Joest, Wilhelm. "Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Eingebornen der Inseln Formosa und Ceram" [Contributions to the knowledge on the aborigines of the islands of Formosa and Ceram]. *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gessellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* (1882): 53-76. Partial English translation in Human Relations Area Files, AD1, Formosa, #34. Transcribed by Elai Kobayashi-Solomon.

Formosa is divided lengthwise into two sections; the Chinese inhabit the western half of the island, while the natives live in the eastern half. [55] Along the boundary there is a stretch of land 10 miles wide which is considered neutral territory. Here there are several hundred Chinese settlements, ranging from single one-storied houses to villages; in this section the two groups meet for barter.

The eastern half of the island is mountainous and covered with dense forests; the natives of the island were pushed back into this region by the Chinese. Along the coast there are several tribes who live in great poverty as fishermen. Most of the natives, however, built villages in the forests so that each tribe has its own community; these live chiefly by hunting. There are constant feuds among them.

The aboriginal population is also frequently decimated by smallpox epidemics. They suffer from the damp and cold; they produce few children and indulge in quantities of Chinese brandy, so that it is likely that they will soon either become extinct or be assimilated by the Chinese immigrants.

Marriages between Chinese, especially the Hakkas, and Formosan women, occur frequently. Thus a distinct racial group, the Pepohoan, has been formed; they usually form the intermediaries in barter.

The chief articles of exchange are Chinese products such as rifles, powder, brandy, knives, glass beads, and sometimes red flannel, from which the native women pull out the threads to use in their own woven garments. In exchange for this the aborigines offer camphor, the skin of certain animals, dried and smoked meat from deer, boars, and bears, as well as antlers and their native woven cloth which is extremely durable.

Camphor trees predominate in the forests on Formosa. The aborigines allow the Chinese, for a small payment, to come into their territory and fell camphor trees; often they also demand hostages.

During the previous year [MS: 1881] about 12,000 Pikul of camphor, at a value of about 600,000 Mark, were exported from Formosa.

Every year several thousand Chinese migrate from the overpopulated mainland to the Chinese section of Formosa, much of which is still virgin soil. The district of Tai-wan is controlled by a Tau-tai in Taiwanfu; he has several privileges which date from the period of Coxinga's Privileges.

There is no reliable information about the number of Chinese inhabitants on the island; in the city of Taiwanfu there are more than 200,000 inhabitants.

In Taiwanfu there is a British consul who also manages the affairs of the German Consulate (during 1880, two German streamers and 64 German sailboats called at Formosa); most of the time, however, the consul lives in Takao, a small town 36 miles to the south.

Three British and one German firm in China have branches in Takao and in Tamsui in the north.

The total imports in the two harbors of Tamsui and Taiwanfu-Takao in 1880 were approximately 20 million Mark, and the total of exports was 30 million Mark, that is, 50 million Mark together. The chief articles of import are opium and Chinese articles of consumption such as European shirting, iron, bags, etc. The exports from the north consist chiefly of tea, camphor, and coal, and those from the south consist chiefly of sugar.

Formosa has abundant deposits of bituminous coal, sulphur, and oil. The Chinese, however, have hardly exploited these at all.

Formosa is the first . . . region where the Chinese have established telegraphic connections; the line leads from Taiwanfu to Takao. . . .

[56] Unfortunately, there are no large harbors on Formosa, or rather, there are none in those places where the Chinese companies have trading posts. Taiwanfu is situated two miles from the coast; the harbor, Amping, is situated at that point where Nova Zelandia was situated formerly, but even there landing facilities for passengers and goods are very poor.

The entire western coast of Formosa has been raised; the process, which has been taking place for centuries, is slow but the differences may be clearly seen. In those places along the shore which are now dry the Dutch captains of former times anchored their ships; Nova Zelandia is now five miles from the sea, while formerly the waves had splashed against the walls of this fort, and on the marshy, sandy area of land formed since then there is now a fishing village. There is a dangerous coral reef in the harbor entrance at Amping and there are so many shoals that the passage is not navigable if

there is even the slightest breeze; the passengers must land by means of small floats of a peculiar construction which the natives call Catamarans.

The catamarans used for landing at Amping consist of 12 bamboo poles tied together; a board is inserted in the center to take the place of a keel. The passenger sits in a Chinese bathtub which is lashed to the float; strips of canvas are packed around him and he holds on to a rope which is attached to the aft end of the float in case the float turns over. One Chinese sailor stands on the fore end, one on the aft end of the float, their oars crossed. The float is so light that it is tossed by the surf over the sandbank to the coast.

Since the roadstead of Amping does not offer sufficient protection, the small steamer on which I had arrived took refuge in the Pescadores.

During the 21 days . . . before the steamer returned [MC: to Amping], I lived with a German in a Chinese house in Tainan; we lived on fish and crabs and were both ill with a fever. Being thus alone among 200,000 Chinese gave me an opportunity to study their way of life, and to observe the activities of the independent Tautai, who almost every day ordered people to be flogged, tortured, or beheaded and who often let his victims die of starvation.

The real purpose of my stay on Formosa, however, was to study the life of the aborigines in the north; the following pages are the result of my observations.

The natives live in tribal communities; [57] each tribe has a different name, and most of them have their own language. There is no common name for all of them, although they consider themselves autochtonous [sic]. I have . . . adopted Dr. Schetelig's method of dividing the natives into Shekwan and Chinwan (pronounced uan).

The term Shekwan means half raw or half cooked. The Chinese apply this term to those aborigines who settled in the coastal regions or near the boundary. The Chinese trade with these people, among whom the custom of headhunting is practiced rarely or nor at all.

The term Chinwan means raw. The Chinese apply this term to the aborigines who live in the forests and mountains of the interior.

Schetelig believes that the Chinwan and Shekwan may be divided into two distinct racial groups according to the formation of their skull; according to his theory, the former are related to the Polynesians, the latter to the Malayan group. The two groups do not seem to be related linguistically.

There are only a few traces of the Malayan language in the dialects of the Chinwans, while in the languages of the Shekwan the similarity is striking. Thus the numbers from one to ten in those languages correspond almost exactly to those in the Tagalog language; the languages of the Shekwan in the south, however, differ from those in the north. Thus, fire among the Shekwans in the north is ramár, among those in the south sabui; the word for stone is batu (Malayan) in the north, achilai in the south; moon is wulan (Malayan) in the north, hélas in the south. Among 400 words which I studied there were, with the exception of numerals, only three that were similar in both groups, and those three words were found to be of Malayan origin.

I compared the language of the Shekwans in the south with that of the Chinwans in the north, basing my studies on a vocabulary compiled by Schetelig; Mr. Dodd, the only European familiar with the language of the Chinwans, was kind enough to check my work. After making this comparison I found only two words which seem to be related: the term for foot, xapul in the language of the Chinwans and kalup in the south, and for hand, kabbá among the Chinwans and gabi-an in the south. I was told that Mundt-Lauff had published a study based on his visit to Formosa.

We have no information about the size of the Chinwan group; the estimates which have been made by the Chinese are not reliable.

Since the natives will not allow anyone to touch their head, I found it impossible to take any measurements. I should say that most of the men are from 5' 2" to 5' 4", while the women are considerably smaller.

They have straight hair, never frizzly or wavy, and apparently not so stiff as that of the Malayans. By a fortunate accident I was able to obtain two specimens of their hair. In Tokohan, a village not far from the border there were three natives who were awaiting execution for killing several Chinese. I offered them presents first, but without success. It took three Chinese to hold two of the prisoners who, in spite of their chains, resisted with the utmost force until I had cut off some of their hair.

The men have an attractive, slim build; young people have pleasing, rounded contours. Their eyes are small, dark brown or black, with scant eyelashes and eyebrows; they have thin lips, beautiful teeth, and beautiful noses; some of them have aquiline noses. The color of their skin is a reddish brown; the [58] skin of the women is considerably lighter; some of them have yellowish white skin like that of the Chinese. If they are hot or drunk, both the men and women have flushed cheeks. In spite of their prominent cheekbones their facial expression is attractive; some of the girls were decidedly pretty. There are no traces of a resemblance to Negroes or Alfuros; I should say, without attaching any scientific value to the statement, that both men and women

resemble the Japanese in respect to their features, the women even in respect to their figures. The women especially are strong and healthy; many of them have fat calves, which they protect from the thorny shrubs with a type of gaiters; the legs of the men are covered with scars.

I saw no signs of scabies or syphilis or of any other skin disease among the natives.

The beard of the men is scant; they have just the hint of a mustache; there are some traces of hair on the armpits and on the genitals.

Chinwan children of both sexes have their hair cut off in the back of their head and above their forehead; later they let the hair grow long. The men part their hair in the center and tie it in a knot behind their head so that it hangs down to the shoulder blades. Usually it is held together with a red thread which they pass over the forehead and around the knot in back.

The women wear their hair in the same way; most of them wear a blue kerchief over it.

Both Chinwan men and women are tattooed, the women more frequently than the men. They are tattooed when they reach puberty. Tattooing is done with a thorn; after the process is completed they rub soot in the wounds.

The men tattoo their entire forehead, from the hairline to the bridge of the nose, with 20 to 25 horizontal lines, each one centimeter long. After a man has been thus tattooed, he is expected to begin headhunting.

The women also tattoo their face when they have reached puberty. The design covers the face from ear to ear; the line extends from the temples at the level of the ear across the cheek and the upper lip to the other ear, and the lower line runs parallel to this, passing just below the lower lip and up to the lobe of the ear on both sides. The design consists of long lines running parallel to each other and short vertical lines which cut through them. Only the lips are left free. The resulting pattern thus emphasizes the whiteness of the teeth and the healthy red color of the gums and lips. It is distinctly attractive, but gives a strange effect until one becomes accustomed to it; it is somewhat similar to the design of the Ainu women on Yesso, which gives the appearance of a blue moustache.

I was told that the women of central Formosa also tattoo their hands.

At the same time that they are tattooed young girls also have the two teeth in the corners of the upper jaw removed. One girl told me that this was done so that they could breathe better and that they could inhale more wind.

Although the Chinwan language has the same word for blue and green, they were able to distinguish between these two colors when I showed them colored glass beads.

To signify surprise the Chinwans put their hand in front of their mouth and say Wáō. They did this when I shot my revolver, which they call boom-boom-boom, or when I showed them lice, with which they were covered, under a microscope.

During the [59] summer and in all the warmer areas, the natives wear nothing but a narrow cloth, about as wide as three fingers; they wear this around their waist and tie it in front so that the two ends hang down and barely cover the genitals. During the rainy season they wear a sleeveless jacket; some of them, especially the women, wear separate sleeves underneath. Sometimes they also wear skirts made of leopard skin, but most of them wear skirts woven by the women. These skirts are very durable; they are made of hemp which they themselves have cultivated and the women weave threads taken from European cloths into the design so that the total effect is very attractive. Most of the cloth woven by the women is about 1/2 meter wide and three meters long. They use the same simple hand looms which are found among nearly all primitive peoples.

Some of the men also wear peaked caps made of the hide of deer or of plaited straw which resemble our caps worn for riding, except that they wear the peak in back.

The women wear more clothes than the men; most of them wear a kerchief over their head. They wear the same type of jacket as the men, but since they are so much shorter their jackets come down to their knees. Many of them wear a type of sarong, a short vest and separate sleeves, a square piece of cloth over their chest, and a piece of cloth wrapped around the calves of their legs and held in place with a thread.

Both men and women often wear a kind of toga which they tie around their neck so that it hangs down in back.

Those Chinwans who wear more than the scant minimum are not motivated by modesty. On the contrary, the women and girls do not show a trace of modesty, especially when they squat down. They are not ashamed to show their genitals and many of them asked me to let them see or touch mine; this was done from sheer curiosity.

The weapons of the Chinwans consist of bows and arrows and of a spear 10′ to 12′ long; the latter is made of oak or ash wood and the spearhead consists of a small Chinese knife attached with a piece of string. Chinese rifles with matchlocks have now taken the place of these spears for the most part. These are six feet long and are made of an iron cylinder. The shaft is long, narrow, and crooked; they draw designs on it for ornament. The matchlock is inserted into the cock. Every warrior carried a second matchlock which is wrapped around the wrist of the left hand. They carry their powder in a horn which hangs from a string of beads around their neck, and the cartridge box is usually attached to their belt.

These rifles do not often hit their mark. From what I have seen I would say that the natives cannot hit the target if it is further than five or six feet away; every time they shoot, the rifles hit their cheek so that they bleed. They carry paper plugs in a special case. In their belt they wear a Chinese knife on which ornaments have been drawn.

All the Chinwans carry a pouch which they sling over their arm or shoulder. These are made either of raw hide or of strings in the manner of a net. In this pouch they carry everything they need during the day, their pipe, tobacco leaves, firestone, steel imported from China, food, and perhaps even the head of an enemy.

Carrying heavy burdens is a task which is scorned by the men; the women carry them by attaching them to a strap which is passed over the forehead. In this manner they carry firewood, game which has been killed, or bamboo filled with water; they carry their children in the same way. Sometimes they carry children on their shoulders; the children are secured by means of a strap which the mother ties around her chest.

All the Chinwan natives, the men especially, love to wear [60] ornaments. For this they use chiefly the colored glass beads imported from Europe which they string up on chains to wear around their neck. They insert small bamboo sticks into the lobes of their ears and sometimes attach a tassel made of European wool, one of their favorite articles, to these ear pendants. Sometimes they wear small polished pieces of marble attached to chains in their ears, or pieces of shell and metal with a diameter of one inch or less; they enlarge the lobes of their ears for this purpose.

Both men and women wear thin copper bracelets around their wrists and upper arms, narrow strips of flannel on which porcelain buttons have been sewn may take the place of these. They wear fillets on which shells or flat pieces of marble the size of a fifty-cent piece have been sewn. The necklaces may consist of a string of beads from which the tusks or tail of a boar are suspended, or of wreaths of flowers and oranges.

Boys are very proud if they can wear bracelets made of the pigtails of a Chinese whom they have decapitated.

The only musical instrument made by the Chinwan natives is the jew's harp. They are very fond of group singing. As far as I know they have no dances of any kind . . . [MS: Text of a native song omitted.]

The Chinwans like to build their villages within the forest, preferably on a small hill so that they are protected from sudden attacks. They burn the trees around the settlement and the women plant rice, millet, hemp, and tobacco. Sometimes they harden pointed pieces of bamboo by holding them over a fire and placing these along the narrow paths which lead to their village.

The Chinwan houses are made of small pieces of slate piled on top of each other; these are supported by large flagstones which they lean against the houses from the outside. Some houses are made of bamboo poles; the spaces between the poles are filled in with rushes. The door is wide and high; the roof consists of straw or grass.

They keep a fire burning in the center of the hut day and night. Here they cook their food in clay pots which they themselves have made.

They sleep on cots made of bamboo and mats; the women are famous, and justly so, for the attractive plaited mats which they make themselves.

Instead of lamps, the Chinwans use torches made of bamboo or grass. Bamboo containers filled with water are placed along the walls.

There is a fair division of labor between Chinwan men and women. The men go hunting and fishing and make their own weapons; since feuds with other tribes are traditional among the natives, they also consider fighting as part of their work. The women cultivate the fields, fetch water, chop wood, and mash rice; they also spin and weave and do the cooking. They go with the men when they are hunting so that they can carry home the game after it has been dried out over a fire.

For fishing the Chinwan men use nets and fishhooks as well as a poison made from the root of a creeping plant which is called lo-tin.

In the south of the island there is a lake which the Chinese call Lake of the Dragon's Foot. Here the natives make dugout canoes by burning the tree trunks until they are hollow. Their oars have the shape of pointed spades.

The diet of the Chinwan natives consists of millet, sweet potatoes, rice of a poor quality, wild honey, dried meat of deer, boars, and bears, and dried fish. All the game, fish, etc. is carved and men and women receive an equal share.

Dogs, the only domestic animals of the Chinwans, are always treated well and get a portion of the meat.

[61] If there is a guest in a Chinwan household, the women usually feed him; the woman tastes each bite herself first.

In former times the Chinwan natives distilled a beverage from fermented rice or millet. Rice meal took the place of yeast, this had to be chewed by a woman who was past her menopause. Today the Chinese Samshu has taken the place of the native drink and both men and women drink it in large quantities.

I gained the confidence and friendship of the Chinwans through this brandy [MC: Chinese samshu] which they consumed in pailfulls [sic] until men, women, and children were lying unconscious on the ground; it was, however, considerably diluted. The Chinwan natives also have the custom of establishing the bond of friendship by drinking. They squat on the ground in the usual manner and put their arms around each other's shoulders; they make a short speech, vowing eternal friendship, and then drink together from the pumpkin shell which holds the brandy until it is empty. I drank in this way with both men and women.

The Chinwan natives of both sexes are very fond of tobacco and almost always have a pipe in their mouth. When I made them a present of cigars, they cut these up and put them in their bamboo pipes.

In the south of the island the natives chew betel, and indulge in this habit in the same degree.

All the unmarried Chinwan men and boys sleep in a community building. This is erected on poles several feet above the ground. Here they hang the heads of their enemies and hold festivals.

There are constant feuds among the Chinwan tribes.

Often several tribes form an alliance against a common enemy, especially against the Chinese.

These feuds often result in bloody battles. In 1874-75 the Chinese sent an expedition of 9,000 men of which 2,000 were killed; many of the victims, however, died from the effects of the climate.

The natives' favorite way of killing an enemy is to lie in ambush . . . near one of the enemy's villages and wait for someone, man, woman, or child, to pass; then they shoot an arrow at the victim's back and cut off his head. Then they put the enemy's

head in the bag and return home in triumph. A headhunter is received with great honors; a banquet and drinking bout is held and he is popular with the girls, who will not turn him down if he proposes marriage.

It is not necessary, however, that a young Chinwan man kill someone to be able to marry; he may buy his wife by paying copper wire, flannel, etc.

There is no polygamy on Formosa. A man may have only one wife at a time, but it is not difficult to obtain a divorce and the Chinwans on the whole are not a jealous people. The girls often marry Chinese, although the men of their own tribe treat them quite well.

I was not able to determine whether the natives are also cannibals. They did not, at any rate, eat the two Chinese which were killed during my stay. Mr. Pickering, however, who knows the customs of the Chinwans well, states that they mix the brain of an enemy with their brandy and drink it.

Even small boys play with wooden knives and small bows and arrows; they play at "decapitating."

The Chinwan men often amuse themselves with target practice; they aim at a leaf which is attached to the trunk of a tree.

Blood vengeance is . . . traditional among the Chinwan and is practiced constantly.

[62] When a native approaches the village of a friendly tribe, he usually fires his rifle, and those in the village answer with smoke signals. At the same time both parties call out Wao.

I was frequently struck by the excellent vision of the Chinwans. Once a native told me that he could see a large number of people from his tribe; I myself was not able to see a trace of this crowd. He told me this in sign language, by raising his hands and opening and closing them quickly several times.

If one of the inhabitants of a Chinwan village has been killed, the entire village is in mourning; no one may make a loud noise and there is fasting throughout the village.

The religion of the Chinwan natives seems to be on a very primitive level. I did not see any idols or temples. Every Chinwan tribe or village, has a sacred animal which is believed to protect the people in that village. These animals, snakes, leopards, etc., are kept in cages and fed by the natives.

The Chinwans seem to have some form of taboo. Thus no one may enter a village in which the inhabitants are fasting; to signify that an object may not be touched or that they do not want to give it away, they say hiang. It is for them a great shame to let someone even touch their head. The bags in which they keep the heads of their enemies, the pigtails of Chinese, etc., are also haing [sic].

There are no priests among the Chinwans, but some women hold the office of sooth-sayer. Old women seem to have a great deal of influence. I often saw them giving orders even to experienced warriors or swearing at them if they did not demand enough red flannel as a payment for an object. During my entire stay with the Chinwans, however, they never stole anything from me, although I had to pay a high price for everything I bought from them.

In former times soothsayers stayed in the public sleeping and assembly houses when they were consulted and wore no clothes. Today, however, they wear their holiday attire and all their ornaments and stay on a platform which usually consists of a few boards placed over a barrel. The women and girls of the village form a circle around her and join hands; they go around the platform, first slowly, and then faster and faster, and sing at the same time. The soothsayer begins to dance, slowly at first and gradually faster and more violently until she is attacked by a fit and falls off the platform. Then they catch her and carry her to the nearest hut where they try to make out, from her confused ravings, what the oracle signifies. This is often employed for less important occasions, to find out whether it will rain or whether it is time to cultivate the fields.

Like almost all primitive peoples, the Chinwans believe in omens; the flight and call of certain birds are regarded as portents. If they have gone out to hunt and the omens have been favorable they return home if they see a bird which signifies misfortune; they are convinced that some accident would befall them is they continued with the chase. Other signs of bad luck are stepping on a rife, carrying a speak upside down, etc.

Added to this [MC: the Chinwan custom of abortion] is the high rate of infant mortality. The climate of the island is characterized by sudden changes from oppressive heat and humidity to cold weather. [63] The Chinese immigrants spread smallpox among the natives, and the Chinwans are even more afraid of this disease than the Chinese; a victim of smallpox is compelled to leave the village and live in the forest until he dies or recovers. Considering all these factors, as well as the harmful effect of brandy, we may say that it is hardly likely that the native population will increase.

The character of the Chinwans has been described by all who have come into contact with them as good-natured and unassuming; they have never killed a white man

who has approached them in good faith. Although my appearance aroused great curiosity, I was never annoyed by the native here as I had been among the Hakkas or the Chinese. While the children of the latter always ran away from me and cried, the children of the Chinwans were easily persuaded to make friends with me.

They did, it is true, touch me or pull my beard. One of the natives thought that the fork I had brought with me was a comb and used it to scratch the lice from his body, and sometimes the natives rubbed my body with a wet finger to make sure that this was my natural color, but there was always one among them who had known me longer and told the rest to desist, lecturing them about me. . . .