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論台灣史的史料翻譯：

以陳政三《征臺紀事》譯本為例

The Translation History of Taiwan's Historical Materials:

A Translator-centered Case Study on Jackson Tan's

Translation of *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa*

孟令偉

Ling-wei Meng

指導教授：陳榮彬 博士

Advisor: Richard Rong-bin Chen, Ph.D.

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The Japanese Expedition to Formosa

論台灣史的史料翻譯：以陳政三《征臺紀事》譯本為例

本論文係孟令偉（R06147015）在國立臺灣大學翻譯碩士學位學程完成之碩士學位論文，於民國 114 年 7 月 25 日承下列考試委員審查通過及口試及格，特此證明。

The undersigned, appointed by the Graduate Program in Translation and Interpretation on July 25, 2025, have examined a Master's Thesis entitled above presented by MENG, LING WEI (R06147015) and hereby certify that it is worthy of acceptance.

口試委員 Oral examination committee:



（指導教授 Advisor）





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如果真的有人打開了這份檔案或翻開這文本，請幫我邊讀邊播放伍佰／林強&侯孝賢的〈無聲的所在〉，心境就在旋律歌詞中。

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痛這呢久 親像浮在無底的大海

趕緊找一個無聲的所在

一個真正無聲無息的所在

恬恬仔 一個人 哭悲哀



摘要



本文試圖初步探討臺灣史料翻譯活動在臺灣史研究領域所擔任的角色。臺灣史研究領域在近三十年來的發展歷程，與臺灣戒嚴末期開始逐漸醞釀的政治民主化，以及文化國族主義的發展息息相關。本論文欲藉若林正丈和蕭阿勤這兩位政治與社會學者針對二十世紀末的臺灣政治與社會所進行的相關研究基礎，為從 1990 年代以降的臺灣史料翻譯活動簡述其發展的時代背景。

本文所及的臺灣史史料所指涉的類型，主要是西方人在開港通商後的 19 世紀臺灣島上所留下的各種文字記錄，並以陳政三所譯的《征臺紀事》作為主要探討文本，並輔以另一作《福爾摩沙島的過去與現在》作為各種面向的對照。19 世紀在台西人的文字紀錄譯介，在 1990 年代末至 2000 年代初開始大量出現，過去的研究多半已經指出，這些出版品的贊助者和譯者，在促使文本產出的背後動機是所謂「臺灣意識」的興起。本文除了藉由敘述臺灣史料翻譯活動的時代因素，企圖具體解釋「臺灣意識」的產生和影響之外，也在此觀察此時的臺灣史料翻譯取向，是否呼應了當時的臺灣史研究領域在史料選擇方面的轉向。此時的臺灣史研究領域為建立以臺灣為研究核心的主體性，開始使用傳統中國視角以外的材料，企圖建立以「臺灣人視角」為主的歷史敘事，本文將會分析，此時開始蓬勃發展的臺灣史料翻譯所產生的譯文本，對當時的臺灣史研究領域之間如何相互影響。

關鍵詞：臺灣史、史料翻譯、政治民主化、文化國族主義、陳政三

Abstract



This thesis embarks on a preliminary exploration of the crucial role that translation activities involving Taiwanese historical materials have played in shaping the field of Taiwanese history research. The remarkable growth and transformation of Taiwanese history studies as an academic discipline over the past three decades are deeply intertwined with two significant developments: the political democratization that took root following the end of martial law in Taiwan, and the parallel rise of cultural nationalism. To contextualize the emergence and evolution of translation efforts concerning Taiwanese historical sources, this study will briefly outline the historical background of these activities since the late 1990s. This will be achieved by referencing key studies on late 20th-century Taiwanese politics and society, particularly drawing insights from the works of Masahiro Wakabayashi (若林正丈) and Hsiao A-chin (蕭阿勤), whose scholarship offers valuable perspectives on this transformative period.

The Taiwanese historical materials referred to in this study are mainly written texts left by Westerners on Taiwan Island in the 19th century after the opening of treaty ports. Edward House's *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa*, will be the main material to be discussed in this thesis, along with the comparison with James Wheeler Davidson's *The Island of Formosa Past and Present* in various aspects in translated text by Jackson Tan (陳政三). The translation and introduction of these transcripts began to appear in large numbers from the late 1990s to the early 2000s.

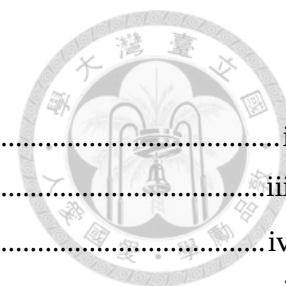
Past studies have predominantly suggested that the sponsors and translators behind these crucial publications were primarily driven by a burgeoning "Taiwanese consciousness." Building upon this, this thesis will not only elaborate on the nuanced meaning of "Taiwanese

consciousness” by detailing the specific temporal factors influencing the translation of Taiwanese historical materials, but will also critically examine a key correlation. It will observe whether these translation activities directly correspond to a significant shift in the selection of historical materials within the broader field of Taiwanese history research.

During that pivotal period, the academic discipline of Taiwanese history was actively striving to establish Taiwan’s own historical subjectivity. This endeavor led to a conscious effort to incorporate and utilize materials that offered non-China-centered perspectives, thereby building a historical narrative firmly rooted in the viewpoint of “Taiwanese people.” Consequently, this thesis aims to thoroughly analyze the mutual influence and interplay between the increasingly flourishing activities of historical material translation and the evolving landscape of Taiwanese history studies at that time.

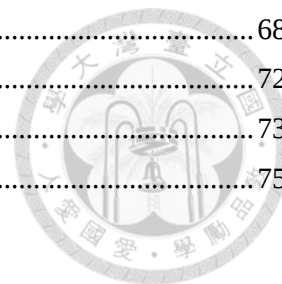
Keywords: Taiwanese History, Translation of Historical Materials, Political Democratization, Cultural Nationalism, Jackson Tan

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Motivation

The initial interest of this topic originates from my college experience. Certainly, I have been paying attention to the contextual aspects of how the history of Taiwan was constructed since mid-20th century since my college major is History. Before entering NTU GPTI, I've already decided to extend my interest further through the brief academic research of Taiwan's translation history, discussing how Taiwan's history has been translated in the past few decades.

I've notice this newfound trend of translation studies in Taiwan since Professor Lai Tzu-yun from NTNU GITI published her book *Agency of Translation Detective* (翻譯偵探事務所 *Fanyi zhentan shiwusuo*) (Lai, 2017), when I was about to graduate from the Department of History, NTNU. To my knowledge, Lai is one of the first leading scholars in this field of research in Taiwan, thus I started digging her previous academic works. I've found out that despite Lai has done lots of research on "ghost translators" in the 20th century post-war China and Taiwan, seeking "transitional justice" for the translators who had lost their names, dignity, and authorized copyrights throughout the years, (Lai, 2014, pp.59-91) as in the perspective of historical studies, she discovered and documented a great number of translators' actual identities and their related translations. Her research method, however, does not go deeper to investigate the translation methods and strategies adopted by Taiwan's translators and the historical background of their translation activities.

Various researchers and their works paid a lot of attention to Taiwan's translation history during the period of Martial Law, and, I would like to contend that this is mainly due to the fact that, in this period, the Martial Law was the main manipulation factor for translating foreign literatures and obviously the translated texts were restricted and affected by this factor. Researchers like Lai, Chang Qi-rong (張綺容)¹, Wang Mei-hsiang (王梅香)², and Shan Te-hsing³ (單德興), to name a few, have been paying attention to the translation history of foreign literatures before the Martial Law lifted, whereas there were much fewer studies focusing on the time after the Martial Law being lifted. The translation history studies in this period may be more sophisticated, and might have to get involved in the discussion of Taiwan's democratization in the 1990s.

1.2 Research Questions

My initial goal of this study is trying to figure out the context and the influence of Taiwan's democratization in the 1990s, the period in which the translation history of Taiwan's historical materials could have been tangled with the democratization movement itself. The initial translations of Jackson Tan (陳政三) happened to appear in this period. Thus, his works are precious materials to study, as is shown in the following statement of his to explain the efforts of his works of translation:

¹ Chang, C. R. (2018). Tamen zai daoyu fanyi: Jieyan chuqi zai Tai yizhe yanjiu [Translated Island: A Study on Translators in Taiwan during the Early Martial Law Period]. *Studies of Translation and Interpretation*, (22), 1-43.

² Wang, M. H. (2014). Lengzhan shidai de Taiwan wenxue waiyi—Meiguo xinwenchu yishu jijihua de yunzuo (1952-1962) [Translating Taiwan Literature into Foreign Languages in the Cold War Era: The Operation of USIS Book Translation Program (1952-1962)]. *Journal of Taiwan Literary Studies*, (19), 223-254.

³ Shan, Te-hsing, *Fanyi yu mailuo* [翻譯與脈絡]. Taipei: Bookman Bookstore, 2009. Print.

“This book has filled up one of the gaps of the studies of Taiwanese history, clarified some historical misunderstandings and opened up some new directions for further academic explorations. During the time of translating and composing annotations, I thoroughly searched for domestic and foreign historical materials, gradually walked out of the blockade of knowledge. The book will be representing the content by interesting column articles along with detailed and comprehensive annotations. Let us break through the blockade of knowledge together.” (My translation)

[本書補充了台灣史的一個斷層，澄清了一些歷史謬誤，開啟某些或可再深入研究的
方向。翻譯、註釋期間，筆者遍查中外史冊，逐漸從知識的封鎖中走出來。本書以有
趣的小欄文章、深入淺出的註釋方式呈現給您。讓我們一齊從知識的封鎖走出來
吧。] (Dodd, 1888; Tan, Trans., 2002, p. 6)

This passage is quoted from “Translator’s Preface” to Tan’s first work of translation, the Chinese version of John Dodd’s *Journal of a Blockaded Resident in Northern Formosa during the Franco-Chinese War 1884-5*. It clearly represents his “sense of dedication” as a Taiwanese translator and an amateur historian. According to Lefevere’s theory⁴, which stipulates ideology and poetology (poetics) as the two main factors constraining translator’s process of literary production: in this sense, translators’ works are heavily motivated by their ideals, be they political, social, or religious, etc, and we’re surely able to consider these words quoted from the preface Tan wrote for John Dodd’s book to be his overt expression of the political ideology that also affected his ideology of translation works he had produced. The phrase “the blockade of knowledge” briefly represented the situation of Taiwanese history research field before the Martial Law was lifted. Except for the Japanese rule period (1895-1945), during the timespan mentioned above, Taiwanese history was seen as only a “local history” of the three regimes of China: i.e., Koxinga’s era (Kingdom of Tungning 東寧王國),

⁴ Lefevere, André. *Translation, rewriting, and the manipulation of literary fame*. London: Routledge, 1992.

Qing dynasty and Republic of China. The centrality of Taiwanese history developed under the gradually liberalized freedom of speech and growing “Taiwanese Consciousness” (*Taiwan yishi* 臺灣意識) since the late 1980s and the lift of Martial Law. In the context of democratization and the development of centrality of Taiwanese historical research, non-China-centered historical materials were introduced and translated in abundance, and would since then become essential; and this could be seen as one of the approaches to “break through” the blockade of knowledge which was once repressed and degraded by KMT government and the majority of Taiwan’s academic field. The main discussion that could be extended from here is to identify the social context behind the translator’s ideological expression, along with the factor of its patronage, and the actual influence on the translator and his translations.

What then is the historical context when Tan first started to translate those historical materials related to Taiwan? Hsiao A-Chin (蕭阿勤), one of the research fellows in the Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica, studied this historical background thoroughly and his book *Reconstructing Taiwan: The Cultural Politics of Contemporary Nationalism* [*Zhonggou Taiwan: dangdai minzuzhyi de wenhuazhengzhi* 重構台灣: 當代民族主義的文化政治]⁵ can provide the answer for us. As is argued by Hsiao in that book, “Cultural Nationalism” emerged within the Taiwan Nationalism movement after the Martial Law was lifted. The construction of Taiwan-centered literature, language and history are three essential knowledge fields to build up Taiwanese cultural nationalism and the roles of authors and researchers played in those fields should also be examined. Encouraged by that movement predominantly brought up by the political democratization in the 1980s and 90s, Tan researched, translated, and annotated the notes, journals, and books written by the Western

⁵ Hsiao’s book published by Routledge in 2000 was basically the original text of the 2012 Mandarin version. The Mandarin version, however, was not a word-by-word translation. (*Zhonggou Taiwan*, p. 5.)

travelers to Taiwan in the 19th century, and in this respect, he can definitely be considered as an intellectual who actively participated in the construction of Taiwanese cultural nationalism. Throughout Tan's translation career, almost all of his works focused on similar time periods and genres of historical writings. By introducing historical materials outside of traditional China-centered perspectives and ideologies, the newly constructed Taiwanese history in the late 20th and early 21st centuries surely acquired many much-needed distinctive research materials aside from Mandarin, Taiwanese or Japanese documents and research results.

Furthermore, I would like to briefly discuss about the acceptance of Tan's translation in the academic field. Aside from the translator's role he played, Tan also tried to participate in the study of Taiwanese history by writing journal articles, which were all closely related to his works of translation and annotation. Another aspect of his academic participation is how the translation being used and applied in the studies of other Taiwanese historians and researchers. By observing the numbers of citations and the actual usage of Tan's translation of Westerners' documents in the 19th-century Taiwan, my study will be able to determine the effects of how Tan's translation texts function in the academic field.

The concept of "thick translation" in translation studies will be a sound starting point to elaborate my assessment of Tan's translations. "A Cultural-Translation Study of Paratexts via Victor H. Mair's translation of *Tao Te Ching*"⁶, the article by Chih-hong Rudy Chen (陳致宏), which has been published in *Bianyi luncong* [Compilation and Translation Review 編譯論叢], applies the "thick translation" approach of Kwame Anthony Appiah, a scholar of post-colonialism, to analyze how paratexts⁷, such as annotations, function in Mair's

⁶ Chen, C.-H. (2018). A cultural-translation study of paratexts via Victor H. Mair's English translation of the *Tao Te Ching*. *Compilation and Translation Review*, 11(2), 61-98.

⁷ French literary theorist Gérard Genette first came up with the idea of "paratext," whose types can include translator's preface, recommender's preface, introduction, foreword, postscript, appendix, annotations, index, etc.

translation of *Tao Te Ching* (Chen, 2018, p.66). The concept may also be applied well to Tan's strategy and method used in the Mandarin translation.

To begin my research, I will use *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa* by Edward House, an American journalist who covered the news about Japan's military maneuver in Taiwan in 1874, the year the troops sent by the Japanese government implemented its punitive campaign against the Paiwan tribal communities who had slaughtered dozens of Ryukyu shipmen in 1871, as the main material to discuss, and the importance of this material in the academic field will be elaborated in the following chapters along with the analysis of Tan's translation ideology. Chen mentions in his article that the translator of *Tao Te Ching*, Victor H. Mair, was consciously applying a concept called "'Academic' Translation." Large amount of paratexts were produced during the translation. Mair's *Tao Te Ching* translation was published in 1990 in two different versions, as is explained by Chen:

"... one a consumer version published by Bantam Books, a commercial publisher, with extensive introductory notes, annotations and other kinds of paratexts, and another a purely scholarly paper published as the addendum to the aforesaid introductory notes and endnotes in the Bantam consumer version" (Chen, 2018, p.84).

Likewise, Tan's translation of House's book was first published in 2002 and its revised edition published in 2008 and 2015⁸. During this period, Tan's numerous papers related to House's experience in Taiwan in the late 19th century was also published in 2006. One might ask: did Tan use a "scholarly" translation method, not unlike Mair's way of translation, aside from being the translator, also playing the role of a scholar of Taiwanese history who focused on the 19th-century history of Taiwan as is recorded by a handful of Westerners traveling to

Genette first introduced this concept in his book, see: Genette, G. (1987/1997). *Paratexts: Thresholds of interpretation*. (J. E. Lewin, Trans.). Cambridge University Press.

⁸ Little differences were made between 2008 and 2015 versions, mainly adding a couple of new publications to the bibliography since related new researches of 19th Westerners in Taiwan came out throughout the period.

the place they knew as Formosa? Due to the fact that the thesis of Kao Tzu-hsi (高子璽)⁹ has done a detailed research of Tan as a “translator with a certain reportage style,” my study tends to compare Tan’s translation works among different “publishers.” Tan had built up his reputation in the early 2000s by the unique translation style of “story-telling” [yishu 譯述] in his translation works published by “private” publishers. For Tan, his translation and narratives built upon certain specific ideological agendas co-exist side by side in the books he translated. This reportage style, however, was restricted later when he translated *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present*, with the translation’s book title being *Fuermoshadao de guoqu yu xianzai* [福爾摩沙島的過去與現在]¹⁰, a book by James Wheeler Davidson.¹¹ It will be my intention to compare the main differences between the abundant paratexts included in Tan’s translations published by the commercial publishers and those by the more academic publisher, that is, the National Museum of Taiwanese History in Tainan.

1.3 Literature Review

The present thesis aims at identifying the function, acceptance, and the manipulation of Tan’s translation of Taiwanese historical materials, and to briefly introduce the social and political background against which this field of translation developed. In the past decade, a handful of translation studies master theses about the contexts of translating the 19th-century historical records, notes, reports, and essays, etc., have been written on this topic. The titles

⁹ Kao, T. H. (2019). *Translating Formosa: Translators’ interpretation of the works by British, American and Japanese naturalists* (Master’s Thesis, Graduate Program of Translation and Interpretation, National Taiwan University, Taipei, Taiwan).

¹⁰ Davidson, J. W. (1903/2014). *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present. History, People, Resources, and Commercial Prospects. Tea, Camphor, Sugar, Gold, Coal, Sulphur, Economical Plants, and Other Productions* (福爾摩沙島的過去與現在). (J. Tan, Trans.) Tainan: National Museum of Taiwan History.

¹¹ Davidson’s name has been usually referred to as 禮密臣 or 達飛聲 in Chinese, with the latter being chosen by Jackson Tan in his translation.

are listed below in the chronological order:



1. Chen, Y.-L. (2012). “George Leslie Mackay’s *From Far Formosa*: Manipulation, Editing and Translation” [喬治·馬偕著 *From Far Formosa* 編輯及翻譯過程之運作].¹²
2. Lin, H.-H. (2013). “Looking Back at Formosa: A Study of Translations of 19th Century Western Travel Writing on Formosa” [回望福爾摩沙：十九世紀來臺西方人旅行書寫在臺灣的譯介].¹³
3. Chiang, Y.-J. (2014). “The Role of Patrons in the Translations of Taiwan’s Historical Texts” [不同視角下的臺灣：臺灣史相關文本之翻譯贊助者研究].¹⁴
4. Kao, T.-S. (2019). “Translating Formosa: Translators’ Interpretation of the Works by British, American and Japanese Naturalists.”¹⁵

The study on *From Far Formosa*, the autobiography George MacKay (馬偕) by Chen Ya Lin (陳雅齡) adopts the theory from the “manipulation school,” discussing the ideology, patronage and poetics of the translators and the associated social system and institutions. Further researches extended the methodology, using it to discuss certain aspects of the manipulation in translated texts. In the thesis, she compares three translations of Mackay’s *From Far Formosa* from the perspectives of patronage, ideology, and poetics, and then she

¹² Chen, Y.-L. (2012). *George Leslie Mackay’s From Far Formosa: Manipulation, editing, and translation* (Master Thesis, Graduate Institute of Cross-Cultural Studies In-Service Master Program, Fu Jen Catholic University, New Taipei, Taiwan).

¹³ Lin, H.-H. (2013). *Huiwang fuermosha: Shijiu shiji laitai xifangren lüxing shuxie zai Taiwan de yijie* [Looking back at Formosa: A study of translations of 19th century western travel writing on Formosa] (Master’s thesis, National Taiwan Normal University).

¹⁴ Chiang, Y.-J. (2014). *Butong shijiao xia de Taiwan: Taiwan shi xiangguan wenben zhi fanyi zanzhuzhe yanjiu* [The role of patrons in the translations of Taiwan’s historical texts] (Master’s thesis, National Taiwan Normal University).

¹⁵ Kao, T.-H. (2019). *Translating Formosa: Translators’ interpretation of the works by British, American and Japanese naturalists* (Master Thesis, Graduate Program of Translation and Interpretation, National Taiwan University, Taipei, Taiwan).

further presents “the reality and the image” shaped by the rewriters (translators) for the author Mackay. Thus, the different versions of reality and image co-exist in a certain period, a genre, or a whole literary system.

Two other master theses, both were written by graduates of NTNU GITI [師大翻譯所], focus on the exterior aspects of translating the texts produced by Westerners traveling to Taiwan in the 19th century. The thesis of Hsi-Hua Lin (林希樺) deals with the patronage aspects of the related texts since the exiled ROC government retreated to Taiwan in 1945. Most of the translated texts in postwar Taiwan were heavily manipulated in the main contents and the paratexts, and this is also true for the translations of historical materials about the island. Compared to the pure literature works produced by Westerners that was first translated by the people who chose to stay in the “Mainland” instead of retreating to Taiwan, or those works that were at first translated from other language pairs (e.g., English-Japanese-Mandarin or Japanese-Mandarin) in the era of Japanese rule, the extent of manipulation of Taiwanese historical materials was smaller and milder; and this is due to the fact that the exiled ROC government needed the accumulated documents and researches to act as the “colonization references,” assuring them to provide the proper tools in establish the reign in Taiwan. (Lin, pp.52-53)

The thesis of Chiang Yun-jung (江昀蓉) briefly introduces the translation activities after the Martial Law was lifted, observing that, since the early 1990s, there was a shift of the patronage institutions along with the newly secured freedom of speech. She concludes that, before the lift of Martial Law, the translations of the materials written by westerners travelling to Taiwan in the 19th century were most published by government institutions, such as Bank of Taiwan’s Taiwan Economy Research Laboratory (台灣銀行經濟研究室); after Taiwan’s first alternation of ruling party (政黨輪替) in 2000, government’s patronage remained strong, but private publishers started to emerge in this respect. She also found that,

whether it's government agencies, private publishers, or publishers established by Christian churches in Taiwan, all translations show very strong characteristics of ideological manipulation. (Chiang, p. 122)



Both Lin's and Chiang's theses have provided solid data of published translation texts of Taiwanese historical materials created by the Westerners in the 19th century. The theses largely include graphs that list published works and the related information, and also clearly introduce various external aspects that surely have affected how the translations have been done since ROC's "retrocession" of Taiwan. Despite decent arrangement and organization, these two theses lack profound analysis of any piece of translated historical text or specific translator, which, in my opinion, is also one of the disadvantages of the studies in translation history of Taiwan.

The thesis of Tzu-Shi Kao (高子璽) brings forth abundant information and does a very spectacular job in showing us the ideal way to study the narrative, style, ideology, translation strategies and agenda of translators. In the thesis, he focuses on Jackson Tan and Nan-Chun Yang (楊南郡), two translators who dealt with the writings by foreign naturalists traveled to Taiwan from the mid-19th century to the early 20th century. I will mainly be focusing on Kao's research about Tan's translation career and the analysis of his translation strategies. It is also worthwhile to notice that Kao's thesis is not limited to the English-to-Chinese translated texts, and adding Japanese translation activities to his research makes his thesis quite outstanding in Taiwanese history translation studies. The main body of Kao's research is the translated works of the writings by naturalists who observed Taiwan and left behind them first-hand records. Although Tan's whole career as a translator concentrated only on the writings produced during a specific period, he dared to tackle different kinds of historical materials produced by various people with diverse identities. In his thesis, however, Kao mainly focuses on Tan's translation of Robert Swinhoe's observations of natural habitat

and endemic species, and Joseph Steere's exploration in Taiwan. Kao offers examples by extracting paragraphs from Tan's translation of Swinhoe's notes¹⁶ and categorized Tan's paratextual narrations into three functions: explanatory, supplementary and corrective (Kao, 42-43). The function features could also be observed in the annotations of *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa*. However, the manipulation of Tan's translation and his agenda might be different when he was dealing with the writings done by the naturalists. Tan added his narrations "directly" into the formal translated texts of Swinhoe's writings, but in the case of *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa*, Tan restricted his narrations by only adding the explicit features in the footnotes and paratexts outside of what belongs to the original text. Kao further mentions that "... the agenda of Tan as a translator-reporter who treats his translation as a piece of literary journalism and attempts to regale his readers with amusing interpretations." (Kao, p.50) This may well apply to Tan's translation of Swinhoe's writings since these publications were in Tan's late career and the "translators' authorship upgrading" process which Kao claimed in his thesis was in the late phase already (Kao, p. 36-37).

Although Tan had a habit of partially "interfering" the original texts late in his career, he did not do so when "re-translating"¹⁷ *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present*, which was published in 1903, an encyclopedic writing about Taiwanese history written by James W. Davidson, America's consular agent in Taiwan at that time, who used to be a journalist in the island for covering Japan's takeover action of Taiwan as its colony in 1895. Kao's discussion about Tan's translation agenda could be evidence to argue that translators are allowed to make choices when they meet little interference from the sponsorship and patronage (Kao, 2019).

¹⁶ Tan, J. (2008/2015). *Aoxiang fu'ermosha: Yingguo waijiaoguan xunhe Wanqing taiwan Jixing* (翱翔福爾摩沙：英國外交官邬和晚清台灣紀行) [Flying through Formosa: British diplomat Swinhoe's visits to Taiwan in the late Qing dynasty]. Taipei: Wu-Nan Books, p. 35.

¹⁷ The first translation of *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present* was commissioned by Taiwan Economy Research Laboratory of the Bank of Taiwan [臺灣銀行經濟研究室], translated by Cai Qiheng (蔡啟恆) and published in 1972.

It doesn't mean that Tan could translate in a totally unrestricted way. Some factors may be considered in this case: while the past translations were published by non-government organizations and publishers, the translation of Davidson's writing was conducted and sponsored by National Museum of Taiwan History (國立臺灣歷史博物館). One of the museum's missions since 2002 is to collect, survey and translate Taiwan historical materials from the overseas¹⁸.

Despite the translation of Davidson's writing wasn't listed as the core research plan on the website, the museum is continuing to translate new historical materials written in German, French, Spanish and Dutch languages. In this project, for example, there are also new translation of French diplomat Camille Imbault-Huart's *L'île Formose, Histoire et Description* (first published in 1893)¹⁹ and German historian Ludwig Riess's *Geschichte der Insel Formosa* (first published in 1897)²⁰, both were translated by language scholars. According to the official website, the main purpose of those collections and translations are to support Taiwanese History research. Thus, it means that the interference with the translation process should be reduced to the lowest possible. Apparently, Tan's translation agenda wouldn't possibly work in this sense. The patronage from the institution itself would certainly supervise the translation along with the citation and annotation to be traceable and genuine.

The master theses mentioned above, by focusing on the translations of 19th-century Taiwanese historical materials left behind by Westerners, do provide various aspects to be discussed. However, from the perspective of the present study, the academic field of Taiwanese translation history has not paid due attention to at least two aspects when it comes

¹⁸ Extracted from: https://www.nmth.gov.tw/en/News_Toggle.aspx?n=6913&sms=14718

¹⁹ For the Chinese translation, see: Imbault-Huart, Camille. (1893/2019). *L'île Formose, histoire et description* (福爾摩沙之歷史與地誌). (W. Kuo, Trans.) Tainan: National Museum of Taiwan History.

²⁰ For the Chinese translation, see: For the Chinese translation, see: Riess, Ludwig. (1897/2019). *Geschichte der insel Formosa* (福爾摩沙島史). (S. Yao, Trans.) Tainan: National Museum of Taiwan History.

to the discussion of this period. First, current research results are solely focusing theories from Lefevere's Manipulation School. Indeed, analyzing the ideology, poetics and the patronage that involves the translator and its translated text are crucial aspects. However, based on the historical context of Taiwan's political democratization since the 1990s and the formation of Taiwanese cultural nationalism, there are no relevant research mentioned in the translation studies currently. Second, the time period in the translation activities that this research field has been emphasizing is still the Martial Law era. The main reason is supposed to be that the published translated texts during the time were heavily affected by the censorship system of the KMT government. The number of researches that focusing the comparison of the original texts and the translated texts has been growing in the past decade. Those published texts often remove the paratexts (e.g., maps, pictures, and even the identities of the translators) from the original texts to avoid censorship. The time period of translation activities that I will be discussing was after the Martial Law was lifted, from the 1990s to the first decade of the 21st century.

Censorship became history after the Martial Law was lifted. The copyright of the original text and translated text has been protected since. The drastically manipulated texts that could have appeared in the past no longer exists, along with the related researches of obvious comparisons between original texts and translated texts. The discussion of this time period should furthermore focus on the spreading and the effects that those translated historical materials have made in certain fields. At last, a term called “Taiwanese consciousness” that may have driven the translators in this particular historical field to accomplish their ideals and translation works was frequently mentioned in the theses I've mentioned above. Along with the discussion of Taiwanese democratization and the forming of cultural nationalism, the underlying context of “Taiwanese consciousness,” a crucial term, should also be mentioned in my thesis as well.

For the establishment and the importance of historical context of discussing the translation of Taiwanese historical materials, Anthony Pym, the author of *Method in Translation History* (1998)²¹, mentioned four key points for writing translation history in the introduction of his book, which were still cited by the translation history researchers in Taiwan and, in my opinion, offered the foundation for the discussion mentioned above. According to Pym, the first principle of translation history is that any research should explain why translations were produced in a particular social time and space. In other words, translation history should address problem of social causation. The second principle is that the central object of historical knowledge should not be the text of the translation, nor its contextual system, nor even its linguistic features. The central object should be the human translator, since only humans have the kind of responsibility appropriate to social causation. Only through translators and their social entourage (clients, patrons, readers) can we try to understand why translations were produced in a particular historical time and place.

Pym's third principle follows on from the second: if translation history is to focus on translators, it must organize its world around the social contexts where translators live and work. These contexts are nowadays commonly assumed to be target cultures. Finally, the fourth principle concerns the reasons why anyone would want to do translation history in the first place. It basically states that the reasons exist in the present. We do translation history in order to express, address and try to solve problems affecting our own situation. (Pym, 1998, pp. xxiii-xxiv) To sum up the upon mentioned ideas, the main purpose of the current translation history research must focus on translators' target language culture, and the overall social context that generates specific translated texts and results around the translator.

²¹ The version used in the present thesis is a republication by Routledge: Pym, A. (2014). *Method in translation history*. London: Routledge.

One of the main research collections for the existing translation history studies in Taiwan is *Translation History of Taiwan: Colonization, Nation, and Identity* [臺灣翻譯史：殖民、國族與認同 *Taiwan fanyishi zhimin guozu yu rentong*] (Huang etc. ed., 2019), an anthology of research papers edited by translation studies scholar Lai Tzu-yun (賴慈芸), has been quite representative in recent years. Although the timespan and scope of research included in this anthology are not small, due to the limitations of the authors' research fields, more than half of the content is related to the history of translation in the field of English and American literature. In addition, the era is mostly limited to the translation activities carried out by Taiwan in the first half of the 20th century. The limitations presented in this collection of essays are, to some extent, the restriction of the current academic field of Taiwan's history of translation, or at least, the current researches mainly focus on the literature translation history, rather than the translation history of historical materials themselves.

Most of the studies included in this anthology focus on the period under Japanese rule, and the Cold War era (that is, the Martial Law era of the Republic of China in Taiwan). Taiwan has gone through the time when *Shimonoseki Treaty* (馬關條約) was signed between Qing and the Japanese Empire in 1895, marked the beginning of the period of Japanese rule, to the ROC, which claimed to inherit the Qing Empire's legitimacy, was authorized by the *Potsdam Declaration* in 1945 to reclaim Taiwan after accepting Japan's surrender. The 228 Incident soon broke out two years later, and by 1949, the Kuomintang continued to lose in the civil war with the Communists, leading to the promulgation of the Martial Law in May, and the complete retreat of the Nationalist government in December. The regime had been constantly changing in the past 50 years, and had brought about continuous changes in the official language in Taiwan. In addition, the *Administrative Measures for News, Magazines and Books During Martial Law in Taiwan Province* (臺灣省戒嚴期間新聞雜誌圖書管理辦

法) stipulated by the Martial Law at the end of May 1949, and the *Measures for the Control of Newsprint Magazines and Books during Martial Law in Taiwan Province* (臺灣省戒嚴期間新聞紙雜誌圖書管制辦法) put forth at the end of July 1953. *The Prohibited Books Catalogue* (查禁圖書目錄) thus published afterward. These measures had greatly restricted the freedom of speech and even led to circumvention in the publishing process of literary works. The translator's identity has been altered or disappeared according to laws and regulations. (Lai, 2017, pp.56-75)

For this background of social reality, studies on the translation history in Taiwan during the martial law period mainly focus on the restoration of translators' identities, (Lai, 2014, pp.59-91; Chang, 2018, pp.1-44) or discussing how the United States Information Service (USIS) (美新處) sponsored translations were affected during the Cold War era under the U.S. Aid. (美援) Currently, there are several directions that have not yet entered the mainstream academic field of Taiwan's translation history. The first is the translation activities and results after the lifting of the Martial Law, the second is the translation activities and results related to the 19th-century historical materials of Taiwan, and the third is the interaction between translation activities of historical materials and the field of Taiwan history research. All these mentioned above would lead to the introduction of following section.

1.4 Research Method and Theoretical Framework of Analysis

Adding the research method of Masahiro Wakabayashi (若林正丈) and Hsiao A-chin is based on my intention to build up an interdisciplinary perspective for my discussion about the translation genre of Taiwanese historical materials. Wakabayashi and Hsiao each provided the main research aspects of how Taiwanese political democratization occurred, and the

forming of cultural nationalism. I will be borrowing the research results from the field of political science to make sure the historical context of the appearance Taiwanese historical materials' translation can be clearly elaborated. Wakabayashi described the late transformation of Taiwanese political environment as the process of “Chukaminkoku Taiwanka” (Taiwanization of Republic of China, 「中華民國臺灣化」). After a series of incidents that deprived ROC's international status and this “China” was marginalized by the international society since 1970s, KMT and its leaders were longing to stabilize the interior legitimacy of ROC in Taiwan. It was in this context that the local society in Taiwan was gradually having the political space and methods to expand its visibility in the all sorts of fields, including the development of Taiwan nativist literature, and, Taiwanese history research field. The gradually established field of Taiwanese history led to the needs of new historical materials. Other than the materials written in Chinese, historians need more materials from different groups of people and languages to make sure the perspectives were diversified. Since the late 1990s to the first two decades of 21th century, various research institutes have been established. The progressively developed patronage system of Taiwanese historical materials' translation was thus established.

Spanish scholar Carmen Toledano Buendía's “Listening to the Voice of the Translator: A Description of Translator's Notes as Paratextual Elements” (2013) is a study on translator's subjectivity, the provides a firm framework to analyze the general function of the footnotes that the translators add as one factor in the paratexts. She listed the aspects of commentary and supplement as the function of the footnotes, and emphasized the researchers to pay attention to the addressee of the translator's notes. For now, from my own assessment of Tan's translation footnotes in *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa*, his paratextual notes can be categorized into the following types:

Mere speculations without solid proof; unknown references; commentaries; objections against the original texts.

And in this way, as a translator, Tan did acquire his “visibility,” exposing himself purposely not only in the footnotes, but also in the original texts. Note 21 of the 2008 republished edition of Tan’s translation of *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa*, which was retitled as *Zhengtaijishi mudanshe shijian shimo* [征臺紀事：牡丹社事件始末]²², can be a good start point of my analysis:

21. According to the extracts in *Okuma Documents* (《大隈文書》) (1958 ed.), the No.1 memorandum that Le Gendre handed to Meiji Japanese government once mentioned that “Tok-ke-tok had sent his two daughters to make contact with Qing officials, claiming that they would never conclude any treaties with cunning and deceiving Qing frauds and the tribe will fight to the last man standing.” The report was also recorded in James Davidson’s *The Island of Formosa* (p.121). Why didn’t Tok-ke-tok send his sons but his daughters to be their tribe representatives? This would probably be one key factor to solve the mysterious relationship between the successors who led the eighteen tribes like Vankim, Minat, Tsui Lui, and Vunki after Tok-ke-tok, whose life also remained a mystery, died. For detailed information, see the small column [小欄] “Father/Son, or Father-in-law/Son-in-law Relationship?” in this book. (my translation)

[21 據《大隈文書》(1958)內載，李仙得向日本政府提出的第一號備忘錄上寫到：「卓杞篤派他的兩個女兒向清國表示絕不和詐欺萬端，不守信約的清國

²² This Chinese title can be translated as “Chronicles of the Expedition to Taiwan: The Botan Incident from the Beginning to the End.”

人締約，誓與清國人血戰到最後一人。」 Davidson, *The Island of Formosa*, p.121，也收錄李仙得上述報告。卓杞篤「為何不派兒子，而派女兒為代表呢？」這或許是解開迄今仍是謎團的卓杞篤死後，繼為十八社頭目的 Vankim (潘萬金)，Minat, Tsui Lui (朱雷士結〔給〕)，Vunki (潘文杰) 間的關係謎團的重大關鍵。詳本書「父子或翁婿」小欄。]

Tan wrote note 22 in a similar manner, but somehow differently:

22. Some factors prompted the eighteen tribes to call peace talks with Le Gendre: The deafening sound of Admiral H. H. Bell firing cannons on his navy ship terrified the indigenous people, poor crop harvesting, pandemic strikes, and the fishermen were attacked by water snakes when fishing on the sea. Affected by superstition, the natives considered that all these disasters were caused by “the curse from people with white skin.” Furthermore, Liangkiau Pepo-hoans also played the role of mediator between the eighteen tribes and Le Gendre, thus the tribes agreed to start a peace talk with these foreigners. (my translation)

[22. 幾個因素促使下十八社願與李仙得和談：柏爾提督的砲船外交嚇壞了土著；農作物收成不好、瘟疫流行、海上捕魚遭水蛇為害，使迷信的原住民認為此乃「白人的詛咒」。加上琅嶠平埔族的居中勸告，故同意進行和平交涉。]

Note no. 21 was a proper way to deliver a supplementary comment in a footnote of a historical material's translation. The exact reference and the page where the quote came from is marked, and it is also linked to another part of the paratexts which Tan additionally writes in the book, which is specifically named as “small column” (小欄). Whereas note no. 22 also

seems like a supplementary explanation, but it is more problematic than the previous note, since the origin of this reference is unknown.

These two footnotes added by Tan in the translation text could be the typical portrayal of his habits of note-making process. The flaws mentioned above can be seen as quite regular and they interweave with the decent footnotes with clear descriptions and references. Tan's footnotes therefore lacked their integrities in the sense of historical studies. If Tan truly meant to treat the original text as one of the raw historical material that he wanted to do some serious research, or else in the sense of academic usage, i.e., citations and the proper "substitute" of the historical material's original text, he could cause trouble to the historians or graduate students in the field of Taiwanese History.

For this reason, I will try to sort out the details and patterns of footnotes in the translation of House's published journal *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa* and other pieces of historical materials to see if Tan was constantly making these flaws in other materials, or the flaws have been minimized if the patronage factor was different and the restriction on his translation could be observed, a fact we can clearly see in the process of making paratexts when he translated James Davidson's *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present*.

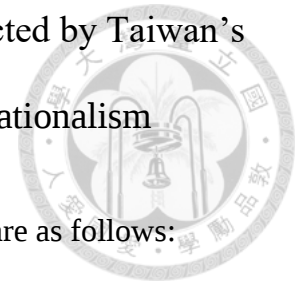
I have mentioned the potential problem of Tan's historical translation could cause to academic usage in the field of history studies. For the application of translated text as academic references, the master's thesis of Chih-hung Wang (王志弘), *Symptoms and Pathology of Academic Translation: Translation of Sociology in Taiwan, 1950s-2000s* [學術翻譯的症候與病理：台灣社會學翻譯研究，1950s-2000s Xueshufanyi de zhenghou yu bingli taiwan shehuixue fanyi yanjiu 1950s-2000s]²³ has provided some insights. He provided

²³ Wang, C.-H. (2005). *Xueshu fanyi de zhenghou yu bingli: Taiwan shehuixue fanyi yanjiu, 1950s-2000s* [Symptoms and pathology of academic translation: Translation of sociology in Taiwan, 1950s-2000s] (Master's thesis, National Taiwan Normal University).

the data analysis of citations in critical journals of his research field and the citation/bibliography from Taiwanese masters' theses and doctors' dissertations in the early 21st century. His method is just what exactly can be used on the search of Tan's historical material translation, at least in the relatively critical sphere of that academic research, observing the actual situation of the citations which used the translated text. Wang had employed his teaching experience in the thesis, which focuses on the academic translation in the academic field of sociology, mentioning the frustration of the original text of one piece of academic research being "difficult to handle" for the students. Also, the researchers in the academic institutions consider that the translated texts tend to lead to different levels of misunderstanding. (Wang, 2005, pp.73-74) In this way, the question of how a piece of translated historical materials functions in the actual field of academic research and higher education may present a tentative observation.

The following chapter is going to tackle on one of Pym's four key points on the methodology of translation history construction. The social causation and the context of Taiwan democratization and the development of nationalism, and how those social progress effects the academic field of Taiwanese history and the translation of historical materials.

Chapter 2 The Translation of Historical Materials Affected by Taiwan's Democratization and Development of Taiwanese Nationalism



The main aspects that I would like to discuss with in this chapter are as follows:

1. How did the process of Taiwanization and other political changes shape “Taiwanese consciousness”?
2. What role did Taiwanese cultural nationalism play in the shaping of this particular consciousness?
3. How did the academic field of history in Taiwan develop?
4. How do research trends affect the emergence of translation activities of historical materials related to Taiwan history?

These are the questions to be explored in this chapter. And, at the end of this chapter, I will return to Tan's own motivations and purposes for translating Taiwan historical materials. The following sections will give a preliminary overview, trying to explain how the process of Taiwan's political democratization has jointly affected the development of Taiwan's cultural nationalism, and how the field of Taiwan history research interacts with the translation of 19th-century historical materials of Taiwan history.

2.1 The Development of Taiwanese Cultural Nationalism and “Taiwanese Consciousness”

The theses which I've introduced in the previous chapter that studied the translation of Taiwanese historical materials basically stated that the translators in this particular field had a sense of “Taiwanese Consciousness” as their motivation for translation activities, and the patrons' motivation for publishing these texts was also a manifestation of Taiwanese

consciousness. Lin Xi-hua argues in her thesis that translating Westerners' "writing in service of the empire" (「為帝國服務的書寫」) after the lifting of the Martial Law served the purpose of providing "reading materials for understanding one's national history and strengthening Taiwanese consciousness" (Lin, 2013, p. i). In the conclusion in Kao Tzu-shi's master's thesis on translators and their achievements, he proposed that both Yang Nan-jun and Jackson Tan sought the self-realization of life, exposing the little-known historical facts in the past, and awakening the "Taiwan consciousness" in the hearts of others (Kao, 2019, p.116). These statements, however, have not clearly defined what is meant by "Taiwan consciousness": does it mean political and ideological independence? Or does it mean the formation of Taiwanese nationalism is different from the "Chinese" nationalism? These statements trying to explain the translation intention did point out the intentions felt by the researchers when reading the translated text. However, when analyzing the translation activities of historical materials after Taiwan's political democratization, there has not been a clear definition of "Taiwan consciousness."

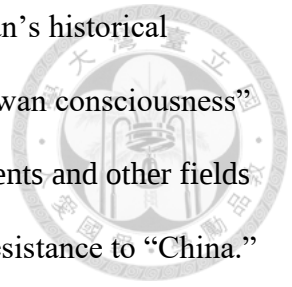
Judging from the arguments presented in Hsiao A-chin's seminal work *Zhonggou taiwan* [重構台灣], the connotation of Taiwanese consciousness is an identity based on the fact that Taiwanese society has developed differently from mainland China, and it is a "spirit of resistance" (「反抗意識」) (Hsiao, 2012, pp.182-183). Such as the controversy of rural literature in the 1970s (鄉土文學論戰) and the "Tangwai movement" (黨外運動) in the 1980s, etc. It is a principle that is based on the consideration of Taiwan as the foundation of thinking and criticizing. From the field of historical research, the even more prominent part should be reflected in the historical perspective itself. Hsiao A-chin believes that the development and evolution of the so-called "Taiwanese historical perspective" (臺灣史觀) should start with the debates in Taiwan's literary world in the 1980s. The controversy on

Taiwan consciousness, together, has made the discussion of Taiwan history more politicized. The anti-KMT historical narratives were starting from the “Tangwai” activists’ exploration of the history of anti-colonial resistance in the early 20th century, and the historical and cultural perspectives of Taiwan’s aborigines. Traditional “Han-centrism” was challenged and the new national identity has been trying to be redefined. (Hsiau, 2012, pp.277-278)

The formation of cultural nationalism emphasized by Hsiau A-chin stated, since the outbreak of the Kaohsiung Incident (美麗島事件), the controversy over Taiwan consciousness in the literary world has started, and the Tangwai leaders in literature and history narratives who hold Taiwan as the subject of literature and historical narrative have begun to fight with the leftist intellectuals, criticized the authoritarian government and the views of Chinese history held by those leftist intellectuals who sought for the ultimate unification with “China.” They especially emphasized and highlighted the uniqueness of Taiwan in order to counter the cultural similarity between the “motherland” on the other side of the coast. (Hsiau, 2012, p.293)

This can be seen in the establishment and discussion of the poetry magazine *Li* (《笠》) and *Taiwan Literature* (《台灣文藝》), a literary magazine founded by novelist Wu Zuoliu (吳濁流), and other publications, as well as the composition of the intellectuals who published articles in these two representative publications (Hsiau, 2012, pp.303-304). Taiwanization of ROC in politics, and the legitimacy of external proclaimed rule disappeared after the “US-China approaching,” the KMT government must take measures to strengthen the legitimacy of internal governance. (Wakabayashi, 2016, pp.9-10) De-sinicized and localized literary narratives thus obtained a broader space for development.

From the perspective of the motivation for the translation of Taiwan's historical materials, I personally believe that if we want to simply define the "Taiwan consciousness" mentioned in previous studies, it should be based on a series of movements and other fields of knowledge, such as literature, language, and history, extending the resistance to "China."



2.2 Historical Materials Translated in Post Martial Law Era: Translation and Academic Adoption of The Japanese Expedition to Formosa as an Example

This section is about the interaction between the production of Taiwanese historical material translations and Taiwanese history studies. At present, it is based on the appearance of Jackson Tan's translation of *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa* in the Taiwanese history research field, and the academic use of Jackson Tan's other translations as an example.

Since the columns from *Independence Evening Post* (《自立晚報》) in the late 1980s, the Taiwanese publishing industry began to translate and introduce documents written by Westerners in 19th century Taiwan. From the general preface "Establishing the Foundation of Taiwan's New History" [*Jianli taiwan xinshixue de jichu* 建立台灣新史學的基礎] of the series *Taiwan lishi daxi* (grand series of Taiwan history 臺灣歷史大系), which was written by the person who proposed the famous historical perspective "History of Taiwan Island" (臺灣島史), Ts'ao Yung-ho, (曹永和), we can understand that at the moment (1993), Taiwanese historical research has the disadvantage with the following situation:

In the longrun, research on Taiwan history has not achieved outstanding results. It is difficult for researchers to grasp the organic evolution and overall picture of

Taiwan's history. However, judging from the numerous published works on the topic of "Taiwanese History Studies" in the past few years, you can see people's desire to understand Taiwan's history. In view of this new trend, the cultural publication section of the *Independence Evening Post* aims to promote the present book series ... in order to facilitate broader perspectives and provide forward-looking explanations, as a more complete overview of Taiwan's history and cooperation with inter-disciplinary integration, for further exploration in the future of the foundation of research, with a view to establishing a new historiography of Taiwan history.²⁴ (Ts'ao, 1993, pp. 3-4) (my translation)

[面對長期台灣史研究成績不彰的局面，研究者難於掌握整體性、有機性的台灣歷史的演變和全貌，但從這幾年來坊間各種「台灣史研究」書籍的出版，可看出人們渴望了解台灣歷史的心情。自立晚報社文化出版部鑒於此……〔藉由「台灣歷史大系」的出版〕以更寬闊的視野、提出前瞻性的解釋，作為較完整的台灣史總體回顧和科際整合的合作，俾使日後更進一步探索研究的基礎，以期建立新台灣史學。]

The book series published a total of eight books from 1993 to 1994, providing research and review in various fields from the Qing Dynasty to the post-war period. Among them, *To Delve into the Terra Incognita: Taiwan in the Eyes of Foreign Travelers* (深入陌生地——外國旅行者所見的臺灣 *Shenru moshengdi—waiguo lüxingzhe suojian de Taiwan*), a work by famous writer Liu Ka-hsiang (劉克襄), might be one of the first books about Taiwan history that mentioned and translated *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa*. To the readers in

²⁴ This preface is included in Liu Ka-hsiang's book. See: Liu, K.-H. (1993). *Shenru moshengdi—Waiguo lüxingzhe suojian de Taiwan* [To delve into the terra incognita: Taiwan in the eyes of foreign travelers]. Cultural Publication Section, Independence Evening Post, p. 3-4.

Taiwan, it is among the first known record of the introduction to E. H. House and his documentation of the Japanese Expedition in 1874. By borrowing the content of this book, we can see that there was content that could not be published before the lifting of martial law. He also believed that this book had an obvious biased position, so he bluntly stated in the short introduction:

E. H. House was a reporter for the *New York Herald*. In 1874, when Japan sent an expeditionary force to attack the Botan aborigines [of the Paiwan Tribe], he went south with a warship and recorded the entire course of the war. However, his motives for coming to Taiwan with the Japanese army were quite displeasing, and his reportage lacked the supposed objectivity and impartiality of journalism. The whole report is a one-sided and unfair description of war and political negotiations. (Liu, p. 137)²⁵ (my translation)

[豪士（E. H. House）是紐約前鋒報的記者。一八七四年，日本派遠征軍，攻擊牡丹社原住民時，他隨船南下，記錄了整個戰爭的過程。但他隨日軍來台的動機相當令人不喜，報導也缺乏記者的客觀公正，通篇報告是一面倒的不公平的戰爭描述和政治談判。]

Regardless of the above comments, Liu Ka-hsiang still praised House for his careful observation in the description of landscape and the record of geography. Liu also translated and cited several paragraphs describing Taiwan's natural scenery, human landscape, and cultural advantages of Han people in the aboriginal settlements. (Liu, p.138) However, only less than two pages later, Liu still concludes his introduction of House's work with the

²⁵ Liu, Ke-hsiang. (1993). *Shenru moshengdi—waiguo lüxingzhe suojian de Taiwan* (深入陌生地——外國旅行者所見的臺灣) [To Delve into the Terra Incognita: Taiwan in the Eyes of Foreign Travelers]. Taipei: Cultural Publication Section, *Independence Evening Post*, p. 137.

following comment: “But despite his precise description, House still couldn’t conceal his favoritism, praising the Japanese army instead of visiting Taiwan for covering the cultural sceneries of Taiwan in an objective way.” [但不管豪士如何精確描述，還是無法掩飾他的偏袒，一面倒地為日本軍隊宣傳，而不是來台灣客觀的採訪人文風物]²⁶

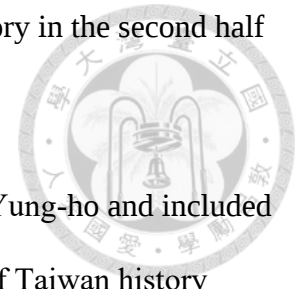
James Huffman’s book *A Yankee in Meiji Japan: The Crusading Journalist Edward H. House*²⁷ has not yet been published at this time, and Le Gendre’s statement on “Terra Nullius in Taiwanese Aboriginal Area” (「番地無主論」) and its subsequent series of diplomatic negotiations have not yet been fully studied at this time. In the early 1990s, Taiwan’s academic field did not fully comprehend the context of the Botan Incident (牡丹社事件). From the Sino-centric perspective, the entry of Japanese troops into the Hengchun Peninsula, which was once named Lonc-kjauw [琅嶠], was regarded as a pure invasion of other countries and acts of revenge and brutality against the aborigines of the Paiwan villages, such as Botan and Kusukusu [高士佛].²⁸ Therefore, it is equally impossible for Liu to understand why an American-born news reporter took the stand of the Japanese army to record and report. Although a large amount of foreign historical materials was selected, introduced and partially translated in Liu’s *To Delve into the Terra Incognita*, it tends to only introduce briefly these foreigners who entered Taiwan due to different motives and tasks and leave written records, but failed to conduct in-depth discussions on the selected texts in the book. However, it undoubtedly leaves a reference record close to the encyclopedia index for future researchers of Taiwan history, so that scholars can screen out historical records other than

²⁶ Ibid, p. 139.

²⁷ Huffman, James. L. (2003.) *A yankee in Meiji Japan: The crusading journalist Edward H. House*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

²⁸ But it should be noted that, before Japanese anthropologists categorized them as parts of the Paiwan tribe, Botan and Kusukusu had long been considered to be two of the eighteen tribes south of the Lonc-kjauw area, a quasi-confederation under the shaky control of Tok-e-tok [卓杞篤], the famous Seqalu (斯卡羅) chief active in Taiwan history during 1860s and the early 1870s.

those written in Chinese and Japanese in this time zone of Taiwan history in the second half of the 19th century.



The motivation proposed in the general preface written by Ts'ao Yung-ho and included in Liu's book, together with Ts'ao's dissatisfaction with the situation of Taiwan history research at that time, can explain the turn of Taiwan history research from the historical point of view. And in my opinion, *To Delve into the Terra Incognita* can be seen as one of the examples which can illustrate the background of Taiwan history research in the late 1980s and early 1990s, and from the perspective of translation studies, the translation and introduction of new historical materials of Taiwan history was thus born in this socio-political and academic setting.

As for why there is such a demand in the history of Taiwan's historiography, it can be seen from the gradual development of Taiwan's history from "frontier and local history of China" [中國邊疆史與地方史] to "Taiwan as the main body" [台灣史本身]. Post-Taiwan political democratization, national identity and the development of cultural nationalism are closely related. In addition to providing materials for the study of Taiwanese history, various foreign records also provide different historical imaginations for readers of Taiwan history outside the academic circle.

The factors mentioned above all contributed to the publication of translations of Taiwan's historical materials after the lifting of the martial law. These historical materials had largely been ignored by the traditional Sino-centric perspective, but eventually they attracted the attention from some sponsors who could endorse and fund translation projects. They could appreciate the values of such materials for publication, and took into account the values other than commercial profits. Jackson Tan himself mention this value recognition more than once. (For example, in "Translator's Postscript" written for his Chinese translation

of *Journal of a Blockaded Resident in North Formosa*, Tan states that Liu Huanyue [劉還月], the founder of Yuanming Wenhua Publishing House [原民文化出版社], appreciated his storytelling style of translation after reading only the manuscript of the first chapter.)²⁹ Many of his translations were able to be republished because the publishers evaluated the results based on achievements other than sales figures. In the translator's preface of the 2015 edition of *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa*, even Jackson Tan himself states his own amazement at the fact that the book could be republished repeatedly: its republication was something of a miracle. (Tan, 2015, p.9-10) The reality behind this is that these Taiwanese history books aiming at general readership and taking different perspectives as the starting point have a certain degree of support. Where did this support come from? In that atmosphere of the times formed by political liberation, the translation of Taiwan history with "the island of Formosa" as the narrative center is naturally favored by readers who were curious about the history of their own living environment. Taking Jackson Tan as an example, judging from the extent of efforts he exerted in the annotations, diagrams, photos, and other paratexts provided in his translations, in a sense, he did consider himself to be a writer and historian with focus on Taiwan's history in the nineteenth century.

After analyzing translators' activities from the time of the lifting of the martial law to the beginning of the 21st century, we can sort out the context of the background of the growth of the activities and figure out the ideology and translation choices of the translators of Taiwanese historical materials during this period of time. This kind of analysis came into being under the background of such an era, and for now, this analysis also echoes Anthony Pym's call for the study of translation history.

²⁹ For Jackson Tan's statement, see: For the Chinese translation, see: Dodd, John. (1888/2002). *Journal of a blockaded resident in North Formosa during the Franco-Chinese War, 1884-5* (北台封鎖記：英商陶德筆下的清法戰爭). (J. Tan, Trans.) Taipei: Yuanming Wenhua Publishing House, pp. 184-185.

Chapter 3 Jackson Tan's Translation of *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa*

Tan was famous for his translation style of “story-telling” (譯述), which can be literally translated as “translation and narration.” What are some of the features of this signature style? How did he manipulate his translation and use paratexts to provide all kinds of information and commentaries? What are the main differences between the 2003 and 2008/2015 versions of translation? And what might be the cause for the differences? In this chapter, these questions will be explored in following sections.

3.1 The Manipulation and Paratexts in the Translated Text

As mentioned in Chapter 1, in the Chinese version of *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa*, the annotation written by Jackson Tan during the translation process can be, in my opinion, divided into “mere speculations without solid proof,” “unknown references,” “commentaries,” and “objections against the original texts.” In some annotations, more than one feature can be seen at the same time. The “translator's comments” include refutations of the original text, the translator's comments about related details, evaluations and counter-evidences on the original content, etc. In the following, I will use some examples to illustrate my observation.

One example of “mere speculations” and “unknown references” is presented in the following paragraphs, which has been extracted from a translator's footnote in Tan's 2015 Chinese translation of *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa*:

20. House's comments were clearly influenced by Charles Le Gendre. Liu Ming-deng (劉明燈) submitted a memorial to Tongzhi Emperor, making the following

statement: “Fifty years ago (i.e. 1817), the whole village of Koalut³⁰ was slaughtered by two Westerners. Only two woodcutters survived the massacre. However, some researchers like Lin Tzu-hou disagreed about this message in Liu’s memorial. He claimed that the Koalut village might probably have been destroyed by the Westerners who came to Taiwan after the treaty ports were opened in 1862. But even there are fifty years of variance in these two opinions, was there a way to make a tribal village prosper again during that span of time?³¹ (my translation)

[20. 豪士這種說法顯受李仙得影響。劉明燈奏摺稱「五十年前〔按：1817〕龜仔角社遭洋人殺害，僅存樵者二人」。但部分學者，如林子侯認為不足採信，應以臺灣開海港(1862)前後航行沿海的歐美人士所為較合理。不過即便五十年，有辦法使一個部落人丁再度興盛嗎？]

Here, the so-called memorial (奏摺) of Liu Ming-deng is quoted. Which memorial is it specifically and what is its source? Detailed records have not appeared in previous notes. The translator has not explained the source of the argument that some scholars claim is not credible. As for the last sentence (“But even there are fifty years of variance in these two opinions, was there a way to make a tribal village prosper again during that era?”), it is purely a “question” raised by the translator to the readers in addition to supplementing the article with annotations. The function is unclear. It is just like a question that was inadvertently raised to the readers during a chat.

³⁰ There are some other alternative spellings of the name of this Paiwan village, such as Kowarts. See: Plauchut, Edmond. (1875). *Les quatre campagnes militaires de 1874*. Paris: Michel Lévy, p. 19.

³¹ House, E. H. (1875/2015). *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa (征臺紀事：牡丹社事件始末)*. (J. Tan. Trans.) Taipei, Taiwan: Wu-nan Books, p. 27.

Instead of proposing this question, a possible way to make this footnote more academic might be using other historical materials to discuss Liu's memorial from the perspectives of other related people involved in the *Rover* Incident, such as Charles Le Gendre. In *Notes of Travel in Formosa*, Le Gendre's travel account written between 1867 to the early 1870s, Le Gendre cited from Seqalu chief Tok-e-tok, declaring that the Koaluts' motivation for slaughtering the crew of the *Rover* might be related to their historical feud with the westerners: "a long time ago, white men had all but exterminated the Koalut tribe, leaving only three, who survived to hand down to their posterity the desire for revenge."³² Citing this passage in the footnote is indeed meaningful: the readers might heard from a local (Paiwan/Seqalu) perspective, besides the information provided by the Han Chinese official. (Although Liu himself was a member of the Tujia tribe [土家族], one of the indigenous peoples of the Hunan province in Southern China.)

The above are questions in the annotations. In addition, when comparing the original text with the translated text, I discovered that the translator had directly added his own words and explanations to the translated text, but in fact they did not appear in the original text. One example can be seen in Chapter 11, in a passage about the military campaign of the Japanese army in mid-May 1874, at the beginning, p.84 of Tan's translation. I will back translate the additional text added by Tan at below:

...On the afternoon of the 11th, a group of soldiers and coolies (collies or military collies, as they are called in Japan) went to the new camp area to prepare

³² Le Gendre, Charles. (2012). *Notes of Travel in Formosa*. Tainan: National Museum of Taiwan History, p. 281.

the land and dig wells. They were blocked by 60 local people, who believed that casual digging would damage ancestral graves.³³ (my back-translation)

[...11 日下午，一隊士兵、苦力（coolies or military coolies，日本稱之為軍夫）前往新營區整地挖井，被 60 名當地人士阻攔，認為隨便亂挖將傷及祖墳。]

However, corresponding to p.61 of the same chapter in the original text, the word “coolie” didn’t appear. The original text is as follows:

A party was sent in the afternoon to prepare the ground and dig wells, but was met by a body of about sixty natives, who refused to allow them to go on with their work. The excuse they gave for the interference was that they believed certain graves in the locality would be injured.³⁴

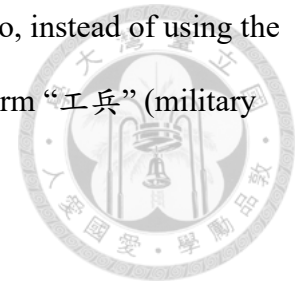
Since the original text only uses the word “A party” to explain that the Japanese troops went to dig wells, and the word “coolie” never appears in the original text, why did the translator bother to attach the English words that seem to be there? Also explaining how the Japanese army referred to the labor force other than soldiers? The reason for this behavior cannot be known from the comparison of the original text and the translation. Actually the word “coolie” has been used in the English-speaking world since the 18th and 19th centuries, and it specifically refers to unskilled laborers from the Far East who are hired at low wages³⁵. For this type of personnel in the troops, “military laborers,” “orderlies,” or even “non

³³ House, E. H. (1875/2015). *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa* (征臺紀事：牡丹社事件始末). (J. Tan. Trans.) Taipei, Taiwan: Wu-nan Books, p. 84.

³⁴ House, E. H. (1875). *The Japanese expedition to Formosa*. Tokio: p. 61. (The publisher was not identified.)

³⁵ “Coolie.” *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, Merriam-Webster, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/coolie>. Accessed 4 Jan. 2023.

combatant laborers,” might all be better word choices than “coolies.” So, instead of using the term “coolies” [苦力], It might be more proper for Tan to choose the term “工兵” (military laborers), if he decided not to use “士兵” (soldiers).



3.2 Commentaries from the translator

Generally speaking, annotations/footnotes are mainly used for explanations and supplements, but Tan’s commentaries will “appear” at the bottom of the page from time to time to evaluate House’s original text record from his personal subjective perspective. For example, note 129 on page 77 of Chapter 9 of the translated records the interaction between the Japanese army and the locals on May 9, 1874, the day after the Japanese advance troops landed in Lonc-kjauw. One section describes how local farmers would come to “help” each other during harvest time. The translated text and original text are as follows, and I will back translate Tan’s translation in the following passage:

The bald-headed strategist knew everything he wanted and immediately returned here. When the farmers harvest, people from the neighborhood will come to “help with the work.” This is a “good custom that has been around for many years.” Anyone who breaks the custom of helping will become their public enemy, and will be a sinner who sabotages the thousand-year good tradition of the Lonc-kjauw area.³⁶ (my back-translation)

³⁶ House, E. H. (1875/2015). *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa* (征臺紀事：牡丹社事件始末). (J. Tan. Trans.) Taipei, Taiwan: Wu-nan Books, p. 77-78.

[...那位光頭軍師成竹在胸，立即回到此間農人收成時，鄰近的人都會前來「幫工」，這是「行之有年的好習俗」，任何破壞幫工習俗的人，將成他們的公敵，也是琅嶠地區的千古罪人。]



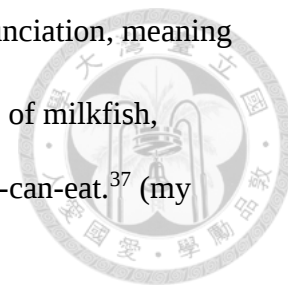
Below is the original text from House:

The bald-headed strategist was ready with the answer that such was the invariable custom of the place; when a farmer took in his crop, all the neighbors came forward to help him, and to attempt to break down a time-honored usage like this would lie a flagrant affront to the community.

It can be seen that the original text only uses the word “help” to explain local farming habits (and House certainly did not say that people who disobey the helping tradition “will be a sinner who sabotages the good tradition of the Lonc-kjauw area”), but the translator seems to be recalling his childhood memories and directly adds a paragraph in the comment of this paragraph:

“Helping” took shape in various parts of Taiwan in the early days. Neighbors, relatives and friends helped each other with the harvest during busy farming times. The harvest household had to prepare lunch and dinner, plus at least one snack, and then give a symbolic monetary reward. And when those who have helped the harvest are harvesting, those who have been helped should also provide equal manpower to help. More than 50 years ago, when the translator myself was a child, my family was engaged in farming. When harvest times came, relatives and friends would gather to help. The scene of my mother sweating over it, cooking sumptuous meals, and carrying them to the fields under the bright sun is still vivid in his mind.

At that time, the so-called “Qie Cao” (「切操」, Taiwanese pronunciation, meaning rich food) probably consisted of: a plate of boiled cut pork, a piece of milkfish, several plates of vegetables, and white rice that guaranteed all-you-can-eat.³⁷ (my translation)

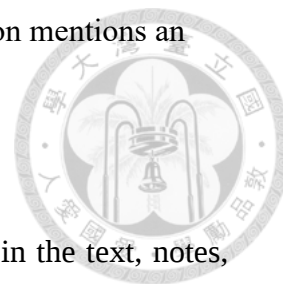


[「幫工」早期形之於台灣各地，左鄰右舍、親朋好友互相於農忙時協助收成，收成戶須準備午、晚餐，再加上至少一餐點心，再給予象徵性的金錢報酬。而當曾幫工的人收成時，曾受幫工者亦應出對等人力協助。50 多年前，譯註者童稚時期，家中務農，每當收成時即有親朋協助收成，家母揮汗烹煮豐盛的餐點，以及在大太陽下挑至田裡的情景仍鮮明的留在腦海，那時候所謂的「切操」（閩南音、意為豐盛食物）大概是：一盤白煮切豬肉、一條虱目魚、幾盤菜蔬，以及保證吃到飽的白米飯。]

First of all, regardless of which cultural group there was on the Hengchun Peninsula in the 19th century, whether there were any similarities between their farming traditions and the Taiwanese society that the translator experienced in the second half of the 20th century, the translator used his own experience as the starting point. In my personal opinion, this was quite abrupt and unnecessary to explain a part that is actually of no importance in the original text. In general reading situations, without comparing the translated text with the original text, there is a chance that the reader will regard the translator's own experience as equivalent to the customs of the residents of the Lonc-kjauw tribes in the 19th century.

³⁷ House, E. H. (1875/2015). *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa* (征臺紀事：牡丹社事件始末). (J. Tan. Trans.) Taipei, Taiwan: Wu-nan Books, p. 77.

In this respect, Tan's "Translator's Preface" to 2008/2015 translation mentions an intriguing point:



Readers who have purchased the old edition may notice changes in the text, notes, small columns, etc.; those who study Taiwan history should find that sources of allusions have been added and new and correct interpretations are provided; as for readers who are new to the book or unfamiliar with this period of history, you can read this book as an "adventure novel" or "battlefield reportage," appreciating this book in an easier and more interesting way.³⁸ (my translation)

[...曾購買舊版的讀者或會察覺內文、註釋、小欄等多處有所更動；研究臺灣歷史者，應會發現加入了典故出處及新而正確的詮釋；至於新購買或不熟悉這段歷史的讀者，可以把這本書當作「探險小說」或「戰地報導文學」來看，這樣讀來較輕鬆有趣。]

In other words, can the paradoxical effect mentioned in the preface be achieved by inserting the above-mentioned type of "commentaries" in addition to most of the annotations (such as geographical research) that the translator has done quite well? I think this question is quite debatable, and, I would argue that, this strategy of adding commentaries to translation can be more confusing than intriguing.

³⁸ House, E. H. (1875/2015). *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa* (征臺紀事：牡丹社事件始末). (J. Tan. Trans.) Taipei, Taiwan: Wu-nan Books, p. 10.

3.3 Other examples in Tan's translations



In addition to this situation in *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa*, Tan's first and second translation editions of *Journal of a Blockaded Resident in North Formosa during the Franco-Chinese War, 1884-5*, as a translator, he also directly appears in the text to pose a question at John Dodd's position. As shown on page 84 of the translation, Dodd's diary record on December 21, 1884 shows that due to the Qing-France War, the ports in northern Taiwan were blocked by the French warships and troops. The transportation was interrupted, but the so-called "privileged groups" were still able to obtain supplies and exchange letters through British warships, which made Dodd very dissatisfied. So, he wrote the following at the last paragraph of that diary entry:

Twenty French are said to have been killed. The same distant rumbling sounds were heard at about 7 a.m. and lasted till past 9 a.m. French ships seem to be congregating in the neighbourhood of Tamsui, and if reinforcements are at Kelung [Keelung], we ought to see Tamsui taken before the year is out. We shall have to be as merry as we can on Christmas and New Year's days, but the stoppage of our mails again is the bitterest pill we have at present to swallow.

[...砲聲由早上七時持續到九時，不斷從那個方向傳來，法兵有二十人陣亡。淡水附近聚集很多法艦，假如法增強援兵，那麼聖誕節或新年前，淡水就會被攻陷，我們也會有個歡樂的節日。]³⁹

³⁹ Dodd, John. (1888/2002). *Journal of a blockaded resident in North Formosa during the Franco-Chinese War, 1884-5* (北台封鎖記：英商陶德筆下的清法戰爭). (J. Tan, Trans.) Taipei: Yuanming Wenhua Publishing House, p. 94.



In this paragraph, Tan directly explained in the annotation (on the same page) from his own subjective perspective, without citing other resources and materials to corroborate his own conjecture:

Dodd's report fully revealed his position of hoping for France's victory. At that time, the Tongwen Library [同文館] in the Qing Dynasty had foreign language talents who translated foreign newspapers for submission; Chinese newspapers were often translating and reprinting news from foreign newspapers also. No wonder that Dodd was suspected of having liaison with French army and became "blacklisted." (my translation)

[陶德報導充分顯露希望法國勝利的立場，當時清同文館皆有外語人才節譯洋報呈閱；中文報也常翻譯轉載洋報新聞，難怪陶德會被懷疑私通法國，成了列管「黑名單」。]

3.4 Comparison between the Original Text and the Translations (2003 and 2008/15)

Compared to the original text, the new translation (published in 2008 and republished in 2015) has the following new parts, besides the footnotes on the page. Analyzing these new materials can help us understand how much efforts Tan put into the new translation.

3.4.1 Newly Added Texts on the Cover and Repositioning of the Book

In addition to the title *Zhengtai jishi* (征臺紀事 *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa* in Chinese characters, which corresponds exactly with the four *kanji* characters appearing on the cover of the English original published in 1875), a subheading was added to the cover title: *Mudanshe shijian shimo* (牡丹社事件始末 *The Botan Incident from the Beginning to the End*). Besides, there is also a short, added passage of text on the lower part of the cover:

You can put on your glasses and study the most accurate historical facts about Taiwan with a solemn attitude; or you can sip a cup of coffee and experience the adventure journey in the book, and let battlefield literature accompany you during your leisurely tea time. (my translation)

[你可以戴起眼鏡，嚴肅的考究最正確的台灣史實；或者啜飲一杯咖啡，在書中體驗探險的旅程，讓戰地文學陪伴您渡過悠閒的午茶時光。]

From the perspective of the *skopos* theory in the field of translation studies, texts can have different functions (informative, expressive, and operative)⁴⁰, thus appeal to different readership. According to the two added texts mentioned above, Jackson Tan clearly were aware of the two ways of reading his translation: for the readers focusing on the book's informative function, they are invited to understand the historical facts of the Botan Incident; and for the leisurely readers focusing on its expressive function, they are enticed to read the book as a work of literature.

From this perspective, we can see that the marketing strategy (repositioning the book in two different ways) used by the publisher, Wu-nan Books, considers the content included in *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa* should not only be able to satisfy the critical opinion

⁴⁰ See: Munday, Jeremy. (2008). *Introducing translation studies: Theories and applications*. New York: Routledge, pp. 72-74.

of hardcore Taiwanese history researchers and enthusiasts. It should also be easily understood by Taiwan's popular readership, and I think that the large number of annotations added by Tan under the translation are in line with the saying of "study the most accurate historical facts about Taiwan with a solemn attitude." As for the parts such as short introductory texts about the historical characters involved in the Botan Incident (which will be mentioned in the following section) and other supplement paragraphs, should be representing the part that can be read during "leisurely tea time," since they are not necessarily relevant for readers to understand what Edward House narrates in the book and only provides some interesting bits of related knowledge for readers.

My observation can also be confirmed by the translator's preface, which reads "Readers who have purchased the old edition may notice changes in the text, notes, small columns, etc.; those who study Taiwan history should find that sources of allusions have been added and new and correct interpretations are provided; as for readers who are new to the book or unfamiliar with this period of history, you can read this book as an "adventure novel" or "battlefield reportage," appreciating this book in an easier and more interesting way" [曾購買舊版的讀者或會察覺內文、註釋、小欄等多處有所更動；研究臺灣歷史者，應會發現加入了典故出處及新而正確的詮釋；至於新購買或不熟悉這段歷史的讀者，可以把這本書當作「探險小說」或「戰地報導文學」來看，這樣讀來較輕鬆有趣。] (Tan, 2015, p.10)

3.4.2 Title of Book Sections in the Table of Contents

In the English original, the author Edward House did not divide the book into three sections, but Jackson Tan, from the perspective of Mona Baker's "narrative theory" of

translation studies⁴¹, “re-labeled” the book into three sections in his 2003 translation, and this change would be maintained in the later versions. The first section (Chapters 1 to 11) was relabeled as “Preparations before the Conquest of Taiwan” [征台前的準備], the second (Chapters 12 to 25) “Bloody Battlefield” [浴血戰場], and the third (Chapters 26 to 37) “Diplomatic Negotiations and the End of the Incident” [外交折衝及落幕]. These sections are preceded by section introductions written by the translator himself, providing further interpretations and commentaries about the Botan Incident. In the case of Tan’s translation, providing section titles is a reader-friendly gesture which evidently can help readers understand the big picture of the Botan Incident. In this way, the book’s narrative structure can be easily and quickly grasped.

3.4.3 A Newly Added Passage in the Preface by Wu Mi-cha (吳密察)

Wu Mi-cha, a renowned scholar of Taiwan history, recommended Tan’s work of translation with a preface, titled “Historical Materials Related to the Botan Incident” [牡丹社事件之相關史料]. His preface first appeared in the 2003 version, and was later retained in the 2008/15 versions. The content briefly introduces relevant historical materials of the Botan Incident, and Wu praises the translator’s enthusiasm and efforts revealed through his translation, ensuring the faithfulness of the translation itself, the accuracy of textual research and the detailed explanation. In Wu’s 2003 preface, we can see that the paratextual content added by Tan to the book are only “three introductory articles which might help readers

⁴¹ “Labelling” involves change of book titles or chapter titles, which might contribute to new interpretations of the book or giving messages or information considered to be essential for the translator (or editor). See: Baker, Mona. (2006). *Translation and conflict: A narrative account*. New York: Routledge, pp. 122-132.

quickly understand the background of the incident” (my translation) [三篇導讀，使讀者可以迅速地瞭解事件的背景]. (Tan, 2003, p.7) Interestingly, in the newer versions, Wu’s 2003 preface is not only retained, toward the end of the preface the passage above was rewritten as “three introductory articles, six small columns introducing historical characters, and also a incident timeline which might help readers quickly understand the background of the incident” (my translation) [三篇導讀、六篇人物介紹小欄，加上大事記使讀者可以迅速地瞭解事件的背景]. (Tan, 2015, p.7) Just from the changes here, we can see the number, form and scale of the new paratexts added by the translator in the 2008/2015 versions.⁴²

3.4.4 Translator’s Preface Placed beside Author’s Preface

The original published book already contains the preface written by House himself, stating “It will be obvious that the following pages make no pretence to the formality of a historical record” in the first place:

It will be obvious that the following pages make no pretense to the formality of a historical record. They are chiefly collected from memoranda of personal observation of the incidents described, and of authentic narratives of the diplomatic transactions between the governments of Japan and China. Their necessarily hasty preparation makes them incomplete in many particulars, and there are, indeed, reasons why a full and unabridged report of the events connected with Formosa

⁴² However, actually the incident timeline had already existed in the 2003 version; but the timeline was divided into many parts and included at the end of every chapters. While the later versions have separated the timeline from the chapters and combined them into a single section of appendix that was attached after the main text. See: House, E. H. (1875/2015). *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa (征臺紀事：牡丹社事件始末)*. (J. Tan, Trans.) Taipei: Wu-nan Books, pp. 259-274.

might be inexpedient at this moment; but, within the limits prescribed for them, they are believed to represent the leading features of the subject with accuracy, and to be supported by sufficient evidence upon all points concerning which discussion may hereafter arise. Many of the earlier chapters originally appeared in the form of letters to the New York Herald, during the summer and autumn of 1874.⁴³

In the original translation published in 2003, Tan's "Translator's Postscript" is provided at the end of the book⁴⁴, but he has already been named one of the two authors of the book on the page titled "Portraits of the Authors" [作者群像].⁴⁵ To highlight the translator's authorial position, not only "Portraits of the Authors" is replaced at the beginning of the book⁴⁶, but also the two-page long "Translator's Postscript" is turned into a "Translator's Preface" with a length of seven pages⁴⁷. With this change, Tan's identities as translator/annotator/author are emphasized, and his position can be considered to be no less important than the author. This is to some extent confirmed by the fact that he is indeed the author of the articles attached to the end of Chapters 1, 3, 11, 14, 27, and 33, respectively introducing Charles Le Gendre, Kabayama Sukenori (樺山資紀), Tok-e-tok (卓杞篤) and Pan Wenjie (or Jagarushi Guri Bunkiet, 潘文杰), Saigo Judo (西郷從道), Shen Baozhen (沈葆楨), Saigo Takamori (西郷隆盛) and Okubo Toshimichi (大久保利通).

3.4.5 Appendix and Bibliography

⁴³ House, E. H. (1875). *The Japanese expedition to Formosa*. Tokio: p. v. (The publisher was not identified.)

⁴⁴ House, E. H. (1875/2003). *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa* (征臺紀事：武士刀下的牡丹花). (J. Tan, Trans.) Taipei: Yuanming Wenhua Publishing House, pp. 286-287.

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 297.

⁴⁶ House, E. H. (1875/2015). *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa* (征臺紀事：牡丹社事件始末). (J. Tan, Trans.) Taipei: Wu-nan Books, pp. 16-17.

⁴⁷ Ibid, pp. 9-15.

Many materials of Taiwan history have been translated into Chinese and published after 2008, including the translation of Charles Le Gendre's *Notes of Travel in Formosa*⁴⁸, as well as Tan's own new translation between 2012 and 2015.⁴⁹ Judging from the added annotations at the bottom of the pages in the 2015 version, we can see that this version is slightly different from the 2008 one, confirming that Tan cited a series of new reference materials. For example, for the 2008/2015 version, Tan composed an appendix titled Comparison Table of the Eighteenth Tribes South of Lonc-kjauw [琅嶠下十八社對照表], much of whose information is from *Foreign Adventure and the Aborigines of Southern Taiwan, 1867-1874* (Charles Le Gendre's notes edited by American scholar Robert Eskildsen). Also, there is a major difference between the 2003 translation version and the two subsequent versions (one retranslation and the other republication). The number and quality of annotations are less professional in the 2003 version, and many key historical materials and works did not appear until the 2008 version was published. For example, the 2008/2015 versions used materials drawn from James L. Huffman's *A Yankee in Meiji Japan: The Crusading Journalist Edward H. House* (published in 2003)⁵⁰, thus giving more abundant details about House's life and the

⁴⁸ Actually, there are two versions of Le Gendre's notes. Robert Eskildsen, an American scholar based in Japan, edited the one published in 2005: Le Gendre, Charles. (2005). *Foreign adventurers and the aborigines of southern Taiwan, 1867-1874: Western sources related to Japan's 1874 expedition to Taiwan*. Taipei: Institute of Taiwan History, Academia Sinica. This is the basis for the translation published in 2012: Le Gendre, Charles. *Foreign Adventurers and the Aborigines of Southern Taiwan, 1867-1874* (南台灣踏查手記). (Y. Huang, Trans.) Taipei: Avanguard Publishing House. Douglas Fix and John Shufelt (also American scholars, but one based in the United States and the other in Taiwan) edited the full-length version of notes published in 2012: Le Gendre, Charles. (2012). *Notes of Travel in Formosa*. Tainan: National Museum of Taiwan History. The Chinese translation of this version of notes would be published one year later: Le Gendre, Charles. *Notes of Travel in Formosa* (李仙得臺灣紀行). (D. Fix and C. Lo, Trans.) Tainan: National Museum of Taiwan History.

⁴⁹ Besides Jackson Tan's translation of *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present*, his most notable works in his signature translation style of "story-telling" are two anthologies of translated works written by foreigners travelling to Taiwan in the 19th century: Tan, Jackson. (2013). *Hongmao tanqinji: Fuermosha zongzou tanxianxing* (紅毛探親記：福爾摩沙縱走探險行) [*Red-haired Barbarians' Visits to Formosa: Accounts of Adventures*]. Taipei: Wu-na Books; Tan, Jackson. (2014). *Hongmao tanqinzaiji: Daonei daowai papazou* (紅毛探親再記：島內島外趴趴走) [*More on Red-haired Barbarians' Visits to Formosa: Accounts of Adventures on the Island and Its Outlying Islets*]. Taipei: Wu-na Books.

⁵⁰ Huffman, James. L. (2003). *A yankee in Meiji Japan: The crusading journalist Edward H. House*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

roles Le Gendre played in both the *Rover* incident in 1867 and Japanese expedition to Formosa in 1874.



3.4.6 Index

A detailed index (pp.282-292) is attached to the 2005/2015 translation, providing bilingual terms such as personal names, names of indigenous tribes, place names, ship names, and other proper nouns, as well as page numbers. Some of the personal names will have a brief description of their identity and responsibilities at the time, and the names of indigenous tribes and other places will indicate their corresponding administrative divisions in present days (現代所屬的行政區域). The index is entirely compiled by Tan himself, which, apparently, cannot be done without his extensive research.

Taking names of indigenous tribes as example, at the entry of “Suqaro” (Seqalu), he not only listed the four major villages (Tuilasok [豬勝東], Sawali [射麻裏], Ba-ah [貓仔], and Lingluan [龍鑾]), but also explained briefly that this tribe was the mixed-blood descendants of the Puyuma tribe members from Tibun (知本) and the local Paiwan aborigines.⁵¹ But this also reveals his own interest in studying the indigenous peoples. His enthusiasm can be confirmed by the fact that he wrote an introductory article (5 pages in length)⁵² in the book to clarify the relationship between Tok-e-tok (卓杞篤) and Pan Wenjie (or Jagarushi Guri Bunkiet, 潘文杰): are they father and son, or father-in-law and son-in-law? More importantly, the article does not only discuss the two’s relationship, but also include several

⁵¹ House, E. H. (1875/2015). *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa* (征臺紀事：牡丹社事件始末). (J. Tan, Trans.) Taipei: Wu-nan Books, p. 288.

⁵² Ibid, pp. 92-96.

photos showing the culture of the Paiwan indigenous tribe, such as “mourning hat for Paiwan women,” clay pots of the Paiwan people, and a house pillar of the tribe with a carving of their ancestral image.

3.4.7 The Parts Appearing in the English Original but Not in the Translation

Tan also decided to erase some parts of the English original, not including them in his translation. On the odd-numbered and even-numbered pages, House provided the years and months of the events described. (For example, Chapter 1 describes the Incident of the *Rover*, so the upper parts of pages 1 and 2 mark “1867” and “March” respectively); but Tan declares in one footnote of House’s preface that the dates were deleted (House, 2015, p. 8).⁵³ Also, in the table of contents of the English original, House provides each chapter many section titles. For example, the section titles of Chapter 23 are listed as follows (House, 1875, p.129):

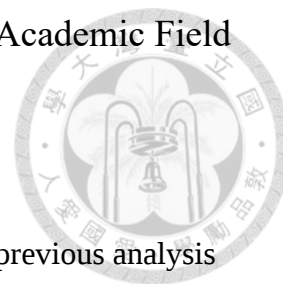
CHAPTER XXIII.

RELIEF AT HAND—THE WATCHES OF THE NIGHT—FEAST OF SWEET POTATOS—AN
AMIYA VILLAGE—THE INFERIOR RACE—CAPTURE AND DESTRUCTION OF BOTAN
AND KUSUKUT—THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN DETACHMENTS ASTRAY—
REUNION OF GENERAL OFFICERS—A DAY IN THE MOUNTAINS—RESULTS OF THE
EXPEDITION—RETURN TO LIANGKIAO—A PAINFUL MARCH—JAPANESE COURTESY.

Although these titles give readers some preview of each chapter, but if they were translated word by word, the table of contents could be too clumsy and complicated. Maybe this is the reason for Tan to omit them.

⁵³ Actually, the dates had already been deleted from the 2003 translation, but Tan did not give a footnote to declare this particular omission.

Chapter 4 Jackson Tan's Role and his Influence in the Academic Field



From the perspective of descriptive translation studies (DTS), the previous analysis covers two aspects of translation: product and decision-making process. What have been pinpointed are not just the translated texts (and their differences from the English original), but also the reasons why Tan used his signature way of “translation and narration” (譯述) to translate. This strategy does not only make an impact on his own translation output: to some extent, his works also influence the research of Taiwan history. And from the perspective of DTS, this is the aspect called “function”⁵⁴: the translation product's impact and influence. This aspect is the main area I will explore in this chapter.

4.1 Brief Introduction of Jackson Tan's career

Jackson Tan was born in 1955 (Tan, 1988, p. I) and passed away in July 2016 due to lung cancer⁵⁵ (Tu, 2016). He graduated from Fu Jen Catholic University in Taiwan and pursued further studies at Pitman College in the United Kingdom.

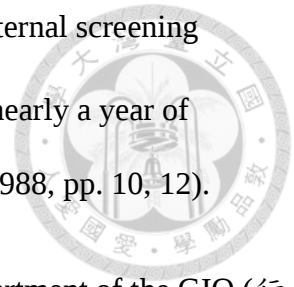
Tan passed multiple national civil service examinations, including the Junior and Senior Civil Service Examinations for Journalism, as well as the Special Examination for International Journalism Personnel (國際新聞人員特考) (Class B, 乙等)⁵⁶. In 1984, during the tenure of James Soong (宋楚瑜) as Minister of the Government Information Office (GIO,

⁵⁴ For the “product,” “decision-making process,” and “function” aspects elaborated by the DTS theories, see: Rosa, A. A. (2010). Descriptive translation studies (DTS). In Y. Gambier & L. van Doorslaer (Eds.), *Handbook of translation studies* (Vol. 1, pp. 94-104). John Benjamins.

⁵⁵ Tu, J.-F. (2016). [Toushu] *Wo jiu xiang sheng kai de ying hua, deng dai zhao yang sheng qi! — Ji deng shan zhe Yang Nanjun li qu de you mei shen ying* [【投書】我就像盛開的櫻花，等待朝陽升起！——記登山者楊南郡離去的優美身影]. <https://www.twreporter.org/a/opinion-yang-nan-jun>. Browse date: May 24th, 2022.

⁵⁶ This test has transferred to Special Examination for Consular and Diplomatic Personnel (外交領事人員及外交行政人員考試) now.

行政院新聞局) of the Executive Yuan, Tan was selected through an internal screening process within the GIO to study abroad in the UK. He then underwent nearly a year of journalism and mass communication training at Pitman College (Tan, 1988, pp. 10, 12).



He was once an officer in the Broadcasting and Television Department of the GIO (行政院新聞局廣電處), and secretary in both the International Information Department and Liaison Office of the GIO. In May 1988, Tan was appointed Press Secretary in the Press Division of the San Francisco Office (駐金山辦事處) of the Coordination Council for North American Affairs (CCNAA, 北美事務協調委員會) (1979 – 1996), which is now known as the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in San Francisco (Tan, 1988, p.14). According to the interview with Wei De-wen, (魏德文, the owner of SMC Publishing 南天書局), he had been proactively collecting some of the Taiwanese historical materials during his diplomatic service in the U.S.⁵⁷

From the data represented in the ROC Government Post Database,⁵⁸ Tan once resigned from the civil service system as an intermediate-level civil servant (薦任人員) in 1996 but returned in 2009 as a Senior Executive Officer (簡任專門委員) of Headquarters Administration of Cultural Heritage under the Council for Cultural Affairs (行政院文化建設委員會文化資產總管理處籌備處), and the headquarter has upgraded to Bureau of Cultural Heritage (文化部文化資產局) in 2012.

⁵⁷ According to Wei, one of the materials Tan has gathered is the diary of American oil technician Robert Locke when in Chhut-hong-khinn (出磺坑). Extracted from personal interview with Wei at SMC Publishing. Interview date: Oct. 22, 2021.

⁵⁸ The following data is extracted from the website: https://gpost.lib.nccu.edu.tw/view_career.php?name=陳政三, Browse date: May 7th, 2025.

For the complete published works of Tan as an author or a translator, I will provide full list down below:



(1988). *Ying guo Guang bo Dian shi: Zheng ce, Zhi du, Jie mu* [英國廣播電視：政策、制度、節目]

Dodd, John. (2002.) *Journal of a blockaded resident in North Formosa during the Franco-Chinese war, 1884-5* (北台封鎖記：茶商陶德筆下的清法戰爭). (J. Tan. Trans.)

Dodd, John. (1888/2008). *Journal of a blockaded resident in North Formosa during the Franco-Chinese war, 1884-5* (泡茶走西仔反——清法戰爭台灣外記). (J. Tan. Trans.)

House, Edward H. (1875/2003). *The Japanese expedition to Formosa* (征臺紀事：武士刀下的牡丹花). (J. Tan. Trans.)

House, Edward H. (1875/2008/2015). *The Japanese expedition to Formosa* (征臺紀事：牡丹社事件始末). (J. Tan. Trans.)

(2005). *Chu Huang Keng zuan you ri ji: tai wan di yizuo you kuang: 1877-1878 nian mei guo ji shi kai cai shi you degu shi* [出磺坑鑽油日記：臺灣第一座油礦：1877-1878 年美國技師開採石油的故事]

(2012). *American oil technicians in Formosa : a record of drilling oil at Chhut-hong-khinn in Miaoli, 1877-78.* [美國油匠在臺灣：1877-78 年苗栗出磺坑採油紀行]

(2008/2015). *Aoxiang fu ' ermosha: Yingguo waijiaoguan xunhe Wanqing taiwan Jixing* (翱翔福爾摩沙：英國外交官卮和晚清台灣紀行) [Flying through Formosa: British diplomat Swinhoe ' s visits to Taiwan in the late Qing dynasty].

(2013). *Hongmao tanqinji: Fuermosha zongzou tanxianxing* (紅毛探親記：福爾摩沙縱走探險行) [*Red-haired Barbarians' Visits to Formosa: Accounts of Adventures*]

(2014). *Hongmao tanqinzaiji: Daonei daowai papazou* (紅毛探親再記：島內島外趴趴走) [*More on Red-haired Barbarians' Visits to Formosa: Accounts of Adventures on the Island and Its Outlying Islets*].

Davidson, James W. (1903/2014). *The island of Formosa, past and present: history, people, resources, and commercial prospects. tea, camphor, sugar, gold, coal, sulphur, economical plants, and other productions* (福爾摩沙島的過去與現在).

Tan had also been one of the editors for government publications during his civil servant years and the works are listed below:

Academia Historica (2008). *Zhuanjiao de Fenghua: Tao De* [轉角的風華：陶德]

Bureau of Cultural Heritage, MOC. (2012). *Taiwan's 18 potential world heritage sites* [世遺 18：臺灣世界遺產潛力點向前行]

Apart from his career as a civil servant and the role of translator, he also self-proclaimed as an advertising planner, columnist for *Creativity* (創意) magazine, broadcaster, and “Taiwanese Researcher”, which I would name a few example of his published works that somehow proved his intentions of acting an academic role in the field of Taiwanese History.

4.2 As an “Amateur Scholar”

In “A Cultural-Translation Study of Paratexts via Victor H. Mair’s Translation of *Tao Te Ching*,”⁵⁹ an article by translation studies scholar Chih-hong Rudy Chen (陳致宏), Kwame Anthony Appiah’s theoretical approach named “thick translation” is applied for the purpose of analysis. What is “thick translation”? In 1993, Kwame Anthony Appiah extended Clifford Geertz’s influential concept of “thick description” from cultural anthropology into the realm of translation theory, proposing what he termed “thick translation.” Geertz’s “thick description” emphasizes the need to understand human actions not just superficially, but by delving into their intricate cultural layers and meanings. Appiah applies this same principle to translation, defining it as a process that uses annotations and supplementary explanations (glosses) to embed the translated text within its full cultural and linguistic environment.⁶⁰ This parallel between “thick description” and “thick translation” highlights Appiah’s view that both cultural anthropology and translation are fundamentally interpretive endeavors, seeking to make sense of and convey complex cultural nuances.

For Appiah, the practical application of “thick translation” became clear when he worked on translating proverbs from his native Ghana.⁶¹ He discovered that this method was crucial for mitigating the erosion of cultural information that often happens when a text crosses linguistic and cultural boundaries. By adding explanatory layers, “thick translation” does not just translate “words”; it attempts to translate “worlds.” Consequently, this approach is deemed highly beneficial in literary translation, serving as a powerful tool to deepen the cultural understanding of English-speaking readers who might otherwise miss vital contextual cues. In his article, Chih-hong Chen mentions that the translator of *Tao Te Ching*, Victor H.

⁵⁹ Chen, C.-H. (2018). A cultural-translation study of paratexts via Victor H. Mair’s English translation of the *Tao Te Ching*. *Compilation and Translation Review*, 11(2), 61-98.

⁶⁰ Appiah, K. A. (1993). Thick translation. *Callaloo*, 16(4), 817.

⁶¹ Ibid, p. 813.

Mair (梅維恆), was consciously applying Appiah's concept called "academic translation," producing large amount of paratexts during the translation process.



The same concept might apply to Tan's translation method of *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa*. Mair's *Tao te Ching* translation (published in 1990) can be seen as separated into two parts: translator's preface, the translation, and notes and commentary; the second part is more academic, with Mair writing lengthy afterword and appendix, for the readers with more intellectual enthusiasm. Tan's translation of Edward House's book first published in 2003 and the revision published in 2008. During this period, Tan also submitted numerous papers related to House's experience in late 19th century Taiwan in 2006. I would argue, Tan's method of translation is not unlike Mair's; and, like Mair, during this period (2003-2008) he also played the role of a researcher, despite the fact that he was not affiliated with any academic institutes.

Tan's academic output, however, was based on his translation works, nothing more. First of all, according to the records on Airtiri Online Library (華藝線上圖書館), Tan published 37 pieces of journal articles on *Historical Monthly* (*Lishi Yuekan* 歷史月刊) and *Taiwan Natural Science* (*Taiwan bowu Jikan* 臺灣博物季刊) in all. There are five pieces that are highly related to Edward House and the Japanese expedition in 1874, published on *Historical Monthly* in 2006.

The translated texts of *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa* were mostly core references of the five published articles. These essays published on *History Monthly* can be seen as Tan's "research result" of Edward House and his publications in late 19th century Taiwan. All of the five articles, in fact, were basically the abstract of his own translation, including those articles on *Taiwan Natural Science*. However, both *History Monthly* and *Taiwan Natural*

Science are not genuine academic journals. According to the manuscript submission guideline of *Taiwan Natural Science*, the initial introduction of the guideline clearly stated that “the main purpose of the journal is to popularize humanities, nature and curatorial knowledge. The target readers are the general public, and the journal is divided into three sections: museum studies, findings of the nature, cultural visions” (my translation) [本刊以推廣博物館知識、自然與文化為宗旨，設定讀者族群以普羅大眾為對象，徵稿單元分為「博物館研究」、「自然發現」、「文化視野」等三個單元].⁶² The publication purpose and targeted readership of *History Monthly*, which ended its publication in 2009, was quite similar: it is a journal aiming at general readership.

Indeed, both journals have been attracting multiple professional historians submitting their articles. At least in that same year when Tan submitted five articles to *History Monthly* in five consecutive months, the renowned scholars, like Man-Hong Lin (林滿紅), were also the submitters of the same journal.⁶³ However, the articles in this journal, as a policy, tend to avoid using annotations, thus it lacked the index for readers who needs the resources or to track down the references which the author applied in the article. Tan’s articles were no exception, making his renowned “thick translation”-liked ideology and method omitted from his published journal articles. It was the exact opposite situation of what Mair had done with his translation of *Tao Te Ching*: by keeping both his translation and academic articles in the same book, his academic position becomes more overt. On the contrary, with his academic output, Tan can only be classified as an “amateur scholar.”

⁶² For the submission guideline for the journal on its official website, see: <https://file.moc.gov.tw/Download.ashx?u=LzAwMS9VcGxvYWQvNTIwL3JlbGZpbGUvMTIxMTQvMjE5MS8wOTY0MTQ0OC1mNTE5LTQ5MWEtOTNmZS1iMjY1YzZjNTcwZDEucGRm&n=44CK6le654Gj5Y2a54mp44CL5a2j5YiK5oqV56i%2f6aCI55%2blLnBkZg%3d%3d>

⁶³ The journal belongs to the *United Daily News Group* (聯合報系), one of the major newspapers in Taiwan.

4.3 The Academic Application of Tan's Translation

Judging from the translation and introduction of *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa*, the author's point of view and the objects and events it describes, the identities of House can be seen as, at the same time, a reporter of the *New York Herald* employed by the Japanese army, and Le Gendre's secretary; also, during the Botan Incident, he accompanied the Japanese army and the military personnel from the US, such as James Wasson and Douglas Cassel. As a consultant, House went to southern Taiwan to negotiate and conflict with the local aborigines, and subsequently recorded the diplomatic wrestling between Japanese, Qing, British consuls and American diplomatic consuls after the Botan Incident. The most important historical value of this book is that almost all the events in the book have little direct connection with the Han immigrant society that had been on Taiwan Island for more than 200 years at that time, and it is also outside the official written record of the Qing Dynasty on the Botan Incident. Through the translation and introduction of this kind of historical materials, different research perspectives can be effectively provided and circulate, helping Taiwan historians to think outside of the old narrative frameworks by taking alternative perspectives into consideration.

In terms of academic research, the following is my findings after observing the historical materials written in the 19th century about Taiwan cited by researchers of Taiwan history. When using historical materials, some writers of academic works might choose to attach translation after the original material (of course, in foreign languages), because it is indeed a way to enhance readability for readers. But from the perspective of a historical research, even if the translator retains the original texts of the historical materials as much as possible, the use of translation might still be to some extent risky.

There are still so-called “good and bad” differences between different translations. The nature of the translations of historical materials and their citations will vary according to the researcher’s research orientation and research theme. Of course, the language of the original texts will naturally affect the researcher’s citation orientation. As discussed in this article, in view of the limitations of my own language ability, the so-called foreign language historical materials are limited to the category of English historical materials. As far as English historical materials are concerned, since most Taiwan history researchers are required to have a certain level of English reading ability during their studies, it might be safe to say that most of the Taiwan history scholars can use historical materials in their English original for quotation.

Take the works of Robert Swinhoe (邵和) for example, Jackson Tan’s *Flying through Formosa: British Diplomat Swinhoe’s Visits to Taiwan in the Late Qing Dynasty* (Ao Xiang Fu’ermosha: Yingguo Wai Jiao Guan Huanhe Wan Qing Taiwan Ji Xing 翱翔福爾摩沙：英國外交官邵和晚清台灣紀行) can be seen as a combination of Swinhoe’s biography and the translations of his most notable works, such as “A Trip to Hongsan, on the Formosan Coast,”⁶⁴ “Narrative of a Visit to the Island of Formosa,”⁶⁵ and *Notes on the Ethnology of Formosa*⁶⁶. However, in the literature review section of “Robert Swinhoe (1836-1877) and His Studies on the Natural History” [邵和 (Robert Swinhoe, 1836-1877) 及其博物學研究] the master’s thesis written by Chang An-li (張安理)⁶⁷, the author questions the usefulness of Jackson Tan’s translations by claiming that his translation has suffered

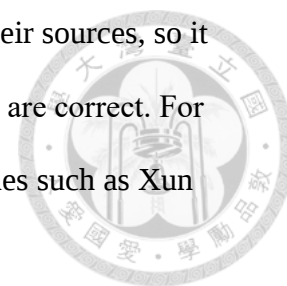
⁶⁴ Swinhoe, Robert. (1856). “A trip to Hongsan, on the Formosan coast,” *Supplement to the overland China mail* No. 130 [no page number given].

⁶⁵ Swinhoe, Robert. (1859). “Narrative of a visit to the island of Formosa,” *Journal of north China branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1, 145-164.

⁶⁶ Swinhoe, Robert. (1863.) *Notes on the ethnology of Formosa*. London: Frederic Bell.

⁶⁷ Chang, A.-L. (2020). *Xunhe (Robert Swinhoe, 1836-1877) ji qi bowuxue yanjiu* [Robert Swinhoe (1836-1877) and his studies on natural history] (Master’s thesis, National Taiwan Normal University).

“[f]rom using some unknown historical data without identifying their sources, so it is difficult to confirm whether Tan’s inferences and interpretations are correct. For example, Tan stated that Swinhoe had also once used Chinese names such as Xun Jia and Shi Wei Nuo. (Chang, 2020, p.3) (my translation)



[部分史料引述來源不明，因此難以辨認作者的推論和詮釋正確與否，例如作者稱郇和還曾使用勳嘉、士委諾等中文名字。]

Tan’s translations were thus ignored by Chang, not used to any extent in her master’s thesis. However, by observing the rest of the section of literature review, Chang An-li’s tendency to quote foreign language historical materials originally tended to use 19th-century British related documents based on the original text, such as the Chinese envoys in the British Foreign Office Documents (FO, Foreign Office Documents). Special files (FO 228), etc., judging from the columns of the cited bibliography, the use of translated texts is also rarely seen, and the original text of historical materials is still respected. This tendency also reveals in another fact: Douglas Fix (費德廉) and Charlotte Lo (羅效德) selected and translated, in a more “faithful” manner than Jackson Tan, three of Swinhoe’s works (“Narrative of a Visit to the Island of Formosa,” “Notes on the Ethnology of Formosa,” and “Additional Notes on Formosa”⁶⁸) and included them in *Curious Investigations: 19th century American and European impressions of Taiwan* (看見十九世紀台灣：十四位西方旅行者的福爾摩沙故事)⁶⁹, but, likewise, they are not used by Chang in her thesis.

However, in another example, the tendency to use translations of historical materials is quite different. In Chapter 1 of “The Family of Tokitok, the Chief of the Lonckjouw 18

⁶⁸ Swinhoe, Robert. (1865-1866.) “Additional notes on Formosa,” *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, Vol. 10, No. 3, 122-128.

⁶⁹ Fix, D. L., & Lo, C. (2006). *Kanjian Shijiu Shiji Taiwan: Shisi Wei Xifang Lüxingzhe De Fuermosha Gushi* [Curious investigations: 19th-century American and European impressions of Taiwan]. as if Publishing.

Tribes, and the Transformation of Ethnic Relationships on the Hengchun Peninsula, 1867-1874” (瑯嶠十八社頭人卓杞篤家族與恆春半島族群關係之變遷 (1867-1874)), the master’s thesis of Ming-te Tseng⁷⁰, his literature review illustrates what roles the historical materials left behind by Westerners in the 19th century can play when studying the history of Lonckjouw. According to Tseng:

“So, these materials left behind by the Westerners, in addition to providing more detailed descriptions compared to the Chinese materials, present more about the physical, cultural information such as the ethnic classification system constructed by appearance (such as clothing), the trade of products around the mountainous areas due to the Han-aborigine line policies of the Qing Dynasty, and the intermediaries who contacted the trade activities of different cultural circles.” (Tseng, 2017, p.12)
(my translation)

[...因此這些由西方人所留下的材料，除了提供相對於中文文獻更詳細的描寫之外，呈現了更多關於由體質、文化外觀（如服飾）所構築的種族分類系統、因清廷番界政策下沿山一帶的番產交易，以及聯繫不同文化圈交易活動的中介者等資訊。]

And in Chapter 4 of Tseng’s thesis, when describing the influence of the dispatched Japanese troops in the 1874 Botan Incident, a large number of translations of *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa* (Tan’s published translation in 2003) were used as the core material. The historical materials used in this chapter, including *The Chronicles of Taiwan Recruitment* (台

⁷⁰ Tseng, M.-T. (2017). *Langjiao shibashe touren Zhuoqitu jiazu yu Hengchun Bandao zuqun guanxi zhi bianqian (1867-1874)* [The family of Tokitok, the chief of the Lonckjouw 18 tribes, and the transformation of ethnic relationships on the Hengchun Peninsula, 1867-1874] (Master’s thesis, National Taiwan University), 12.

灣征蕃記)⁷¹, all provide “very detailed descriptions of the ritual process of negotiating with the political leaders of the 18 Tribes” (my translation) [十分詳盡地描繪與十八社政治領袖交涉之儀式的過程]⁷², in an attempt to show that the 18 Tribes had full autonomy in negotiations. In addition to *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa*, Ming-te Tseng also quoted James Wheeler Davidson’s seminal work on the history of Taiwan, *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present*, which was also translated by Jackson Tan.

One thing can be noticed is that, whereas Ming-te Tseng quoted Tan’s translation, he did not quote without questioning the translated text, and this is revealed in Tseng’s footnotes. In Chapter 4, Tseng disagrees with Jackson Tan’s opinion on a place name (note 55), so he wrote a lengthy footnote after consulting several dictionaries. At last, he made a judgement different from Tan: The place name “San Sianah” should be “柴城仔,”⁷³ rather than Tan’s translation “山腳.”⁷⁴ However, despite the fact that he sometimes questions Jackson Tan’s textual research, Tseng quoted the translated version of *The Japan Expedition to Formosa* 28 times, showing that he relied heavily on this material for his discussion.

From the use of citations in the two master’s thesis mentioned above, I would argue that, at least in the master’s degree research level in the field of Taiwanese history, there has been a completely different phenomenon of historical citations that seem to stand at both ends of the spectrum. Regarding the observation of research materials cited in academic papers, we can first see from “Symptoms and Pathology of Academic Translation: Taiwan Sociological

⁷¹ This is a journal kept by Kabayama Sukenori (樺山資紀, the first governor-general of Taiwan as the colony of Japan) during his stay in Taiwan when he was still an army officer.

⁷² See Note 65, p. 14.

⁷³ See Note 65, pp. 94-95.

⁷⁴ Davidson, J. W. (1903/2014). *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present. History, People, Resources, and Commercial Prospects. Tea, Camphor, Sugar, Gold, Coal, Sulphur, Economical Plants, and Other Productions* (福爾摩沙島的過去與現在). (J. Tan, Trans.) Tainan: National Museum of Taiwan History, p. 137, 148.

Translation Studies, 1950s-2000s” [學術翻譯的症候與病理：台灣社會學翻譯研究，1950s-2000s], the master’s thesis by Wang Chi-hung (王志弘), at least in the field of sociology, a certain percentage of authors of master’s thesis chose to cite from Chinese translations.⁷⁵ Although in an environment where foreign languages (most notably, English) dominate the world’s academic research discourse, Chinese translations still has its functions, and even provides students with a considerable degree of understanding when doing research when pursuing for their master’s and doctor’s degrees.

4.4 *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present: Comparison of Translation Norms*

4.4.1 Table of Contents in the Two Translated Texts

James Wheeler Davidson included a complete table of contents in the original book, with each chapter having its own title, and Jackson Tan’s translation did not adjust any of the chapter orders: also, each chapter title was translated word by word; he faithfully presented the chapters arrangements according to the original text, which is different from what he had done in his translation of *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa*. Edward House’s chapter arrangement is only in the form of diary entries, but Tan’s translation adds chapter names with commentary in it. Take the first eleven chapters for example, they were not only given a section title named “Preparations before the Conquest of Taiwan” [征台前的準備], each chapter has a specific name, which was not in the English original. Chapter 1 is “The Rover Incident” [羅妹號事件], Chapter 2 “The Miserable Botan Incident” [牡丹社慘案], Chapter 3

⁷⁵ Wang, C.-H. (2005). *Xueshu fanyi de zhenghou yu bingli: Taiwan shehuixue fanyi yanjiu, 1950s-2000s* [Symptoms and pathology of academic translation: Translation of sociology in Taiwan, 1950s-2000s] (Master’s thesis, National Taiwan Normal University), 69-70.

“Initiating the Expedition to Formosa” [啟航征台], Chapter 4 “Unpredictable Development at Amoy” [廈門風雲], and Chapter 5 “First Arrival at Lonc-kjauw” [初抵琅嶠], etc.⁷⁶



4.4.2 Davidson’s “Preface”

It is worth mentioning that Davidson briefly mentioned that the motivation for writing this book:

To my surprise, I then learned that there was no book in the English language which dealt with the island in anything like an exhaustive manner. What works did exist, however valuable in their way, were more or less limited in scope, and none of them appeared to touch upon the resources, trade, or industrial affairs of the island. This, together with the exceptionally fortunate position in which I found myself, as war correspondent with the Japanese army, for doing justice to that very important epoch in Formosan history which includes the occupation of the island by the Japanese (1895) and the consequent termination of the Chinese regime, induced me to undertake the work...⁷⁷

He therefore recorded the main historical materials he cited when writing this “General History” (通史). Among them, two books, *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa* and *Journal of a Blockaded Resident in North Formosa during the Franco-Chinese War, 1884-5*, were translated by Tan and published in Taiwan. As for other materials, including Ludwig Riess’s *Geschichte der Insel Formosa*⁷⁸, Chinese translations are now available in Taiwan.

⁷⁶ House, E. H. (1875/2003). *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa* (征臺紀事：武士刀下的牡丹花). (J. Tan, Trans.) Taipei: Yuanming Wenhua Publishing House, p 5.

⁷⁷ Davidson, J. W. (1903.) *The island of Formosa, past and present: history, people, resources, and commercial prospects. tea, camphor, sugar, gold, coal, sulphur, economical plants, and other productions*. London: Macmillan, p. I.

⁷⁸ Riess, Ludwig. (1897/2019). *Geschichte der Insel Formosa* (福爾摩沙島史). (S. Yao, Trans.) Tainan: National Museum of Taiwan History.

4.4.3 Comparing Tan's Different Translations

In his "Preface of the Translator-cum-Annotator" [譯註序], Tan mentioned that because he translated the two aforementioned books, he began to translate Davidson's book in 2004 (Tan Trans., Davidson, p. xxviii)⁷⁹. What should be clarified at first are the overlapping parts between Tan's translation of *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present* and his two other works of translation. When writing Chapters 10 to 13, which describe the Botan Incident, Davidson largely used records from Edward House's *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa*, while Chapter 16, which describes the French invasion of Taiwan, quotes heavily from John Dodd's *Journal of a Blockaded Resident in North Formosa during the Franco-Chinese War, 1884-5*.

In Chapters 10-13 of *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present*, which records Japan's "Expedition to Formosa" [臺灣出兵], since Davidson quoted directly from House's book, Tan also copied from his translation of *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa*, a work he had already dealt with before he started to translate *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present*. The content of the translation, even the annotations in the translation, remain intact. However, some of the deficiencies in the annotations of the translated version of *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa* can be found to be corrected in *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present*.

For example, when describing the development of the incident after the Japanese army landed in early May 1874, Davidson chose to directly quote from House's original text: for example, the account of the Japanese's meeting with the representative leader of the 18 tribes

⁷⁹ Davidson, J. W. (1903/2014). *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present. History, People, Resources, and Commercial Prospects. Tea, Camphor, Sugar, Gold, Coal, Sulphur, Economical Plants, and Other Productions* (福爾摩沙島的過去與現在) (J. Tan. Trans.) Tainan, Taiwan: National Museum of Taiwan History, p. xxviii.

of Lonc-kjauw, Isa (or Eusck, 一色) of the Sawali (or Sabree, 射麻裏) Tribe.⁸⁰ Although Tan copied the contents of the translation that he had dealt with before, he also quoted Le Gendre's record of visiting Isa in February 1869 to describe the appearance of the Sawali residents and their aristocratic clothing. He established two footnotes based on Le Gendre's personal account, whose source would later be found to be his *Reports on Amoy and the Island of Formosa*.⁸¹ In the 2003 translation of *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa*, Tan wrote the following two notes (no. 11 and 12) for Chapter 11:⁸²

No. 11: Le Gendre visited the house of Esuck [or Isa] in February 1869 and described the male members of the Sabree [or Sawali] community as “remarkably well-built and strong, their eye is straight and large. The hair is cut in the Chinese fashion, terminating behind in a sort of queue. The women are generally neat in their appearance. They are well proportioned and some of them quite fair, with fine faces and a mild expression of countenance.”⁸³ (my translation)

[12：李仙得在一八六九年二月至一色家拜訪，描述射麻裏社「一族人眾，體格雄健，目框長而大，髮亦打辮，同於清國。婦女容貌，多半齊整，其中有數人體格勻稱，面貌尤美，帶人禮貌亦甚和」]

No. 12: Le Gendre described the clothing of the nobles of the Sabree Society:
“Their dress consists of a small black kilt embroidered round the bottom and a sort of Malay jacket, also embroidered down the front and round the arm, and

⁸⁰ Ibid, pp. 164-166.

⁸¹ Le Gendre, C. W. (1871.) *Reports on Amoy and the island of Formosa*. Washington: Government Printing Office.

⁸² House, E. H. (1875/2003). *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa (征臺紀事：武士刀下的牡丹花)*. (J. Tan, Trans.) Taipei: Yuanming Wenhua Publishing House, p. 91.

⁸³ For the English original included in this note, see: Le Gendre, C. W. (1871.) *Reports on Amoy and the island of Formosa*. Washington: Government Printing Office, pp. 30-31.

ornamented with silver chains and various small medals or plates of like metal or glass.” As for Esuck’s matchlock was “so clean and shining that one would have thought it had just come from the hands of the armorer”⁸⁴ (my translation)

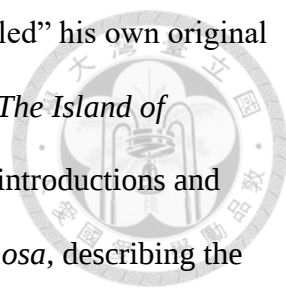
[11：李仙得描述射麻裏社貴族之衣著：「一種小黑衫、一種馬來衫；自胸前繡起，繞至手袖，緣邊用銀鍊並金銀五金及玻璃等件為鑲」。至於一色的武器則「洗刷瑩潔，似匠人所新製者。」]

The content of these two notes remained the same in the translation’s 2008 version, and from these different versions we only know that Tan’s notes quote from Charles Le Gendre, but did he translate these words by himself? Or he quoted from a certain translation? Since he did not include the sources of information he quoted in these two annotations of *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa*, not until his translation of *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present* was published in 2014 did the readers get to know that this account of Le Gendre about the Sabree tribe is quoted from page 9 of *Taiwan fanshi wuchan yu shangwu* [臺灣番事物產與商務] (Davidson, Trans. Tan, p.174): a translation version of *Reports on Amoy and the Island of Formosa* rendered into literary Chinese (文言文) by an unknown translator (who might be active during the late Qing era) and annotated by Ts’ao Yung-ho (曹永和).⁸⁵ And, Tan’s translation of *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa* was published for the third time in 2015⁸⁶, but the two historical sources that have been added in the backnotes of *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present* still do not exist in the 2015 version.

⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 30.

⁸⁵ Le Gendre, C. W. (1871/1994.) *Reports on Amoy and the island of Formosa* (臺灣番事物產與商務). (Translator Unknown.) Nantou City: Taiwan Historica.

⁸⁶ House, E. H. (1875/2015). *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa* (征臺紀事：牡丹社事件始末). (J. Tan, Trans.) Taipei: Wu-nan Books, p. 88 (Notes 152 and 153).



In addition, as a translator of historical materials, Tan also “smuggled” his own original research into *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa* in his translation of *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present*. Jackson Tan wrote a total of three original introductions and research contents in the translation of *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa*, describing the deeds of Kabayama Sukenori (樺山資紀) before and after sending Japanese troops to Taiwan (House, Trans. Tan, 2015, p.46-48), analyzing Tokitok, Pan Wen-jie (潘文杰) and the relationship between Tok-e-tok’s youngest son and other representative leaders of the 18 tribes south of Lonc-kjauw (House, Trans. Tan, 2015, p.92-96), and the struggle and entanglement between the two Japanese reformers in the Meiji era Saigo Takamori (西鄉隆盛) and Okubo Tosimichi (大久保利通) (House, Trans. Tan, 2015, p.228-229). These introductory articles written by the translator in *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa*, were also regarded by himself as part of the historical material cited as his annotations in *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present*. In the annotations of *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present*, although Tan will indicate that the quoted content belongs to parts of the translator's research, the standards for explaining the original content of these translators in the annotations are inconsistent. For example, in Note 7 of Chapter 11, when explaining the identity of the youngest son of Tok-e-tok mentioned in the *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa* cited by Davidson, the translator stated that this is based on his original research in the published version of *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa*.

As to the youngest son of Tok-e-tok, whose name is Pan Wen-jie, he explains, “...some say he is the adopted son or nephew of Tok-e-tok. According to the translator and annotator, he may be the son-in-law. See *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa*, pages 92-96” (my translation) [有說是卓杞篤的養子、外甥。根據譯註者考據，可能是女婿。參閱《征臺

紀事》, 頁 92-96].⁸⁷ (Davidson, Trans. Tan, p.174.) However, on the same page in *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present*, note 6 actually used the same original research by himself, but Tan did not choose to clearly explain the difference between the content he quoted and the original text of House which this note refers to; instead, he only asked the readers to directly refer to the pages of *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa*. In this way, he may indeed mislead readers into believing that the description here can directly represent the content of House's original text, but in fact the content here is actually the translator's own research and textual research.

⁸⁷ For example, in *Puppet Flower*, the historical novel written by Taiwanese novelist Chen Yao-chang, Pan Wenjie (Bunkiet or Vunki) is the nephew of Tok-e-tok: his mother is the younger sister of Tok-e-tok, and his father a Hakka (both have been deceased when he and Tok-e-tok meet). In the novel, Wenjie's elder sister, Butterfly (蝶妹), is a fictional character created by the author. See: Chen Yao-chang. (2023). *Puppet Flower: A Novel of 1867 Formosa*. (Trans. P.-F. Hsu, T.-Y. Chen, and I. Maxwell.) New York: Columbia University Press.

Chapter 5 Conclusions



5.1 Concluding Remarks

This thesis aims to address a notable gap in the academic study of history translation and its historical development, specifically concerning the translation of Western historical materials related to 19th-century Taiwan. A central objective is to provide an in-depth analysis of these translation activities, meticulously situating them within their intricate social, political, and historical contexts. This approach acknowledges that translation is not a neutral act but rather a process deeply embedded in, and shaped by, the prevailing circumstances of its time.

The distinction between Taiwan's Martial Law and Post-Martial Law eras (pre- and post-1987) offers a crucial framework for understanding the evolution of historical material translation. Prior to the lifting of martial law in 1987, Taiwan's political reality underwent significant shifts, with the ruling regime constantly adapting to contemporary situations. These political changes profoundly influenced various academic fields, including the study of Taiwanese history itself, leading to a series of adjustments in its focus and methodology.

Furthermore, by examining the process of nationalist construction within Taiwanese society, we can gain valuable insights into the burgeoning development of historical material translation activities concerning Taiwanese history in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. The interplay between political shifts, the evolving academic landscape of Taiwanese history, and the broader currents of national identity formation provides key entry points for explaining the remarkable increase in such translation efforts during this period. Understanding these interconnected factors is essential for a comprehensive grasp of why and

how these vital historical materials came to be translated, making them accessible to a wider audience and enriching the academic discourse on Taiwan's past.



The development of historical material translation is not just influenced by sponsors such as national publishing organizations or civil publishers on translation activities. This thesis has been trying to follow the point of view proposed by Anthony Pym, and focus the research perspective on the translator's own translation activities. By observing how Tan manipulates the translated text, and what kind of differences exist in different publishers, and how different restrictions lead to variations in the corresponding translation modes and activities, so as to get a glimpse of the translator's activity trajectory in his active era.

Through the observation of the thesis and previous researches, we can see that most of Tan's translation activities are not greatly restricted by civil publishers. He had a considerable degree of freedom in the production of paratexts, and had quite in-depth interactions with the historical materials that was translated by him. As a translator, the paratexts produced by Tan are no less than the text other than the translated original text. And the texts solely produced by the translator, would more or less affect the judgment of readers who receive text messages when reading. The paratexts produced by the translator is an “accessory” to the original text. I here generally refer to the footnotes, annotations, and articles such as character introductions written by the translator. Most of them are in the nature of “corrections” to objective facts, or supplementary explanations of the original text. The supplementary explanations mentioned above, can be interpreted as the translator's inferences based on the content of the historical materials after fully comprehending the historical materials. It can even be said to be a written, researched “history”, based on the historical materials. In other words, after the observation of the examples chosen in the previous chapters, I tried to define Tan as a “historian” who, to some extent escaped the role of translator.

What role should a translator play when he/she render a historically abundant and culturally complicated text? I agree with Richard Rong-bin Chen (陳榮彬), who discusses this question in an article about the translation of Le Gendre's and Pickering's works. In that article ("On Charles Le Gendre and William Pickering: Interpreting Two 19th-Century Texts on Formosa From the Perspective of Thick Translation"), like Chen Chih-hong, Richard Chen draws heavily on the theories of Kwame Anthony Appiah and Theo Hermans, whose contention in "Cross-Cultural Translation Studies as Thick Translation" should never be underestimate: with paratexts, the translator not only renders original text into a state of polyphonic performance, but also acquires some extent of subjectivity.⁸⁸

Richard Chen also quoted from Thomas H. C. Lee (李弘祺), a Taiwanese historian who had taught overseas for decades, when describing the role that the translator should play in the process of translating historical writing:

Under what circumstances should annotations be necessary? How much length should annotations have? What are the functions of annotation? H. C. Lee discusses multiple aspects of historical writing. Historical writings are at the same time works of intellectual history, social sciences, and even literature, so many different factors should be taken into account. At the end of his article ["Historical Writing: Western History"⁸⁹], Lee propose a very important observation: if necessary, a responsible translator should therefore be willing to provide occasional annotations or introductory essays, so he/she is expected to be more than just a translator. He also

⁸⁸ Hermans, T. (2003). Cross-cultural translation studies as thick translation. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 66(3), 386-387.

⁸⁹ Lee, H. C.-T. (1995). Historical writing: Western history. In D. Pollard & S. W. Chan (Eds.), *An encyclopaedia of translation: Chinese-English, English-Chinese* (pp. 361-372). The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press.

has to be a historian. This unintentionally corresponds with Appiah's translation approach: "thick translation" tends to be "academic translation." (my translation)⁹⁰

[什麼情況下該做譯註？譯註文字該多該少？譯註有哪些功能？李弘祺則是討論了歷史書寫的多個面向，因為歷史書寫同時是思想史、社會科學著作甚至是文學作品，所以考量的因素可能很不相同，他甚至在文末結論提出一個非常重要的觀察：「負責任的譯者應該有意願為譯本撰寫譯註（若有必要）或導讀，而且我們的期待是，歷史譯者應該不只是譯者，也必須是個史家。」這可以說與阿皮亞的主張不謀而合：他心目中的「厚實翻譯」應該是一種趨向於「學術翻譯」的策略。]

I personally think that Tan's role is highly consistent with what Lee had described. In terms of processing historical data, Tan uses a large number of annotations to make corrections and was trying to create certain "conversations" with the readers, and the paratexts he used, was trying to make his own partial interpretation of the historical materials. However, the above-mentioned practices would be facing different restrictions among different sponsorship. At this time, Tan's status as a "historian" will be more or less restricted or even eliminated, such as the translation of *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present*, due to the nature of the cooperation with National Museum of Taiwan History and SMC Publishing, Tan had to restrain himself a little on the paratexts that he can control. By placing the translation footnotes and annotations at the end of the chapter, the reader's perspective can only focus on the original text produced by James Wheeler Davidson. From Tan's preface to *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present*, as well as what I have known from my personal

⁹⁰ Chen, R.-B. (2024). Lun Lixiande yu Biqilin—Liang ge shiji shiji fuermosha wenben de "houshi fanyi" quanshi [On Charles Le Gendre and William Pickering: Interpreting two 19th-century texts on Formosa from the perspective of thick translation]. *Taiwan Wenxue Yanjiu Xuebao* (Taiwan Literary Studies Journal), (38), 139-174.

interview with Wei De-wen, we're able to get some hints that Tan's freedom of cooperation with public agencies, may be much smaller than that with civil publishers. In fact, the above statement can be roughly understood just from the comparison of the forms presented in those texts. However, in order to explore its exact cause, I was fortunate enough to have an interview with Mr. Wei De-wen, and after that I have learned the interactive relationship between the translator and the sponsor that was recorded in the written text itself. Through the records obtained from interviews, we can further understand the specific influencing factors behind the text results produced by translation activities.

5.2 Research Limitations

In terms of limitations, the goals that the thesis attempted to achieve but failed to achieve can be listed as what follows. This thesis fails to seek a way to track the actual sales of such translated historical materials, and then use such data to analyze reader acceptance, reasons for reprinting of publications, and the impact of the content conveyed on society, etc. This thesis uses the citation of historical materials in the master's theses and attempts to use the historical materials translated by Tan as an example to illustrate whether the use of historical materials in the research field of Taiwanese history will be affected by the interpretation of the translation.

However, in fact, because the language of studying historical materials is the common language in today's academic world: English, there is actually almost no research which tends to have dialogues on Chinese translations of historical materials. Most researchers in this field can directly study the original English texts, and they also believe that directly reading the original historical materials is the preferred method to have proper dialogue with historical materials itself, and to complete the research without relying on translations of historical materials when conducting historical research. This is a question of historical

academic methodology. Therefore, regarding the records left behind by the Westerners in the 19th century Taiwan, after writing this thesis, I personally think that if we want to explore the “influence” of historical materials’ translation activities, we may need to observe more in-depth among civilian readers, and this will be the aspect that is also an area that has not yet been touched upon by previous studies. Due to limitations of my personal ability, studies on a single translator may have translations works and the paratexts within that cannot be fully included in the thesis.

For the curiosity of the social interaction of Tan, I’ve received the contact information of Tan’s widow during my interview with Wei De-wen. I’ve tried to call to ask if there was any opportunity for further interviews with her. However, Tan’s widow refused to have any conversation with me about Tan, mentioning that all I ever wanted to understand, should be all inside the related texts that Tan had produce during his career. Thus, I’ve missed the opportunity to learn more about Tan’s personal life. Future researchers who would like to continue to conduct translator-based research on Taiwan translation history should strongly consider having personal interviews with the community related to the translator. This should be able to enrich lots of translators’ activities that failed to have left written records.

5.3 Suggestions for Future Research

From the perspective of historical research, we may need to focus more on the translation activities of foreign (non-English) historical materials and their translators, and explore the social background context in which these translation activities occur. I think if this research direction is feasible, it might be a good opportunity for future studies, in the field of both historiography and translation studies. Moreover, if the same group of translators continues to work in similar fields, or re-translates previously translated historical materials, then cross-comparison research will be more feasible.

Trying to explore the background, reasons and effects of translation activities from the social development context behind historical materials' translation activities should be a sustainable research direction, especially in the context of the “patchwork” national identity proposed by Masahiro Wakabayashi in Taiwanese society. Under this circumstance, different case studies of translation activities can be produced, and to be sorted by social groups with different ideologies. The theoretical situation of above could achieve the integrity of the entire historical translation and its translation history.

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