

Plaut, Hermann. "Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Insel Formosa" [Contributions to the knowledge of the island Formosa]. *Mittheilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin* 6, i (1903): 28-62. Partial English translation in Human Relations Area Files, AD1, Formosa, #19. Transcribed by Elai Kobayashi-Solomon.

[28] During the course of her history, Japan had made two attempts to gain a foothold on Formosa before the much praised and highly abused island finally passed into her possession; the first time was in 1614-5, when the Shogun Iyeyasu ordered the Governor of Nagasaki, Marayama Toan to take 3-4,000 men, and to seize Takasago, as the Japanese called Formosa at that period. He succeeded in establishing himself, but a few years later he abandoned his conquered territory as he was not receiving sufficient support from his homeland. The second landing of Japanese troops occurring in 1874. Some shipwrecked Japanese had been murdered by the wild Butangs, and as the Chinese Government refused to make any compensation, General Saigo Tsugumichi was dispatched to Formosa with 3500 men. His forces conquered the savages without much difficulty, and then began to settle in the territory which they had conquered; but they were recalled that same year after China had pledged to pay an indemnity.

Finally on the 14th of April 1895, the treaty of Shimonoseki forced China to cede Formosa with all of its islands and the Pescadores to Japan, and then the Japanese Government began rapidly and energetically to establish order in her new possession. The difficulties were formidable, for the Chinese residents of the island did not look upon the new masters with good grace; then, too, the Japanese were not sure about the best methods of procedure at first, so they were groping and uncertain, and several times they were forced to change their system. That was due to the fact that the local administration was often quite unsuitable for applying the good suggestions of the officials. But finally the administration was organized in an intelligent and permanent fashion, and since 1898 the island has progressed steadily under the energetic and intuitive guidance of the Governor General, Lieutenant General Kodama Gentaro, and the tireless labor of the skilled and discrete Civil Governor Dr. Goto Shimpei.

Anyone who knew the conditions [EJ: previous to Japanese occupation] realized that if the new order were to be a permanent one, it would have to be based on the existing circumstances; these circumstances were the culture, customs, laws and habits of the [29] most important and largest element of the population, or the Chinese, and so the first thing to do was to make a thorough study of the old system. A number of capable men were set to this task, and they collected a great deal of material. An imperial decree established a Commission to inquire into the old customs on Formosa, and it was under the direction of Okamatsu Santaro, Professor of Law at Kyoto University. This group was charged to examine the available information and to get some more. That was on the 25th of October 1901. That same year Professor

Okamatsu published his first report by order of the Governor General, and in 1902 it appeared in English under the title of "Provisional Report on Investigations of Laws and Customs in the Island of Formosa compiled by order of the Governor-General of Formosa by Santaro Okamatsu."

The report begins with a brief survey of the history, administration and judicial procedures of the island, then there is a detailed description of the legal status of the lands, their division according to the nature and utilization of the soil, the land tax, inheritance and loss, purchase, sale and lease, as well as of the legal forms relating to these contracts, and there is also a discussion of irrigation and the rights and taxes which it entails. In conclusion he has a brief discussion of the family rights of the Chinese inhabitant. In an appendix he has added a glossary of the Chinese terms which were used in the work, and then there are 89 "References," or examples of documents in Chinese, as they are used in various legal affairs.

All in all, the report is a valuable contribution not only to our knowledge of Formosa, but to the study of comparative jurisprudence as well.

I obtained most of my material about the Chinese population of Formosa from the work of Okamatsu, but I have omitted the question of the properties, as that was given in too great detail. The data on the natives is based first on a report made by two assistants to the Civil Government of Formosa, the scholar Ino Yoshinori and Awano Denno jo [sic]; they prepared this for the Civil Governor Goto (Taiwan banjin jijo, Status of the savages on Formosa) January 9 Meiji 32 (1899). Taipei (Taihoku), Meiji 33 (1900) and secondly it is based on the first number of a periodical Banjo-Kenkyu-Kwai-shi that is the periodical of the Society to Investigate the Conditions of the Savages.) Tokyo, Meiji 31, (1898).¹ This society was founded in 1898 to study the island of Formosa and the status of its native inhabitants.

. . . [Portion not translated: the first section of "Administration and administration of justice on Formosa under Chinese rule," pp. 30-32, which dealt with governmental hierarchy and administrative geography.]

[32] Liu-Ming-Chuan [EJ: the Chinese Viceroy appointed in 1884] was eager to make Formosa more progressive. So he built a railroad from Kelung to the capital T'ai-pei-fu, and from there on to Hsin-chu; he connected the capital T'ai-pei to T'ai-nan and the Pescadores with a telegraph line, and then he made Formosa a part of the world

¹ Transcriber's footnote: The two sources cited in this paragraph are the following: 1) Inō Kanori (伊能嘉矩), and Awano Dennojō (粟野傳之丞), *Taiwan banjin jijō* 臺灣蕃人事情 [Affairs of the savages of Taiwan] (Taihoku: Taiwan Sōtokufu Minseibu Banshoka, 1900); and 2) the journal *Banjō kenkyūkai shi* 蕃情研究會誌, which began publication in 1898.

telegraph system by constructing a cable to Futchou. He also established a well-regulated postal system. Industry, including sugar, also received his support. Although Liu-Ming-Chuang's administration was very beneficial for Formosa, he aroused much dissatisfaction by raising the taxes and levying an inland duty, for the previous revenues were not sufficient to defray the costs of his innovations.

We should give particular attention to the viceroy's [EJ: i.e., the Chinese Viceroy Liu-Ming-Chuan, appointed in 1884] efforts to enclose the natives' territory. During the course of time the natives who lived in the western plain, the P'ing-pu-fan, Formosan Pe-po-huan "plain savages" and the Shou-fan, Formosan Sek-huan "ripe savages" or half-tamed ones, had been conquered or else they had retired into the inaccessible mountains of the eastern portion of the island, where the Sheng-fan, Formosan Tseng-huan, the most uncivilized tribes have lived in a state of complete independence for a long time. There was a continual battle between the settlers and the mountain savages; the settlers were eager to push their boundaries farther into the native domain, while the natives used every opportunity to attack isolated settlers or unprotected villages, and in this way they got their revenge and secured some more Chinese heads. Prior to the time of Liu-Ming-Chuan, the Governors had not followed any definite plan with regard to the savages, and in general they allowed the settlers to defend themselves as well as they could; the viceroy undertook to find a means of overcoming this handicap and he resolved to civilize the natives. For this purpose he established the "Training and Development Bureau", Fu-k'en-chu, (Japanese Bu-kon-kyoku). He had set himself the enormous task of educating the savages and of making the land arable.

To fulfill this plan, he established three principal bureaus in Ta-ku-kuan, Tung-shi-chiao and Pei-nan [33] and then had twelve branch offices, one in each of the Hsien cities, I-lan, Yün-lin, Pu-li-she and Lien-hua-chiang, while the twelve others were in Su-ao, A-li, San-chiao-yung, Wu-chi-shan, Shuang-hsi, T'ien-wei, Hsien-ts'ai-weng, Ta-hu, Fang-liao, Nan-hu, Shui-chang-jung, and Hsiu-ku-luan. To attract settlers from the mainland, he set up settler recruiting bureaus in Amoi, Swatow and Hongkong.

The personnel of the bureaus consisted of 1 commissioner, 3 clerks, 5 policemen, 2 interpreters, 1 cook and 1 native maid. Then there was also 1 doctor and 1 barber. All of these employees were well paid: the commissioner, who was the superintendent of the branch office, received 30-80 taels a month, each clerk had 14-25, a policeman had 6-7, the first interpreter 20, the second 14-15, the maid 7, the cook 4-5 taels, and they all received free board. The interpreters had the hardest task, for they had to work with the savages and make them in favor of the Government's projects. The yearly expenditures of a branch office averaged about 6000 taels, and then in addition to that there was the food and equipment for the protecting troops. All of these expenses were defrayed by the revenue from the camphor monopoly.

As the savages are on a low cultural plane, it was necessary to be sparing with proofs of their good intentions, for it would have been an easy matter to have spoiled them. Accordingly interpreters went to them with gifts, and tried to persuade them to surrender; then at the same time the natives saw the protecting troops at frequent intervals, so any idea of insubordination was nipped in the bud. Those who showed their readiness to collaborate were given rice, grain, meat, salt and vegetables; every month the barber paid them a visit, and at the end of the year they received clothing, oxen, and sows. Many of the natives entered the Chinese service as fire watchers and interpreters, in return for a monthly compensation, and then fathers sent their children to the school which was established for them in front of the south gate of T'ai-pei; there they received instruction in the dialect of the natives as well as in Classical Chinese.

As the viceroy realized that one of the chief means of civilizing wild peoples is to bring them into contact with educated people, he had the troops build an 80 kilometer road from Chang-hua diagonally across the mountain to Shui-wei on the east coast; the result was that many of the inhabitants of the interior and the eastern part of the island surrendered, they adopted the Manchu queue, and began to till the soil.

The stations of the Training and Development Bureau [EJ: established by the Chinese in 1884 to facilitate the acculturation of the Formosan natives] did not have a conspicuous success. Part of the blame may be laid on the changeable and distrusting nature of the savages, but the greed of the Chinese settlers and officials was the principal cause of the failure. For example, the natives were accustomed to bring their products into the settlements and to exchange them for wares which they [34] used for farming or for decoration. But the Chinese, who were only thinking about the momentary profit and not about the consequences, also sold them weapons. Finally the Government forbade any unrestricted trade with the savages, and it set up a market in each bureau, and said that it was the only place where barter should be permitted. However, the officials, who were entrusted to superintend this, were not reliable. They used their position for personal profit, and they permitted the natives to be cheated. It is not surprising, therefore, that this aroused the old ire among the savages, and that they used every opportunity to gain revenge by beheading some of the Chinese.

To be just to Liu-Ming-Chuan's attempts, we must remember that his civilizing activities only lasted for six years, [EJ: Liu-Ming-Chuan was Chinese Viceroy of Formosa from 1884 to 1891] and that is much too short a space of time to remedy some deep-rooted evils. It is true that he made the mistake of going too rapidly, and of trying to do too many things at once. Finally he was no longer able to pay the expenses for his undertakings, in spite of the increased taxes, and in 1891 he resigned his post. His successor was more economical, but he did not have time to accomplish very much, for the days of Chinese rule on Formosa were already numbered.

. . . [Portions not translated: the second section ("Administration of justice") and third section ("Formosan law") of "Administration and administration of justice on Formosa under Chinese rule," pp. 34-39]

[39] Administration of justice among the natives.

When peoples live as simply as the mountain natives of Formosa, they obtain practically everything that they need from nature, and so there is no necessity or even a desire to possess more than they need for the present day. Accordingly, there are no quarrels such as those which arise about property and possessions when people live close together and have to struggle to meet their daily needs. If a private disagreement arises about a piece of property, the whole native community is not disturbed, but leaves it to the wronged individual to take care of the matter. Some of the Formosan tribes, such as the Vonum in the central part of the island, say that there is no theft whatsoever, and that it is not a question of stealing to take fruits and vegetables which others have gathered. Other tribes, however, which engage in tilling the soil as well as hunting, have domestic animals and many valuable objects. There are rich and poor citizens, and they know the meaning of property infringements. In all of the tribes, however, there are certain actions which are regarded as an insult against their conception of law and as a disturbance of public order, and so these cannot be tolerated. In conformity with these ideas, some form of controlling and punishing these illegal actions has been devised. According to the prevailing views, the same deed may be judged a light or a severe offence by the different tribes, and the punishment will be a mild or stringent one.

Administration of justice is always in the hands of the chief.

The chief examines the question, listens to the parties and some witnesses, and gives a verdict. Sometimes he puts his sentence into effect at once, or he may let the victim or his family attend to it. In doubtful cases, when there is no other way to reach a decision, the natives invoke the gods. In other words, the deceased ancestors of the contending parties are invoked to make the decision. There are two ways of obtaining this decision—they are head-hunting and single combat. Head-hunting is organized in this manner: the two opponents, who are frequently accompanied by their friends, go out separately and attack Chinese peasants who are working alone in the field, or they attack unprotected settlements, and then they behead those people whom they can over-power. The group which comes back with one, or several, or with the largest number of heads has won the suit. [40] The duel is fought by the two opponents, or, if one of them is accused of murder, it is between the accused and the accuser, who is usually a relative of the murdered man. They fight until one of them kills the other and cuts off his head. This indicates that the ancestors have given the victor strength to

vanquish his opponent, and this demonstrates the innocence or justice of his accusation—the guilty man has received his punishment.

The affair is more serious when the opponents belong to different tribes. The chiefs generally try to reach a peaceful settlement, but they do not always succeed, and then there is no other recourse but to settle the quarrel by battle between the two tribes.

The chief's decision is invoked when there is a murder, in cases of adultery and seduction, theft, calumny, and quarrels. Nearly all of the tribes believe that each act has its price, and that if the guilty man pays this price, he can be exonerated from all blame. In many tribes it is left to the victim to decide whether he will accept the money, or whether he prefers the revenge.

Murder and homicide.

Among the natives of the Palisha district, the punishment for murder is exile. But life outside the clan society is a miserable existence, and the banished man's most ardent desire is to be allowed to return home. Head-hunting offers him an opportunity to win this permission. If he succeeds in capturing a Chinese head, he sends it to the tribe as a sign of victory, and then some time later he may return home without being in danger.

The Tsoo natives give the murderer to the family of the victim, and then they exact vengeance or take money compensation as they see fit. If the murderer is an opponent with whom the members of the family do not dare to deal, the men of the tribe are summoned to support them. At the close of the expiatory proceedings there is a general feast in the honor of the victim.

The chief of the Paiwan convokes a tribunal of selected members of the tribe for the adjudication [sic] of capital crimes; the murderer is always permitted to pay a ransom, and its amount varies according to whether the perpetrator can show a "just cause" for his deed or not.

Among the Amis and the Puyuma the murderer has to surrender all of his goods and chattels to the family of his victim. Revenge is not permitted and it is treated like ordinary homicide.

All of the tribes believe that homicide caused by negligence is the act of destiny, that the murderer has simply served as a blind tool [41] and, accordingly, that it would be unjust to punish him or to pursue him with hate.

Adultery and seduction.

Adultery and seduction are judged in as many different ways as murder. Among the Amis and the Puyuma the usual punishment for adultery is execution; but the adulterer can ransom himself by paying a sum to the offended husband, provided the latter agrees to this.

The Atayal in the central part of Formosa punish the guilty wife and her lover by killing them at once. The seducer of a girl is also slain unless the girl's parents agree to accept ransom. The Atayal, who live farther north, make the adulterer give the injured husband between five and ten shell strings (the current money) or a weapon or other objects as compensation.

The Tsoo require that the culprit give all of his personal property to the husband. If the adulterer is so poor that his possessions cannot be regarded as sufficient to constitute a ransom, the chief occasionally makes the payment for him, takes him as a servant and lets him work out the remainder. The wife's punishment is more severe. As her shame affects not only her husband, but her parents and brothers as well in an even greater degree, all take part in punishing her. After she has been bound and laid on the floor, each one comes up and whips the pubic regions with rods. Then a vessel full of red pepper juice is brought, and each one in turn pours some of the biting sap into her vagina and spits in her face. After all of this they advise her to live a better life in the future, and finally she is given back to her husband.

Among the Paiwan all of the goods and chattels of the adulterer are given to the insulted husband; the woman is repudiated, and sent back to her parents or to her brothers. The seducer is seized by the members of the girl's family, taken to her house and forced to pay a fine which is commensurate with the position of the family in the tribe, and then he has to marry the girl.

Theft is unknown among some of the tribes. Among others it is very rare, and it is usually handled in such a way that the thief is required to restore the stolen property, or its equivalent, and to pay an additional fine.

Settlement of quarrels.

Quarrels naturally arise from many sources, the most frequent being hunting, slander and, among bachelors, love. Each tribe has its hunting territory, which it has possessed for a long time, and it has definite boundaries which members of other tribes are not permitted to cross. If anyone is found hunting in a preserve where he has no right to be, he has to pay a fine [42] to the offended tribe. If his statement contradicts that of his accuser, his own chief forces him to fight a duel with the other man in order to avoid a general quarrel.

If a person has made some slanderous remark, he is forced to retract it and to ask for pardon. If he refuses to do that, he has to pay a fine to the insulted party.

If two men love the same girl and neither one is willing to give her up, there is usually no solution but for them to fight until one dies, and the other one has the bride.

Since the Paiwan till the soil, they occasionally have quarrels about the ownership of a piece of property. The matter is usually arranged in this way. A wants to borrow a sum of money from B and he lets him work a field as security and as a return for his kindness. After one or two years he wants to pay back the loan, but B prefers to keep the field and claims that the business about the loan was purely an oral agreement, and that A owes him a much larger amount, or else he says that he has sold the field and that the alleged loan was the purchase price which he paid. The affair is taken to the chief. He summons both parties, examines the case, realizes that A's claim is a just one, and commands B to restore the field. In case B refuses, the chief takes the sum of money from A, goes to B's house with two men, hands him the money, and forces him to surrender the field. Then B also has to replace all the gifts which A has given to the chief and his companions for their trouble, or else he has to defray the expenses for the feast which A has as a thank offering. If the chief is unable to decide which man is right, he confiscates the field and declares that it is the common property of the tribe. This procedure is called Kuikon, a word which is probably borrowed from the vocabulary of the Chinese settlers, and which is derived from Kwi-kung, meaning "to fall back to the public", that is to the state.

. . . [Portions not translated: Section one ("Family"), section two ("Marriage"), section three ("Adoption"), section four ("Guardianship") and section five ("Succession") of "Family and inheritance," all of which dealt with Chinese family affairs, pp. 42-58.]

[58] [Family relationships of the savages]

The family relationships among the savage tribes of Formosa present some striking variations. We do not have enough tradition to tell how these originated, but everything indicates that the form of the family today does not represent either the beginning or the end of its development. And as nature and humanity never develop along all lines simultaneously . . . there are many things in the family life of the natives which have come from earlier times, and which seem like an anachronism now. For example, all of the tribes are strictly monogamous on the basis of perfect equality between the sexes; yet along with that some of them have matrilineal succession from the time of the mother right [sic], and in spite of that they consider that the husband's relatives are blood relatives. We also find that the same tribe is founded on the male line, and yet [59] the mother is the only one who has the right to name the children.

The family has two forms, depending upon whether it is continued in the woman's tribe or in the man's. Among the Puyuma and the Amis it is based entirely on female descendants. Here the oldest daughter is always the heiress of the house, the other daughters receive a share of the property but the sons do not have the right to inherit anything. They are obliged to leave the house and to marry into another. . . . The Tsarisen, on the other hand, only consider the sons as members of the family, but they frequently marry into the woman's house, too. The same thing is true of the Peipo. In one part of the tribe it is customary for the husband to enter his wife's family. Today the Atayal only recognize the man's tribe, but the fact that they only have one word (yaki) to denote the terms ancestor and grandmother, seems to indicate that in former times they observed matrilineal succession too, and they have the custom that the mother is the only one entitled to name the newborn child.

In other tribes it is impossible to determine whether women ever played a similar role or not. Among the Tsoo, for example, the oldest son succeeds his father as master of the house, and the younger ones do not marry into other houses but found separate establishments with a part of their inheritance. The same thing is true among the Bonum. In the Spayowan tribe, the male line seems to have been the dominant one for centuries, for there is just one word, wonu, to designate the grandfather and the grandson.

In spite of the variation in the forms of the family, and sometimes in contradiction to it, all of the tribes today have the same interpretation for the term blood relationship. These three classes are considered blood relatives, without regard for the direct or collateral lines:

1. class: self.

2. class: a) direct line: father and mother; your own children;

b) collateral line: siblings of the father and mother; your own siblings.

3. class: a) direct line: grandparents on the paternal and maternal side; your own grandchildren.

b) collateral line: children of the siblings of the father and mother; children of your own siblings.

Blood relationship operates as follows:

1. Members of the three classes are not allowed to marry one another;

2. needy members of the three classes, that is widows and orphans, must be fed by the other members;

3. among the Tsarisen, Spayowan and Puyuma, the members of the three classes have to mourn the death of any one of their group.

[60] . . . Among all the tribes on Formosa we find that there is a distinction between the youth and the adult, at least among the men. As savages usually do not reckon their age, we cannot say that a man reaches the majority in a certain year, but it is usually when he is between sixteen and twenty. All the tribes have some external mark to denote that he is now one of the "men", but the Atayal make it depend upon the capture of a Chinese head in addition. Distinguishing marks of adults are:

among the Atayal: tattooing of the face and a gap in the row of incisors;

among the Vonum and Tsoo: a gap in the row of the incisors;

among the Tsarisen: tying up the hair of the head (children let it hang) and tattooing of the lower leg;

among the Spayowan: tattooing the upper part of the body (as one wishes);

among the Puyuma: tattooing the breast and the lower leg (as one wishes).

When a man is classed as an adult, he has certain rights:

1. the right to take part in the tribal councils;

2. the right to marry;

3. among the Tsarisen, Spayowan, Puyuma and Amis he also has the right to chew betel.

Usually young people marry at a very early age. The parents never force their children to marry but allow them to follow their own inclinations in the matter. Certain marriage formalities are observed among all the tribes. We have already stated that marriage is monogamous, that both husband and wife enjoy equal rights, and that blood relations are not permitted to marry. All witnesses agree that the husband and wife are devoted to each other, and that the wife is never regarded as a slave or beast of burden. . . . Accordingly divorces are the exception, and adultery seldom occurs. Curiously enough, the Tsarisen consider that failure to have children is cause for divorce. Childless widows are allowed to marry again, but if a widow has a child, she cannot marry.

There are a good many different marriage customs. The Atayal celebrate the wedding in the bride's house, and then the guests accompany the couple to the husband's home. The western Atayal have no ceremony other than the drinking feast; the eastern Atayal, on the other hand, have the curious custom of erecting in the open a scaffolding about twenty feet high; [61] the newly weds have to sleep on this platform the first five nights after the marriage.

Occasionally two young men woo the same girl. Then there is a race between them; they go out on a head hunting expedition, and the first one who returns home with his booty gets the bride.

The Vomun still observe the practice of kidnapping the bride. The young man goes to her house with a large group of his friends, he has a mock war with her relatives, then seizes her and carries her off to his house. After she has lived with him for several days, the relatives on both sides gather and celebrate the wedding with drinking and singing. During the feast the so-called Shui-sha-lien-hua-Vonum stage a mock battle, and it is considered a lucky omen for the marriage if blood flows. The Vonum also have exchange marriage, for a young man may wed the sister of his friend, and give him his own sister as a wife.

Among the Tsoo a young man carves a hair pin of stag antlers, and then sends it to the girl he is courting. If she accepts the gift, she is engaged. The marriage consists in a kidnapping, which the groom accomplishes with the aid of his friends. Custom decrees that after the girl has spent one night with the groom, she must slip away and return to her parents; then after three days he comes in a ceremonious fashion to get her. The end of the festival is a drinking party.

The Tsarisen have a match-maker. If a young man decides that he wants to marry, he gets the consent of his parents and then arranges with a match-maker to woo the girl. If her parents agree to the wedding, the two families exchange a gift of wine, and that amounts to the conclusion of the contract. The marriage takes place about a month later, and at that time the young couple has to drink wine together. The wife lives in the house of her parents until her first child is born, and then she moves to her husband's home. If there is no child after a year and a day, the husband stays away from the home of his parents-in-law, and that amounts to a divorce.

When a young man of the Spayowan tribe wants to marry a girl, he carries a bundle of kindling and a vessel full of water in front of her house. If the family takes them inside the dwelling, it means that they look with favor upon the match. The youth moves to their house, helps them with the work for a year and then he can take the girl

home and celebrate the wedding. At this time he has to give a present to the girl's relatives, and it consists of wine and betel nuts.

In the Puyuma tribe the young man carries a bundle of kindling to the home of his future wife when he is wooing her.

[62] The Amis act in a more ceremonious fashion. The suitor makes 20 bundles of faggots between 6 and 7 feet long out of the twigs of a bush, which is called Wahass. He carries four of them to the bride's house on the first day, and one a day from then on; then the wedding is held.

In recent times the Peipo seem to have adopted the custom of marriage for the groom has to give the parents-in-law a certain price for their daughter; this may be an imitation of the Chinese custom. One branch of the Peipo, the Tatso, have the custom of giving their daughters a hut of their own when they are of marriageable age; the girls may receive their lovers here.