

# CHINA'S ISLAND FRONTIER

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## Cultural Contact and the Migration of Taiwan's Aborigines: A Historical Perspective

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The changing circumstances of the aborigines in Taiwan is one of absorbing interest. For here is an island once exclusively inhabited by aborigines who for the most part spoke Malayo-Polynesian tongues and showed strong cultural affinities with peoples in the Philippines, Indonesia, and Malaysia. Whatever links they may have had with the people on the China mainland, they were certainly decisively different from the Han Chinese.<sup>1</sup> And now, like many other indigenous people in China and elsewhere in a culturally changing world, they are being assimilated into a more populous and more technologically advanced society. At present there is no fear that they will be quickly eliminated. There are still some 250,000 of them, mostly in the rugged mountain ranges of central and eastern Taiwan, and their cultural heritage is still notably distinct. Furthermore, the process of cultural change and assimilation has been a long one, starting not with the Han Chinese but with the Dutch, and then continuing with each successive occupation: Chinese, Japanese, and Chinese again. So their current situation—a steady assimilation into the life of modern Taiwan—is but a phase of a long and varied history.

It is the encounter between these Malayo-Polynesian aborigines and each of the intrusive culture groups—and the consequent evolution of the present situation—which forms the focus of this study. First we will establish, from historical and archaeological records, the distribution of the aboriginal settlements prior to the first contact with the Dutch in the seventeenth century. Then we will examine the acculturation, the aboriginal responses, and the change in aboriginal settlement patterns during each of the successive periods of political rule: Dutch (1624–1662), Chinese (1662–1895), Japanese (1895–1945), and Chinese (1945 to present).

### ORIGINAL SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The origin of the Formosan aborigines is not yet clear, but recent archaeological findings indicate that they have lived in Taiwan for a long period of time and inhabited both the lowlands and the highlands.<sup>2</sup> They were horticulturists, producing millet, rice, tubers, and beans, and engaged in hunting and gathering. Culturally the groups were diversified and occupied different regions of the island. Little information is available in regard to the number of settlements and the size of population.

Based on their general areas of habitation, the aborigines can be divided into two major groups: the lowland aborigines and the mountain aborigines. The former inhabited the western and northern lowlands while the latter occupied the central mountain region and eastern Taiwan. Since these two terms also tend to indicate the time and duration of their contacts with the invading cultures, with lowlanders having an earlier exposure to external contacts, they will be used throughout the chapter.

The lowland aborigines can be divided into fourteen groups based on ethnographic traits and geographical distribution.<sup>3</sup> Their inhabited areas are shown in Figure 2-1. In the north, Ketanglan and Luilang inhabited the coastal area and the Taipei basin while the Kavalan occupied the I-lan delta. In central Taiwan, the Taokas and Papora resided along the coast while the Pazeh, Babuza, Sau, and Hoanya lived inland in the Taichung basin, Chang-hua plain, P'u-li basin, and Nan-t'ou area respectively. In the south the Siraya, Makatau, Taivoan, Pangsola-Dolatok, and Lungkiau spread out on the southwestern lowlands from the Chia-i area to the Heng-ch'un peninsula.

The mountain aborigines can be divided into nine major groups.<sup>4</sup> In the mountain region, the Atayal and Saisiat occupied the north, the Bunun and Tsou settled in the middle, and the Paiwan and Rukai inhabited the south (Figure 2-2). The eastern rift valley and the eastern coastal area were the home of the Ami, but it was the Puyama who occupied the southern end of the rift valley. The Yami were on the island of Lan-yu.

In the early seventeenth century, Chinese pirates occupied Pei-kang near the southwestern coast and assisted some three thousand peasants of Chang-chou to cross the sea to settle in the Pei-kang area.<sup>5</sup> Although they did come into contact with some lowland ab-

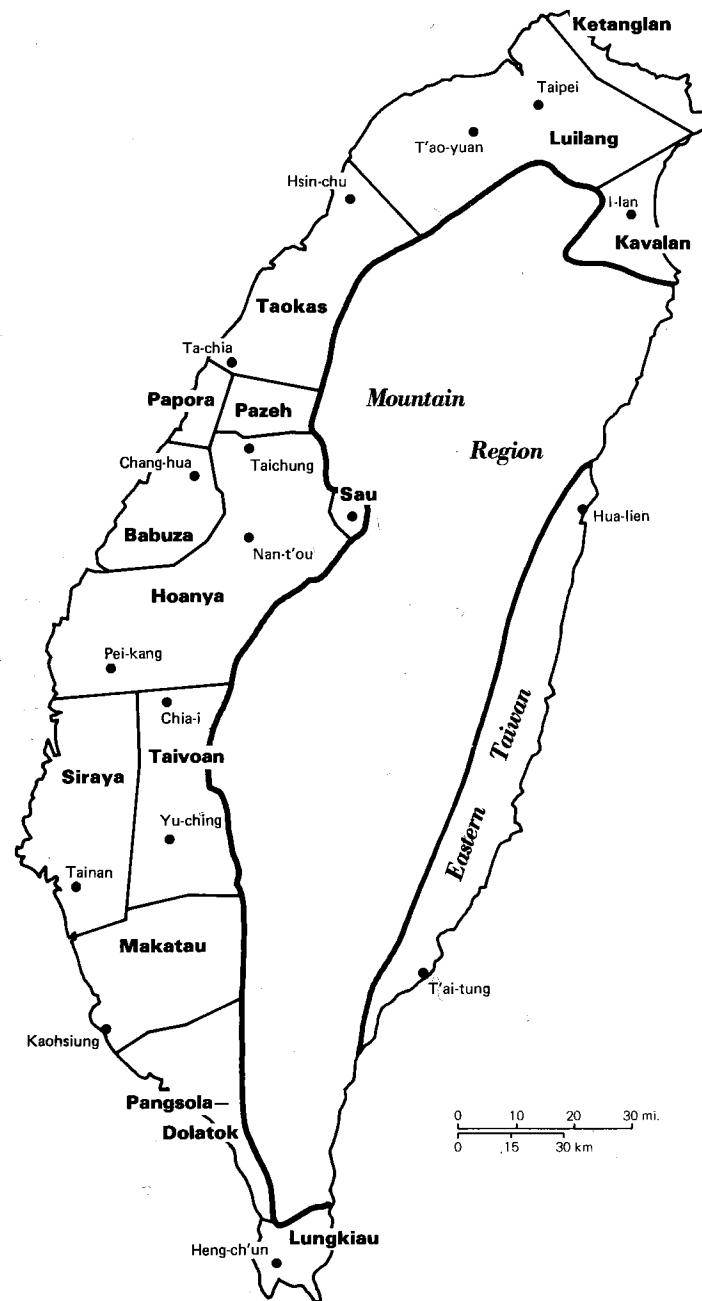


Figure 2-1. Areas originally inhabited by the lowland aborigines.

origines, their number was small and the pirates' main interest was maritime; their effect on the life of the aborigines was therefore minimal. Up to that encounter, the aborigines had been free of external interference and lived the life their ancestors had lived for centuries.

### THE DUTCH PERIOD (1624-1662)

Dutch rule in Taiwan marked the beginning of external impact on the life of the aborigines. The Dutch came into direct contact only with the southwestern lowland aborigines—namely, the Siraya, Taivoan, Makatau, Pangsola-Dolatok, and Lungkiau. They engaged in trade, missionary work, and education, appointed chieftains in the aboriginal villages, regulated the aborigines' use of land, imposed various taxes, restricted their movements, and encouraged the immigration of Chinese laborers to cultivate the land. As a result, the life of the southwestern lowland aborigines underwent substantial change.<sup>6</sup>

The occupation of the Taiwan coastal area in 1624 by the Dutch brought them into direct contact with the Siraya, with whom they immediately engaged in trade. They also sent missionary workers into Siraya settlements and sought to extend control and expand trade by sending delegates to the villages of Taivoan, Makatau, Pangsola-Dolatok, and Lungkiau and appointed chieftains in some of the villages which lacked formal leadership.<sup>7</sup> By 1636 most of the villages on the southwestern plain had been brought under Dutch rule, and in February of that year the Europeans convened a conference of local chieftains from twenty-eight villages in Sinkong near present-day Tainan.<sup>8</sup> Although the Dutch sphere of influence covered the southwestern plain, only the Siraya of the Taiwan plain had intimate and intensive contact with them. There was only limited and indirect Dutch contact with the mountain aborigines of southern Taiwan through the lowland aborigines.

To tighten their control and increase their revenue, the Dutch prohibited the Siraya from moving freely between villages and regulated and taxed their use of land. Moreover, a head tax, an export tax, and even hunting and fishing taxes were imposed. Though this regime seemed oppressive, most of the Siraya accepted it however unwillingly, but some fled inland to settle among the Taivoanians.<sup>9</sup> This flight marked the first known incidence of externally induced aboriginal migration on the island.

Other changes resulted from the interlocking factors of land use

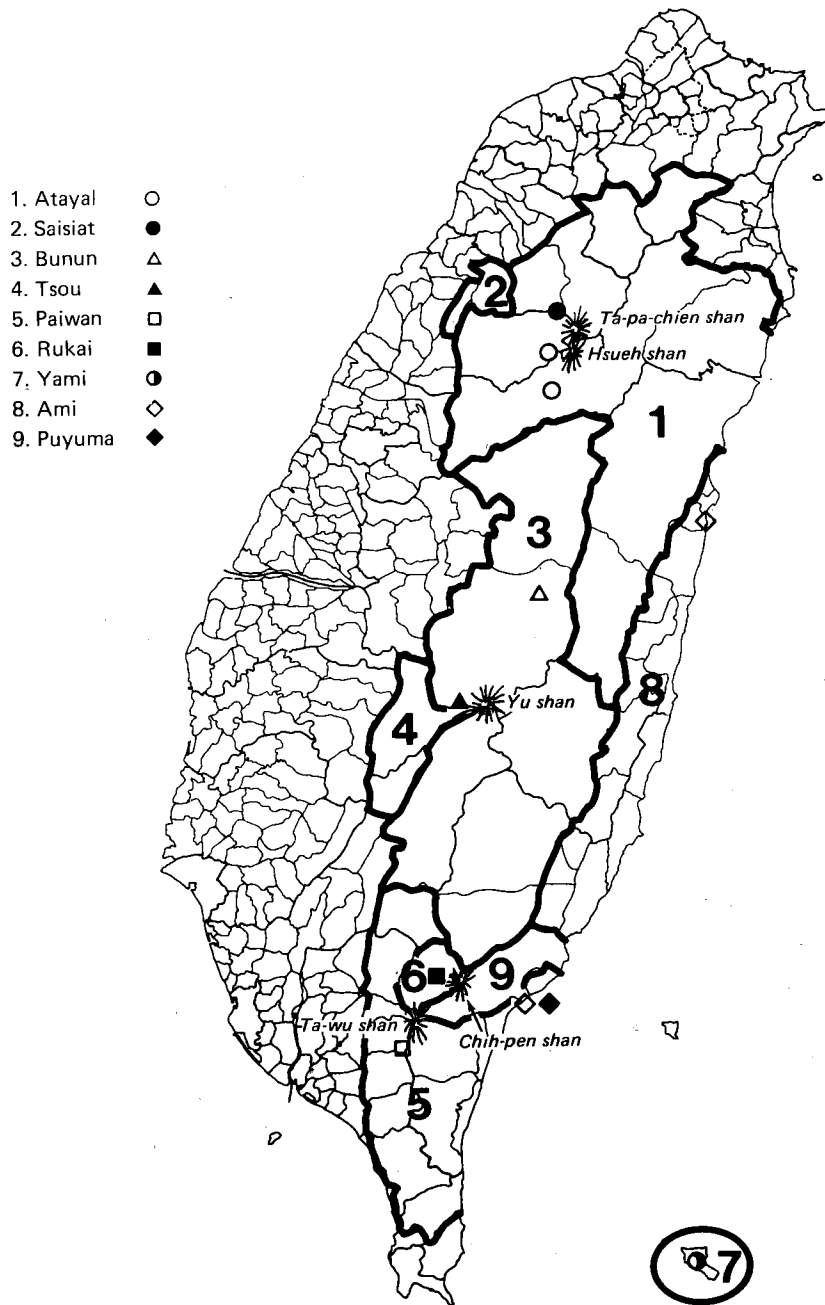


Figure 2-2. Legendary sites of original settlements and present dominant areas of the mountain aborigines.

and migration. The aborigines were shifting cultivators and, in Dutch eyes, did not use the land efficiently. To utilize the fertile lowland and increase agricultural production, the Dutch encouraged the in-migration of Chinese laborers by providing them with land, draft animals, tools, seeds, and some cash as described by Wen-hsiung Hsu in Chapter 1. At that time, as the political situation in China happened to be chaotic and population pressure in the Fukien area was intense, individuals and some households from the Chang-chou area of Fukien migrated across the straits. As a result, some 10,000 hectares of land were brought under intensive cultivation and the Chinese settlements spread out from Fort Zeelandia and Fort Provintia northward to Pei-kang, eastward to Hsin-hua, and southward to Kong-shan (see Figure 2-3). In the mid-seventeenth century, the Chinese population in Taiwan may have reached fifty thousand.

The extensive missionary work carried out by the Dutch, particularly in the Siraya villages, exposed the aborigines to different religious beliefs, and by 1650 many Siraya were at least nominally converted to Christianity.<sup>10</sup> The Dutch also established community schools in the aboriginal villages and introduced formal education; under their rule, moreover, several surveys of population and household were conducted. Although the areal coverage and accuracy of the surveys are difficult to assess, their reports give at least general ideas about the size of the villages and the population within their respective spheres of influence. The population of the five principal Siraya villages in 1639, for example, was reported to range from 1,000 to 3,000 (Table 2-1) and the total number of aborigines was reported to be 68,567 in 1650 (Table 2-2).

Most of the Dutch in Taiwan resided in or near Fort Zeelandia and Fort Provintia, both within the present-day boundaries of the city of Tainan. They were predominantly military personnel along with employees of the Dutch East India Company, merchants, missionaries, and schoolteachers. The total Dutch population in Taiwan at its peak was reported at 2,800, of whom 2,200 were soldiers.

During the Dutch period between 1624 and 1662, both the Dutch and the Chinese advanced into the habitats of the southwestern lowland aborigines, initiated changes in the aboriginal way of life, and reduced their living and action space. Because the Dutch were few in numbers and mostly resided in the fort areas, the influence of their direct individual contact was small. But they did possess political and economic power, and their effect on aboriginal life was mediated not

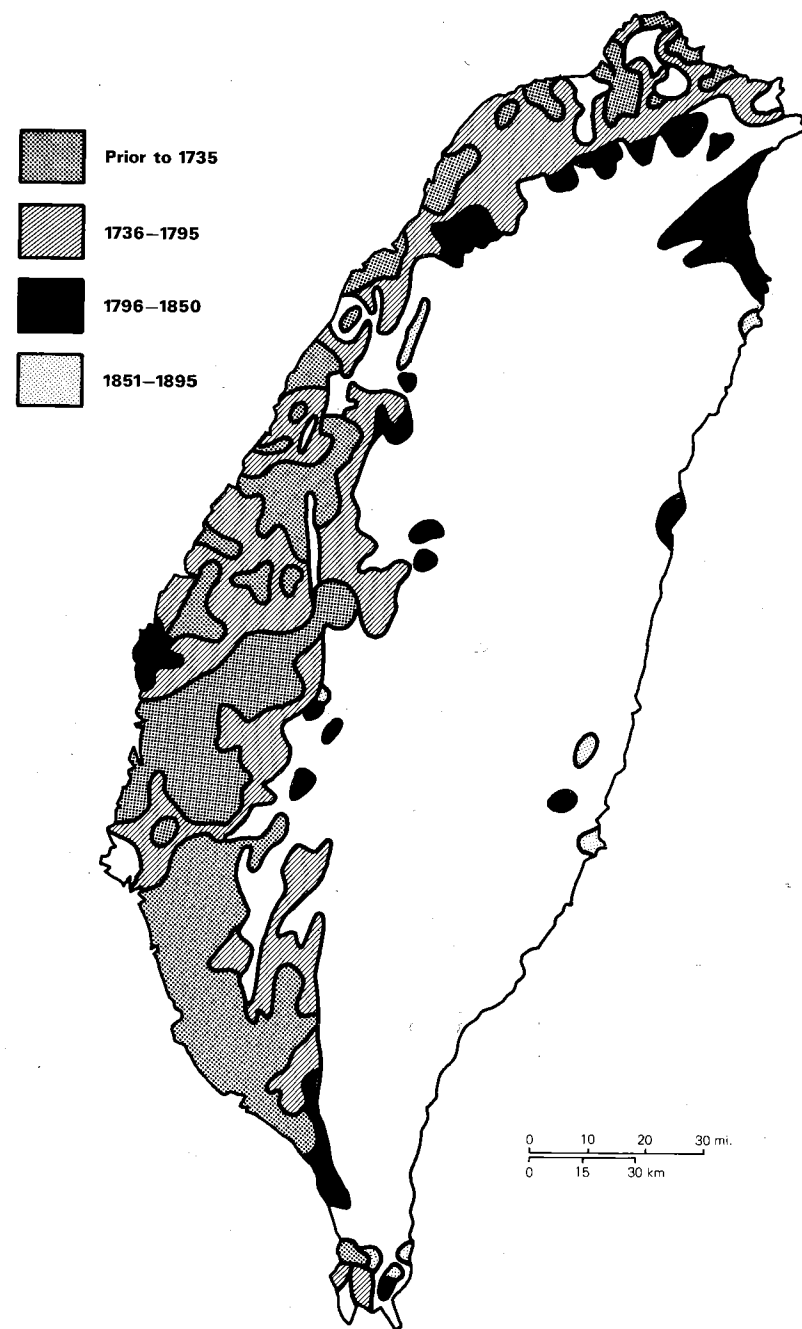


Figure 2-3. Expansion of Chinese settlement. [After C. S. Chen, 1950.]

TABLE 2-1

*Population of the Siraya Villages: 1639*

Village	Population
Sinkan	1,047
Mattau	3,000
Soulang	2,600
Bakloan	1,000
Tavakan	1,000

SOURCE: Raleigh Ferrell, "Aboriginal Peoples of the Southwestern Taiwan Plain," *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica* 32(Autumn 1971):218.

TABLE 2-2

*Population of Taiwan's Aborigines: 1647-1655*

Year	Villages	Households	Population
1647	246	13,619	62,849
1648	251	13,955	63,861
1650	315	15,249	68,567
1654	271	14,262	49,324+
1655	233	11,029	39,223+

SOURCE: Wang Jen-ying, *Population Change of Formosan Aborigines*, Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, Monograph 11 (Nankang, Taipei: 1967), p. 40.

so much from individual contact as through the institutional structure and implementation of policy. Directly or indirectly, the Dutch increased the aborigines' dependence on trade, imposed taxes and chieftains on them, introduced church and school to them, and encouraged a large number of Chinese to immigrate and live in their midst. As these Chinese outnumbered both the Dutch and the aborigines and lived in the countryside, they tended to have greater personal contact with the latter in terms of both frequency and duration than did the Dutch.

In 1661, with the assistance of the Siraya and the local Chinese, Cheng Ch'eng-kung and his troops attacked the island and after a lengthy siege drove out the Dutch. Thus ended Dutch rule on Taiwan. Whatever effects it may have had on aboriginal life were soon submerged under the intruding tide of Chinese immigration.

### THE CHINESE PERIOD (1662-1895)

The Chinese ruled Taiwan continuously for over two centuries from 1662 to 1895; the first 21 years were under Cheng and his descendants, and the last 212 years were under the Ch'ing dynasty. The

Chinese were primarily interested in colonizing the lowlands, and during this period their settlements expanded from the southwestern coast to cover most of the western and northern lowlands. The lowland aborigines, surrounded by the ever-increasing numbers of Chinese, were either assimilated or forced to seek refuge in the hills and in the remote areas of eastern Taiwan. The Chinese did come into contact with the mountain aborigines but because of the difficult terrain and strong resistance they did not invade aboriginal territory until the late nineteenth century. The mountain aborigines were thus enabled to maintain their way of life well into the twentieth century without much external interference.

Soon after Cheng and his troops arrived in Taiwan in the early 1660s, Chinese settlements spread out rapidly in the southwestern plain. They immediately put pressure on the southwestern lowland aborigines. Responding to this pressure, a group of Siraya migrated first to the Tso-cheng district in eastern Tainan county and then to Ch'i-shan in Kaohsiung county (Figure 2-4).<sup>11</sup> Cheng established several military outposts in central and northern Taiwan, and new Chinese settlements developed alongside these—a situation which resulted in further confrontations with the lowland aborigines. During Cheng's rule (1662-1683) three aboriginal uprisings were recorded.<sup>12</sup>

Cheng's rule was short-lived and in 1684 Taiwan was officially brought within the Ch'ing administrative system. Because of this change, the Chinese settlements in the south continued to expand, forcing some lowland aborigines to migrate (Figure 2-4). In the early eighteenth century, some Siraya people moved eastward to join the Taivoan in the hills near Yu-ching. Pressured by the incoming Siraya and the Chinese, the Taivoan yielded their homeland in the 1740s and moved further inland to the valleys of the Lao-nun Ch'i (river) and the Nan-tze-hsien Ch'i. Chinese pressure was also felt by the Makatau, a majority of whom retreated into the hilly area to the east of the P'ing-tung plain, though a small number chose to migrate southward to the Heng-ch'un peninsula.<sup>13</sup> Those who remained became intermixed with the Chinese and were subsequently sinicized.

In central Taiwan, the Chinese settlements extended from the nuclei established earlier at the expense of the aboriginal land. In some areas, such as Nan-t'ou and Chia-i, the Chinese came into direct contact with the fierce mountain aborigines. As the Chinese invaded their territory, the aborigines retaliated by killing the invaders and

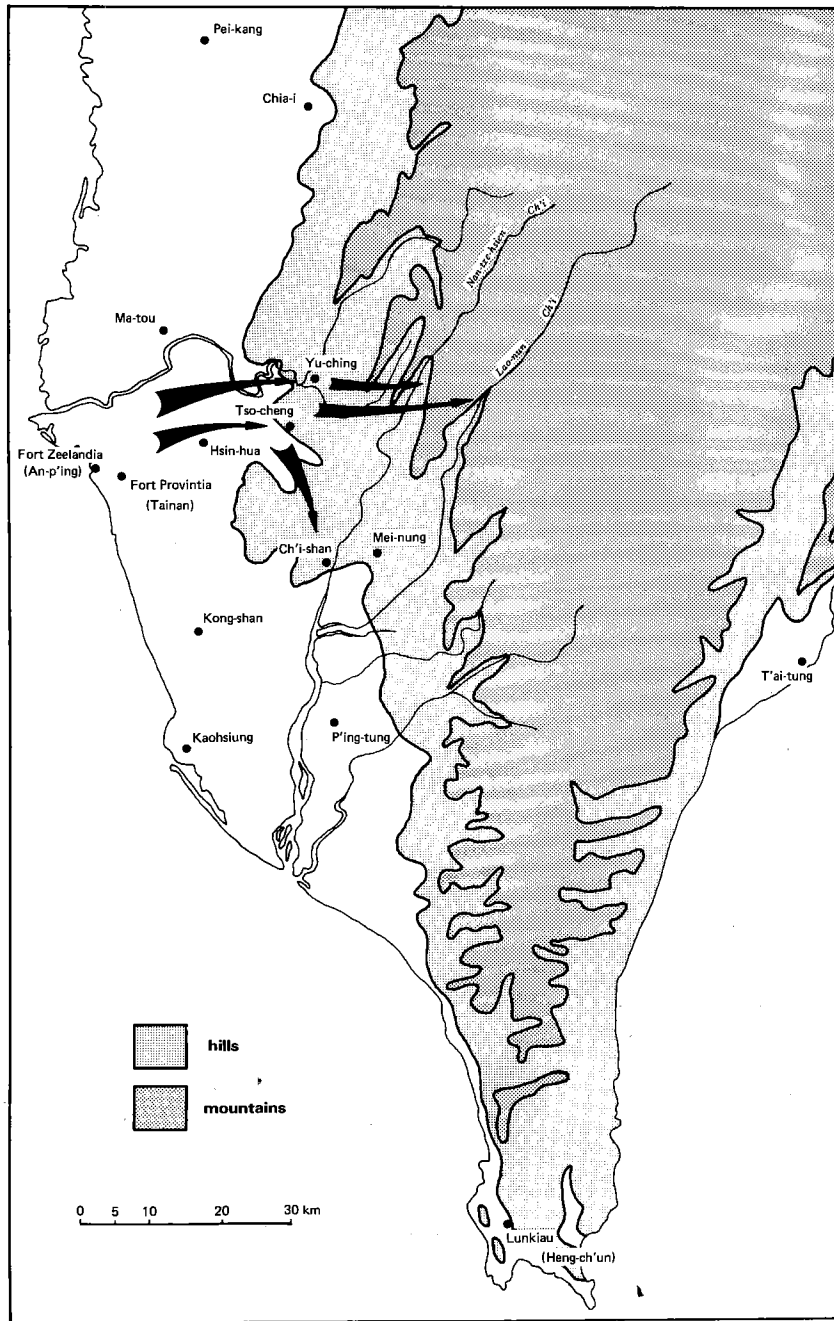


Figure 2-4. Migration routes in southern Taiwan.

even raiding nearby Chinese settlements. Some of the more serious conflicts resulted in aboriginal uprisings, and during the early part of the eighteenth century, five major revolts were reported: two in Nan-t'ou, two in P'ing-tung, and one in Chia-i.<sup>14</sup>

As Chinese settlement expanded, the conflicts between the Chinese and the aborigines intensified. Since the Ch'ing government was not interested in colonizing the mountain area and wished to reduce the level of conflict and protect the Chinese villages, it established a boundary between the lowland and the mountain regions to separate the Chinese from the mountain aborigines and set up military posts on the major routes leading to the aboriginal territory.<sup>15</sup> In 1739 the Ch'ing government formally prohibited the Chinese from entering the territory of the mountain aborigines. From then until the removal of the decree in 1875, no uprisings were recorded, though this of course does not necessarily mean that conflicts or confrontations were entirely absent during this period.

Since taking control of Taiwan in 1683, the Ch'ing government had restricted immigration to Taiwan; but in 1760 these restrictions were completely lifted. A rapid increase of Chinese followed: a survey taken in 1811 indicates a total Chinese population of over 2 million. As the Chinese population increased, the pressure on the lowland aborigines mounted, setting off a series of migrations.

The Chinese colonization of the I-lan delta during the 1796-1820 period forced the local Kavalan people to migrate (Figure 2-5). Some retreated to the mountains to the north of the delta while others moved first to the area south of Lo-tung in the delta and later, in the 1840s, to Pei-fang-ao by land or to Hua-lien by sea.<sup>16</sup> In the early nineteenth century, a thousand or so lowland aborigines of central Taiwan migrated across the central mountains to Wu-wei in the I-lan delta. Unfortunately for the aborigines, the Chinese were then colonizing the delta (as Cho-yun Hsu will describe in a later chapter) and were hostile to the immigrants. As a result, many of the latter returned to their original homeland, though some did settle in the hills nearby.

In 1823, a group of aborigines from Wan-tou-liu in central Taiwan migrated inland to the P'u-li basin. They were well received by the local native inhabitants, and many more aborigines from the Tachia, Taichung, Chang-hua, and Nan-t'ou areas followed.

The continuing expansion of Chinese settlements in the south forced the Siraya and others already in the hills to migrate further

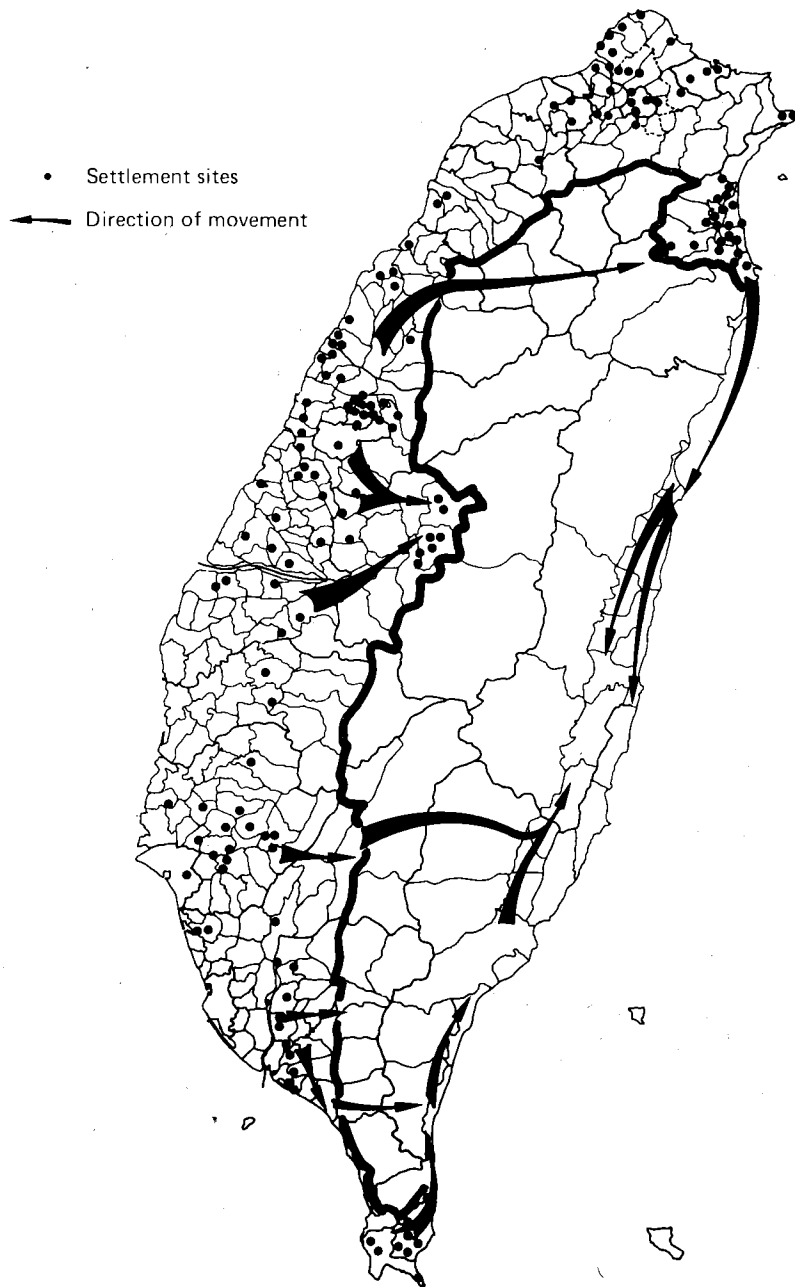


Figure 2-5. Settlement sites and migration routes of the lowland aborigines.  
[After C. S. Chen, 1959.]

across the central mountain range to eastern Taiwan by three routes, two of which crossed the mountains and one of which skirted the southern ranges. The northern route, following the valleys of the Lao-nun Ch'i and the Hsin-wu-li Ch'i to the east, passed through the territory of the Bunun and required their assistance and cooperation; and when this aid was replaced by Bunun hostility, the route was abandoned. The second route, by way of Fang-liao, crossed the Ta-wu Shan and then followed the coast northward to the eastern rift valley, a long trench extending north-south. It was used by the majority of the aboriginal migrants, particularly after the abandonment of the northern route. The southern route was used mainly by the Lungkiau of the Heng-ch'un peninsula. Those who migrated to the eastern rift valley settled in the area between the Hsiu-ku-luan Ch'i in the north and the Li-lung in the south while those who settled along the coast in the area between Ta-king-k'ou and Ch'en-kuan-ao intermixed with those Kavalan who had retreated from the I-lan delta.

Many of the lowland aborigines, however, did not migrate and were largely sinicized. They are commonly referred to in the Chinese literature as *shu-fan* (ripened aborigines) as opposed to the *sheng-fan* (raw or uncivilized aborigines). The *shu-fan* or sinicized aborigines are frequently referred to as Pepohoan, a corruption of the Chinese *p'ing-p'u-fan* (plains aborigines). The major factor in the acculturation and assimilation was the long contact between the aborigines and the Han Chinese. The establishment of educational institutions by the Chinese facilitated the assimilation.

After more than two centuries of colonization by the Chinese, most of the western lowland was brought under intensive cultivation. Meanwhile the Chinese population increased greatly from about 100,000 in 1684 to over 3 million in 1887. To relieve population pressure, the Ch'ing government in 1875 lifted the ban of 1739 and allowed Chinese to enter the mountain region. Chinese settlers quickly invaded the lands of the mountain aborigines. The Chinese government also attempted to open up mountain land for colonization. The strong resistance of the aborigines to the new incursions was evidenced by twenty major uprisings between 1875 and 1895. Most of these were caused by governmental attempts to colonize mountain land or governmental response to the aboriginal killing of the invading Chinese settlers.<sup>17</sup>

The mountain aborigines, particularly the Atayal and the Paiwan,



resisted strongly. Of the twenty uprisings, seventeen involved the mountain aborigines. The Atayal, with ten uprisings, led all the groups; the Paiwan followed with four. The lowland aborigines involved in the uprisings were the Kavalan who were forced out of the I-lan delta earlier in the 1840s. To protect their newly established homeland in eastern Taiwan, they had to resist the Chinese intrusions and revolted three times. Two areas—eastern Taiwan and the mountain area of T'ao-yuan and Hsin-chu in northern Taiwan—accounted for fifteen of the twenty uprisings. There were three uprisings in the southern tip of the island and two in central Taiwan.

In 1895, Taiwan was ceded to Japan, temporarily ending Chinese rule of the island. During the preceding two centuries of Chinese dominion, Chinese settlements had spread throughout the western and northern lowlands, and the former hunting grounds of the lowland aborigines were transformed into agricultural fields. The original inhabitants of the lowlands lived in a sea of Chinese culture and through long and intensive contact they were mostly sinicized. Those who migrated to the hills or to eastern Taiwan lived among the mountain aborigines and were able to maintain some of their cultural heritage. Although the Chinese came into contact with the mountain aborigines, the latter, aided by rugged terrain and their own strong resistance, managed to protect their living space and preserve their way of life, at least for a longer while.

### *THE JAPANESE PERIOD (1895–1945)*

The Japanese occupation marked the beginning of the planned intrusion of external culture into the territory of the mountain aborigines. Interest in the exploitation of Taiwan's natural resources led the Japanese to colonize eastern Taiwan and encroach upon the land of the mountain aborigines with force. To establish firm control over the aborigines, the Japanese penetrated the mountain region by setting up police stations and schools in aboriginal villages, and this control was further facilitated when the aborigines of remote areas were forced to resettle in the more accessible regions of the mountain zone.

During the first years of their occupation, the Japanese were so busy pacifying the Han Chinese that they were able to establish only a few police guard stations in key places leading into the aboriginal territory.<sup>18</sup> In 1897, in response to several incidents involving the killing of lumber and camphor workers in the Hsin-chu and I-lan areas,

a defensive guardline system was established to protect Chinese districts. Guardlines were cleared zones that stretched across the ranges. In addition to guard posts located at strategic points, electrically charged wire entanglements and mines were used. Telephone lines linked the guard posts and other areas under Japanese control.<sup>19</sup> Continuing exploitation of forest products at the margin of Atayal territory resulted in an increase of killing and property damage by the aborigines. The Japanese countered by augmenting the number of guards and extending the guardline to protect the camphor and timber workers. By 1900 a guardline enclosing Atayal territory was completed. At this time the guardline was maintained simply to defend the border district, but after the Japanese had attained full control over the Chinese in 1902, the guardline became the offensive front. Between 1903 and 1908, the guardline was advanced into Atayal territory seventy-five times, and on eighteen of these occasions fierce resistance was encountered. In 1907 a new guardline was established in the northern end of the eastern rift valley near Hua-lien and was subsequently extended mainly in the north and northwest of Atayal territory. The location of guardlines and the major guard stations along the line are shown in Figure 2-6.

Moreover, the Japanese attempted to pacify the mountain aborigines with force. Between 1898 and 1909 the Japanese sent eleven punitive expeditions against the aborigines, mostly against the Atayal. The successful expeditions typically resulted in destruction of the aboriginal villages, killing of the aborigines, the flight of survivors inland, and the advance of the guardline. The cost of this conflict was high: during this period 4,127 persons were recorded as killed and 1,545 wounded by the aborigines. Ninety percent of these casualties were Taiwanese; the remainder were Japanese. The number of killed and wounded aborigines is not known.

In southern Taiwan no guardline was established. Instead, police stations were set up in aboriginal villages to regulate activities. By the end of 1909, there were 123 police stations in the mountain aboriginal territory. The distribution of the police stations in southern Taiwan is shown in Figure 2-7. The Japanese also established seventeen schools in aboriginal villages, all in the lowland area.<sup>20</sup>

There was some trade between the aborigines and the lowland people, but this activity was permitted only in areas where the aborigines observed Japanese law. There a trading station would be attached to the guard or police station and the aborigines would bring various

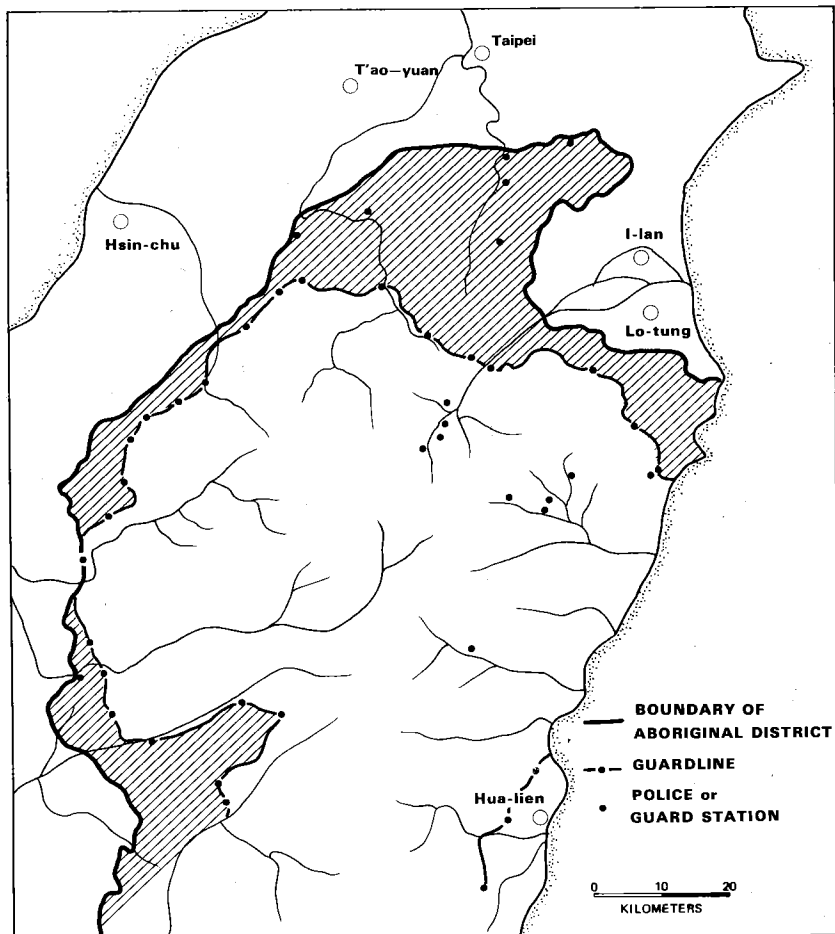


Figure 2-6. Advancement of the guardline in northern Taiwan: 1909.

forest products and game to trade for lowland goods. From time to time, agricultural implements and seeds were offered to them. In some of the stations medicines were kept and oftentimes were given to the sick. The Japanese authorities encouraged the docile aborigines to migrate inside the guardline or near the guard stations. By 1913 some four thousand Atayal had moved to the areas along the guardline.<sup>21</sup>

In the 1920s a system of aboriginal reservations—Chinese entry was forbidden—was established in the highlands and the guardline was eliminated. Meanwhile the Japanese began to organize the resettle-

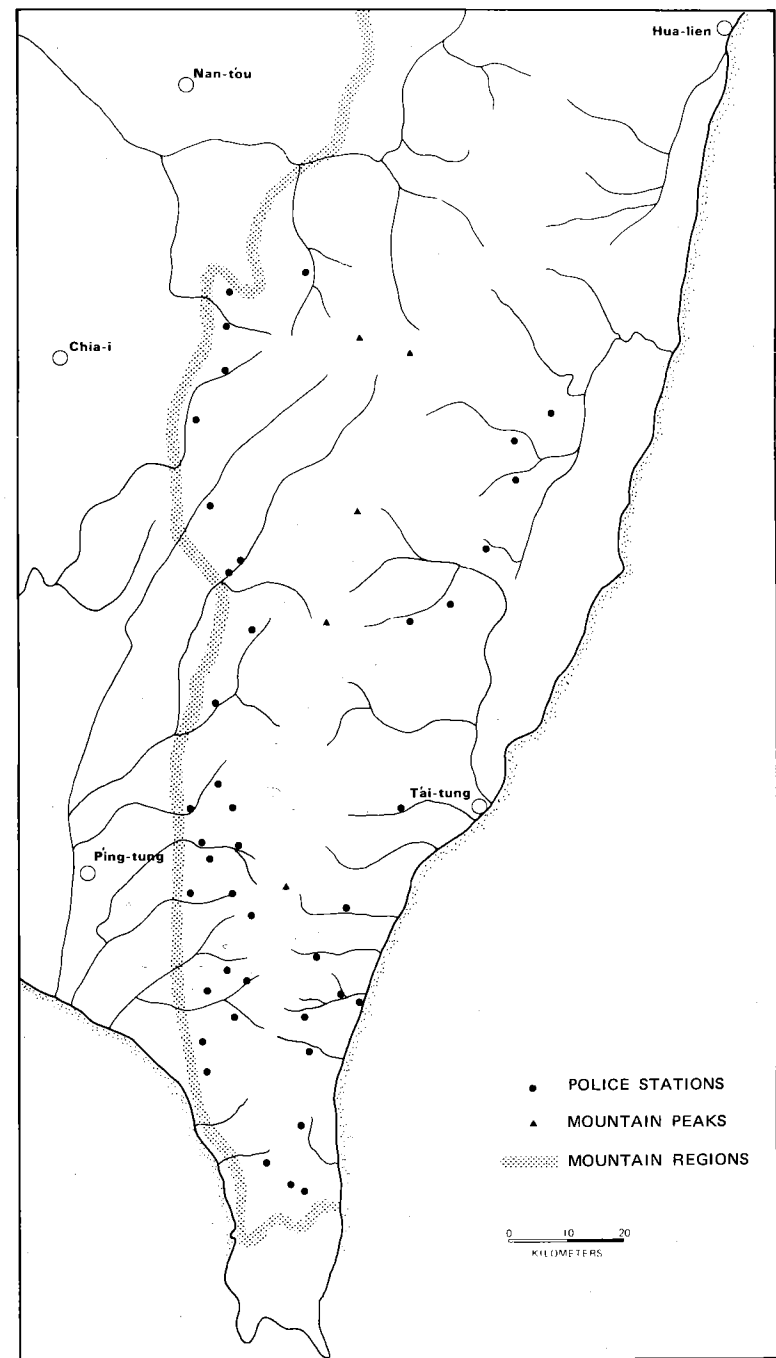


Figure 2-7. Distribution of police stations in the aboriginal districts of southern Taiwan.

ment of the highland aborigines and a sense of oppression roused the mountaineers. In 1930, the Atayal attacked a Japanese police station at Wu-she and killed over a hundred policemen and their families. As a result of this incident, the Japanese intensified their forced migration program in order to gain greater control over the aboriginal settlements. In the Wu-she area alone, some five thousand aborigines from thirty-eight villages were resettled.<sup>22</sup> Elsewhere many small villages in remote areas were consolidated into larger settlements in the more accessible foothills. The extent of the forced resettlement can be seen in the declining number of settlements between 1920 and 1935. The Atayal settlements were reduced by 86 from 267 in 1920 to 181 in 1935. The number of Bunun settlements decreased by 39 from 124 to 85. More than 30 other aboriginal settlements were eliminated.<sup>23</sup>

The number of individuals involved in the migration was substantial. Prior to 1930 a total of 14,145 aborigines were reported to have resettled. In the decade after the Wu-she incident an additional 21,642 aborigines were officially resettled. Half of these were Bunun and 39 percent Atayal. The dislocation of the former was substantial, for the relocated individuals constituted 62 percent of the entire Bunun population in 1929.<sup>24</sup>

After the Wu-she incident, the Japanese adopted a gradual pacification policy. Apart from moving the highland aborigines to more accessible areas, they expanded the construction of roads and bridges in the mountain region, extended the public school system into that area, reduced the threat of malaria and other environmental diseases, and introduced new crops. As peace and stability were restored, the aboriginal population increased. In 1906 there were 113,163 mountain aborigines. By 1940 their population had grown to 158,321. The rate of increase was highest during the 1930s: 12.6 percent for the decade.<sup>25</sup>

The colonization of the eastern rift valley and the Pacific littoral during the Japanese period brought both Chinese and Japanese into contact with the mountain aborigines of eastern Taiwan (Figure 2-8). Although the Chinese had attempted to colonize eastern Taiwan in the late nineteenth century, they had had but limited success: in 1896, there were only 3,300 Han Chinese there.<sup>26</sup> Beginning in the 1910s, the Japanese encouraged the migration of both Chinese and Japanese to the area. Despite heavy government subsidies, the early results were far below expectations. Nonetheless, by 1935, the Chi-

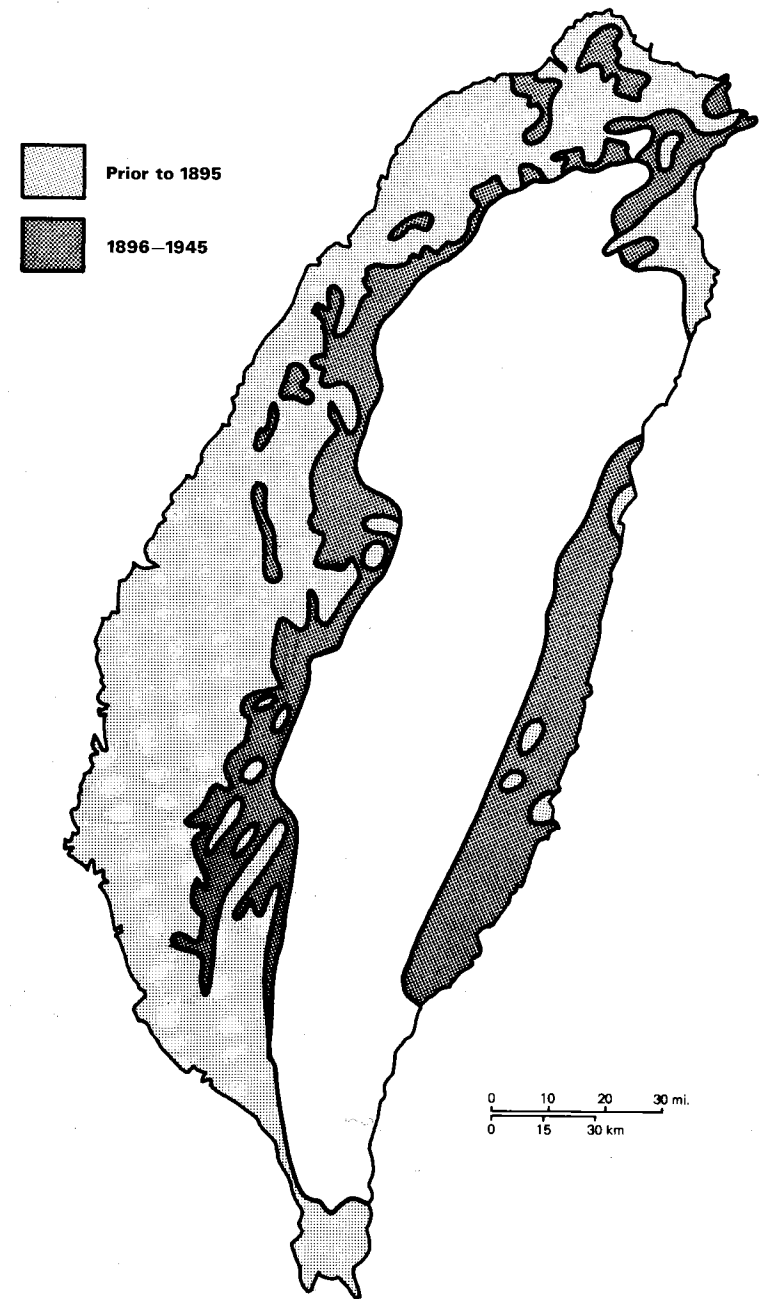


Figure 2-8. Colonization during the Japanese period. [After C. S. Chen, 1950.]

nese population of eastern Taiwan increased to some 70,000. Together with 20,000 Japanese, their combined total approximately equaled that of the aborigines in the area. Thus, by comparison, the aborigines of eastern Taiwan had far more opportunity for contact with the Chinese or the Japanese than had those in the central mountain region. The Japanese also engaged in resettling mountain aborigines from the eastern slope of the central mountain region into the eastern rift valley; by 1938, some 1,859 households with a total of 10,850 aborigines had been resettled in the valley.<sup>27</sup>

Thus the fifty years of Japanese rule greatly altered the settlement pattern of the aborigines and brought about substantial changes in their dealings with outsiders. In addition to encroaching upon Atayal land in the north, the Japanese encouraged the migration of Chinese and Japanese to eastern Taiwan, consolidated the highland aboriginal settlements into the more accessible areas, and moved many of the aborigines of the eastern slope of the mountain region into the eastern rift valley. They also established police stations and schools in the aboriginal villages. They did continue to prohibit the Chinese from entering the mountain region, however, thus preserving the mountain areas, in the main, for the highland aborigines.

Japanese rule over Taiwan ended with their defeat in World War II, and in 1945 the island was returned to China. But in the meantime China itself had changed from an imperial dynasty to a republic, and this change was to bring different attitudes and policies to Taiwan in the postwar era.

### THE POSTWAR ERA

Under the new Chinese government, the aborigines became citizens of China with the same legal rights as the Han Chinese. They can by law, for example, move freely and participate in the political process. To protect them from exploitation, the Chinese government continues to maintain the reserve system in the mountain region, forbidding Chinese to enter without a permit but leaving the aborigines free to depart or enter. Such Chinese as do live in the mountain region are typically policemen, schoolteachers, and shopkeepers. The Chinese interest in exploiting mountain resources has led them to build roads, dams, and powerlines, a development which has brought many transient Chinese workers into the region.<sup>28</sup> The construction of roads has improved the accessibility of these areas and increased the interaction between mountain aborigines and lowland

people, while the completion of the east-west highway in central Taiwan has brought tens of thousands of tourists in annual transit through this region. Moreover, the Chinese government resettled thousands of retired soldiers in the mountains. So, despite governmental restrictions, the Chinese presence in the region is on the rise and the highland aborigines are constantly exposed to the Chinese way of life.

Many highland aboriginal youths have descended to the lowland for education or military service. Since there is no high school or college in the mountains, those pursuing education beyond the elementary level have to come down to the lowlands. Meanwhile, as citizens of the Republic of China, the young male adults have an obligation to serve in the armed forces and many are drafted into the military for two or three years. As the students and draftees live among the Chinese in the lowland, their exposure to the Chinese way of life is intensified. As a result, many of them choose to stay there after completing their education or military service. Those who return bring information back to their villages whence it is diffused throughout the mountain region.

The increasing presence of the Chinese in the mountain region and the growing interaction between upland aborigines and lowland people have intensified the acculturation process. Meanwhile, the increasing awareness of better economic opportunities and a more appealing life in the Chinese-dominated lowlands has encouraged aborigines to migrate there. As the mountain aborigines in eastern Taiwan have had greater contacts with the Chinese than have the highland aborigines, and as the Chinese colonization of eastern Taiwan has intensified, many more aborigines have migrated from eastern Taiwan to the western lowlands than from the highlands.

The migration of individual aborigines into the western lowlands is indicated by the rapid increase of the aboriginal population in that area in recent years. Between 1962 and 1971, the aboriginal population in the western lowlands more than doubled from 5,575 to 12,773.<sup>29</sup> The migrants are predominantly Ami, Atayal, and Paiwan. In 1966, for example, there were 8,453 aborigines in the western lowlands: 3,054 Ami, 2,108 Paiwan, and 1,855 Atayal. These three groups comprised over 80 percent of the aborigines in the western lowlands. Most of them resided in the major urbanized areas or in the townships adjacent to their homelands.<sup>30</sup>

Apart from individual migration, there have been numerous vol-

TABLE 2-3  
*Number of Postwar Resettlements: 1945-1966*

Tribal Group	Whole Villages Resettled	Partial Villages Resettled	Total
Atayal	2	29	31
Bunun	1	4	5
Tsou	0	22	22
Rukai	1	4	5
Paiwan	21	11	32
Ami	6	10	16
TOTAL	31	80	111

SOURCE: Compiled by the author from Wei Hwei-lin and Wang Jen-ying, *A Survey of Population Growth and Migration Patterns among Formosan Aborigines*, Occasional Papers of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, National Taiwan University, no. 3 (Taiwan: 1966).

untary resettlements, mostly within the mountain region and eastern rift valley. A survey taken in 1966 shows that a total of 111 movements were recorded, including 31 cases of resettling whole villages and 80 cases of resettling some village members (Table 2-3). The resettlement of whole villages involved mainly the Paiwan; the partial resettlements mainly affected the Atayal, the Tsou, the Paiwan, and the Ami. The Saisiat and the Puyuma were not involved. The resettlement of the Paiwan was from the mountain slopes to the lower foothills (Figure 2-9). The moving of the Atayal village was necessitated by the construction of Shih-men Dam, but the general direction of Atayal movement, which involved only some members of some villages, was southward into the areas settled by the Bunun and the Ami. The movements of the Ami were from the eastern coastal range down into the rift valley and from the northern end of the rift valley southward. Most of the movements were from small villages into large settlements. But the movements of the Tsou were from large villages into the uninhabited land within their territory and generally involved only three to five households—a migration which seemed to be consequent to growing population pressure in the villages of the Tsou.<sup>31</sup>

Although all these movements were voluntary, the Chinese government played a decisive role. Many of the shifts, particularly those from inaccessible highland areas and those involving large numbers of aborigines, were financed by the government. Nineteen of the Paiwan's thirty-two movements, for example, were into new government-constructed communities.<sup>32</sup> Up to 1964, the Chinese government had spent over NT\$3 million to assist forty-three movements of ten households or more involving 14,269 aborigines.<sup>33</sup>

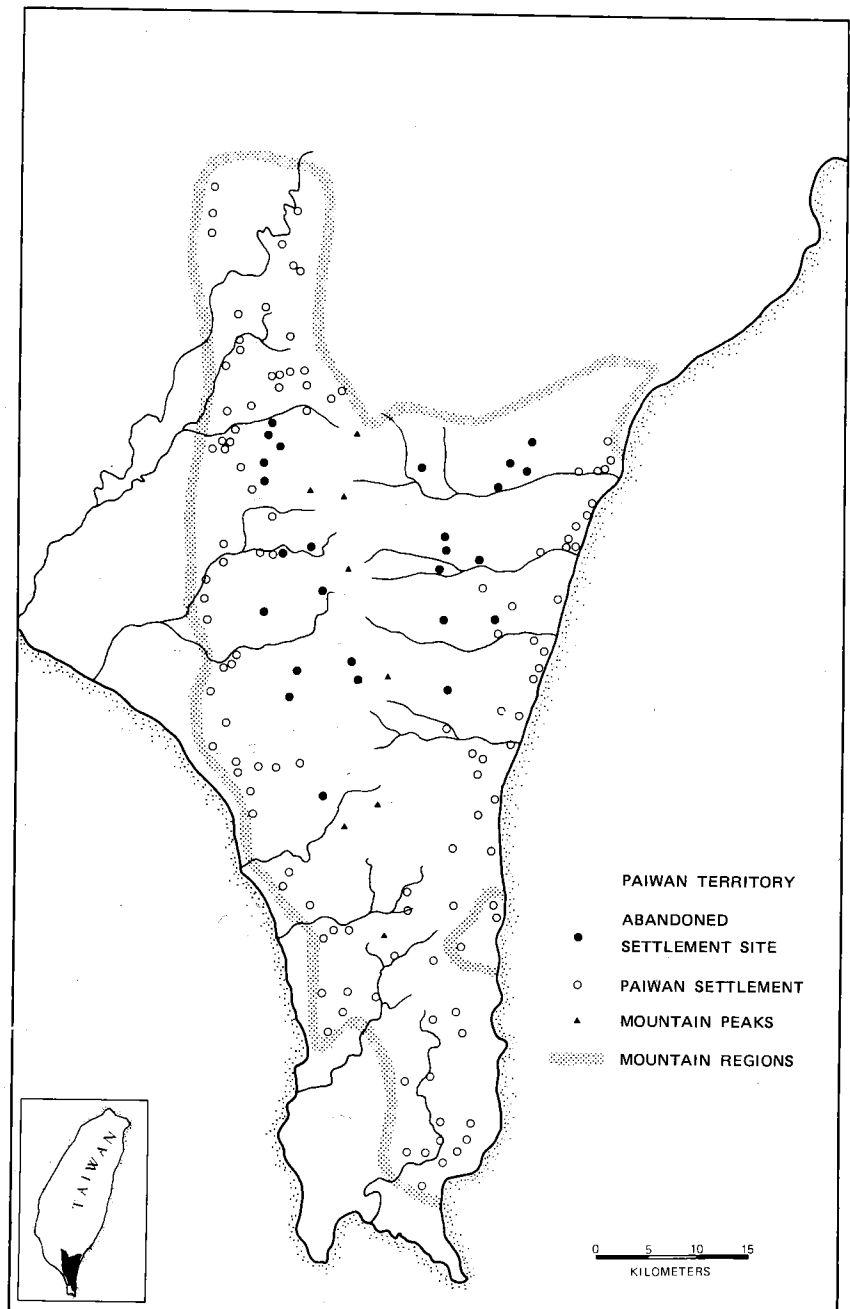


Figure 2-9. Resettlement of the Taiwan aborigines. [After Wei and Wang, 1966.]

Since the resettlements were from highlands to the more accessible foothills, they tended to heighten contact between the aborigines and the Han Chinese and exposure to the Chinese way of life. The migration of the aborigines into the western lowlands has increased the flow of information between the Chinese-dominated lowlands and the aboriginal homelands. As the trend continues, there will be more individual aborigines living among the Chinese and acculturation will likely intensify. Meanwhile, the increasing interest in exploiting mountain resources will send more Chinese into the mountain region and accelerate the acculturation process in the aboriginal homelands as well.