonization. Although most Asian countries fell fully or partly western countries' colonial intentions, Japan's unique revolution in response to challenges from the

west let them adapt to the challenge and become wealthy, powerful and, to varying degrees, Western. It adapted to the western order to the extent that it colonized Taiwan (from 1895-1945), an island owned by China. Taking advice from British officials, Japanese official architecture in Taiwan was both imposing and European, which was used to emphasize prestige.

The paper focuses on Japan's architectural activities in Taiwan, and why the peculiar practice in building in Western styles was so pervasive. The most significant project during Japan's colonization of Taiwan was the Governor General's Hall (1918) which was home to the political elite of Taiwan during and after the Japanese period and was built in the style of red brick Renaissance. Through understanding this building we can understand the culture of the leaders, and how they influenced and changed the country so rapidly, and gain insight into the ethnocentric meaning of what it is to be 'modern'.

Santrauka

XIX a. Azijos nepriklausomų šalių politiniame fone nuolat buvo jaučiama kolonizacijos grėsmė. Nors Vakarų šalių kolonijines užmačias bent iš dalies jautė dauguma Azijos šalių, savita Japonijos revoliucija, kaip atsakas į Vakarų iššūkius, leido prisitaikyti prie naujų sąlygų ir tapti turtinga, galinga ir santykinai vakarietiška šalimi. Japonija taip prisitaikė prie vakarietiškos tvarkos, kad net kolonizavo (nuo 1895 iki 1945 m.) Taivano salą, priklausiusią Kinijai. Remdamiesi britų valdininkų patarimais, japonai Taivanyje sukūrė įspūdingą europietišką valdžios architektūrą, kurią naudojo prestižui pabrėžti.

Šiame straipsnyje apžvelgiama Japonijos architektūrinė veikla ir bandoma atsakyti į klausimą, kodėl tokia paplitusi buvo vakarietiškojo tipo namų statyba. Japonijos Taivano kolonizavimo laikotarpiu svarbiausias projektas buvo Generalgubernatoriaus rūmai (1918), pastatyti renesanso raudonųjų plytų stiliumi: šie rūmai buvo Taivano politinio elito namai ir Japonijos Taivano kolonizavimo laikotarpiu, ir jam pasibaigus. Analizuodami šio pastato architektūrą, mes galime pažinti lyderių kultūrą, suvokti, kaip jie galėjo taip greitai paveikti ir pakeisti šalį, galime atskleisti tam tikras įžvalgas apie *modernumo* sąvokos etnocentrinę prasmę.