

# Endnotes

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## Introduction

- 1 Gammeltoft 2014; Gaonkar 2002; Kelty 2005; Marcus 1995.
- 2 Anderson investigates how print capitalism made the nationally imagined community possible by pointing out that although printing was invented in China perhaps 500 years earlier than in Europe, its impact there was not revolutionary precisely because of the absence of capitalism. Nationalism, he forcefully argues, was mechanically created by reproduced print-language capable of dissemination through the market (1991 [1983]: 44).

While Anderson makes the case that print capitalism laid the base for national consciousness, it was Harvey who thoroughly delved into the development of late capitalism and linked it to the appearance of postmodern imaginations. He elucidated how the flexible accumulation of capital compressed spatial and temporal experiences, which further mediated postmodern ways of thinking and doing (1990: 201). The cultural forms of postmodernism are the consequence of this mode of capitalism, or to follow Harvey's later usage, neoliberalism (2005).

- 3 This perspective is especially clear in recent work on southern and eastern Africa. Deploying a sharp sense of the economic changes in South Africa, Comaroff and Comaroff illustrated how the people's mounting preoccupation with zombie workers cannot be separated from neoliberal capitalism, which has created new classes, translocalized the division of labor, and rendered the financial order autonomous from production (1999; 2000; 2002). Zombies are thus an imaginative play, and a criticism of the world gone awry through grotesque figures imbued with despair, destruction, and terror (Comaroff and Comaroff 2000: 316). Similarly, Weiss has shown that the fantasies of urban youths in Tanzania, concretized in newly appearing barbershops (*kinyozi*), must be understood from the vantage of neoliberal reform in that country. Importantly, he points out that barbershops are forms of aspiration (2009: 36) that create possibilities and hope for young men. In these shops, where tradition and modernity are conflated, Tanzanians

imaginatively articulate the actual and the possible, and act on a world they remake for themselves.

- 4 I also conducted fieldwork on the island of Dongju; for more information, see Tsao and Lin (2013).

## Chapter 1

- 1 Liang Kejia, *Sanshan zhi*, in vol. 2 of *Siku quanshu zhenben liuji* (Taipei: Shangwu, 1976), 7a.
- 2 Du Zhen, (1684) *Yuemin xunshi jilue*, in vol. 5 of *Siku quanshu zhenben siji* (Taipei: Shangwu, 1973), 53b.
- 3 *Fujian tongzhi* in the Qianlong years mentions that “in Hongwu 20, people were moved to the county seat, and the two mountains were deserted.” See Hao Yulin et al. eds., *Fujian tongzhi* in vol. 3 of *Wenyuan ge siku quanshu* (Beijing: Shangwu, 2006 [a reprint based on the copy in the National Library of China]), 23a.
- 4 Huang Zhongzhao ed., *Bamin tongzhi*, in vol. 4 of *Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan shibu* (Beijing: Shumu wenxian, 1988), 24a.
- 5 *Li* is a Chinese measure of distance. Its definition has varied in history. In general, it can be said that one *li* is roughly 1/3 of a mile (1/2 km) (Wilkinson 2013).
- 6 Xu Jingxi, *Fuzhou fuzhi*, eds. Lu Zengyu et al., in vol. 13 of *Zhongguo fangzhi congshu* (Taipei: Chengwen, 1967 [reprint based on the copy in Qing Qianlong 19]), 20a–b.
- 7 Yu Yonghe, *Bihai jiyou*, in *Taiwan wenxian congkan* no. 44 (Taipei: Taiwan yinhang, 1959), 41.
- 8 Taiwan yinhang jingji yanjiushi ed., *Fujian shengli*, in *Taiwan wenxian congkan* no. 199 (Taipei: Taiwan yinhang, 1964), 707.
- 9 *Qing shilu*, *Gaozong chunhuangdi shilu* juan 1363 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986–7), Entry Jiachen on the 27th day of the 9th month of Qianlong 55, 292.
- 10 *Qing shilu*, *Gaozong chunhuangdi shilu* juan 1363, Entry Jiachen on the 27th day of the 9th month of Qianlong 55, 292.
- 11 Xu Shiyong, “Minhai xunji” (Patrolling records around the sea of Min), in *Xu shiyong* ed. by Anhuisheng zhengxie wenshi ziliao weiyuanhui and Dongzixian zhengxie wenshi ziliao weiyuanhui (Beijing: Zhongguo wenshi chubanshe, 1989), 77.
- 12 The nautical charts generally known as “Zheng He’s Nautical Charts” were originally entitled “Zi baochuanchang kaichuan cong Longjiangguan chushui zhidi waiguo zhufan tu” (Charts for leaving Baochuan shipyard, sailing to the sea through Longjiang Pass and directly heading for foreign countries) in *Wubei zhi* ed. by Mao Yuanyi in *Xuxiu siku quanshu* juan 240 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1995), 2b–24a. For relevant studies, see Xu Yuhu, “Zheng he xia xiyang hanghaitu kao” (A study on the nautical charts for the Great Voyages of Zheng He), *Dalu zazhi* 25 (12) (Taipei, 1962).
- 13 Du Zhen, *Yuemin xunshi jilue* juan 5, 53b–54a.
- 14 Viceroy of Minzhe Yude et al., “Wei nahuo zai yanghang jieshou huo daofei ji jiezang fuyi gefan shenming fenbie banli gongzhe juzoushi” (A deferential

- memorandum reporting in detail how the main culprits, accessories and helpers that robbed the foreign firm were caught and sentenced), in *Gongzhongdang Jiaqingchao zouzhe* 12 (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1993), entry in the 2nd month of Jiaqing 7 (vol. 2), 714.
- 15 “In Jiaqing 10, Cai Qian ordered this criminal to build shelters in Qinjiao Mountain in outlying Gantang ...and to exact prescribed taxes from each fishing household.” “The criminal Wu Xingdi, having his domicile of origin in Changle, procured rice for pirates four times and transported the rice to Qinjiao, where the pirates lived.” “The five criminals Zheng Lian, Ke Zhe, Zhu Ding, Zeng Xun and Chen Dong testified that they were all hanging nets in Qinjiao and were forced by Cai Qian and his followers to fetch freshwater for them once.” See Taiwan yinhang jingji yanjiushi ed. *Tai’an huilu xinji*, in *Taiwan wenxian congkan* 205th ser. (Taipei: Taiwan yinhang, 1964), 199, 123, 124.
  - 16 The National Bureau of Investigation and Statistics, commonly known as Juntongju, was the military intelligence agency of the Republic of China before 1946.
  - 17 By marked contrast, in my fieldwork in the agricultural communities in southern Taiwan (W. Lin 2015), people referred to the father as the “bucket hoop” of the family.
  - 18 The cited passage has been edited for fluency.
  - 19 This is not always the case now; some families have already bought altars for their ancestors. However, this is obviously influenced by Taiwan, and the altars are all purchased from there.
  - 20 C. Cao (2011).

## Chapter 2

- 1 Around 2014 a Matsu soldier discovered a big wall painting of the United States map while stripping old paint off the walls at the site in Nangang. The map presents a lively panorama of the characteristic of each state. It was probably painted out of nostalgia by the American soldiers from the USA Military Assistance and Advisory Group who were stationed in Matsu sometime between the 1950–70s. Outside this former base stands a faded stele erected by an American colonel in 1958.
- 2 Over time this was reduced to ten days of training once a year.
- 3 Szonyi’s book on Jinmen has shown in great detail how the military’s policies and construction of infrastructure deeply influenced the islanders’ social life. I won’t repeat those demonstrations here.
- 4 The precise layout of the houses has been modified to protect the identity of the residents.

## Chapter 3

- 1 Junguan hongpishu (2002), *Matsu Online*, July 28.
- 2 Yumingzheng (1961), *Matsu Daily*, June 9.
- 3 Y. Cao 2017: 52.

- 4 Y. Cao 2017: 52.
- 5 Y. Cao 2017: 52.
- 6 Nanbeigan yumin (1974), *Matsu Daily*, March 28.
- 7 Y. Cao 2017: 55.
- 8 Y. Cao 2017: 57.
- 9 Cao qije (1964), *Matsu Daily*, October 29.
- 10 Yuye xietiaohui (1965), *Matsu Daily*, April 14.
- 11 Yuye fuzeren (1965), *Matsu Daily*, May 21.
- 12 C. Liu (1965), *Matsu Daily*, May 30.
- 13 Sun (1966), *Matsu Daily*, October 17.
- 14 Xiapi jue (1974), *Matsu Daily*, June 30.
- 15 Zhihuiguan guanhuai (1962), *Matsu Daily*, August 15.
- 16 (Zhihuiguan) jian (1964), *Matsu Daily*, February 3.
- 17 Silinguan deyi (1966), *Matsu Daily*, January 18. *jin* is the local unit of weight; in Matsu, 1 *jin* is equivalent to 500 grams.
- 18 Silinguan gwanxin (1967), *Matsu Daily*, November 18.
- 19 Chenzhi (1968), *Matsu Daily*, July 1.
- 20 Dafang (1969), *Matsu Daily*, January 13.
- 21 H. Liu 2017: 42.
- 22 H. Liu 2017: 44.
- 23 H. Liu 2017: 44.
- 24 H. Liu 2017: 83. NT\$ (New Taiwan dollar) is Taiwan's currency. US\$1 is equivalent to around NT\$30.
- 25 Matsu Zhongxue (1960), *Matsu Daily*, June 25.
- 26 I conducted this interview in 2012. They swore their sisterhood in the 1970s.

## Chapter 4

- 1 Lianjiang xianzheng (1959), *Matsu Daily*, February 1.
- 2 Chedi genjue (1965), *Matsu Daily*, August 13. Genjue dubo (1972), *Matsu Daily*, October 9.
- 3 Jinju chahuo (1972), *Matsu Daily*, October 7.
- 4 The WZA chair came to supervise the burning, see Du nai (1970). *Matsu Daily*, July 4. Other reports recording the public burning of gambling paraphernalia appeared in *Matsu Daily* in the following years: 1966, 1970, 1972, 1973, 1975, 1976, 1978, 1979.
- 5 Chedi genjue (1965), *Matsu Daily*, August 13. Du nai (1970), *Matsu Daily*, July 4.
- 6 Yan (1979), *Matsu Daily*, April 19.
- 7 Dujue xiansan (1970), *Matsu Daily*, August 2.
- 8 Zhengweihui chongshen (1982), *Matsu Daily*, January 20.
- 9 Minzhong tigong (1983), *Matsu Daily*, October 18.
- 10 Y. Li (1965), *Matsu Daily*, August 3.
- 11 A mahjong table, which is square in shape, can easily be kept folded to save space when not playing.
- 12 Dongyin diqu (1976), *Matsu Daily*. April 9.

- 13 The fish are able to float on the surface of the water by inflating their air bladders. I thank Professor Jen-Chieh Shiao, Institute of Oceanography, National Taiwan University, for supplying information about the yellow croaker.
- 14 Z. Chen 2013: 104.
- 15 Indeed, after the WZA was abolished and the government stopped making arrests, many said “it wasn’t exciting anymore, so a lot of people just quit.”

## Chapter 5

- 1 For the process of democratization in Taiwan, see *Politics in Taiwan: Voting for Democracy* (Rigger 1999).
- 2 Banli guoxiao (2010a; 2010b).
- 3 For discussions of the physical and online virtual world, see Boellstorff (2008, 2012); Castells (1996); Miller and Slater (2000); Miller and Horst (2012).
- 4 According to current officials, this was due to the scarcity of arable land on the Matsu Islands.
- 5 See H. Liu’s (2016: 22) article “Air-Raid Shelter,” which describes an associate village head who commandeers a local yam field in order to build an air-raid shelter.
- 6 For example, see J. Liu’s (1994) report on the Juguang villager, Yang Jiaojin.
- 7 The petition eventually garnered 1,402 names, a significant portion of the permanent resident population of 5,000 to 6,000.

## Chapter 6

- 1 Liang Island is located in the north of Beigan. During an island exploration trip initiated by a Matsu commissioner in 2011, archeological remains were discovered there. They will be discussed in the conclusion of this book.
- 2 For example, Armstrong 2000; Kenny 1999; Winter and Sivan 1999.

## Chapter 8

- 1 In 2000, the Taiwan government implemented the “three small links” as temporary channels connecting Taiwan and China through Matsu and Jinmen at a time when an official agreement on cross-strait communication still had not been reached. However, it was a unilateral policy not accepted by China.
- 2 After several years in community development, Chen Chi-Nan took over the position of chairman of the CCA, and his attitudes have slightly changed. For example, he no longer argues that religion had not existed in the public domain. He said: “During the Qing dynasty, Taiwan saw a lot of ethnic conflicts. Religion at that time played an important role. Temple grounds became places for people to discuss public affairs” (Chen Chi-Nan 2004). Nevertheless, he still maintained that “‘Arts and culture’ should be the main

public platform, in which a ‘contemporary identity’ should replace a ‘traditional [religious] identity’, so a new ‘community of arts and culture’ can be formed” (ibid.). In other words, his main thesis is still that contemporary arts and cultural activities should replace traditional religious practices in creating new communities.

- 3 The literature of research on community building projects is huge. For a recent and comprehensive analysis, see A. Lee (2017).
- 4 Under martial law in the 1970s, few presses in Taiwan published foreign works of literature or scholarship. Zhiwen Press established its pioneering “New Wave Series” in 1967 and began to systematically translate and publish essential Western books, including works of literature, philosophy, psychology, music, film, fine arts, history, and so on. The “New Wave Series” opened a window onto the rest of the world; it is difficult to overstate its influence in shaping the thought of a whole generation of Taiwanese.
- 5 Yang’s research on southern Taiwan describes a very similar phenomenon (H. Yang 2007: 268).
- 6 The two days include the one earlier chosen for political unification, and the one selected in this second negotiation process.
- 7 A “fire-barrier gable” refers to a roof that is ridged, like fire moving along the outer walls of the Matsu temple, which can prevent fire from spreading.
- 8 The values are “five qualities of life” (*wuyi*), which include ethical, intellectual, physical, social, and aesthetic training (Timing 2011).

## Chapter 9

- 1 Tianhou, literally “The Queen of the Heaven,” is another term for Goddess Mazu.
- 2 Tianhougong zuori (1964). *Matsu Daily*, May 5.
- 3 Jiabin huilin (1970) *Matsu Daily*, January 24; Lu zhuwei (1971), *Matsu Daily*, September 17; Wu Jinzan (1978). *Matsu Daily*, January 8.
- 4 China initiated small-scale trade exchanges between its southeast provinces and Taiwan in 1994, but these were regarded as unofficial.
- 5 On the importance of carrying deity statues in temple exchanges, see Lin 2015.

## Chapter 10

- 1 The forerunner of the Taima Ferry was a ferry across the Seto Inland Sea of Japan. It began service in 1985 and was bought by the Lianjiang county government from Japan in 1997, becoming Taiwan’s longest serving ship (Pan 2010).
- 2 Each year, from October to the following March, northeast monsoons produce a very high rate of waves at level 9 or above, and the Taima Ferry attempts fewer voyages.
- 3 On April 29, 2017, as the ferry was returning to Matsu from Keelung, it was stuck at sea for seven hours. See X. Wang (2017).
- 4 For example, see S. Yang (2010) and Qihua Liu (2010).

- 5 In 2017, Jinmen voted on whether to allow the gaming industry, but the proposal failed.
- 6 Their website can be found at [www.worldcasinodirectory.com/owners/global-gaming-asset-management](http://www.worldcasinodirectory.com/owners/global-gaming-asset-management) (Accessed December 25, 2017).
- 7 Code 1: less than 800 meters; Code 2: 800–1200 meters; Code 3: 1200–1800 meters; Code 4: more than 1800 meters.
- 8 For “another source of hope,” see pinkheart (2012), for “seize an opportunity,” see Feimaotui (2012), and for “bet on the future,” see Hongbeiwang (2012).

### **Conclusion**

- 1 Huigu 101 (2012).