

Preface

On June 2, 2008, Mrs. Stella Yu-Yeh Wu Cheng（鄭吳玉葉女士）lost her battle with a rare form of cancer, ending a life-long mourning of her husband and my father Dr Cheng Tze-Chang（鄭子昌醫師）.



Wedding photo of my parents, taken on February 20, 1942 at Tamsui Jinja.

In a brown manila envelope left by my mother marked “open during my dying moment” , we found a small notebook recording the date of the wedding and birthdates of my parents, photos of beautiful sceneries of her beloved hometown Tamsui (淡水) , and unexpectedly, a curriculum vitae detailing her entire nursing career. Taken together, these documents have defined her whole life.

After the funeral service at Greater Chinese Bible Church in Lexington, MA, mother was buried at the Wildwood Cemetery in Winchester, MA, where she had purchased a burial plot long ago. On it, she had installed a headstone inscribed with my father’s name, his birthday (September 8, 1914) , and January 12, 1945, the day of his death onboard Shinsei Maru (神靖丸) .

Wars all started for a certain reason, whether it was just or otherwise and those who were drafted to serve always suffered the consequences. They were often severely wounded, either physically or mentally, and their families suffered as well. And for families of the war-dead, mourning is forever, for there is really no such thing as closure.

This book is authored by my mother silently via her private memoir and myself. I, as the surviving son attempting to reconstruct the whole Shinsei



Maru story, to recount the historical background of Japanese colonization of Taiwan where a whole generation of Taiwanese was transformed to Imperial subjects willing to die for the Emperor, to recall a sliver of peaceful life in Tamsui rudely disrupted by the call of duty, the shipping out of my father to the battlefield, the American aerial attacks on Shinsei Maru, the discovery of the sunken ship, and the selective re-burial of the remains. And in the ensuing years, my mother's search for hope from returning Taiwanese veterans, ultimately found my father enshrined in the National Shrine Yasukuni Jinja (靖國神社) in Tokyo. A sentence in her memoir has inspired a sculpture, "Mother holding a baby", which now sits at the Tamsui World Peace Park.

The arrival of the internet age has also enabled connections with surviving Shinsei Maru families. In 2008, Chen Chen-chi (陳真智) and Hong Bi-ho (洪美和) both left heart-felt comments in my Shinsei Maru Blog that ultimately led to the construction of Wu Feng Min-Sheng Story House (霧峰民生故事館), in perpetual memory of our deceased fathers and their fellow physicians, all forever lost with Shinsei Maru.

Hong-Ming Cheng 鄭宏銘

November 7, 2020

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Chapter 1. Early Childhood



My mother and aunt (wearing a hat) in front of Long Shan Temple, photographed in the 1920s. Boys wore traditional clothing and student's cap.

There are huge gaps in my early memory. Aside from remnants of Momotarō (桃太郎) and Grand Tiger Auntie (虎姑婆), and snippets of Early Spring

Song (早春賦), nothing much is registered before age 2-3 years. In other words, I have no memory of the sight and sound of my father at all.

What had etched into my memory was a ceremony in which my father's spirit was recalled and sent to heaven to join our ancestors. This funerary ceremony known as Claim of Merits (做功德) was conducted in front of Long Shan Temple (龍山寺) in Tamsui. And one of my uncles was suddenly "possessed" by some supernatural force, holding a banner and with it, ran across the courtyard in a daze before collapsing. Presumably that was a sign of my father's wandering spirit had finally come home. There were also two other steps in the ceremony, the first was the reading of a document detailing the origin of the Cheng Family, reporting to my father's

ancestors whose permission for my father to join them, a meritorious descendant was now requested. The approval in the form of bua-bue (擲茭) was followed by the burning of a giant paper model house equipped with all the amenities, even a large black limousine. This was an ancient practice of preparing offerings for the deceased to enjoy in the after-life.

Missing from my memory, but my mother had recorded it in her memoir, was that the model automobile became my favorite toy and I was heart-broken



upon learning that it was to be immolated. She also remembered that, I had shown off my funeral garbs to neighborhood kids exclaiming that “I have this but you don’t!” - silly little words that had brought the adults to tears.

From that point on, I became more aware of my surroundings. Growing up, taken care of by my maternal grandparents because my mother had resumed her nursing career in Taipei, and living with 4 uncles, two of them each with a big family, I was never lonely. I was always the first to be called to dinner. The head of household nameplate above the front entrance to our house was in my name. And visits to extended families during religious festivals and Taiwanese birthday celebrations of major deities, the choice piece of meat at banquets, the chicken leg, was always mine to enjoy.

The unspoken love, but never pity, marked my carefree childhood in Tamsui. Of course, it was not perfect. There was no celebration of Father’s Day for me, nor was there sweeping of my father’s tomb. And yet, our house had reminders of the immediate past everywhere, such as a doctor’s examination room and a pharmacy, patients’ quarters, a huge congratulatory plaque on clinic opening, and the occasional country-side patients looking for care but were disa

ppointed that Dr Cheng was gone. Then my grandm
other being the keeper of my father's skin-care form
ula continued to distribute this pinkish ointment in
tiny round tin boxes to whomever sought it.

From old photos, mother's memoir, and my elde
st cousin's recollection, it is still possible to paint a
more complete picture from my infancy up to when
my father went to the war.



Dr and Mrs Cheng with their month-old son in front of their
private hospital and home, Dec 7, 1943.



The first ever family photo was taken according to Taiwanese custom, at when I was exactly one-month-old (滿月). In the background was my father's Prosperous Asia Hospital (興亞醫院), a title that originated from the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Circle (大東亞共榮圈) of the



Japanese Empire's sphere of expansion at the time. And the glass panes of the doors were pasted with horizontal paper strips under government orders, also a sign of the time to prevent flying glass shards from injuring people if a bomb were to explode nearby. It was the image of a couple with happiness overshadowed by the threat of war, albeit still being fought far away in the Eastern Pacific. News of the Pearl Harbor attack had already spread like wild fire, little did anybody know at the time, however, that the real fire would soon reach our tiny island on the other side of the Pacific Ocean.

The above was me smiling in a baby's stroller wearing a sailor's beret. The cap was a generous gift from my eldest cousin BiKa as it was purchased with

money saved from her own limited pocket allowance.

This toddler photo was taken in the open courtyard between the front and back buildings of our house. The back building opened to a small side-street, the right side further down was Tamsui Presbyterian Church where I attended its kindergarten, and nearer to our house was HoBe Mackay Clinic where I was a reluctant Peh-ōe-jī (白話字) pupil in the second grade who would rather go fishing in Tamsui River.



My mother and grandmother in front of our house with my head of household name plate displayed on top.



So why did this peaceful life not continue? How did Dr Cheng Tze-Chang, a Han-Taiwanese, end up being drafted to serve in the Imperial Japanese Navy? Something earth-shattering had happened to Taiwan in general and Tamsui in particular?

Chapter 2.

The Colonization of Taiwan

A review of the history is in order, then. The short version is that Taiwan and Pescadores were ceded by Royal Qing Court to Imperial Japan when China lost the First Sino-Japanese war in 1895.

The reaction of the Taiwanese to this abandonment was one of disbelief, sadness, and anger, and resistance to the Japanese takeover was quickly organized, complete with declaration of independence to void the Shimonoseki treaty. Unfortunately, no other nations came to rescue, and Royal Qing Court decided not to provide any support to its now former subjects. After bloody putdowns by the Japanese military, people had finally resigned to accepting the colonial rule. This part of history therefore really should start with how Japan governed Taiwan in the ensuing years that ultimately Japonified most of the Taiwanese, with their participation in the Pacific War as the final outcome.

In 1898, Kodama Gentaro (兒玉源太郎1852-1906) assumed the post of the 4th Colonial Governor General of Taiwan. He invited Goto Shinpei (後藤新平 1857-1929) to be the Chief Civil Administrator and jo



intly, they ruled Taiwan for 8 years. Although in reality, Goto was the true governor in residence and Kodama, the governor in absentia, since the latter was often too busy working elsewhere in the Japan Empire with no time to spare for Taiwan.

Goto's governance of Taiwan had both short- and long-term components. In the short term, a ruthless iron-fist rule was applied. In order to squash the resistance that continued since 1895, 1,023 rebels, called “bandits”, were executed in the year 1899 alone. By 1905, a total of 32,000 men were punished or killed. For long-range planning, Goto mobilized resources and manpower and conducted an extensive study of the old habit/custom of the Taiwanese. And from which a number of conclusions were drawn and strategies developed:

(1) The Biological Principle (生物學の原則) for the governance of Taiwan:

Goto was initially trained as a physician who had also done research in Germany (in 1890) and the results had earned him an MD degree in Japan. The utilization of the scientific method in his other duty as an administrator was therefore a matter of course. This biological principle was essentially to leave thi

ngs as they were. Goto pointed out that it was not possible, for example, to change the eye position of a carp to that of a flounder "ヒラメの目をタイの目にすることは出来ない". To put this in practice, Goto advocated that any effective administering must adapt to, not to alter local environments, since people were the product of social customs and systems and were set in their ways.

(2) The 3 weaknesses of Taiwanese:

So what kind of Taiwanese did the society produce? People with 3 traits of weaknesses: (1) fear of death, (2) greed, and (3) vanity. These were actually universal human frailties, not necessarily specific to the Taiwanese (not to all Taiwanese anyway, more below). Regardless, since each one could be easily dealt with in a specific manner, hence the formulation of Goto's Three Policies for Governing Taiwan (治台三策).

A search of the original documents proves unproductive, thus the exact wording of the 3 traits remains unclear. The frequently cited version in Chinese appeared on page 14, Vol 145 of 台灣民報 published on Feb 20, 1927, in an article written by 菊仙 (real name: 黃旺成, 1888-1978):



國的領土而使成了製造罪惡的淵源，雖然是侵略中國，剝削中國民衆的大本營了！

我們試看這種特有的現象，在世界上勿論那一個國家，都找不出來！我們或能信任其繼續存在麼？因此我們覺得這次從漢口慘殺事件發生，而變為收回租界的運動，很有注意的必要！我們要知道：這次案件，在表面上固然是中英領土的問題，事實上將來能影響為中國與其他各國之國際問題！如果中國真收回了英國租界，為先例，不能不收回其他各國在華的一切租界！我們絕不能放鬆了那一個國家！所以漢口事件，其性質之重大，決非往年其他案件之可比擬。關於將來對外的民衆運動，只有靠中國民衆的勢力，並具有甚大的團結力與政府合作，廢除數十年來的不平等條約，是容易而沒有問題！

後藤新平氏的

「治臺三策」

菊 仙

後藤新平氏在臺灣做民政長官

的時候，從臺灣人的性質上發見了三條的弱點，因為要利用這弱點，所以定了治臺的三策：

(一)臺灣人怕死——要用高壓的手段威嚇的。

(二)臺灣人愛錢——可以用小利誘惑的。

(三)臺灣人重面子——可以用虛名籠絡的。

歷代的總督雖然都沒有明白地聲明過治臺的政策，而暗地裡都是把後藤新平氏治臺三策，當做鉄板不易的金科玉律看的。試看歷代總督中最忠實地實行了後藤氏的第一策者，不消說是內田嘉吉氏。他在做民政長官的時代就實行一次，犧牲了哆吧啤無數的士，及至高升做了總督的時候，又要利用故智，借著「莫須有」的治警事件，拘禁了數十名熱血的志士。但是此時這條方策似乎有些不奏効的模子。這是因為臺灣人自歐戰以後，受着時代的潮流的影響，漸漸地覺醒起來，也會自強不肯屈服於強權之下了，所以若聽着無理的話頭，就要起了較大的反動出來的。

內田總督本來是要用着治警事

(14)

後藤新平氏在臺灣做民政長官的時候，從臺灣人的性質上發見了三條的弱點，因為要利用這弱點，所以定了治臺的三策：一、臺灣人怕死—要用高壓的手段威嚇的。

1. Fear of death—therefore the Taiwanese could be threatened with high-pressure tactics.

二、臺灣人愛錢—可以用小利誘惑的。

2. Greed or amorous love of money—Taiwanese could be bribed with small favors.

三、臺灣人重面子—可以用虛名籠絡的。

3. Overly vain or obsession with face-saving—Taiwanese could be plied with empty titles of renown.

The intent of this article was actually to refute the fear of death assertion citing as proof, the failed application of policy No 1 by Uchida Kakichi (内田嘉吉 1866-1933) . In Uchida's role as the Chief Civil Administrator (1910-15) under 5th Governor General Sakuma Samata (佐久間左馬太 1844-1915) , the use of deadly force had not deterred Taiwanese rebels at all. Of the many rebellions under his watch, the most notorious also the last of its kind, was the ChiaoBaNian Incident (噍吧哖事件 1915-16) of Tainan, in which the Taiwanese fought unsuccessfully for religious freedom and 1,413 men were later arrested and charged, with 866 sentenced to death (95 executed) and 453 to terms in prison. After the Diet (國會, Ko-Kai, Japanese Parliament) expressed grave concern over the excessive severity of the punishment, the death sentences were commuted to life in prison. Uchida served less than one year (1923-24) as the 9th Governor General and was unceremoniously removed.

That the Taiwanese did not come from the same mold was already known to Goto, however. To him, the Taiwanese could be separated into two camps, the well-to-do gentry (仕紳) upper-class and the rest, the common folks. Further, the three human frailties were applicable more to the educated gentry mi



nority, not to the vast number of often rebellious common people. Realizing that in what was really a Confucian society where the gentry class had always commanded respect from the commoners, Goto then went to work. By applying Policies 1-3 judiciously, he was able to gather a group of collaborators to negotiate with the rebels on behalf of the Japanese. This first attempt was merely a trial run. It would not be as successful as advertised since the alliance between the government and the gentry class had not yet taken root, and large revolts continued well into 1915, after Goto's term ended in 1906.

To probe deeper, Goto had also found that the origin of the facing-saving vanity was actually an extension of piety, a merit central to the centuries-old Confucianism.

This, however, seems a stretch. Perhaps the simplest interpretation is that when an authoritative figure (e.g., the Governor General) asked a Taiwanese of some prominence to perform a task, the latter would feel obligated to use all his connections and power to complete the mission, or risked losing face and worse, his social standing.

Nonetheless, on a more fundamental level, the Confucius teachings had long been exploited by the ruling class in China, and people were taught since childhood to be respectful of Heaven, Earth, emperors, parents, and teachers, in that order. And indeed throughout Chinese history, many had chosen to die before betraying their emperors and their heroic deeds popularized and honored as martyrs. This ultimate sacrifice was not incompatible with and might have spawned the Japanese Bushido. Goto decided that the early attempt of erasing Chinese culture, complete with the demolition of the Confucius Temple in Taipei (originally built in 1882) was a monumental mistake. Confucianism was therefore reinstated and propaganda-worthy cultural events such as honoring the elders and poem-reading gatherings were held, thereby earning the trust of the Taiwanese gentry. The long-term strategy envisioned by Goto essentially formed the fundamental principle of the governance of Taiwan, i.e., by using gentry class as the buffer between the government and the people, while not a discovery of major proportion, had proved quite successful. When the revolts finally stopped in 1916, Taiwan entered a peaceful period until almost the end of the colonial rule in 1945.



Led by the rich and famous propped up by the Japanese, Taipei Confucius Temple was re-built in 1925 much to the delight of the general public. And for the next 2 decades, a whole generation of Taiwanese was educated, beginning with the compulsory elementary schooling, to be loyal subjects of the Japanese emperor. In the end, however, the assimilation (皇民化 or Japanification) was never fully completed. It is still unclear if this process would ever become successful, for it had been terminated by the surrender of Japan at the end of the War. Although, in preparing for the war in 1942-45, the governance of Taiwan had shifted away from the Goto Confucianism approach to unadulterated Japanese militarism. This, compounded with the exposure to western democratic ideas and more important, a discontent simmering in the background - stemming from the subtle yet real racial differences between Taiwanese and Japanese, the overt superiority complex of the Japanese on all levels, and the forced abandonment of Taiwanese language and religion - had raised the awareness of the Taiwanese identity. Indeed, to many, to be assimilated into a second-class citizen is not really palatable.

So how did the Taiwanese get invited or more accurately dragged into the war? Officially how, that is.

Compulsory military service in Japan actually started during the Meiji Era, in 1873. This was the beginning of a modern army. The conscription was, however, selective - in part to preserve the old feudal samurai tradition. And there were loopholes, for example, the only son (could be an adopted one) of a widower was exempt and also the rich could pay to dodge the service. By early 1900s, the draft became universal, all Japanese nationals between 17-40 years of age must serve. Depending on the fitness, the conscripts were separated into three groups: active duty 1st class, the reserves (both 1st and 2nd classes), and the territorial reserves. It should be noted, however, that the military training of the Japanese in fact started early, from the third grade on, all through junior and senior high schools. In a way, entering the military service was merely an extension. Japanese people, both young and old, were all soldiers.

During the colonial rule, the Taiwanese (and the Koreans as well) not being Japanese nationals, were in fact not legally eligible to serve. When the second Sino-Japanese war broke out in 1937, a number of Taiwanese were hired to perform supporting noncombat duties. With the mounting losses in the South Pacific after Pearl Harbor, the Japanese military had to



open other sources of manpower. To get around the legality issue, a Special Volunteer Army System (陸軍特別志願兵制度) was enacted in Taiwan in 1942, followed by a similar one for the Navy (海軍志願兵制度) a year later.

Before the 1942-43 laws, Taiwanese youths especially the Aborigines, were not legally drafted to serve as military laborers (軍夫), most notably, the Tagasago Volunteer Army (高砂義勇軍). And to whitewash the ill-reputation of 軍夫 during the initial colonization period, often the well-educated men with most of them from middle-class families were now drafted. And to drive home the point, many prominent Taiwanese were also asked to serve as 軍夫. The song, the Honorable Military Laborer 誉れの軍夫 (1938), adapted from a popular Taiwanese ballad 雨夜花 (1934), became the anthem:

赤い襷に誉れの軍夫 うれし僕等は 日本の男

(Wearing red sashes as a honorable military laborer, we are the men of Japan)

君にささげた男の命 何で惜しかろ 御国の爲に

(I'll dedicate my life to the Emperor and unreservedly to the country)

進む敵陣ひらめく御旗 運べ弾丸 続けよ戦友よ

(Rushing into enemy lines waving the royal banner)

ers and transporting ammunition to my comrades)

寒い露営の 夜は更けわたり 夢に通うは 可愛い坊
や

(Lying on the cold camping ground in the middle of the night dreaming about my loved ones)

花と散るなら 桜の花よ 父は召されて 誉れの軍夫

(If a flower is to wilt, let it be the cherry blossom
- I call on my dear father, the honorable military laborer, to be so)

It is truly amazing as even now, some in Taiwan still confuse 軍夫 with 軍伕, the latter a Chinese term describing those kidnapped by the state to serve in the military, a very common practice of Republic of China (ROC) military. And from the confusion, the idea of Taiwanese kidnapped by the Japanese and forced to fight was born. But that was not what had happened.

After the draft law tailor-made for Taiwan was enacted, Taiwanese joined up enthusiastically, in great numbers to become formally as 軍人 and 軍屬. They were sent off to participate in the Pacific War; but not to Mainland China possibly because of a lingering suspicion on where the true loyalty of Taiwanese lied. Essentially, in less than 50 years, a whole generation of Taiwanese was transformed into loyal subjects of Imperial Japan. To sweeten the deal, governm



ent propaganda indicated an immediate reward for a Taiwanese soldier to enjoy full citizen rights, particularly war-time food rations.

However, near the end of the war, young men were more reluctant to join up and were often "persuaded" by their superiors or worse, coerced by the local police to enlist. By 1945, all Taiwanese men from high school up were drafted into the military anyway - to prepare for an all-out invasion by the US military. Luckily, the US attacked Okinawa instead, thus sparing Taiwan huge losses of lives.

Of the 207,083 Taiwanese volunteers/draftees who had served, 30,304 died from battles or diseases, including those sent to SE Asia and among them, Dr Tze-Chang Cheng.

In the end, however, they were all abandoned by Japan as in 1947, Japan revised its Household Registration Law (戶籍法) disowning non-native Japanese nationals, including Taiwanese. A few of this still feeling betrayed generation now in their 90s are still with us today.

Loyalty to the Emperor was fundamental to Confucius teaching, not a foreign concept to the Taiwanese at all; however, switching loyalty to Japanese Emperor of course must be nurtured during formative years.

ars. And compulsory elementary education, or brain washing, started soon after colonization that had reached a high point by 1940.

There were two reports prepared by the British Consul CH Archer then stationed in Tamsui, dated March 4, 1940 and June 17, 1941, respectively, commenting on the public education reform in Taiwan (see Robert L Jarman editor: Taiwan Political and Economic Reports 1861-1960, Vol 7: 1924-1941) . Quoted in part:

"The Japanese policy of assimilation demands as its ultimate aim that the Formosans shall not merely be loyal subjects of the Emperor, but that they should think, talk, dress and live in a manner indistinguishable from home-born Japanese. All Formosan students are expected to speak Japanese only, not merely in the classrooms, but in their private intercourse. By the use of such means it is hoped that Japanese will supplant Chinese as the language in daily use among the people; but obviously the aim cannot be achieved without universal compulsory education. This reform has been long delayed by financial stringency, and so recently as 1935 it was estimated that not more than 37 per cent of Formosan children went to school. The present figure (note: 1940) is unknown, but is still fall far short of the aim. Now, howev



er, at least the intention has been declared of introducing the compulsory system as follows:

- "Primary" schools (shogakko 小學校)
 - for Japanese children only
 - compulsion to be applied from the fiscal year 1941-42
 - period of attendance, 6 to 14 years of age.
- "Public" schools (kogakko 公學校)
 - for Formosans
 - compulsion to be applied from 1943
 - period of attendance, apparently from 6 to 12 years of age.

Children in the "savage" districts will not be included in the scheme. This, however, represents a very small leakage, since there are only some 150,000 aborigines in the island as against 5,400,000 Formosans of Chinese race. No doubt the details of the scheme may be mended later."

Kids in Tamsui belonged in the 37% that had attended elementary schools by 1935. There was one小學校 and two公學校, the latter for boys and girls, separately (known as淡水國小 and 文化國小 after 1945). They were taught by Japanese teachers. In 1941, all schools were superseded by the common title Koku

mingakko (i.e., school for nationals國民學校) and by 1943, locals were also among the ranks of the teachers and the students were no longer segregated.

Supplanting the mother tongue even in private conversation never took place - with non-Japanese-speaking parents, it was mission impossible. The 8-year education had already been implemented at least in Tamsui, since after advanced class (高等科, equivalent to junior high) in elementary schools, kids who qualified went on to senior high schools in either Tamsui or Taipei. The elite high schools in Taipei, the First High was attended by almost all Japanese and the Second High, by Taiwanese only. Many then received higher education in medical schools or universities in Taiwan or Japan, even in the Japan-controlled Manchuria, Korea, and southern China.

The British Consul had also noted in his 1941 report that :

"...With the initial hardship of being educated in an alien language, it is obvious that on a shorter educational course the Formosan child can never hope to succeed in open competition with the Japanese. In deed, his educational facilities are expressly designed to ensure that he shall not."



and

"...since the island schools are used as an overflow of Japanese youths from Japan who cannot secure entry into schools in their own country, it is more likely that such new facilities as can be provided will benefit Japanese children rather than Formosan."

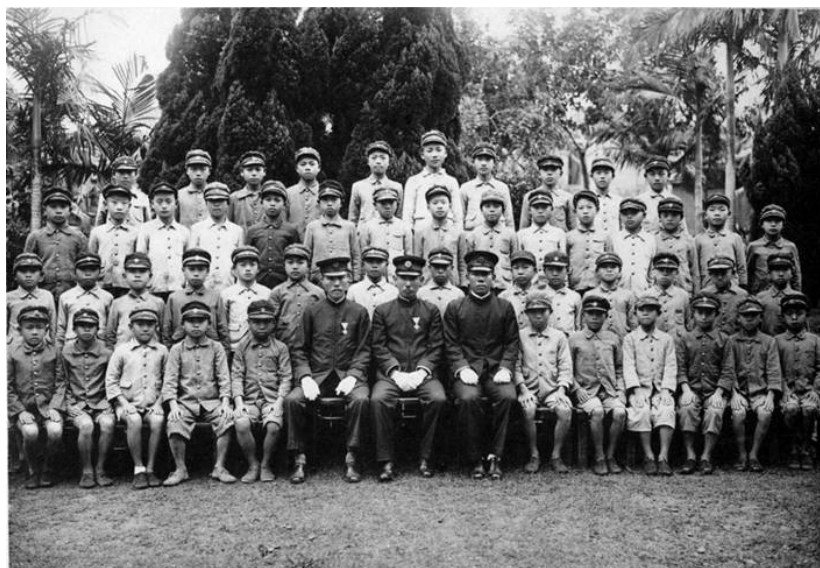
Again, the "shorter educational course" referred to the 6-year main student course (尋常班或本科部). While these observations might be factual, the Consul had not given Formosan children due credit for their ability to overcome any adversity, especially when the competition was with academic low-achievers from Japan.



Tamsui Public School during the Colonial Era.

Nonetheless, the indoctrination and preparation of Taiwanese children to become loyal Japanese subjects had begun in earnest. In fact, the very first Japanese language school in Taiwan had opened its doors on the now Gong-Ming Street (公明街) in Tamsui in September, 1895. It was named "國語講習所" which was renamed to Ho-be Public School (滬尾公學校) in 1902 and moved to the permanent site on中山路No 160. It has been renamed many times since: In 1910 to Tamsui Public School (淡水公學校), in 1941 to Tamsui East Elementary School (淡水東國民小學), in September, 1946 to Taipei County Tamsui Township Tamsui Elementary School (臺北縣淡水鎮淡水國民學校), in August, 1968 to Taipei County Tamsui Elementary School (臺北縣淡水國民小學), and finally to新北市淡水區淡水國民小學 on Christmas Day in 2010.





Class of 1930, Tamsui Public School. Many would later be drafted to serve in the IJN. Front row, 4th from left was one of my cousins, and 5th from left, my older aunt's husband.



(Above: Class of 1937/8 of 淡水女子公學校 Tamsui Girls' Public School, now 文化 Wen-Hua Elementary School in Tamsui. In the front center, Taiwanese teacher 蘇淑姬. Courtesy of Fung-yin and the Cheng Family.)

Chapter 3.

Tamsui: from Qing to Japanese Rule

My grandparents were gone long before I was born. I only know grandmother was a daughter of Zong-Liao Li Clan (忠寮李家) known for having produced two Wu Ju-Ren (武舉人- one who passed the advanced Imperial martial exam). And during the Japanese invasion of Taiwan, they had organized a 500-men militia to fight the Japanese. The effort was abandoned when the presumed leadership, the first and last President, Tang Jing-Song (唐景崧), of Taiwan Democratic Nation (台灣民主國) escaped to China on board of a German passenger ship Arthur, ironically through Tamsui Port.

These events are recorded in Tamsui Township History:

光緒二十一年（一八九五）

Guan-xu Year 21 (1895)

五月十四日（note: this is a lunar calendar date - June 6 in western calendar），台灣民主國總統唐景崧，得淡水滬尾稅務司英人馬士（H-C C Morse）幫助，乘德輪鴨打



(Arthur) 號逃至廈門。滬尾舉人李應辰 (1860-1922) 聯滬尾十八莊，壯丁五百人與各地義軍聯結，定於十四日合力打擊日軍，因唐景崧逃亡，計畫中止。

On the 14th Day of the Fifth Month, President Tang Jing-Song (1841-1903) of the short-lived Taiwan Democratic State (May 26 - June 6, 1895) , with the help of Tamsui Customs Chief - a Brit named H-C C Morse, got on the German ship Arthur and escaped to Amoy. A local gentleman Mr Li Ying-Chen (1860-1922) raised a 500-men militia from the 18 villages of Hobe (Tamsui) . And together with the militiamen from other areas, they were to attack the Japanese Army on this day. This plan was, however, called off because of Tang's desertion.

五月十六日，日軍少將川村景明 (Kawamura Kageaki - 1850-1926) 率兵入臺北城，命中西中佐 (Nakanishi) 率大隊西取淡水，當晚兵宿關渡。當日，李應辰滬尾義軍迎戰日軍一中隊於士林，激戰兩小時，敵軍不支而退，義軍也退向大屯山深處。

On the 16th, Lt Gen Kawamura Kageaki (1850-1926) led an army and entered the City of Taipei. He ordered Lt Col Nakanishi to take one battalion, go west, and invade Tamsui. This army camped in Guan-du for the night. On the same day, Li Ying-Chen's militia engaged one Japanese company in Shi-lin. After two hours of intense fighting, both sides retreated with Li's militia deep into TaTuan Mo

untain. (Note: Two months later, Li was wounded in a battle and had to evacuate from 鹿港Lu-Kang to Amoy together with his family.)

五月十七日，日中西中佐率部至滬尾。日軍大本營參謀步兵大佐福島安正（ Fukushima Yasumasa -1852-1919 ）率佐藤（ Sato ）憲兵大尉等六十人，通譯官十一人，乘八重山（ Yaeyama ）軍艦，由基隆至滬尾，入海關署，設淡水事務所。

On the 17th, Nakanishi's men entered Tamsui. In addition, Chief of Staff of Japanese Headquarters Col Fukushima Yasumasa （ 1852-1919 ）, together with Military Police Major Sato and 60 others, plus 11 Translator Officers arrived from Keelung on board of warship Yaeyama. They took over the Customs Office and set up a Tamsui （ Note: Japanese spelling of Tamsui ） Township Office.

五月十八日，日軍奪滬尾及基隆港稅務，並派兵偵察八里坌，派遣軍艦三艘，清掃淡水港口地雷。日軍設淡水電信通信所。日軍撤淡水事務所，改置淡水支廳，隸台北縣。

On the 18th, the Japanese took over the taxation affairs of Tamsui and Keelung harbors. Scouts were sent over to Bali. Three warships swept the mines of Tamsui Harbor. They had also established a tele-communications office, dissolved the township and changed it to the Tamsui Branch Office of the Taipei Prefecture.



After the loss of Keelung, Tamsui was the only remaining port accessible to the Qing soldiers in northern Taiwan. They managed to arrive by following either the coastal roads from Keelung by way of (金山) Gin-Shan, or the railroad tracks from Keelung to Taipei and then traveled along the northern shore of Tamsui River. By early June, 1895, about 5,000 men waited impatiently on the shipping docks in front of the (媽祖宮) MaZu Temple hoping to catch a boat ride back to China. At that time, there were supposedly still 300+ battalions (360 men in each battalion) of Qing soldiers on the island ready to fight. However, it is known that the Chinese officials often inflated the number of enlistees and pocketed the pay of the ghost soldiers. So the true strength remains unknown.

Most of the soldiers who ended up in Tamsui were from Canton previously brought over by Tang Jing-Song to fortify the defense of Taiwan. They owed no loyalty to the people of Taiwan and in fact ran away en masse at the first sight of the Japanese Forces. In retreat, they wreaked havoc wherever they went. The looting and killing in Taipei had prompted the merchants, both Taiwanese and European, to seek Japanese intervention. (Needless to say, these merchants are now branded as traitors of China.) On June 7, the Ja

panese cavalry trotted into Taipei unmolested. In so doing, they had also underestimated the resolve and the fighting capabilities of Taiwanese resistance south of Taipei and later paid for this oversight dearly.

According to "淡水新政記", a 14-day diary written either by Fukushima Yasumasa himself or possibly recorded by his subordinates - several editions now exist) :

June 9: Sent back 1,000+ Qing soldiers whose luggage was inspected by the military police and then allowed to board a British ship which then sailed to China. A hectic day with no time for meals. From early afternoon to dusk, representatives from several villages came to request protection from pillaging by the Qing soldiers.

June 10: Announced the exchange rate of Japanese and Qing currencies. Hired 36 locals to do a census survey and purchase foodstuff plus cleaning and cooking. There was a report of a 14-men gang robbing 新莊Shin-Juang. Dispatched one military police with 11 soldiers to catch these bandits who ran off upon learning the impending confrontation.

June 12: Reported to the headquarters that 1,700



Qing soldiers were sent back to China yesterday. Decided to distribute rice to the local poor.

June 14: Appointed locals as policemen to maintain law and order. The eligibility included:

滬尾街有家屋者 (owns a house in Tamsui)

年齡20-30歲 (is 20-30 years old)

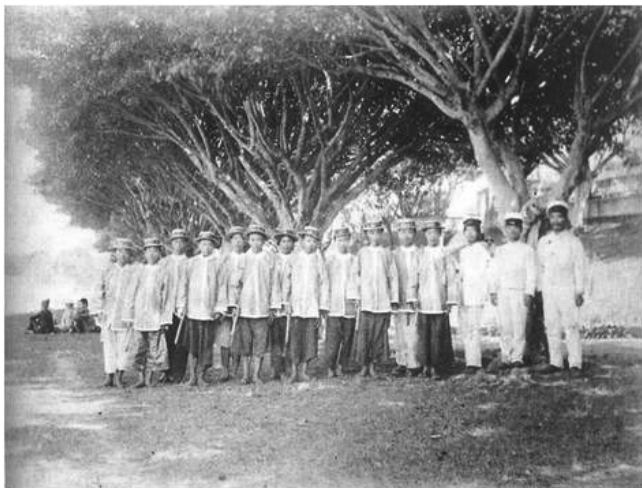
娶妻成家者 (has a wife and family)

不抽鴉片者 (is not an opium addict)

能取得二人具保者 (can obtain guarantees from two others)

June 15: Announced the hygiene law. There was a one-day delay for a British ship to take on some Qing soldiers who were therefore given a one-day's ration. They were quite uncouth leaving filth and garbage scattering on the docks, had to force them to clean up at gun point. Census showed 1,019 families residing in Tamsui.

June 16: The patrol found one dead Qing soldier, had to force 5 surprisingly unsympathetic others to bury their comrade. Distributed 308 boarding passes. In the afternoon, sent back 350 Qing soldiers. Paid 15 local laborers and 10 carpenters.



The first policemen of Tamsui (photo from 1895)

June 19: To speed up the repatriation process, negotiated with 3 Chinese ships, one could take 60 to (温州) Wen-Zhou, and the other two, 136 and 62, respectively. Finally, the repatriation was finished. Caught two escapees, a 44 year old tailor from (江西) Jian-Xi and a 20-year old peasant.

The Japanese military house-keeping log indicated that in 10 days, around 3,300 Qing soldiers were repatriated. It was probably close to this number, not 5,000, who had arrived in Tamsui. Fukushima also had written to the Chinese Government in Canton requesting humane treatment of these returning poor souls.



My mother side family, the Wu Clan arriving in Taiwan and settling in Tamsui in about 1740, would have witnessed the upheaval and change of hand during this period.

The Wu family consisted of prominent land owners and businessmen, operating under the banner of Wu-He Ji (吳鶴記). A stone tablet can be seen in a temple near Yin-Zhuang Road (below). The land nearby originally belonged to the Aborigines, later taken over by the Han people complete with deeds. In 1867, merchants contributed funds to build this earth-god temple. On the tablet the names of donor corporations, locally from Tamsui and other prominent families from Taipei, were recorded...

"吳鶴記 Wu He Ji" was mentioned as one of the donors and three of the Wu family members appeared on the tablet (lower right):

The donation was made in 佛銀, Spanish silver dollars, common currency at that time (one



同治六年 (1867) (Photo credit: 曾令毅, Tamkang University)

佛銀= 0.67兩紋銀silver tael x 8880 = NT\$5949.60) .

A real estate transaction contract from 1879 (GuanXu Year 5) , mentioned 吳鶴記, a cropped section here:

Indeed, the middle Qing era has witnessed the development of Tamsui, the interaction between the Han and the Aborigines, and the mercantile activities before Tamsui became a major sea port. And the Wu Family had played an integral role.

Others would have borne witnesses to the changing Tamsui. Among them was one George Leslie Mackay (1844-1901) , a Canadian missionary and life-long resident of Tamsui.

On March 9, 1872, Dr Mackay arrived in Tamsui via a passenger ship, the Sea Dragon, and debarked at 3PM. His first residence arranged by John Dodd, now 24 Mackay Street, was described in Effective workers in needy fields, by WF McDowell et al, Stud

定價銀連磧地銀在內時值佛銀
等件交付吳鶴記查收歸管或
後子孫不敢藉言找贖異言等弊

1879年（光緒五年）
Wu Family collection



ent volunteer movement for foreign missions, NY, 1902) :

"The only available house (that) had been built for a stable into the side of a hill with the (Tamsui) river in front, and for this \$15 a month was charged. Two pine boxes with their contents constituted his entire outfit. A chair and bed were loaned by the British Consul, and a pewter lamp was presented by the friendly Chinese. The house was whitewashed, and the walls were decorated with newspapers. Then he settled down to work with the consciousness that, as recorded in his diary, he had been led thither by the Master as directly as if his boxes had been checked for Tamsui."

That was the beginning of Mackay's three decades of missionary work in Taiwan (1871–1901) . By the time of his passing, he established a community of more than 2,400 baptized communicants and more than sixty churches.

Mackay had also built a clinic in Tamsui, later expanded to a full-service hospital in Taipei, a school for girls, and a seminary "Oxford College" . He married a Taiwanese Chang Chung-Ming (Minnie Mackay) . Their two daughters both married Taiwanese, and the only son George William Mackay continued to be

active who later built the Tamsui Presbyterian Church and Tamkang High School.

Mackay, in his lifetime in Taiwan, had experienced first-hand the battle fought in Tamsui and Keelung of the Sino-French War, even had to deal with the French and later the Qing Imperial Commissioner Liu Ming-Chuan.

"The invasion of Formosa by the French was the occasion of much suffering and loss to the mission. Chinese hatred of all foreigners immediately asserted itself, and the missionary and his converts were in the public mind associated with the French invaders."

Mackay was even forced to evacuate to Hong Kong with his family. After the French blockade of Taiwan was lifted in April, 1885, Mackay returned from Hong Kong and went on an inspection tour of the churches that he had built in the eastern part of Taiwan. And the unexpected encounter with the French in Keelung:

"There were 8,000 French soldiers at Kelung (sic) , and they were harassed by twice as many Chinese troops who were drilled by German officers. The French mistaking him for a German spy, he and his (two) companions narrowly escaped being shot. The soldiers blindfolded them, led them throu



gh the lines and sent them on board a man-of-war. As soon as he was identified, courteous treatment was extended, and the next morning they were set at liberty."

Many churches were destroyed and many converts slain. Mackay later filed a claim for the property losses and received a compensation of 10,000 Mexican silver dollars from Governor Liu Ming Ch'uan. With the sum, he built three magnificent stone churches, respectively, in 艋舺, 新店, and 錫口 (now 松山) .

Then came the Japanese. And two years after the colonization of Taiwan began, in December 1897, Mackay was asked by the Governor General's Office to render his opinion on the administration of Taiwan, especially on what needed to be improved.

Mackay, based on his personal observation and input from others, had compiled and submitted a report with a list of 10 major deficiencies. He believed that even though all were seemingly minor occurrences, aggregated in whole could undermine the Taiwanese's trust in the new government.

The original was written in Japanese, below is a translation:

1. When detained (by the police) , no distinction

is made between lawful people and criminal thugs. Even if no evidence of violating Japanese law, they are all physically struck and hurt anyway. Because of this treatment, many good people have left Taiwan for good.

2. After arrest and beaten, they are jailed without any due process, forbidden to have visitors, not even from their families. They do not know when they will be released. And many have died in prison.

3. Since coal-mining is mostly banned, this has forced many miners into becoming a rebel (into a life of crime) .

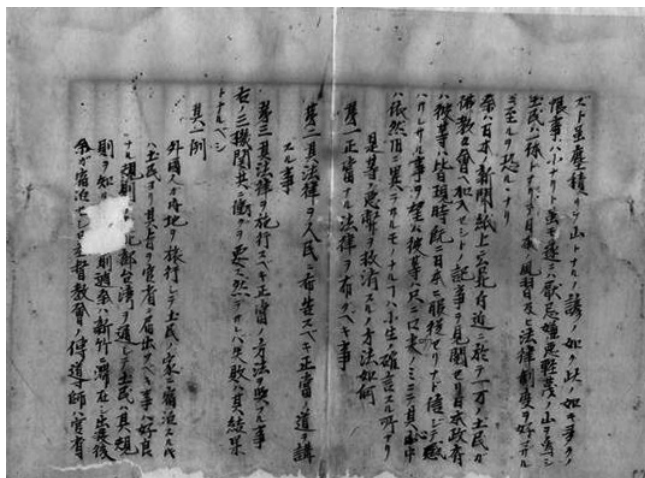
4. Japanese government employs scoundrels to be criminal investigators, lawful people feel deep unease fearing false accusations.

5. Japanese government employs old-time Qing officials and their servants with the same practice of accepting bribes.

6. Drunken Japanese coolies, especially on Sundays and in the evenings would barge into common folks' homes and assault women, beat up adults and children.



ldren alike with no shame. And other Japanese often commit the same as well.



A page of Mackay's report to the Governor General's office.
Source: 國史館臺灣文獻館

7. Japanese police officers are also known to beat people to extort bribes.

8. The Hua Hui gambling was already banned by the Qing, ignored by Japanese government and is becoming popular again. Many folks burdened by enormous gambling debt, have become rebels (criminals), and their families suffer great hardship.

9. In the middle of the night, rebels would enter farmers' houses and demand food or they die if refu

sed. Later when Japanese forces passed through the area, these utterly unfortunate farmers were executed because their providing food was the act of rebels. I have heard that in the hatred of Japanese military, many have become rebels to exact revenge.

10. With a palanquin carrying Taiwanese or foreigner, the carrier-laborers when encountering empty-handed loitering Japanese laborers on the road would yield the right of way as much as possible, Japanese laborers often exhibit expression of arrogance and blocked the road. This behavior invites contempt of the onlookers. On the other hand, a well-behaving polite Japanese yielding the right of way is often praised for his civility for caring about the hard-working palanquin carriers.

In his report, Mackay also mentioned that from reading Japanese newspaper, that near Taipei, there were 10,000 Taiwanese who had joined the Japanese Buddhist Society. The Japanese Government regarded this a sign of Taiwanese submission; although in Mackay's opinion, this was simply submission in name only, the Taiwanese hearts still belonged in the past.



Mackay had also suggested that announcement of new laws to the public must be through proper channels and the enactment must be done with proper administration. He cited an example, when foreigners travelled in Taiwan and stayed in a Taiwanese's residence, the travel must be filed as a new law required. When he visited a church in Hsinchu, the missionary was detained for several hours, since he was totally ignorant of the law. He therefore advocated that new laws must be announced in Chinese language, and as during the Qing era, the announcement could also be delivered to Christian missionaries who would then inform the public.

Mackay also suggested that in order to see in a peaceful time, common people must be able to defend themselves against bandits and criminals,

Items 6 and 10 above referred to military laborers. Their abhorrent behavior was also noted by James Davidson, an American journalist embedded with the Japanese invading force (more below). And the lack of law announcement in Chinese language, most likely intentional, was to play an pivotal role in the greatest land grab in Taiwan history. Because of the lack in official announcement in Chinese with re

gard to land taxation based on new land surveys and the new land owner right law, the Taiwanese were caught off-guard and invariably too late to reclaim the now confiscated and nationalized land.

Japanese transport coolies who accompanied the troops to the front line as Military Laborers (軍夫) were supposedly non-combatants who simply provided the much needed logistical support. This was generally true; although they did volunteer to fight, e.g., in the previous sacking of大連Port Arthur in Nov, 1894.

In fact, even though it was never mentioned in the history books, Japanese軍夫did commit violent acts against the Taiwanese during the Japanese invasion of Taiwan in 1895.

James Wheeler Davidson (1872-1933) had hinted at such in his 1903 book "The Island of Formosa, Past and Present"; London and New York: Macmillan & co.; Yokohama (etc.) Kelly & Walsh, Id.

On pages 341-2, he wrote:

...It was not considered politic to depend entirely upon Chinese, although they had so far been found satis



factory; so Japanese coolies were brought into the island in numbers sufficient to completely equip the expedition. Japanese coolies accompanied the Imperial Body Guards (i.e., the 近衛師團) when they first arrived in the island, and whether they were then more carefully selected or were under better control I do not know; at all events they made no trouble. Also the soldiers of the guards seemed to be polite and gentlemanly, quiet, and good humored, and many well educated young fellows were among the privates. I was with them on and off for three months, and the conduct of officers and privates was such that I became enthusiastic over their general good qualities. On my return from the south, I found a decided change for the worse. Scenes of violence, approaching to ruffianism, took place in the streets. First, there appeared to be a deplorable change in the character of the soldiers. One saw among the new arrivals many who were rough, uncouth, insolent, and disagreeable. They, of course, formed but a small part of the whole; yet they were sufficient in number to lower the reputation of the service to which they belonged. Chinese are adepts in acts of foolishness, and often give cause for much irritability; yet there was but little forbearance shown them on the part of some of the soldiers. My experience with the Japanese troops in the field leads me distinctly to disbelieve the tales of wholesale slaughter reported by the Chinese, whi

ch occasionally reached the columns of foreign journals. The troops were then marching in large numbers under the control of their officers, who were educated and enlightened men. There is no doubt that occasional excesses occurred; for soldiers, whatever be their nationality, are far from immaculate; but the injury to Japanese reputation thus caused was small compared with that worked by the coolies, individual soldiers, and the lower class Japanese, in the thousand little acts of harshness and abuse towards the Chinese during the period of occupation. Much as I respect the Japanese people in general, I must admit that the coolie class, as I encountered them on the streets, in public places, etc., were inferior to the Chinese coolie of Formosa in general bearing, in cheerfulness, and in politeness to strangers. I say "of Formosa;" for I do not wish to convey the idea that the coolie, as seen in this island, was a representative of the large mass of laboring men in Japan; in fact, so striking was the difference that two English gentlemen, both of long experience with the Japanese of all classes, informed me that they could not have believed that there was material in Japan from which to draw such a class, had they not witnessed their ill-mannered conduct with their own eyes. The reader should also understand that the Chinese in Formosa have of late been very friendly to foreigners and are more liberal-minded than the mainland Chinese; in fact



they show none of the hostility to strangers common in some districts of China. Therefore, it would not do to extend this comparison either to Japan or to China. On the part of the military administration, whose whole attention was directed towards the completion of the occupation of the island, but little attempt was made to curb the high spirits of the Japanese coolies. It is true that the poor fellows spent a good deal of their time in the various hospitals, and large numbers found a grave in the island, and we should perhaps take into consideration the arduous labor in which they were engaged in a country not their own; with but scanty food; often forced to sleep in the open fields, and exposed to an intense heat to which they were not accustomed. Again the Chinese often thought they were ill-treated when they were not. Military rule is in many ways unpleasant, but is the same in that respect all over the world. If the necessity should again arise for the Japanese coolies to be made use of in military operations, some provision should be made to place them under more strict control than they were under in the expedition in question. One can scarcely blame the better class of Japanese for not having come to the island during the early days of the occupation. Quarters were few and miserable, and disease was attacking large numbers. During the latter part of August, the three government hospitals in the north of Taipeh, Kelung, and Teckcham

(note: this was 竹塹, the present-day Hsin-chu) received nearly 2,000 patients, and deaths were occurring at an average rate of 18 per day...

For a somewhat pro-Japanese westerner, Davidson did tell us the ominous change in the quality of some soldiers and, more important, the "thousand little acts of harshness and abuse towards the Chinese (i.e., the Taiwanese) " perpetrated by the lowly coolies. To the Taiwanese, there was no distinction between Japanese coolies and soldiers; they were all ruffians or worse. Davidson himself probably was unable to differentiate these unruly bunch, be they coolies, individual soldiers, or lower-class Japanese. And apparently the high command did not attempt to reign them in, either. These criminal acts no doubt had further fueled the Taiwanese resistance when the Japanese marched and attacked south. Despite Davidson's initial disbelief, many villages in southern Taiwan even now still bear silent witnesses to the atrocities committed against their residents. In all, about 14,000 Chinese soldiers and 100,000 Taiwanese civilians perished in the 10-month 乙未 war.

In the end, Japanese coolies did not fare so well



in the Taiwan campaign. They died in the hundreds from diseases (possibly cholera and the mosquito-borne malaria) and severe exposure. Their deaths were excluded from military casualty records and were apparently forgotten.

Chapter 4.

Medical Education in Taiwan during the Colonial Era

During the Colonial Era, higher education available to the Taiwanese was deliberately limited by the government to only a few subjects, such as medicine and agriculture.

On May 29, 1895, Japan invaded Taiwan. And 3 weeks later on June 20, the first military field hospital (台灣病院) Taiwan Hospital, was established in a large residential house in DaDaoChen (大稻埕), Taipei, staffed by 10 physicians, 9 pharmacists, and 20 nurses - all of them from Japan trained in western medicine. Limited medical training classes for the locals had also started in this hospital, marking the beginning of structured formal medical education in Taiwan. (Note: Prior to this, the Presbyterian missionaries had also trained local assistants although only through apprenticeship.)

In 1896, several hospitals, including one in Tamsui, were also built to treat patients with 鼠疫 (plague, black death) . This disease, however, was not indige



nous to Taiwan, most likely imported by the Japanese invading forces. Cases of cholera were also found on board of Japanese warships. These and the cholera epidemics in latter days were transmitted into Taiwan by outside visitors. A major illness native to Taiwan (and all tropics) was the mosquito-borne but-not-always-fatal malaria. To prevent these diseases from spreading, improving sanitary conditions was of course a must. In later years, the improvement would prove highly beneficial.

Hygiene issues alone did not do the Japanese soldiers in when they first arrived in Taiwan, however.



A 1919 photo of the main building of National Taiwan University Hospital under construction; it replaced Taiwan Hospital 台灣病院

The colonial government had claimed that in the 1895 invasion, the Japanese had suffered a loss of 164 to combats and far more, 4,642 in all, had succumbed to diseases. Whether the casualty numbers were truthful and if a deliberate mis-classification of the war-dead to imply prowess of the fighting men both issues aside, the 4,000+ deaths were actually blamed on the "unsanitary" conditions in Taiwan. This is hog wash: (1) living conditions in Japan were similar to or even worse than in Taiwan (see photos below) , neither was under constant assaults by infectious diseases, and Taiwan also did not report any significant epidemics at that time, and (2) most of the death from illnesses were owing to the raging beriberi, from the lack of vitamin B1 in the Japanese foot soldier's ration of polished white rice. Plus, as stated above, these soldiers were also carriers of several deadly infectious diseases. In other words, the Japanese had brought death with them, not in a scenario in which the diseases were lying in wait and ambushed the hapless soldiers as soon as they had landed in Taiwan. Epidemics do not spontaneously occur until the infectious agents are introduced into a vulnerable environment, much like that in Europe during the plague epidemic in mid-14th century.



A quick comparison on the standard of living between Japan and Taiwan is in order:



Above: a small town/village near Nara in Japan with houses with straw roofs, a ditch, and unpaved roads.

And in Tamsui/Taiwan, as an example:



Above: the 新店 Hsin-dian section of Tamsui of unknown date during the Japanese rule, notice the sewer, paved street and the telephone poles

The pictorial face-off above, in favor of Tamsui, may be a bit unfair in the temporal sense, albeit only slightly. In fact, in under-developed frontier territories in Japan, the living standards were far poorer than in western Taiwan. The additional difference was that the Japanese Colonial Government did vastly improve not only the infrastructure but had also instituted education and public health systems to make Taiwan a better place to live. While in contrast, the central government of Japan did not apply the same efforts to some parts of, for example, Kyushu and Hokkaido. In those early colonial days, Japanese in mainland Japan often referred to Taiwan as "鬼界の島 (an island bordering the underworld)" or as the "land of poisonous snakes and malaria", they had been seriously mis-informed.

On May 1, 1899, a formal medical school 台灣總督府醫學校 began accepting students and it eventually evolved, in March, 1928, into the Affiliated Dept of Medicine of Imperial Taihoku University, i.e., the 台北帝國大學附屬醫學專門部. In April, 1936, a new university-level School of Medicine 台北帝國大學醫學部 was also formed to conform to the organization of the Imperial University system - this was the predecessor to the National Taiwan University School of Me



dicine today. These two schools ran in parallel until 1945 when the colonial rule ended. For some years, there were three alumni associations, finally merged in 1979 into景福會.

Improving medical education is often cited as one of the major Japanese contributions to the modernization of Taiwan. This is certainly true.

In 1895, the漢醫 (practitioners of traditional Chinese medicine) in Japan lost grounds to western medicine and receded into obscurity, only to re-surface in the 1970s owing to a renewed interest. In 1900, the Taiwan medical licensing law was enacted, and the Taiwanese漢醫 were forced to re-train or simply went underground and risked prosecution for practicing medicine without a license.

With Taiwan reverted to Chinese (i.e., to ROC that had succeeded Qing Royal Court) rule in 1945, medical licensing became an issue principally because the Ministry of Interior in Nanjing was unfamiliar with the medical education of the Taiwanese. Indeed, the level of training did vary among the applicants trained in an era of progressing medical education inside the Japan Empire. Some were graduates of

university-level medical schools, many more graduated from independent private medical colleges. The schools were located not only in Taiwan but also in Japan and former Japanese territories including Manchuria, Korea, and Southern China. Also, during the Pacific War, there were highly educated and much experienced battlefield medics, physician's associates, and immunological assistants. Most were eventually granted either a full or a limited license similar to those certified under the Japanese system.

Medical education in the Japanese/German mode continues to this day. Attempts to switch to the American mode have met with minimal success. Today, despite the shortcomings of the National Health Insurance, people in Taiwan enjoy high-quality healthcare unavailable in many other nations in the world.



Chapter 5.

My Parents' Education

Both my parents were educated within the Japanese colonial system as a matter of course.

The change in medical system had a profound effect on the Cheng Family as, for generations, it was a family of Han-physicians (漢醫).

Two Drs Cheng, my paternal grandfather鄭裕祥 and his older brother鄭木筆 were both quite famous in their days. This grand uncle was known to have treated General Sun Kai-Hua (孫開華提督) successfully. Sun, after defeating French invasion of Tamsui Port in October, 1884, had had too much cold drink that resulted in a severe stomach ailment. Indeed, that was the only Chinese victory in the entire Sino-French war, and in a small measure, victory for traditional medicine.

Interestingly, during the Pacific War, because of the dire shortage of western medicine, my father was forced to prescribe traditional herbal medicine to his patients by using the family medical compendium as

the guide.

My father was the youngest of the three sons in the family. The oldest鄭克昌was a veterinarian specializing in farm animals, and in the middle鄭嘉昌was an educator with a long career, first as the principal of Wen Hua (Girls) Elementary School, and then the same post at Tamsui (Boys) Elementary School. My father was the one to continue medical tradition in the family.

The road to medicine for my father was a tenuous one. After finishing elementary school at ancestral hometown北投子in 三芝, he qualified through entrance exam to attend Taipei Second High School (now 成功中學).



High school mates sending off those who would be attending medical school, taken on January 10, 1939. My father was second from right, back row.



Every day, my father had to rise early and walked 15 kilometers to Tamsui Train Station accompanied by his sister-in-law holding a lantern for illumination. After the one-hour train ride to Taipei Rear Station, he then had to walk another 1.2 km to the high school.

After high school, applications to medical school started. One must travel to candidate medical schools to be tested on site. The choice were many for the Taiwanese, one could apply to all in mainland Japan, Korea, Manchuria, even Southern China. My father travelled to Korea, then to Iwate Medical College (岩手醫專) in Morioka (盛岡) City in Japan. He was about to enter Iwate when a telegram from back home arrived congratulating him for being accepted by the Medical School at Imperial Taihoku (Taipei) University. He of course returned to Taiwan promptly to begin the study.

The busy medical curriculum in Taipei would not have permitted a long daily commute from Tamsui, my father therefore rented a room at the house of Tamsui Wu, and that was where he met my mother. As it turned out, this was a budding match made in heaven. Well, mostly, since my mother had noticed that my father's hairline was beginning to recede but soon learned to ignore this minor blemish of sorts.



My father (standing, 4th from right) with his medical school classmates, taken on February 11, 1941

The Wu Clan, once a major supplier of charcoal and building materials, a trader, and a major land holder had lost most its fortune under the Japanese rule. They suffered several blows:

First, during the Qing dynasty, land of unknown ownership (most likely aboriginal) was opened by the government to developers and from the latter, us age taxes were assessed in lieu of property taxes. In other words, the Wu clan owned the right to plant trees for charcoal-making but did not own the land itself, even though the two statuses were originally interchangeable. The Japanese Colonial Government, however, deemed that land ownership must be the base



of taxation. This was an attempt to confiscate land from absentee owners who mostly resided in China. The biggest such owner was descendants of Shi Lang who defeated Ming-Cheng Kingdom in 1683 and took over most if not all of the land in southern Taiwan. They collected yearly rental fees from tenant farmers. Confiscation of land from these owners was applied island-wide, and in the typical Japanese bureaucracy, all absentee landlords, known or unknown, were one and the same, and the land became nationalized.

Second, for tillable lands, a new land survey was conducted, this to accurately determine the acreage and from which, the amount of property tax. Unfortunately, announcement of the new system including taxation rates and deadlines was in official Japanese language which almost no Taiwanese understood at that time. This lack of understanding was noticed by George Leslie Mackay as well. Therefore a lot of land was nationalized by default.

Then the trade between Taiwan and China gradually dwindled, eventually no more import-export between Tamsui and Foochow. Some of the Wu Clan moved to Taipei, others to Keelung, while a few remained at Tamsui. And my mother's family, to Taipei.



Mother in high school uniform.

My mother therefore went to Peng-Lai Public School (蓬萊公學校) in Da Dao Chen (大稻埕), then its Advanced Division or junior high school.

Becoming a teacher or a nurse was the career choice for Taiwanese girls at that time. And my mother had chosen nursing.

Nursing was not exactly unknown in Tamsui. This profession arrived in Taiwan with the Presbyterian



mission in as early as 1865. Many missionaries were nurses themselves having previously been trained in England or Canada. They took on the clinical duties at missionary hospitals and at the same time taught nursing (among other subjects such as piano-playing) to the Taiwanese. These dedicated ladies were usually unmarried and were therefore addressed respectfully as 姑娘 in Taiwanese.

On Aletheia University campus in Tamsui, the building known as 姑娘樓 was where they resided when working for the northern branch of the Presbyterian Church. Most notable among them were 金仁理 (Jane Kinney), 高哈拿 (Hannah Connell), 李仁美 (Geraldine Greer), 黎瑪美 (Mable G Clazie), 安義理 (Lily Adair), 杜道理 (Dorothy Douglas), and 德明利 (Isabel Taylor).

When the Japanese invaded Taiwan in 1895, with the mounting casualties from illnesses, they brought in Japanese medical staff to a field hospital in Taipei. In 1898, Japanese women only were admitted to the nurse training program. It was not until 1907, when the program was finally opened to the Taiwanese.

The two training tracks actually ran in parallel; however, the indoctrination of the sense of duty was fu

ndamentally different. The missionary way was to inspire a Nightingale-style self-sacrificial higher calling; whereas the Japanese way instilled obedience as part of the social hierarchy where nurses were subservient to (almost all male) physicians. The Japanese tradition is to last to this day even after the introduction of the American system.

By the time my mother graduated from high school, the highest nursing learning center was run by Imperial Taihoku University Hospital (now National Taiwan University Hospital). She quickly became one of its star students.



My mother (right) in her nursing student days.



About one year after my father's funeral, mother worked for a time at Veterans' Hospital branch in Beitou, then transferred to the Main Veterans' Hospital in Taipei before returning to work at National Taiwan University Hospital.

If it were not for the war, my mother would have enjoyed being a Sian Shen Niang (先生娘) or a Doctor's Wife with a high social status, and stayed home to help out at our private hospital and taken care of the family at the same time. Since this was not to be, she was left to fend for herself.

During her lifetime, in addition to contributing to patient care in Taiwan, her career even took her to as far as New Zealand, Southeast Asia, and eventually, the US.

At least my mother did not “volunteer” or become eligible to serve in the battlefields. This part of Taiwan's long nursing history remains largely hidden. Not known at all was the fact that nurses in Taiwan were drafted, starting in 1942, to serve in the Pacific War. They were 17-18 year-olds, appointed as特別志願陸軍看護助手 (or 特志看護婦 in short) as members of the IJA. The only surviving recorded evidence is probably the Nursing Assistant's Song, 看護助手の歌. Its lyrics were by 越山正三, and melody by a Taiwanese 呂泉生, composed in 1943. And in part:

父母離れ はるばると 南支那海 乗り越えて 皇軍（み
いくさ）進みし 島山にゆかしく 咲ける 小百合花

乙女と いえど 軍律の きびしき 中に 起き伏して
幾層楼の 病棟に輝く 愛の 赤十字

Translation: Leaving Mom and Dad behind to take care of soldiers in the far away South China Sea, just like lilies in full bloom on the hills.

Even though we are little girls, in the wards, we brighten up the whole place, we are the little red-cross nurses.

Sadly, many perished in the battlefields and others starved to death in, e.g., the Philippines, in the waning days of the war. Most survivors, however, still remain silent to this day, not wishing to be confused with the notoriously maltreated comfort women (an euphemism for military prostitutes) .

While working at Veterans' Hospital Beitou Branch, my mother met 5 or 6 such battlefield nursing assistants. And indeed they had received 6 months of medical training before being sent to Hong Kong and Canton to serve, and, fortunately, had remained unscathed when the war ended. They were apparently integrated into the military hospital system of the Republic of China, and became nurse's aides of Veterans'



Hospitals even with a rank of NCO. Those with formal nursing school education such as my mother, were commissioned as first lieutenants within the same system.

It will remain unknown if my mother and other nurses could have been drafted to serve near the end of the war when nurse shortages became acute. Although she herself would have been exempt because she not only was expecting, but also ineligible under the one serviceman per household draft rule.

Lifetime achievement of common folks never ever gets recognition, only God and family members remember. Therefore a short description, based on her memoir, is presented below:

After the stint at Veterans' Hospital Beitou Branch, where my mother began learning how to speak Mandarin Chinese in order to converse with wounded Chinese soldiers, she was later transferred to the Main Veterans' Hospital in Taipei to be in charge of the operating rooms. The whole period last from December 1946 until July 1949 when she declined a promotion to the rank of major. She never intended to become a professional soldier in the first place.

From 1949 until January 1958, my mother worked at National Taiwan University Hospital (NTUH) back to her old familiar grounds, and rapidly rose from chief nurse to nurse supervisor.

From May 1953 to June 1954, my mother, sponsored by WHO (World Health Organization), did her postgraduate study at Wellington Hospital in New Zealand with concentrations on surgical nursing and operating room management.



Pursuing postgraduate study in New Zealand.



This overseas study had come about because immediately after the war, WHO came to Taiwan to help overhaul its medical system. And half a dozen or so WHO advisors came to NTUH to oversee the transition. To interact with these advisors, my mother went to the then popular Milton Language School to learn English. Later, with the recommendation of NTUH Nursing Director Chen Tsui-Yu (陳翠玉), she passed all qualifying exams and flew to New Zealand, a nation truly foreign to folks back home in Tamsui, to begin her postgraduate study.

The intensive study was not without its moments of levity. In the beginning, she was often confused by the order of exiting the dining hall, as the hierarchic nurse ranks was identified by colorful uniforms only, and low rank nurses must wait respectfully for the senior nurses to depart first. The lamb-based culinary culture was one to adapt to, so was the time-honored morning and afternoon tea. My mother also chanced upon the visit of Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip on their inspection tour of New Zealand; she of course cheered the Royal Couple enthusiastically with the street-lining crowds. After completing the study, passing all exams including one for New Zealand nursing licensure, she spent the last month touring the South

Island. Snow skiing for the first time in her life, taking in Maori culture as it was similar to that of Aborigines in Taiwan, plus other touristy adventures.

Upon returning to Taiwan, she was promptly asked by NTUH Nursing Director Chen to teach at the Nursing School. And at the same time, she was also asked by NTUH Director Dr Gao Tian-Chen (高天成) to revamp the archaic operating room system. Before 1955, each surgical specialty at NTUH ran its own operating rooms. When my mother was done, the system was streamlined as far as case scheduling, surgical tool supply, complete with a fee structure.

In February 1958, with Nursing Director Chen's commendation, she accepted a Nurse Supervisor position at the Clinical Research Department of NAMRU-2.

NAMRU-2 or US Naval Medical Research Unit 2 relocated from Guam to Taipei in 1955 to engage in tropical disease research. It was in effect a large-size research institute affiliated with Rockefeller University, Washington University at St Louis, and National Taiwan University. Its campus was on No 1 Gongyuan Road, on ground of NTUH with an annual rent of US\$1.00 on condition that when NAMRU-2 terminat



ed its operation in Taiwan, its equipment would revert to NTUH.

In addition to Clinical Research, NAMRU-2 had labs of biochemistry, pathology, medical technology, bacteriology, parasitology, public health, medical physics, atomic energy, plus ancillary services including animal quarters, employing around 100 Taiwanese. And the clinical research included black-foot disease, parasitic diseases, Wilson's disease, morbid obesity, liver disease, trachoma, and leprosy. On many of the field trips, my mother's language skills came in handily, for, except Hakka, she spoke Holo (the main Hoklo dialect), Mandarin Chinese (the official language after 1945), Japanese (spoken by older Taiwanese and most Aborigines), and English.

It must be noted that clinical trials using antigen to treat trachoma and leprosy adhered to the highest ethical standards at that time (long before the Helsinki Accord signed in 1975). Any deviation, however minor, an offender would promptly be asked to resign.

There were also overseas studies which took NAMRU-2 (and my mother) to India, Pakistan, Thailand, and the Philippines. The most successful development was the treatment of cholera. Starting in Bangkok in 1958, to the Philippines in 1961, the mortality rat

es dropped from 100% to a mere 3% using the NAM RU-2 methodology. My mother was very proud of being a member of this team.

In fact, when my mother joined this US Naval Unit, she realized that even though the Navy had its lethal side that actually killed my father, my mother was happy to help on its life-saving side. To my mother, it was God's will.

She worked there until January 1972 and decided to move to the US to be with her son, me. This came about because US President Richard Nixon's normalizing diplomatic relations with People's Republic China. The dilemma for my mother was that if PRC were to invade and take over Taiwan, she would be among the first to be prosecuted for aiding and abetting the enemy as she had worked within the Republic of China's military hospital system, and now a US Naval Unit.

Life in the US was peaceful and she was content especially when taking loving care of her grandson Felix, yet she had never forgotten my father. And in July 1987, on an Imperial Taihoku Hospital Nursing School class reunion in Tokyo, a classmate took her to Yasukuni Jinja to see if my father was enshrined there. And within 5 minutes, the record was found.

My mother's friend was teary-eyed lamenting that



such a young life was taken so early. To which, my mother's crestfallen response was that "Yes, and it was I who had to work hard all my life to be both mother and father to my son."

Alas, they were finally united in Tokyo after 42 years!

Chapter 6.

The journey to war

In early 1944, my father received his draft notice or red sheet (赤紙). He was stunned for he, as others, never expected the war still far away in East Pacific would reach Tamsui so soon.

It was unclear as to how many townspeople from Tamsui were drafted. It must have been in great numbers, enough so that ex-President Li Teng-hui (李登輝)'s older brother Li Teng-chian (李登欽), then a police trainee responsible for distributing red sheets felt obligated to enlist together with others. Unfortunately he was killed in action during a US air raid in Manila on February 15, 1945.

According to Japanese colonial government guidelines, physicians should serve in queue, either young and strong ones went first, or older established ones should be the first. The latter was based on the assumption that older physicians were more well-to-do hence less financial hardship for their families, and most important was their clinical experience. The decision, however, was left up to the head of physician's guild, and inevitably, it would and did open the door to potential abuse.



ily history recorded that the ancestor of Tamsui Cheng was the 2nd son of Cheng Zhi-long (鄭芝龍) and his principal wife Lady Yan (顏太夫人); in fact, he was Koxinga's younger brother from a different mother. Koxinga was the son of Cheng Zhi-long and his Japanese wife Lady Weng (maiden name: Takawa Mazu 田川松). Koxinga was therefore honored by the Japanese as well.

Long after the war, when surviving Shinsei Maru families gathered and compared notes, it was clear that through bribery, a draftee could become exempt. Other instances involved shifting of turns owing to family feuds, and the sons of the losing side were ordered to serve immediately. There were also instances of demands from Special Police to rid of troublemakers, lest they became a threat to the security of Japan Empire.

After receiving the draft order, what followed was monthly training sessions on tropical medicine conducted at both Imperial Taihoku University Hospital in Taipei and the Research Institute of Tropical Medicine in Shilin. This training period was to last 6 months.

In late September, my father was ordered to report to Zuo Ying Hai Ren Hui (左營海仁會), a navy depot to await further instructions. My mother, carrying



me, had sent him off at Taipei Train Station, having travelled from Tamsui by train together.

On Oct 1, Shinsei Maru ventured out of Kaohsiung Port with 20 other transport ships. Because of the fierce typhoon, Shinsei Maru was in danger of sinking, it had to return to port of origin. The rest of the convoy was putatively all sunk by US submarines in Bashi Strait, south of Taiwan.

On October 12, 1944, my mother with me strapped on her back travelled to Zuo Ying to pay my father a visit, while in Kaohsiung, the US came to bomb the city. In the chaos, not knowing what to do and scared out of her wits, a kind gentleman came and lent his hand to guide us to safety. In the panic, my mother had forgotten to ask this gentleman's contact information. My mother was to regret for the rest of her life for not being able to repay the kindness of this gentleman.

洪美和, herself posthumously born to Shinsei Maru physician Dr 洪元約, has reasonably suggested that it was an angel sent by God.

This day October 12 1944 was when the US started an island-wide attack, bombing presumably military targets from Tamsui in the north all the way to Pingtung in the south.

We now know that 13 F6F Hellcat fighter pilots

had come to attack Tamsui. They dropped 3 500-lb bombs, two hit the targets, and one miraculously did not explode but had landed in the backyard of MaZu Temple. On this day, 20 civilians including a little school boy, were killed. And in all of Taiwan, 124 aircrafts defending the island were shot down by the Americans. The F6F fighters were from US Naval Task Force 38/58 (based on aircraft carriers) . And B-25s or B-29s from the land-based USAAF were also involved.

The intended target was the Seaplane Port and the neighboring 迺生產石油株式會社淡水油槽所, the "Rising Sun Petroleum Co" on the US Navy map. This event was known as "火燒臭油棧" to Tamsui townsfolk. Smelly oil (臭油) was kerosene which did assault the olfactory sense. When the oil storage was hit, my youngest uncle still remembers the sky over Tamsui had turned orange-red even looking from a distance at 北投子 where he and the family were evacuated to. The fire had burned for 3 days and 3 nights.

Our friend Mr Chang Ling-Shue has discovered that the leader of the F6F squadron that attacked Tamsui was one CHARLES MALLORY, a WWII Navy Fighter Ace:



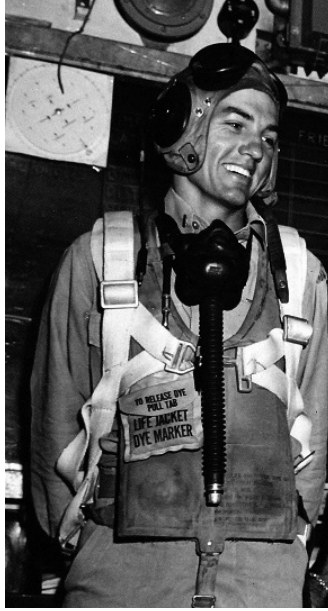


photo taken in 1945

“Hellcat Ace in a day” , Air Classic magazine November 2003 issue, was the story describing how Charlie Mallory became an Ace in a day. When the Navy came to West Virginia University in order to recruit Aviation Cadets, just few days after Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, Mallory volunteered at once and finished his training successfully to become a Naval Aviator in January 1943. Mallory was then sent to light carrier USS Monterey as a dive-bomber pilot. He met Gerald Ford who later became the President of the United States. Luckily, he also met Cecil Harris who was a co

combat veteran with a total of 23 aerial victories. “I credit most of my success as a fighter pilot to the rigorous training of Harris,” Mallory said afterward, “he made me appreciate that I was part of the team.” Later, Mallory was transferred to USS Intrepid as a fighter pilot and left Hawaii on August 16, 1944. It was on September 21 that day Mallory had destroyed 5 Japanese enemy planes while on the mission for photo taking and became an “Ace-in-a-day.”

As one of the 24 high-speed aircraft carriers, Intrepid was commissioned in 1943. She suffered a torpedo attack in the next year. After receiving repair at San Francisco with a full load of Grumman Hellcat F6F-5 when Mallory boarded it in Hawaii in August. Intrepid was also called the “untouchable” since she recovered and joined the battle again and again after many Japanese attacks. After serving in the navy for 31 years, she finally retired. Luckily, instead of being scrapped, she was converted as the Air and Sea Museum and now greeting the spectators at New York harbor.

The Grumman fighter F6F was nicknamed the Hellcat when unveiled to the world for the first time in August 1943, with a maximum speed of 380 MPH and



equipped with six 13mm cannons. Created as the direct response to the Mitsubishi built Zero-fighter, Hellcat had established the highest kill ratio of 5156/270 at the end of war. (Note: TF38 planes, mostly Gruman Hellcat F6F fighter planes were equipped with a torpedo or a 500-lb bomb under its belly, under the wings, there were 9 bombs of various bombs, 12 machine guns, and 8 rockets.)



The allocated area for USS Intrepid was northern Taiwan, the targets were Shinchiku air base, and the seaplane base located in Tamsui.

In the absence of air defense, the flyboys of American fighter-bombers often strayed from professionalism, after finishing their scheduled bombing runs elsewhere in Taiwan, rather than dumping the ammunition at sea to reduce payloads, they would unload their unspent ammunition on Tamsui which happened to be a landmark on their return routes.

Mr Chou Ming-Der, the famed Tamsui historian and renowned meteorologist (now deceased), took this picture in 2000. It shows a house with bullet holes, a reminder of US air raids in 1944-45. This was Mr Hong Kai-Yuan's house, built with 36.4-cm bricks, different from the conventional 24-cm walls, hence no damages to the interior:



This house was located diagonally across Chung Chen Road from MaZu Temple which was hit by an unexploded bomb in its backyard, causing the front part of the temple to tilt dangerously towards the street side. In 2016, MaZu finally gave her permission (in the form of traditional Bua Bue) for the renovation to proceed. It is estimated that the renovation project will take 10 years to complete. (Note: MaZu Temple was built in 1796, the Wu Clan remains a member of its management committee today.)



Mr Chou's father Mr周炳銘 was among the 20 Tamsui-lang killed in the air raid. Another casualty was a driver minding his own taxi business near Tamsui Station. Also killed were Mayor Tsai Yeh-Wei's maternal grandparents (Mr葉埤 and his wife Mrs黃心) and a school boy when their air-raid shelter was hit by a wayward bomb. The identity of others including an out-of-towner remains unknown to this day.

Chapter 7.

From Kaohsiung Port to Cape Saint Jacques and beyond

After the October 12 1944 bombing, my father was able to manage two short leaves to come home. One was most likely to celebrate my birthday, and that of my mother's, both fell in November. Soon all citizens of Taiwan were asked to evacuate to countryside, and my family had retreated to our ancestral home in San Zhi (三芝).

My father was to start the fateful journey on December 1.

The previous unknown Shinsei Maru escorts and accompanying convoy ships were finally revealed from the records of minesweeper W-102. The 580-tonne W102 was original a British Bangor Class mine sweeper, still unfinished when being built in Hong Kong, it was appropriated by the Japanese and commissioned after some minor retrofitting. It was equipped with a 4.7 inch (120mm) gun, 8 Type 96 25-mm antiaircraft guns, and 36 depth-charges.





This was W-29 Class minrsweeper, similar to W-102 (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/W-19-class_minesweeper)

The W-102 record shows:

1 December 1944:

At 0755, W-102 departs Takao escorting convoy HO-103 ホ103 consisting of SHINSEI, KACHAOSAN and KANS HU MARUs to Hong Kong.

3 December 1944:

At 1000, arrives at Hong Kong.

15 December 1944:

At 1500, W-102 departs Hong Kong escorting convoy YU-502 ㄣ502 consisting of SHINSEI MARU and an unidentified ship.

17 December 1944:

At 1512, arrives at Yulin, Hainan Island.

9 January 1945: The Invasion of Luzon, Philippines:

Vice Admiral (later Admiral) Thomas C. Kinkaid lands troops of LtGen Walter Krueger's Sixth Army at Lingayen Gulf, Luzon. Vice Admiral (later Admiral) John S. McCain's Task Force 38 supports the invasion with attacks on Formosa, Ryukyus and the Pescadores Islands. In the Formosa Strait, TF 38's planes damage W-102 and auxiliary subchaser NITTO MARU No. 22 off Keelung.

10-11 January 1945:

W-102 departs Keelung for St Jacques, Indochina.

12 January 1945:

At 0300, W-102, W-20 and minelayer YURISHIMA depart St Jacques escorting convoy SASHI-40 蔵40 consisting of SHINTAI, HOKOKU, FUSHIMI and FRANCE MARUs and tanker KYOEI MARU No. 7. At 0730, an enemy aircraft sights the convoy and drops flares. At 1100, an air attack begins and continues until 1400. During this time, SHINTAI MARU and KYOEI MARU No. 7 are bombed and sunk and FRANCE MARU is hit and badly damaged and ran ashore where she subsequently burns out. The remaining ships flee back to St Jacques and the convoy is dissolved.



3 February 1945:

N of Hainan Island, China. W-102 is damaged severely by unknown causes at 25-40N, 119-50E.

1945:

Repaired at an unidentified location, probably Hong Kong.

15 August 1945:

LtCdr Okazaki notifies his crew of the end of hostilities.

From Hainan to St Jacques, Shinsei Maru was escorted by a coast defense vessel which unfortunately was sunk by US fighter planes.

Minesweepers and coast defenders were not true warships at all. With light equipment, they were ineffective fighting against US fighter planes or submarines for that matter. By the end of 1944, carrier-based fighter planes had become the mainstay of US fighting power, they often overwhelmed these hapless tiny ancillary Japanese gunboats.

The final destination for Shinsei Maru physicians was actually the oil fields in Balikpapan, Borneo.



A 740-tonnType 2 Coast defender, photo taken on February 26, 1944

Equipment: two 12.7-cmcaliber single-barrel antiaircraft gun, two 25-mm machine guns, and 120 depth charges (From 日本海軍艦艇写真集 駆逐艦 p172)

However, because of the heavy loss incurred by US Naval Operation Gratitude, the Japanese military no longer was capable of delivering Shinsei Maru survivors to Balikpapan. Instead, they were separated into small groups and dispatched to serve in Vietnam, Singapore, Malaya, and Indonesia until the end of the war.

Very few Taiwanese had heard of Balikpapan. Wikipedia actually has the details on battles fought in Balikpapan between 1942-1945 and

"The Battle of Balikpapan was the concluding stage of the Borneo campaign (1945) . The landings



took place on 1 July 1945. The Australian 7th Division, composed of the 18th, 21st and 25th Infantry Brigades, with support troops, made an amphibious landing, codenamed Operation Oboe Two a few miles north of Balikpapan, on the island of Borneo. The landing had been preceded by heavy bombing and shelling by Australian and US air and naval forces. The Japanese were outnumbered and outgunned, but like the other battles of the Pacific War, many of them fought to the death.

"Major operations had ceased by July 21. The 7th Division's casualties were significantly lighter than they had suffered in previous campaigns. The battle was one of the last to occur in World War II, beginning a few weeks before the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki effectively ended the war. Japan surrendered while the Australians were combing the jungle for stragglers."

The Japanese military only mentioned that 22nd Base Force and 454th Independent Infantry Battalion (commander: Major Misuaki Yamada), 37th Army had fought to the end, they were outnumbered and finally surrendered, a few continued to fight in the jungles.

Shinsei Maru physician Dr Chen Der-Huan had survived sinking of the ship and stayed in Saigon for one month before he was sent to Singapore, Jakarta, Surabaya, and finally to Balikpapan. In May 1945, Australian force recaptured this port, Dr Chen and a Japanese military police trekked for miles in the jungle to arrive in Sandakan. On August 17, they finally learned that the war had ended and surrendered on site. After spending 10 months in the POW camp in Indonesia, in June 1946, he finally returned to Taiwan and became a country doctor, never to profit from his medical practice, until 2001 when he passed at the ripe old age of 90.

Dr Chen was the only one to complete the mission of Shinsei Maru physicians.



Chapter 8.

Operation “Gratitude”

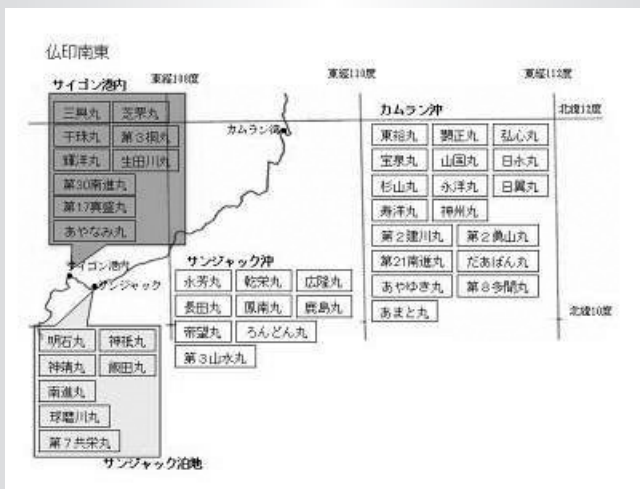
It is still puzzling as to why the total destruction of Japanese fleets with thousands of lives lost was code-named “Gratitude” by the US Navy. Indeed for what?

Shinsei Maru was one of the 1CRS class standard cargo ships built in 1943-44. It had a tonnage of 2,700 (or 2,880 according to another source), was owned by Kuribayashi Shosen, Inc of Tokyo (東京栗林商船公司), launched in 1943 at Hakodate ship building company (函館造船所) in Hokkaido. Below is photo of a similar build, Shinsei Maru itself did not leave behind any images:



Since it was a cargo ship, commanded to serve as a transport by the Japanese Navy, it had only rudimentary weapons such as machine guns and depth charges. To avoid submarine attacks, it must sail in a zigzag pattern that also much reduced its progress.

US Navy Operation Gratitude started on Jan 11, 1945, by the 12th, Japanese losses were apparent (below from https://shinseimaru.blogspot.com/2007/12/blog-post_1751.html) :



The map shows 9 ships were lost in Saigon (upper left brackets) , outside Cape Saint Jacques, 9, and inside the port 7 that included Shinsei Maru (shown in bottom left brackets) . In addition, 19 ships were sunk in 金蘭灣. Or a total of 44 ships lost in one day. Official Japanese re



ports recorded 34 lost, the US military reported 41 including 2 of Vichy Government. The tally was credited to Task Force 38.

These cold numbers did not show the number of personnel killed. According to some websites, (www.jsu.or.jp/siryo/map/hutuin/hutuin_se/sinsei_k.jpg) listed Sh insei Maru death at 84 plus 6 soldiers and 22 sailors. Another reported 64 dead plus 8 soldiers and 22 sailors. These are probably not accurate, only those reported by Sh insei Maru guardsmen sergeant first class Hirata Kasuo (平田楠雄) and the Military Diary by surviving Dr Wu Ping-Chen (吳平城) are credible.

As to the fierce battle, it was wave after wave of aerial attacks by the US Navy according to many eyewitnesses. One of which was an interrogation of Commander KUWAHARA Tadao (桑原忠男海軍大佐) after the war, he described the attacks in northeast of Saigon thus:

"On the 12th, the convoy left QUINON Bay at 0700. Three F6F's were sighted at 0855 and the one covering Zero fighter was shot down. At 0955 two more fighters appeared and at 1104 about 16, TBF's and SB2C's appeared. In the attack which lasted 30 minutes the heavily loaded 6,900 ton freighter EIMAN Maru was set afire by a bomb hit and sank. I believe one or two of the attacking planes

were shot down by AA fire of the Kashii and other escort vessels. The Ukuru was bracketed by four or five near misses, thirty or forty meters away, which shook up the ship and caused her to stop about 2 minutes; but no damage was sustained. About 1229 a single plane dove on the Ukuru, but only obtained a near miss and did no damage. During the attack the convoy had become scattered due to evasive action and was now reformed. About 20 dive-bombers appeared and circled in the vicinity until 1355 when 50 more of the same type arrived from the north. At 1408 the dive-bombing and torpedo attack by all planes began. The Kashii was sunk almost immediately in an explosion. This was a well-executed attack, bombers diving in succession and at the same time a torpedo attack was launched at the Kashii from her starboard side. One torpedo and two bombs hit the Kashii. One of the bombs exploded the after magazine. The ship sank stern first, the bow remained about 10 feet above the water which was shallow. Vice Admiral T. SHIBUYA (probably 渋谷海軍中將) , Convoy Commander, and his entire staff were killed. At 1416 escort No. 51 on the starboard quarter of the convoy received a hit or a very near miss by bomb, which I believed ignited the depth charges because of the white smoke. She sank very soon. The attack continued practically uninterrupted until dark..."



According to website (<https://www.ibiblio.org/hyperwar/USN/USN-Chron/USN-Chron-1945.html>)

Task Force 38 delivered the following hits on January 12, 1945:

“1945 TF 38 (Vice Adm John S. McCain) operating in the South China Sea hits Japanese shipping, airfields, and other shore installations in southeastern French Indochina.

TF 38 planes sink training cruiser IJN Kashii north of Qui Nhon, 13°50'N, 109°20'E;

Escort vessel IJN Chiburi, Coast Defense Vessel No.17, and Coast Defense Vessel No.19 off Cape St. Jacques, 10°20'N, 107°50'E;

Submarine chaser Ch 31, minesweeper W.101, Patrol Boat No.103 (ex-U.S. minesweeper Finch) , Coast Defense Vessel No.35, Coast Defense Vessel No.43, and merchant tanker Ayayuki Maru off Cape Padaran, 11°10'N, 108°55'E;

Submarine chaser Ch 43 near Cam Ranh Bay, 11°53'N, 109°08'E;

Landing ship T.140 and victualling stores ship Ikutagawa Maru at Saigon, 10°20'N, 107°50'E;

Coast Defense Vessel No.23 and Coast Defense Vessel No.51 north of Qui Nhon, 14°15'N, 109°10'E;

Auxiliary minesweeper Otowa Maru at Cam Ranh Bay, 11°50'N, 109°00'E; oil tanker Kumagawa Maru and transports Shinsei Maru and Toyu Maru off Cape St. Jacques, 10°20'N, 107°45'E;

Transport Kembu Maru and army cargo ships Yushu Maru and Kyokuun Maru north of Qui Nhon;

Army cargo ships Kiyo Maru and No.17 Shinsei Maru, Saigon; and merchant cargo ships Kenei Maru and Taikyu Maru and tanker No.9 Horai Maru at Saigon;

Tanker Akashi Maru off Cape St. Jacques;

Cargo ship Eiman Maru and tanker No.2 Nanryu Maru, east coast (exact location unspecified) of French Indochina;

Tanker Shoei Maru, cargo ships Hotsusan Maru, Tatsuhato Maru, Otsusan Maru, Yujo Maru, and No.63 Banshu Maru north of Qui Nhon; and tankers Koshin Maru, Ayana mi Maru, Hoei Maru, and Eiho Maru, and cargo ship Kens ei Maru, southeast of Cape St. Jacques.

TF 38 planes also damage escort vessels IJN Daito and IJN Ukuru, Coast Defense Vessel No.27, and fleet tanker San Luis Maru north of Qui Nhon;

Submarine chaser Ch 34 and merchant cargo ship Ry uyo Maru at Cam Ranh Bay;

Landing ships T.149 and T.137 and fleet tanker No.3 Kyoei Maru off Cape St. Jacques;

Landing ship T.131 near Saigon; guardboat No.2 Fushi



mi Maru at entrance to Vung Tau;

Army cargo ship France Maru and merchant tanker Shingi Maru, southeast of Cape St. Jacques; and merchant cargo ships Chefoo Maru and Kanju Maru at Saigon.

Vichy French ships, due to their proximity to Japanese vessels, also come under attack: TF 38 planes sink light cruiser Lamotte-Picquet off Cat Lai, and sink French surveying vessel Octant. Combined, TF 38 sank 41 ships on this day.”

In the above report, Shinsei Maru is 神靖丸. The "No.17 Shinsei Maru" sunk in Saigon was 第17眞盛丸. It was often confusing in web search, since there were many ships named Shinsei Maru, such as 新生丸, 新世丸, the same pronunciation, but different from the Shinsei Maru in question.

Chapter 9.

Recovery of Shinsei Maru

One day in my on-line literature search, I was astonished to discover a tiny headline in the archives of a Japanese newspaper Kanagawa News. And a friend in Japan Professor Yamanaka Nobuaki 山中宣昭 further tracked down the full article from the newspaper's microfilm library. It is clear that Shinsei Maru physicians never had a chance, a lucky few were on deck and swam to safety, most, including my father, were below deck and a direct bomb hit on the hatch had sealed their fate:



Headline: The war-deads are Taiwanese draftees;

Top subtitle: Statement from a survivor;

Bottom subtitle: The true story of the 300 sets of remains onboard Shinsei Maru;

And photo of Mr Yasukawa

Translation:

According to foreign reports, on the 22nd, the Kitakawa Salvage Company operating in Vietnam on payment in kind, while trying to recover Shinsei Maru sunk by American warplanes has discovered inside the ship some 300 sets of remains of Japanese soldiers. The question is, who are these people? A survivor Mr. Yasukawa (38 years old) of Yokohama claims they are Japanese soldiers; although at that time they were Taiwanese medical draftees. He further states that their families in Taiwan must be informed of this fact.

The Kanji of Shinsei Maru is神靖丸 (2,800 tons) ; it was built in Hokkaido in January of Showa year 19 (1944) by Kuribayashi Steamship Company. It was powered by a steam engine designed as a cargo ship not equipped for carrying passengers. On December 10th of the same year, the military ordered 400 Taiwanese locals to be drafted in Kaoshiung (including, in addition to medical workers, agricultural workers or farmers with ages ranged between 20 to 40 years) .

They were to go and serve in oil fields in Balikpapan, Borneo, and a place known for rampant diseases.

I Yasukawa was an assistant engineer on the ship. Its captain was a Japanese named Mr. Koshimo, with ten sailors, eighteen engineers, six marines, armed ship guards with one sergeant and under him two corporals and twelve foot soldiers. The ship has a 12 inch gun and thirteen machine guns to fight against enemy attacks, particularly worrisome were submarines.

December 20th to 25th, the ship arrived and docked in Hong Kong. Then it passed through Kolin Port in Hainan, sailed along the coasts of IndoChina, arriving in the mouth of Saigon River at Cape St Jacques.

In Showa year 20 (1945) , in the night of January 9th, the ship arrived in Saigon.

In the morning of the 11th, it returned to St Jacques to await further action, essentially to join a ship convoy to be escorted by warships.

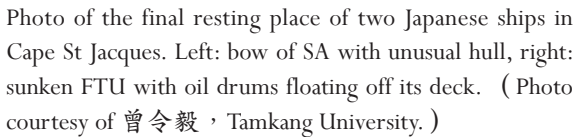
In the morning of the 12th, around breakfast time at 7AM, enemy fighter planes based on aircraft carriers of an estimated 200 Grumman F6F Hellcats attacked the convoy. Shinsei Maru was hit by a bomb exploding near the portside, received a direct hit on the second hatch, and the starboard side was hit by an airborne torpedo.



It sank at 9:40AM. Under the second hatch, there were 350 medical personnels trapped in the mid-ship cabin. Some 50 were on cooking and other duties on deck who were able to escape. About 50 Taiwanese swam to safety; however, 15 sailors and 2-3 ship guards died. Sunk together with Shinsei Maru were Asokawa Maru (18000 tons) and Kumakawa Maru (7000 tons). Asokawa was an oil tanker supplying fuel for other ships. Kumakawa was for transporting 800 Japanese back to Japan.

After the war, on April 22nd Showa year 21 (1946), we were shipped back home to Japan when we could still see the mast of the sunken Shinsei Maru. I paid my respect with some rice offering. According to two other survivors who swam in the river and later rescued, they were attacked by vicious sawtooth and other fishes. Remains of the war-deads would have suffered the same.

Above is the location map of Shinsei Maru as reported by onboard Navy Sergeant First Class Hirata Kasuo (平田楠雄): the left most marker was the initial anchoring position of Shinsei Maru, in an attempt to ground itself, the ship had headed towards the light tower when it was sunk. Nearby were two other sunken ships, 球磨川丸 and 明石丸—different from US Naval reports and Kanagawa News article.



In Japanese, hi-ki-a-ge 引揚（ひきあげ） means recovery and return to Japan, it applies particularly to the remains of the war-dead. Two publications have detailed the recovery efforts:

"援護50年史（1997）"（厚生省引揚援護局.東京:ぎょうせい,平成9）

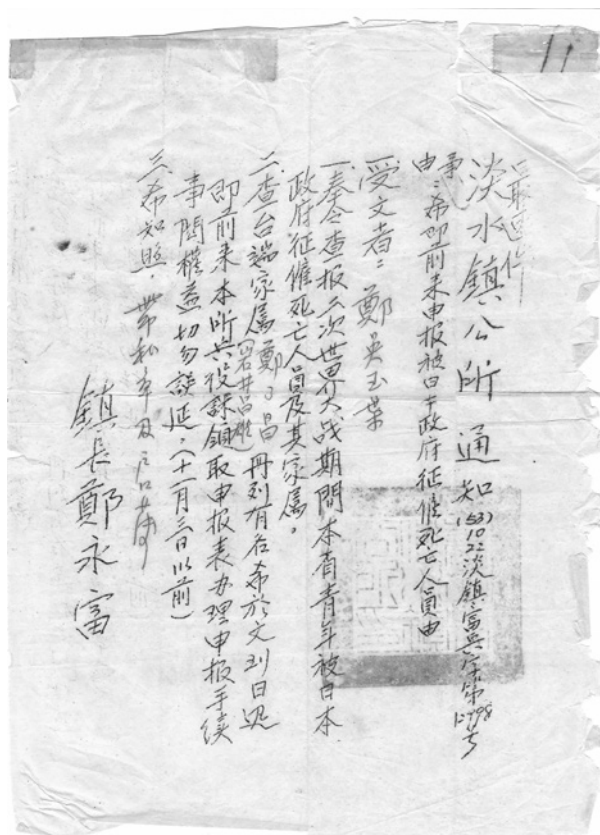
"続々引揚援護の記録（1963）"（引揚援護の記録—東京:引揚援護廳,1950;厚生省引揚援護局,1955,1963.Reprint: 東京:クレス出版,2000）.

Page 25 of "援護50年史" states that in 1953, the ROC government received Taiwanese war-dead list of 17,499 men, which was amended in 1962 of an additional 10,964 men, for a total of 28,463. This is the number recorded in Yasukuni Jinja. The communication between Japan and ROC continued until 1968, however, the name list was never made accessible to the public. Also it was nearly impossible to deliver death certificates issued by Japanese Ministry of General Welfare 厚生省 as all the addresses were fully changed from Japanese to Chinese nomenclature.

On page 26 “Handling of remains” , it states that in 1952, there were 307 sets still under the care of Japan. These, plus 16 sets discovered later were also delivered to Taiwan in 1953, with the coordination of

ROC Embassy to Japan. The ROC government has never made any public announcement and the whereabouts of the remains are still unknown.

However, in 1964, Tamsui Township office notified my mother to file for essentially a confirmation of my father's war-dead status in a certain "name list". This was most likely related to the 1962 list delivered by Japan:



Before the end of the war, the Japanese Naval Personnel Department in Kaohsiung (高雄海軍人事部) was in charge of returning Taiwanese remains. Notification of Shinsei Maru deaths were sent out around the end of the war in 1945 to township offices, except the families only received empty wooden boxes, not even hair and cut finger nails left behind by the dead before they went off to the battlefields.

Major recovery operations in Indo-China area were carried out twice:

(1) In 1953, according to “続々引揚援護の記録”:

Page 256 Table lists 86 ships lost around Indo-China with a total tonnage of 344,170 tons.

Page 258 mentions that around Indo-China, from 球磨川丸 and others totaling 46 ships, 800 sets of remains were found. It also reports that the operation has started in January 1953 and halted in June owing to difficulties in operation. However, the real reason might have been grafts asked for by Vietnamese government or its officials. On May 13, 1959, Japan and Vietnam governments finally signed a compensation agreement (source: 引揚関係年表—昭和34年).

(2) In 1964-68:

Page 243 of "援護50年史" Vietnamese territorial

waters (越南海域) recorded 120 ships were sunk in seas near Vietnam and Cambodia, with an estimated loss of 5,600 men. Among them, 108 ships were sunk near St Jacques. In Showa Years 39-43 (1964-1968) , Japanese salvage companies recovered 12 ships, and from which 6,116 sets of remains were recovered.

Therefore the 1955 Kanagawa News report of Shinsei Maru recovery of 300 men must have been performed during the first operation. This number disagrees with the known 247 Taiwanese on board, suggesting that Japanese soldiers and sailors were also included.

Page 577 of "援護50年史" also notes that ships sunk together with Shinsei Maru on January 12, 1945, such as 明石丸, 球磨川丸, and 廣隆丸, all had human remains recovered and buried, and the date was July 7, 1966. Inside Shinsei Maru, 193 were discovered but only 5 were recovered. Therefore by 1953, at least 54 were lost.

As to why the burial of the Shinsei Maru 5 was delayed from 1953 until 1966, it was probably because on January 11, Japanese ambassador to Vietnam exchanged a document with Vietnamese Foreign Ministry. The document "沈船引上及其内遺骨収集" was ma



arked as No. 6-65 on the Japanese side and NO132-EF-BTCT on the Vietnamese side. From this point on, the recovery operation was formalized (source:引揚關係年表—昭和38年). The Japanese厚勞省 only disclosed that Shinsei Maru 5 was recovered from a certain Buddhist Temple with no other information. We now know this info on the burial of Shinsei Maru 5 in 1966 in the National Cemetery千鳥ヶ淵 (Chitorigafuchi) was based on "援護50年史". In fact, a map at the entry to the National Cemetery was also copied from this book (page 578-9). Also, the map on page 578 has also clearly listed that around Indo-China Vietnam region, 18,000 dead, 7,560 remains were recovered, not recovered around 10,440, recovery operation conducted 4 times and memorial services慰靈祭拜6 times.

If no other records surface to declare otherwise, the Shinsei Maru 247 dead will always be represented by the 5 buried in the National Cemetery.

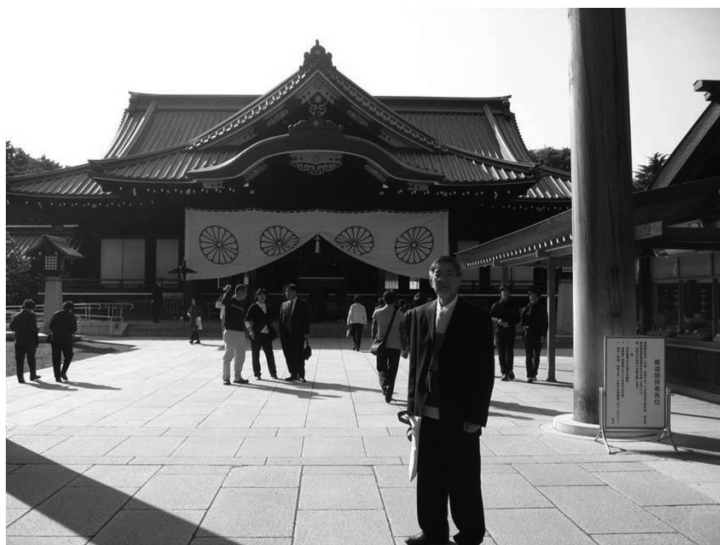
Chapter 10. Yasukuni Jinja



And then it was my turn to find my father. With the help of Professors Kazuyuki Sasaki and Nobuaki Yamanaka, both of them grew up in war-time Manchuria before being repatriated to Japan in 1945, I went



to Yasukuni Jinja in 2008 for the very first time to report mother's passing to my father. The biggest issue for me was how to address my father when praying at the Main Shrine, for I have never had the opportunity to call out to him as a son and my mother never really mentioned him in our daily conversations, so the issue has never come up. My “contact” with my father was through the books he had left behind, most were medical textbooks in German, one algebra book in Japanese was my favorite, since on the margin of a few pages, there was his handwriting of “更一度の必要” , or study this part one more time, as if this was his instruction and I have happily complied.



My 2008 visit to Yasukuni Jija

The controversy stirred up by a dignitary's visit to the Shrine is well-known. Paying respect by a Japanese Prime Minister is especially galling to PRC and Korea, and inevitably protests are officially lodged. The reason is that Yasukuni has enshrined convicted war criminals. For civilians, we have no such worry, since参拝in Japanese is “to visit”, not “to worship” as that implied in the Chinese phrase参拜. It is natural to visit a family member especially our beloved long lost fathers or brothers.

Other than visiting, surviving family members can also look up the name of a loved one in the enshrined register.

On September 16, 1989, my mother paid a second visit to Yashukuni Jinja and received a certificate, in which the following were listed:

Name and rank: Naval non-combatant officer Iwa-I Masao (Cheng Tze-Chang)

Unit: Kaohsiung Naval Hospital

Date of death: Showa Year 20, January 12 (on board)

合記 明書
一、祭神 海軍軍属(漏記)
一、所屬部屋名 岩井昌雄(鄭子昌)
一、死没年月日 昭和二十年一月十日 (神靖外使乗少戦中)
一、死没場所 南京郊外 (神靖外使乗少戦中)
一、本籍 台湾台北州淡水郡淡水街淡水亭龍目井二九
一、合祀年月日 昭和三十年十月十七日
右合記を証明致します。
平成元年九月十六日
靖國神社社務所



rd of Shinei Maru)

Location of death: South China Sea

Original home address: Tamsui Township

Date enshrined: Showa Year 35 October 17

Another purpose of this certificate is that it can be used as the starting point for declaring a missing person dead, similar to but not quite the same as a death certificate.

On May 6, 1988, the Japanese government announced distribution to families of war-dead 2 million Yen (less than US\$20,000) per family as a funerary comfort gift弔慰金, but not as a compensation. And the distribution was done through the Red Cross. Of the 29,913 applications, 29,645 were granted. In comparison, this amount was only a tiny fraction of that for the Japanese families.

And the bureaucracy in processing the application was astonishingly complex. First, a family must provide evidence of service and death of the deceased, starting with a newspaper ad looking for the deceased, followed by declaration of death through the legal system. Supporting testimonies from survivors must also be collected and submitted. Also, the applicants must currently be a resident of Taiwan, those who have moved away to overseas must appoint a legal representative. And on and on.



To the right of the main shrine, there is a military museum called Yūshūkan 遊就館. The name was derived from an ancient Chinese text Hsun Tzu's Encouraging Learning 荀子勸學篇 “故君子居必擇鄉,遊必就士,所以防邪僻而近中正” (therefore a gentleman will be careful in selecting the community he intends to live in and will choose moral men for his companions. In this way he can ward off evil and meanness and draws close to fairness and righteousness) .

On the first floor, the 4 walls of Exhibition Room 18 are covered with photos of kamikaze pilots. On di



splay is also letters and personal items from these pilots. One of them is a letter from Lin Rui-Dang (林瑞璫) mailed to his parents, father Lin Pi (林胚) and mother Lin Shue Er (林雪娥) in Jiayi County (嘉義郡水上庄, 三界埔110號). Mr Lin was killed in action on July 17, 1945 in Leyte, the Philippines. He was a second class infantryman under No. 68 Regiment Artillery Unit (Star 10006 Company).

The collection of names displayed in this room is rather a thick volume, no doubt other Taiwanese are also registered.

千鳥ヶ淵戦没者墓苑は、先の大戦において
海外で亡くなられた戦没者の御遺骨を納め
昭和34年、国により建設された
「無名戦没者の墓」です。

Chidorigafuchi National Cemetery was established
in 1959 in order to mourn the unknown
soldiers and civilians killed in World War II.



On Oct 29, 2009, I visited Yasukuni Jinja for the second time, and of course laid flowers at the National Cemetery.





The National Cemetery 千鳥ヶ淵戦没者墓苑 constructed in March 1959 is located between Yasukuni Jinja and the Royal Palace Hanzo Gate 半藏門

This is where 352,926 sets of remains from WW2 were interred, that includes 4,598 from Southeast Asia recovered in 1959.

Meanwhile in Taiwan, there are memorials also.

This world truly has many kind-hearted and magnanimous people. In fact, Mr 詹清和 and Mr 廖仰



霖of Ji-Hua Gung (濟化宮) have put up a 7-story building called 10-field pagoda (十地塔) and on its third level enshrined the name plates in memory of more than 27,593 WWII Taiwanese war-dead. This temple is located in the town of Bei-Pu, Hsin-Chu County (新竹北埔鄉).

In addition to the Bei-Pu site, there is another located in Taichung, the Bao Jue Shi (寶覺寺), a small temple with a stone monument also in memory of the Taiwanese war-dead. The workers at both sites told us that the names were copied directly from Yasukuni Jinja in Tokyo. The key to acceptance for us the surviving family members, in fact, is the authenticity and the accessibility of the name lists.

The name lists in Bao Jue Shi in Taichung are available only once a year during Chung Yuan Ji-e (中元節); whereas the ones in Bei-Pu are readily accessible to all family members, during office hours.

Ji-Hua Kung has two versions of the name lists. The first seems to be the original with names and pre-1945 addresses but without additional details. This may be an abbreviated Yasukuni version. The second is hand-written, categorized by family name



es and the original area of residence. With the latter, the location or the "address" of the name plates can be easily found. There are unavoidable errors and omissions, the true original is still the one preserved inside the Yasukuni.

二第共	1025	1013	798	2516	
桂	小林	松山	有間	岩井	谷沢
一	敬	忠	重	昌	信
天	義	男	助	雄	吉
20	10	10	10	10	10
8	10	10	10	10	10
19	10	10	10	10	10

This page has recorded my father's name (third from right)

Without digitization at present time, it is very difficult to complete the name lists of all who went down with Shinsei Maru. On the other hand, I was able to seek out the names of my father and Dr Chen陳茂淇 and Dr Hong洪元約in the record books and where their name plates are placed in the building. It is not to tally impossible to recover the names; although the incomplete personal data remain a major obstacle.



Name plate of my father

In fact, it was Professor Lung Ying-Tai together with her colleagues film directors 王小棣 and 黃黎明 who took me to Ji-Hua Gong. And in Lung's book 《大江大海—1949》, Shinsei Maru was prominently mentioned together with stories on my mother and myself. This was the first time the public became aware of the ship and the consequence of its loss.

In 2017, through the efforts of Chief Executive of Wu Feng Agricultural Association, Mr Huang Jing-Jian (黃景建), the Min Sheng Story House was born. In which a permanent display of Shinsei Maru story was featured.





Photo courtesy of Min Sheng Story House

This house was actually the clinic and residence of Dr 林鵬飛, a classmate of my father's when they attended medical school together. After Dr Lin's retirement, the house remained unused for almost three decades. Then students of Asia University came upon the idea of uncovering its past. With the guidance of Head Librarian 廖淑娟, and other teachers of Wu Feng Study, they did uncover its long lost history. When the agricultural association expanded its wine-making operation, they bought the land together with the building. With the efforts of a renovation-cultural history-arts team, the house was transformed magically into the present Story House.

Chapter 11.

A Letter to My Son

Dear Felix,

As you know our family suffered a great loss on Jan 12, 1945. It is the day my father and your grand father's ship was attacked in Saigon by the Americans. He lost his life at age 31, together with many other physicians on board. They were all draftees from Taiwan as members of the Medical Corps of the Imperial Japanese Navy. You have never met him of course. Even I was only one year and 2 months old at the time when he perished, so I do not remember anything about him at all. Your grandma seldom mentioned him except in passing that they had a successful medical practice in Tamsui, named 興亞醫院. That the patients sometimes paid in foodstuff in lieu of cash. And that he enjoyed a cold beer with lobster after seeing patients. This peaceful life did not last long, though. Your grandfather soon received a draft notice ordering him to report to duty and to go on a transport ship in Kaohsiung. The ship 神靖丸 (Shinsei Maru) left the Port of Kaohsiung on Dec 1, 1944. I remember seeing a postcard which he mailed home in late Dec, 1944, from Hong Kong before sailing on



to Saigon. Grandma had written an autobiography (in Chinese) and the parts that describe this period with her reaction to the news of his death were emotionally charged as you can imagine. I will try to translate it for you at some point.

And thanks to the internet, now I have a somewhat complete story of what happened on that fateful day as well as the circumstances leading up to it. I have now put together a narrative for you, so you can learn a most important chapter in our family history.

I am sure you recall the movie “Midway” which we watched together not long ago. In which I have pointed out one character, Admiral William Halsey, to you and mentioned that this person was the one responsible for the attack on Shinsei Maru. However, that was an over-simplification. The Battle of Midway occurred on June 4 –7, 1942, soon after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor (Dec 7, 1941) . The Pacific War intensified after Midway and the battleground gradually moved westward through Guadalcanal, the Solomons, and eventually to the Philippines. The Japanese Empire was in retreat. And the Pacific Third Fleet Commander during that period was Admiral Halsey. This sets the background.

What I have found about Shinsei Maru are the following:

The ship was built in 1943 in 函館船渠 (Hakodate Dock Co) in Hokkaido with a tonnage of 2,700 tons. It was owned and operated by 栗林商船株式会社 (東京) —Kuribayashi Shosen, Inc of Tokyo. Both companies are still in existence today.

It was docked at Cape Saint Jacques when hit by a bomb from a Grumman F6F Hellcat, followed by another bomb and a torpedo, and sank at 9:55AM, Jan 12, 1945. According to a book "Diary of a Military Doctor" written by a survivor Dr Wu Ping-Chen, out of 59 doctors, only 18 survived; all 3 pharmacists died; 80 physician's assistants, 25 survived; 200 medical workers, 52 survived. Altogether, of the 342 Taiwanese on board, 247 died. In addition, 12 soldiers - 6 died and 30 crew members - 10 died.

Inside Port Saint Jacques, in addition to Shinsei Maru, 6 other ships were also destroyed. Outside Port Saint Jacques, and inside Saigon Harbor, 9 ships in each location were also sunk. Port Saint Jacques is 120 km by land and 80 km by sea from Saigon.

The air raids were quite intense according to a US



Naval Analysis interrogation report of Japanese Naval officers who witnessed the wave-after-wave attacks on Jan 12, 1945. And in the same report, the officer in charge of the transport operation for the whole region turned out to be one HORIUCHI Shigetada, Rear Admiral, I.J.N. He was a career officer of 31 years' service. His principal war time combat experience was in the First Southern Advance Fleet in the latter half of 1942 and was charged with air protection of convoys during the last eight months of the war. Despite his extensive experience, he certainly had failed his duty in providing air and sea escorts for the transport ships. And yet he blamed it squarely on the High Command, see: (<http://ibiblio.org/hyperwar/AAF/US/SBS/IJO/IJO-47.html>)

"Q. What were your most important missions?

A. The most important missions in my area were: first, to protect the shipping of oil from the south to the EMPIRE; second, the supplying of the PHILIPPINES. I must confess that both missions failed. It is my opinion that although the officers assigned to convoy duty fully appreciated the vital strategic importance of maintaining supply lines to keep the Combined Fleet able to operate at all, the high command took the counsel, short sighted, of the Combined Fleet Staff in

allocating insufficient strength to the maintenance of the vital supply lines. Convoy officers were only specialist auxiliaries of the Main Force and became the refore important (sic, should be 'important') ."

He died in 1984 at age 87, without having to pay for his war-time dereliction of duty. Indeed, the Shinsei Maru convoy (of perhaps 5 transport ships all together) was escorted by only one tiny mine sweeper (the W-102) en route from Kaohsiung to Hong Kong. And by another 500-ton gun boat, sunk in an air raid, from Yulin to Saigon. I hold him, on the Japanese side, personally responsible for the demise of Shinsei Maru.

So who were those US raiders and where were they based? We can surmise from WW-II time-line in the Pacific recorded in (<http://www.historyplace.com/unitedstates/pacificwar/timeline.htm#1945>) which listed the following partial list:

January 3, 1945—Gen. MacArthur is placed in command of all U.S. ground forces and Adm. Nimitz in command of all naval forces in preparation for planned assaults against Iwo Jima, Okinawa and Japan itself.



January 4, 1945—British occupy Akyab in Burma.

January 9, 1945—U.S. Sixth Army invades Lingayen Gulf on Luzon in the Philippines.

January 11, 1945—Air raid against Japanese bases in Indochina by U.S. Carrier-based planes.

Notice the last entry: The key is “US Carrier-based planes” . The question is which carrier (s) ?

According to (<http://www.cv6.org/1945/1945.htm>) :

“Enterprise's first strikes of 1945 were against airfields on Luzon, Philippines, followed by raids into Indo-China, and five major strikes on shipping and installations along the Indo-China and South China Sea coasts.”

Therefore USS Enterprise is the prime suspect; although there were other carriers as well. In fact, by December 1944, the Enterprise was officially operating as a night attack carrier with the USS Independence. In this role, she participated in attacks in January 1945 as part of the invasion of Luzon.

During this operation, the American carriers sank a total of 300,000 tons of Japanese shipping and destroyed over 600 aircraft, to a loss of 200 American planes.

There is another entry on Jan 12, 1945, in (<http://www.cv6.org/ship/logs/vtn90/vtn90-4501.htm#19450112>)

This is the VT (N) -90 Squadron (The Avenger dive-bombers) based on USS Enterprise:

“Thursday (i.e., Jan 11, 1945) evening we had an extensive briefing session on the Camranh Bay and Cape St. Jacques areas which were considered among the most likely hiding places for the Jap fleet.”

And on Jan 12, 1945: "The pilots on the strike were Lt. Kippen (Russell F. Kippen) , Ens. Jennings (Joseph F. Jennings) , Ens. Landon (James D. Landon) , Lt (jg) Ashton (John M. Ashton) , Lt (jg) Cromley (William L. Cromley) , Lt. White (Melber A. White) , Lt. Cummings (Ralph W. Cummings) , Lt. Collins (C. B. Collins) , Lt (jg) Brooks (Charles E. Brooks) and Ens. Atkinson. Four VT and 12 VF from the Independence also joined us in the attack.

The convoy was located in Kanfong Bay and turned out to be a group of fifteen ships (the convoy and its escorts) . There were three DDs, four DEs, three SA, two FTC, two TB and one CL of the Katori class (though the latter was not positively identified until later) . Kippen led the



attack, going for the CL and scoring a straddle with some damage done. Jennings went after a DD scoring two hits and strafed an SA. Landon made runs on a DD and an SA getting a direct hit on the stern of the latter, leaving it settling and dead in the water. Ashton and Cromley both attacked SAs with no hits, and both were hit by enemy fire in the wing or elevators. Both returned, scared but safe. Lt (jg) Brooks and Lt. Cummings both went for DEs and DDs but scored no hits.”

There was, however, no mention of an attack on Cape Saint Jacques. It is unknown if this was an omission or a wartime confusion. It did mention that the mission was joined by fighter planes from USS Independence (i.e., the VTs and the VFs) .

It is possible that one of the 12 VF fighters (i.e., the Hellcats) , rather than the ones from the Enterprise, might have been responsible for sinking Shinsai Maru. The fighters from USS Independence did destroy 9 merchant vessels during several tours of duty. The pilots mentioned in the log above all died later when attacking Okinawa and Taiwan.

Even more details can be found in
(<https://www.ibiblio.org/hyperwar/USN/USN-Chron/USN-Chron-1945.html>)

In which the destruction of Shinsei Maru was recorded, among a very long list, as “... oil tanker Kumagawa Maru and transports Shinsei Maru and Toyu Maru off Cape St. Jacques, 10°20'N, 107°45'E...” and “Combined, TF 38 sank 41 ships on this day.”

This was known as “Operation Gratitude” carried out by Task Force 38 under Vice Adm John S. McCain (who was the grandfather of late Senator McCain). And TF38 turns out to be a large scale operation consisting of 5 Groups. And one of which TG38.5 had USS Enterprise and USS Independence as the core carriers. The VT squadron mentioned above was part of this group.

We know the Third Fleet Commander at that time was William Halsey, Jr (1882–1959). In January, 1945. As a fleet commander, Halsey was then responsible for the death of Shinsei Maru. More directly involved, in executing the war plan as the commander of TF38, was John S McCain Sr (who died in 1945). The pilots of the Hellcats who administered the fatal blow to Shinsei Maru remained un-identified.

The Enterprise suffered severe damages not long after; the last one on May 14, 1945 incurred by a Japa



nese Kamikaze pilot. 14 died and 34 were wounded.

And unexpectedly in the archives of神奈川新聞 (Kanagawa News) , I came across the following: (<http://www.halmoniharaboji.net/exhibit/archives/disp00/S0016.html>)

1955.05.26一戦時中米軍機にサイゴン港で撃沈された神靖丸の引揚 元日本兵300名の遺骨を発見 元乗組員の生存者は「軍が台湾高雄市で徴収した台湾現地人で身分は醫務工員だ」

This is a collection of headlines. Surprisingly, news on May 26, 1955 reported that the wreckage of Shinsei Maru was discovered and the remains of 300 Japanese soldiers found.

There is a key phrase here "Hi-Ki A-Ge", which means “sent back to the home country” . The survivors (in reference to 1945) were identified as soldiers from Kaohsiung City in Taiwan and were Taiwanese medical workers.

No one informed our family of this discovery, though. There was no international communication between Taiwan and outside world at that time.

We have known since 1987 when Grandma finally located your grandfather, enshrined together with

28,000 other Taiwanese war-dead, in (靖国神社) Yasukuni Jinja in Tokyo. In late October 2008, I have also visited Yasukuni and was directed by a friend to the nearby (千鳥ヶ淵戦没者墓苑) Chidorigafuchi National Cemetery. Which, to my utter surprise, was built in 1959 to receive the remains of WWII war-dead, including those recovered from Indo-China. In one instant, I realized that this was where the remains sent back from Vietnam in 1966 were buried. It has 6 floors all underground. This is your grandfather's final resting place!

The Americans started air raids on transport ships on Jan 11, 1945 and Japan surrendered on Aug 15, 1945 – a mere 7 months later. According to one of the survivors Dr Wu, they were all on deck enjoying the scenery, then your grandfather decided to go below deck to study. And soon after, the bombs and torpedo hit. The ship sank head first and that was where the doctors' quarters were located. Your grandfather could not escape his fate – and our family suffers the consequence to this day. It is important to remember that we must not dwell on this tragic past (we never have, not your grandma, nor I) . I am also so very grateful that Grandma stayed with us for all this time;



although Christmas dinners without her will never be the same. One consolation maybe that they are now finally together, after 63 years.

Love,

Dad

Chapter 12.

Love and Peace: Memorial at Tamsui World Peace Park



Sculpture of 'mother holding a baby'



The theme of the sculpture comes from a passage in Mrs Yu-Yeh Cheng, my mother's memoir:

Excerpt from 第二章 烽火緣 (Chapter 2 Marriage forged in fire)

…一九四五年約十月右左、淡水鎮公所通知我去領子昌的骨灰、同時發一張戰死證明。我正巧患上瘧疾、不能起床發高燒不斷的說怎麼會?

… around October 1945, Tamsui Township office not



ified me to collect Tze-Chang' s ashes and to receive a war death certificate. I happened to be bed-ridden with high fever from malaria and can only mutter continuously, how is that possible?

…二哥嘉昌抱我兒子去領回。我母親好不容易才勸住我的哭鬧、又要照顧我的病、兒子由誰照顧他? 她用盡了激將法才讓我安靜下來。

… my second brother-in-law Jia-Chang carrying my son and went to retrieve the items. My mother tried to calm me down, but, I not only have to take care my own health but also worry about who will be taking care of my son? My mother was able to finally pacify me using a kind of reverse psychology.

… 依照日本人的習慣、用白色布包好一個木箱而已。我年輕不懂怎麼處理這個木箱、由我母親建議在客廳設靈座、按台灣人習俗、早晚敬拜茶飯、燒香、燒紙錢等等。又叫我穿黑色衣服、只好臨時趕做。頭髮上插一朵白毛線做的花。並且告訴我、死了丈夫要守重孝、三年之內一切娛樂被禁止、外出更談不上。早晚敬拜茶飯、還叫我唱哭什麼命苦等、我那會唱只流淚不已或大哭而已。

… According to Japanese custom, the wooden box containing a deceased ashes is wrapped in white linen. I was too young to know what to do with the box. My mother suggested to set up an altar and perform daily Taiwanese rituals of honoring the dead. I was asked to wear black, which was quickly arranged, and to pin a small whi

te ribbon in my hair as a sign of mourning. In Taiwan custom, a widow must stay home for a mourning period of 3 years, during which, no socializing is permitted and wailing was a must, which I can only weep or cry a river of tears.

守孝期間唯一活動、即抱我兒子坐在淡水河邊看對岸觀音山日落、日落景色是相當美麗它是台灣八大景色之一。但我的腦海是空洞的、並不是在欣賞美景、而在想往後母子二人生活怎麼過？子昌雖然在淡水街上開業行醫、但時間並不長、即時他有錢留下、但守孝三年坐吃山空、談何容易、命運注定好在我有一技之長、可以恢復護士工作。

During the mourning period, the only thing I could do was to hold my son sitting at the edge of Tamsui River and watched across the River, Guan Yin Mountain sunset, the latter one of the eight famed sceneries of Taiwan. My brain was actually not registering beauty of the sights for I was planning how to survive. Tze-Chang was practicing medicine in Tamsui although only for a short period. The savings is insufficient to sustain three years of mourning. Luckily, as fate has it that I can still go back to nursing profession.



Acknowledgments

Much of my adulthood, my mother's later years, and my son's entire being have all received the strongest support of my wife, Betty Chao. She holds down the fort allowing me to pursue interests away from home, often in foreign countries. And without her encouragement, writing of this book would not have been possible. I am truly fortunate to have her as my life's partner.

Thanks are also due to my fellow surviving children of Shinsei Maru physicians, especially 陳真智 and 洪美和, who have all shared their own tales with me.

I also must thank Prof Lung Ying-Tai for calling attention, in her masterpiece “大江大海1949”, to a small part of Taiwan history long hidden from public view. And Film Directors 王小棣 and 黃黎明, too, have made the story come alive.

Ex-mayor of Tamsui, now Xin-Bei City Councilman, Mr 蔡葉偉, is the force behind the construction of Peace and Love sculpture, now on permanent display in Tamsui World Peace Park.

Acknowledgment is extended to Mr 黃景建, Chief Executive of Wu Feng Agricultural Association, for building a permanent Shinsei Maru memorial in

Ming Sheng Story House.

There are many others to express my gratitude to, as along the way, they have extended helping hands, even though they are neither family members nor old friends. Everything is pre-ordained, then. Here I would like to thank them all.



Appendix 1.

Remembering townspeople of Tamsui who perished in the Pacific War

War-dead:

A total of 17 of two groups, one group of 6 was on board of Shinsei Maru, based on IJN report soon after the ship was sunk. They are

鄭子昌 醫師

張根池 農業生產工員

郭福林 農業生產工員

陳九連 農業生產工員

張流和 農業生產工員

余成財 神靖丸船員

The names of another group of 12 was copied from Yasukuni Jinja, they died as members of IJN in Taiwan and the Philippines, and on board of Gokoku Maru :

許居

周金順

曾丁旺

張忠信（護國丸戰死）

吳鍊

鄭國灶（護國丸戰死）

江阿珠

王文溪

張清雲

李登欽（戰死馬尼拉）

謝阿簣

李英哲

（indicates illegible original hand-written version）



Civilians:

On October 12, 1944, a VT-18 squadron, based on carrier USS Intrepid bombed oil storage tanks of Shell Oil Co, and Tamsui Seaplane Port. Twenty civilians died in this raid including a child and a visitor from out of town, their names have never been announced officially. We know Mr 周炳銘, and a taxi driver were killed near Tamsui Station. Also killed were a school boy and ex-Mayor Tsai Yeh-Wei's maternal grandparents Mr 葉埤 and Mrs 黃心 when the air-raid shelter was hit by an off-the-target bomb. There was also an unknown visitor from out-of-town.

Merchant seamen:

Yet another group of 14 who were merchant seamen, died after their ships were sunk by American air and/or naval forces. The names are compiled by 郭芳瑩女士 from 平洋戰爭沈沒艦船遺体調査大鑑（池田貞枝著;1977）：

曾春水

林玉華

吳文

李水成

盧秋明

王福

郭金生

胡大章

吳天吉

曾亂

張銘益

張傑榮

傅金芳

李春成



Physicians on board Shinsei Maru

Part of name lists of physicians and medical workers, compiled by ship master sergeant 平田楠雄Hirata Masuo soon after the ship was sunk:

[illegible]

長峰	呂克應	伍朝彬	黃金來	蕭德祥	李火墩	林天送	宮鼎德二	陳添丁	吳玉唐
台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南
台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南
台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南
台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南
台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南
台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南
台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南
台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南
台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南

黃炳煌	江鐘揚	陳南山	中原忠太	宋心榮	黃明賢	陳煥文	劉甲乙	高成銘	張鼎勳	張阿環	莊俊哲	陳瑞麟	陳錫鈴	南新國男	黃州祥
台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南
台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南
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台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南
台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南
台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南
台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南	台南

Name list of physicians, both surviving and perished, on board Shinsei Maru:

台北州（包括宜蘭）：

存：

林坤萍一已故，台灣總督府台北醫學專門學校1934年畢業。



林輝隆—已故，台灣總督府台北醫學專門學校1935年畢業。

黃榮堂—已故，岩手醫專畢業。

歿：

施金旺—台灣總督府台北醫學專門學校1929年畢業。

鄭子昌—台北帝國大學附屬醫學專門部1941年畢業。

王式玉—台灣總督府台北醫學專門學校1928年畢業。

李德輝—台北帝國大學附屬醫學專門部1938年畢業。

眼科醫。

吳幼聰—九州醫大畢業。1919年生。

另三人不詳

新竹州：

存：

陳德煥—九留米醫學專門學校1942年畢業。

歿：

楊文忠—昭和醫學專門學校1941年畢業。

連煥文—台灣總督府台北醫學專門學校1934年畢業。

戴俊誦（中壢人）—查不到。

徐清諒—查不到。

江森仁—查不到。

另四人不詳

台中州：

存：

黃敦厚—慶應大學婦產科醫師及副教授 戰後回台在彰化縣北斗鎮家鄉開婦產科診所。已故。

歿：

洪元約—台灣總督府台北醫學專門學校1935年畢業。

李朝湖—查不到。

林伯槐—東京醫專1934年畢業。

張清山—查不到。

陳佰林—查不到。

另五人不詳—其中之一可能是陳茂淇醫師，原是烏日籍，但早已遷到西螺開業，應屬台南州。

台南州：

存：

陳篡地—日本大阪高等醫學專校1933年畢業。已故。

陳德文—日本九州大學醫學部畢業。已故。

陳自輝—查不到。已故。

鍾德添—1942年畢業於日本新瀉醫大。

林清輝—查不到。

施軍燭—查不到。

胡炳三—東京醫專畢業。

吳昆三—查不到。



方玉昌一查不到。

吳平城—日本岩手醫專1938年畢業。已故。

歿：

陳茂淇—補正：日本大學醫學科1935年畢業。

劉占輝—日本昭和醫專1939-40年畢業。

何有立—東京醫專畢業。

魏振聲一查不到。

許銀財一查不到。

鄭慶朝—台灣總督府醫學校1926年畢業。

陳嘉德一查不到。

郭安邦—台北帝國大學附屬醫學專門部1938年畢業。

林永泰—台北帝國大學附屬醫學專門部1941年畢業。

林宗柏一查不到（藥師）。

高雄州：

存：

陳金頓一查不到。

孫瑞蒸—台北帝國大學附屬醫學專門部1940年畢業。

李飛鵬—平壤醫學院畢業。

歿：

黃煥禎一查不到。

林啟豐一查不到。

潘作揖一查不到。

施澤民一查不到。

張鏡川—台北帝國大學附屬醫學專門部1939年畢業。

黃任善—台北帝國大學附屬醫學專門部1937年畢業。

林沙圭—查不到。

李春生—查不到。

郭鴻文—東京帝國大學醫學科畢業。1921年生。

注有"查不到"的,可能是在日本或外地醫專畢業,或資料已失.

The original name list was compiled by Dr Wu
Ping-Chen in his
軍醫日記.

