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**STRUCTURE AND HISTORY OF A
CHINESE COMMUNITY IN TAIWAN**

JIH-CHANG CHESTER HSIEH

NANKANG, TAIPEI, TAIWAN

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A CHINESE COMMUNITY IN
TAIWAN

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FOREWORD

JOHN W. BENNETT

Professor of Anthropology

Washington University at St. Louis, Mo.

Dr. Hsieh's book has a certain uniqueness insofar as the anthropological tradition of cultural ecological research has not concerned itself with historical problems. The question of interaction between the physical environment, technology, and social institutions must be seen as a process, not a series of static relationships. Dr. Hsieh does this, but also adds another dimension: the historical forces which shape a community's traditions and social system. In this sense, the book is also a contribution to the literature of culture change and acculturation.

There exists in the Western approach to Chinese civilization a stereotypic notion of enduring tradition and immemorial style. Yet China, like all large societies, has had its full complement of dynamic change, development, conflict, and the re-establishment of equilibrium. On Taiwan, the ingredients that went into the "Chinese" cultural mix were even more numerous, due to the pre-existing population of aboriginal peoples. Dr. Hsieh's book provides a graphic illustration of how these various elements merged to make up one variant of Chinese society and culture.

In performing these tasks, Dr. Hsieh has presented us with a study of social adaptation of significant scope and detail. We learn not only about the history of change and adaptive process in the development of a community over many decades, and the forces that created a distinctive syncretistic culture, but also about the way real human beings—the people of P'uli—adapted to all these circumstances. We also learn how irrigation—a key resource technology—played a crucial role in this process of behavioral adaptation.

I am proud to be able to write this foreword to Dr. Hsieh's interesting and valuable book, and hope it will be given careful attention by its various professional audiences.

MEMORANDUM

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PREFACE

The fieldwork that formed the ethnographic basis for this study was performed in intermittent visits to P'uli over the period between November, 1972 and July, 1977. I spent the greatest amount of time there in 1973, when I spent six months there. I visited the area again for a month in 1974. In July 1977 I returned to check some of the details in an earlier draft of this study.

I was fortunate to find a place to live and do my research with little difficulty. Before my wife and I set out for P'uli we learned that her oldest sister-in-law had grown up in a Christian community in P'uli. Though she did not live in P'uli any more, one of her brothers, who was a doctor, operated a clinic in P'uli. We had not wanted to disturb him, but when we began to have difficulty finding a place to stay he offered us one of his own houses to stay in. We stayed in P'uli Town for a month, while I looked for a suitable village for fieldwork. During this month I rode with my assistant on his motorcycle looking at villages all over the P'uli plain. I came to settle in Lan-ch'eng through an employee of the Township Office who was a respected elder in the village. He suggested that I try to rent a room from his foster sister, who lived in the same compound as his family. Her apartment was very clean, and it appealed to my wife very much, so we decided to take his suggestion. The old lady lived with her oldest son and his wife and two daughters. The whole family welcomed us. We ate with them and their food was excellent. It happened that the old lady's husband's surname, Huang, was the same as my wife's maiden name. So Mrs. Huang treated my wife just as her own daughter and treated me as her son-in-law.

In the first two months of my fieldwork, because my wife and I were considered outsiders, the villagers suspected we might be agents for the government and they were reluctant to answer our questions and, in fact, showed utter disinterest. But in April, 1973 my wife gave birth to our first child, a son, in a local hospital. Mrs. Huang and her daughter-in-law were very excited and cooked their best food for my wife to restore her to strength. After my wife and son returned from their short stay in the hospital the word spread that a little "Lan-ch'eng infant" had been born. Since then, Mrs. Huang's granddaughters called my wife by the term for their paternal aunt, and called me by the term for her husband. After our son was born, most of the villagers felt comfortable to talk to us. They treated us almost as their fellow villagers. From then on I had no problems conducting my fieldwork. Not long afterward a respected young man in the village became interested in my research and voluntarily served as my part-time assistant. He was 34 years old, married, and a successful farmer. He was very much involved with village affairs and associated with the "young" faction. From his close

familiarity with local affairs, he frequently gave me a good overview of the things happening in the community and in P'uli generally. He helped me to draw several maps. Through his introductions, several villagers who were close friends of his supplied me with much useful information for my research. Through the Township Office employee who originally suggested that we settle in Lan-ch'eng, I came to know some members of the village who were associated with the "old" faction. The village Mayor, who understood the purpose of my research, also gave me a great deal of help. I spent many evenings talking to him. He and other older villagers gave me much useful information, and their opinions and comments complemented those of the younger villagers. Quite a few women in the village also cordially answered many of our questions. Generally when I mention the names of the villagers I use fictitious names.

I was fortunate that my wife is a native speaker of the Hoklo dialect, which is the dialect spoken in P'uli and most of Taiwan. Hoklo is not my mother dialect, because I came to Taiwan with my parents from North China when I was five years old. In the beginning of fieldwork my Hoklo speech was not so fluent and betrayed my non-native background. I primarily depended on my wife for corrections in my pronunciation. Eventually with her help I gained almost complete command of the Hoklo dialect, but with enough of an accent for the native speakers to recognize it.

I have many debts to acknowledge. My research was sponsored by the Ethnology Division of the Project of Anthropological and Environmental Investigations of the Choshui and Tatu River Valleys in Central Taiwan, funded by the National Science Council of the Republic of China in Taiwan, and coordinated by the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica. The project was supervised by professor K. C. Chang. The Ethnology Division was headed by Professor Yih-yuan Li and administrated by Professor Sung-hsing Wang. To these organizations and individuals I express my sincere appreciation. For the hospitality and assistance that the Lan-ch'eng villagers rendered to my wife and me, I am very grateful. The government offices in P'uli (such as the Township Office, the Land Office, and the Tax Office) and its agencies (such as the Irrigation Association and the Farmers' Association) all gave me useful data. I wish to express my sincere appreciation to the staff of these offices and agencies. I am also indebted to my colleague Dr. Chi-wan Liu, who, explained some of the literature on P'uli to me; and to the Director Professor Chung-i Wen, Messrs. Ch'en Wen-te, Hsiang-shui Chen and Ying-kuei Huang and my other colleagues in the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, for their help and encouragement. I also owe a special debt to Professor William H. Newell at University of Sydney, Dr. Richard E. Barrett at University of Michigan, and Mrs. Sylvia Benton at City University of New York for their generous help. I am also indebted to the members of my doctoral committee. In a period of more than one year, my advisor, Dr. Robert L. Canfield, worked with me on my dissertation, which is the original version of this book. He painstakingly worked with me through the whole writing process-- helping me pin down the problem, guiding me in the theory and the writing. Without his assistance, patience and constant encouragement I would never have been able to finish my dissertation. I am also obliged to Dr. John W. Bennett, who at the beginning offered me a scholarship to study at Washington University, who

gave me many useful comments on the dissertation and suggestions on theory, and who kindly wrote the foreword for this book. My gratitude is also due to Dr. G. Edward Montgomery for his comments and encouragement. My gratitude is also due to my parents for their encouragement. Finally, I want to thank my wife, for her help in the fieldwork and for the sacrifice, patience and love given to me through these years.

J. C. Hsieh
February 1979

The first part of the paper is devoted to the study of the asymptotic behavior of the solutions of the system (1) as $t \rightarrow \infty$. It is shown that the solutions of the system (1) tend to zero as $t \rightarrow \infty$ if and only if the matrix A is stable.

In the second part of the paper, the asymptotic behavior of the solutions of the system (1) is studied as $t \rightarrow 0$. It is shown that the solutions of the system (1) tend to zero as $t \rightarrow 0$ if and only if the matrix A is stable.

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1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. This is essential for ensuring the integrity of the financial statements and for providing a clear audit trail. The records should be kept up-to-date and should be accessible to all relevant parties.

2. The second part of the document outlines the procedures for handling cash and other assets. It is important to ensure that all cash receipts are properly recorded and that all disbursements are supported by valid documentation. Regular reconciliations should be performed to ensure that the books are in balance.

3. The third part of the document discusses the requirements for preparing financial statements. These statements should be prepared on a regular basis and should be reviewed by management before being distributed to the board of directors. The statements should be prepared in accordance with the applicable accounting standards.

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6. The sixth part of the document outlines the procedures for handling other financial matters, such as investments and loans. It is important to ensure that all financial transactions are properly recorded and that all financial statements are prepared accurately. Regular audits should be performed to ensure compliance with applicable laws and regulations.

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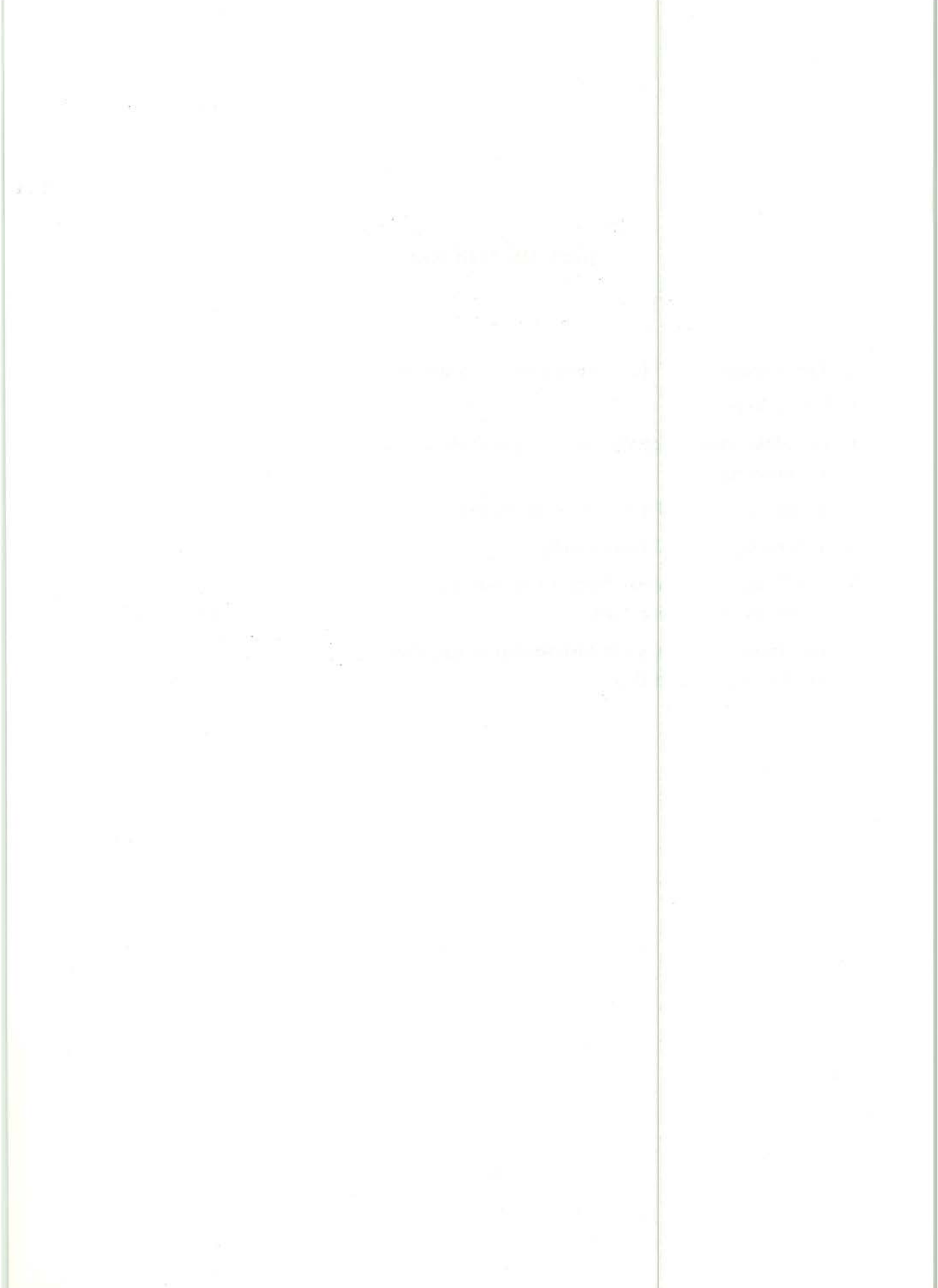
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Table 1

Table 1 (continued)

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND THE ISSUES

ASSUMPTIONS AND FRAME OF REFERENCE

In this study I attempt to explain why there is a certain unusual configuration of social alignments in a Chinese community of Taiwan. I explain it in terms of a general set of assumptions that seem to me generally useful when one wants to explain how communities take their various forms. I assume that a community's structures arise in response to the various conditions inherent in its existence. The word "community" here refers to a group of people living in the same locality and having common interests. The term "community structure" refers to the patterning of relationships that the members of the community maintain with each other. It implies a system of social obligations and rights, which the members recognize to exist among themselves. This system of social obligations and rights is affected by the environmental and cultural conditions of the community. These conditions affect the structure of the community by limiting the possibilities for developing and maintaining viable or useful social relationships among its members. The conditions of the community's existence may be conceived as partly environmental--that is, regarded as conceptually separate from the community--and partly cultural--that is, regarded as the heritage of skills, tools and understandings the members of the community have received from past generations and will transmit to the next.

The environmental conditions of a community's existence are both natural and social (Bennett 1976b: 18-19; Barth 1956: 1079). The natural environmental conditions of a community consist of the climatic and geophysical features of its setting that the community regards as resources available to it. Such natural features of a community's environment as its climate, soil and topography must be taken into account by the members in their development and exploitation of resources. This affects the way they organize.

The social features of a community's environment consist of the networks of social relations that exist mainly outside the community but impinge upon it (Adams 1970: 70-71; Barth 1961: 93; Sahlins 1964: 134-135; Wolf 1966: 77). These networks of social relations vary according to specific circumstances. In the case to be examined they are of three kinds. The first kind consists of the relations between the community structure and neighboring communities which affects its structure, just as it affects theirs. Some of their neighbors may be hostile, some friendly; some will be close, others distant; but their relationship to the community under study affects the way the members of that community arrange their affairs. In addition to the influences exerted by neighboring communities there is the influence exerted by government. Governments

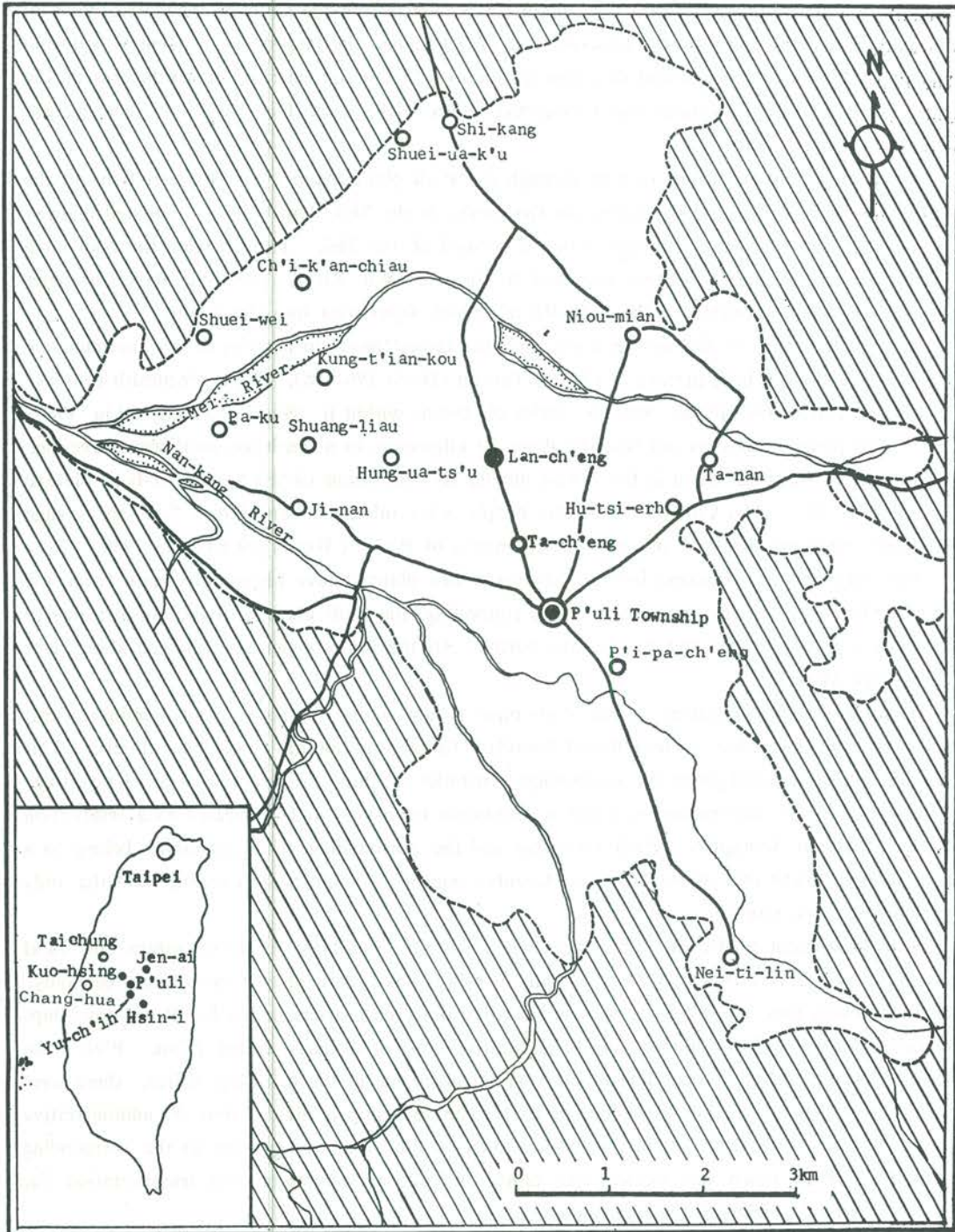
make policies and enact laws that affect the people they administer. The specific sets of relationships people maintain in a community are importantly affected by the policies and laws of their government and the relationship they have with the officials who administer those laws. Besides the influences of other communities and of government there is the influence of a national and international economy. To the degree that a wider market system penetrates the community, the relations of individuals within the community are affected. The price of goods produced and consumed within the community is in part a function of national and international market conditions. Variations in the market will affect the demand for goods produced in the community and the cost of goods consumed in the community; it will also affect the kind of work opportunities people will have. The market economy affects the ways people within the community organize to produce products for sale in the market. The job opportunities in the national economy affect the emigration rate of people from the community and their relationship with the outside world.

The cultural conditions of a community's existence may be considered analytically different from its environment. Culture is received from previous generations and exerts certain influence on the present. The conventional conception of culture in the anthropological sciences is best described by the term "heritage": a collection of knowledge, skills, values, meanings and material equipment, passed down from one generation to another, and communicated by the learning process. This is a valid definition, which is appropriate for descriptive and historical studies in anthropology. However, the tendency has been for anthropologists to treat culture as unchanging and unchangeable. I will here treat it as a dynamic process. We require a concept of culture which allows for change, opposition and adaptive behavior. I shall use the term to stress the idea of traditions as "precedents" but not as unchangeable forces (Bennett 1976a: 849).

The structure of a community develops as its members, using the cultural resources available to it, adapt to the varying predicaments posed by its environment. The community takes its distinctive configuration "as a process of potential adjustment to existing and changing conditions" (Bennett 1969: 18). It takes that shape, Sahlins says, as it maximizes its social life chances. "Maximization is always a compromise, a vector in the internal structure of culture and the external pressure of environment" (Sahlins 1964: 136). This is the way all communities take their shape. To explain the specific shape of any one case we attempt to define the circumstances that have affected it. Whatever specific configuration of social alignments that one wants to explain can be explained in these terms. What this means will be evident as we define the problem of this study and set forth the conditions that seem to explain it.

THE VILLAGE AND THE PROBLEM

Spatial setting. Lan-ch'eng is a Chinese village situated in Central Taiwan. It lies between E120° 57' and N 23° 59', on the P'uli plain (see Map 1). The P'uli plain is about 450 meters above sea level (P'uli By-product Factory 1973: 1). It is irregularly shaped, but it extends about 11 kilometers at its widest points from north to south and ten kilometers from east to west. It



Map 1 P'uli Township

is surrounded by mountains, which rise abruptly on its eastern and western slopes, and more gradually on the north and south. The plain stands apart from the Chinese dominated plains to the west. The P'uli town is 58 kilometers east of Taichung, the largest city in Central Taiwan. The Plains Aborigines once found this area a sanctuary from the encroaching influences of the Chinese who came to dominate the Chang-hua plain to the west, but they have since merged with the Chinese people.

Two rivers flow from east to west through the P'uli plain (Map 1). The one lying to the south is the Nan-kang, and the other, on the north, is the Mei. Lan-ch'eng is situated midway between the two rivers but belongs to the watershed of the Mei. The Mei and the Nan-kang Rivers unite at the plain's western boundary to form the Wu River. The Wu River becomes the most important tributary of the Tatu River, which flows west into the ocean.

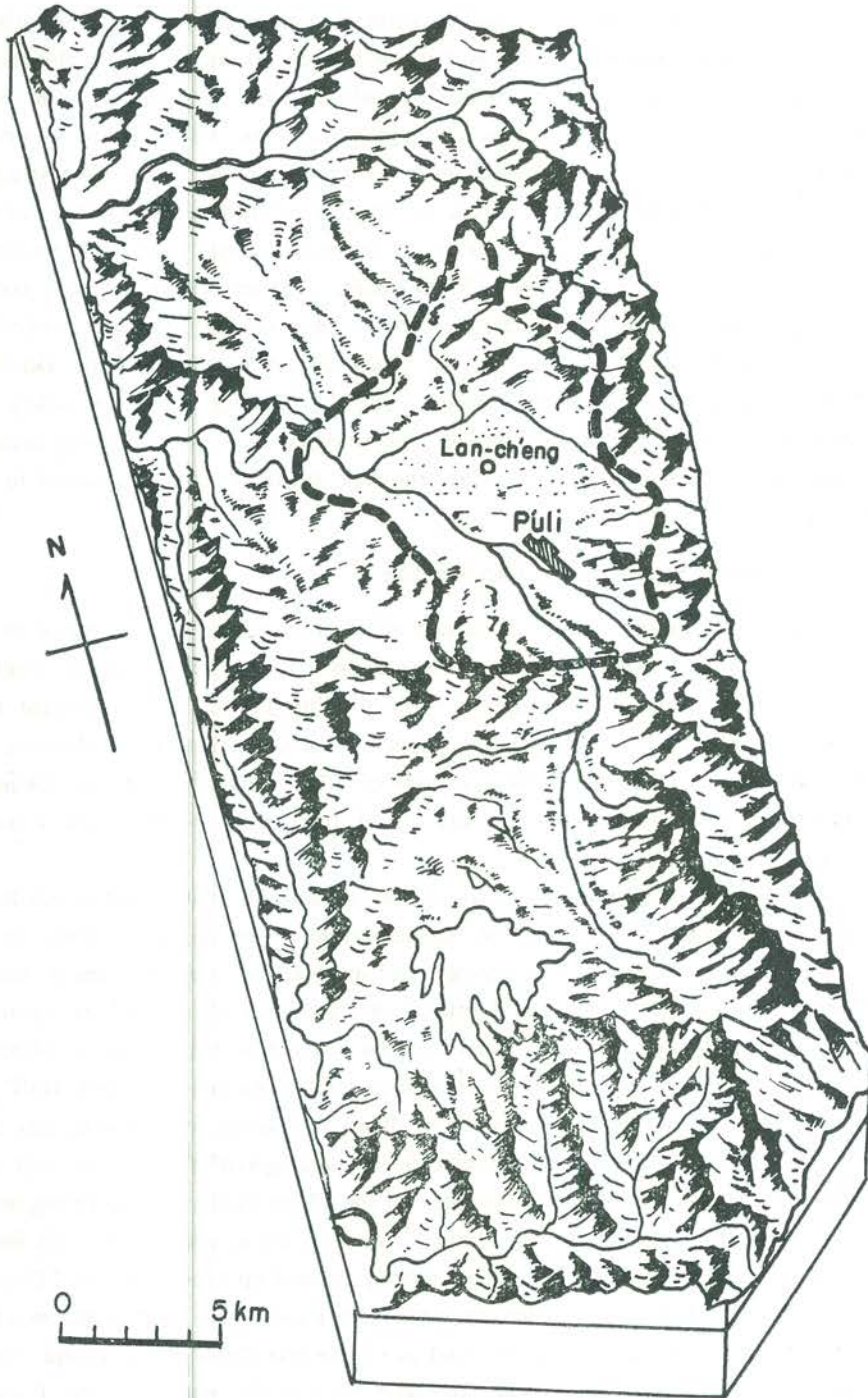
The P'uli basin is the northernmost and the largest basin in a series of 15 intermontane basins strung along a high plateau in Central Taiwan (Hsieh 1964: 38). In the nineteenth century, the Chinese called this plateau and the series of basins within it "Shuei-sha-lien" (Liu 1958: 176). The plateau stretches out lineally about 30 kilometers in a northeast-southwest direction. The bottom of the P'uli basin is the lowest among all the basins of the Shuei-sha-lien plateau (Lin 1964: 31-32). The Chinese called the people who inhabited the plateau "the six savage settlements of Shuei-sha-lien" or "the six settlements of P'uli" (Hsia 1879: 64; Liu 1958: 176).

The major routes of access into the Shuei-sha-lien plateau have historically been from the south. There were three main traffic routes connecting the P'uli plain with the outside; one to the south, one to the east and one to the north. All the routes generally followed along river valleys (see Map 2).

Social and political setting. The P'uli plain is now a unit of government administration, called the P'uli Township. The political boundary follows the natural boundary closely. This township is distinguished from the surrounding territories of three townships (Jen-ai, Kuo-hsing, and Yu-ch'ih); the eastern one is called a "mountain township" and is treated as a reservation for the Mountain Aborigines. P'uli Township and the surrounding three townships belong to a larger administrative unit called Nan-t'ou County, one of 16 counties in Taiwan, and the only one without a sea coast.

The government of Taiwan recognizes two kinds of townships: urban townships and rural townships (cf. Stavis 1974: 28-29). Urban townships have more people and a larger economy. Known as *chen*, they are divided into administrative units or districts called *li*. Rural townships are called *hsiang* and are divided into administrative units or districts called *ts'un*. P'uli is an urban township (*chen*). According to information given me in the township office, there were 77,761 people living in this township in 1971. The township is divided into 30 administrative units (*li*). Seven of them are in the market town of P'uli and the rest are in the surrounding rural area. P'uli Town has become the center of culture, commerce and transportation for the whole region, including the high mountains.

Cultural setting. There are about 40 communities on the P'uli plain, besides the town of P'uli. All of these are Chinese. Their houses are built in the usual Chinese fashion, with



Map 2 The Topography of the Shuei-sha-lien Plateau, Showing the Outlines of the Puli Plain (adapted from Lin 1964: 30)

a central building to which appendages are often attached to form a horseshoe-shaped structure. And most of these are surrounded by walls to form a family compound. The villages are characteristically clustered in compact communities, as Chinese communities are elsewhere (cf. Freedman 1958:8). The people of P'uli subsist on rice, as rural Chinese have for centuries; some of them raise sugar cane for cash as a supplement. The whole valley is extensively irrigated, the typical Chinese form of land use. They, of course, speak Chinese and wear Chinese clothing. They worship the Earth God, an ancient Chinese deity; the *ma-tsu* Goddess popular in southeastern China (including Taiwan) is the major deity. And they worship their ancestors in the usual Chinese manner. In each household, or at least in each family compound, there is an altar on which the ancestral tablets are put. They celebrate Chinese festivals, such as the New Year, the Dragon-Boat Festival, the Mid-Autumn Festival and the Double Nine Festival. Most villages have a boxing club, which is also traditional in Chinese society.

In one obvious respect, however, they do not resemble the usual Chinese communities elsewhere: they have no ancestral halls. This omission stands in striking contrast to Chinese communities elsewhere.

The Unusual Social Structure of Lan-ch'eng

It was this obvious omission that first captured my interest when, after a period of general reconnaissance, I settled in Lan-ch'eng, which seems to be a typical village of the P'uli plain. Lan-ch'eng is a Chinese village two kilometers north of P'uli Town. It is nucleated like the rest. Houses are built in the usual horseshoe pattern. Rice cultivation is important, though more sugar cane is raised there than in most villages of P'uli. Everyone speaks Chinese, and worships Chinese gods and ancestors like the rest. And there is a boxing club, a traditional kind of Chinese club.

Another feature of the village (and of all of the villages of P'uli) turned out to be the lack of interest in lineage ancestry. This first became evident to me in one incident. In January 1973, Ch'en Chen-shu, a resident of Lan-ch'eng, told me that the annual ancestor worship of the Ch'en lineage in Nei-wan, T'ien-chung Township of Chang-hua County (which lay more than 40 kilometers of travelling distance to the west of P'uli) would be held in early March. The ancestral hall of this Ch'en lineage is called Chu-hsing Hall ("Famous People's Hall"). His grandparents were the first members of the Ch'en lineage to come from Chang-hua to P'uli. They settled in Lan-ch'eng. One ancestral tablet of his great-grandfather is still kept in Chu-hsing Hall. He said he and several other members of the Ch'en family in Lan-ch'eng would go, and probably several other members of the family in P'uli Town would go, too. He invited me to join them. I accepted. When the day came, nobody showed up, except Ch'en Chen-shu and me. We were the only ones to go. When we were there I saw about 90 people, mostly from Chang-hua plain, participated in the annual ritual in Chang-hua County; but except for Ch'en Chen-shu there was no one else there from anywhere else in the whole of the P'uli plain. Apparently no one else in P'uli was interested in the affairs of their lineage organization. Ch'en Chen-shu seems to be unusual in P'uli. He is in his sixties; one time he was the principal of

a P'uli primary school in the southern tip of the plain; he graduated from high school in Japanese times; of the members of the older generation, he is the most learned. But, apparently unlike all the others--but very much like Chinese elsewhere--he also has a strong interest in his lineage ancestry. When I talked to the Lan-ch'eng villagers, virtually all of them showed no interest in forming a lineage or participating in lineage activities. There was no evidence of the usual Chinese patrilineal ideology (cf. Freedman 1966:163). Unlike my experience with my own Chinese family, these people seldom talked about their ancestry, and in every other respect indicated little interest in lineage relationships.

As I studied the family relationships that did seem significant to the members of this village, it became clear that the structures that are lineage structures in most Chinese communities are not actual lineages; they take a somewhat different form in Lan-ch'eng, and this seems typical of the communities in P'uli generally. To clarify what I mean I will first describe the actual functioning kinship structures of Lan-ch'eng, working from smallest to largest, and then explain how they differ from the usual Chinese lineage structure.

Family Groups: Residential Contexts

Actual functioning family groups in Lan-ch'eng are by definition understood in terms of kinship relationships, but as we are interested in their actual functioning they must be described in relation to the territories within which they function. Families can be small nuclear groups, or larger expanded family groups, and they can live together in one household or as several households in one compound. I will explain what is meant by households and compounds before explaining the composition of the family groups that live in households and compounds.

When a family lives in a household it constitutes a household group. This is the minimal residential unit. Members of a household share a common stove and cultivate lands that are owned by the members of the household, over which a senior male (the family head) is responsible. These people work on the common property, share a common budget and cook food on a common stove. The importance of sharing of the food produced by their labor is evinced in the local term for household, *tsit-k'au-tsau*, literally "a stove" (*tsit-k'au* = one, *tsau* = stove). In 1973 there were 185 household groups in Lan-ch'eng. Their family composition is indicated in Table 1.

When the members of a household group are few they may live in one room. But when they get more numerous they may occupy a compound. A compound is a house, sometimes consisting of more than one building, surrounded by a wall. The house within the compound is built in stages, as the need for space arises. The original structure is a long rectangular building partitioned into three or five rooms. Later, if more rooms are needed, it is expanded by the addition of wings, first to the left side (as one looks out the front of the structure), and then to the right. In this way an L-shaped or horseshoe-shaped compound is formed (see Figure 1). The courtyard in the middle of the horseshoe is used for drying grain. If still more rooms are needed, additional rows of rooms are built outside the horseshoe. In Lan-ch'eng, for instance, there is one compound which has two additional rows of rooms on the left wing.

Table 1 Family Types and the Number of Persons in Each Type Living in a Single Household, 1973

No. of Persons in Each Unit	Household Type	1 Nuclear Family		2 Stem Family		3 Joint Family		Total (Persons)	Total (units)
		No. of Units	Sub-total of Persons in Each Unit	No. of Units	Sub-total of Persons in Each Unit	No. of Units	Sub-total of Persons in Each Unit		
1		4	4	—	—	—	—	4	4
2		5	10	—	—	—	—	10	5
3		6	18	—	—	—	—	21	7
4		15	60	1	3	—	—	76	19
5		25	125	4	16	—	—	170	34
6		31	186	9	45	—	—	222	37
7		21	147	3	36	—	—	224	32
8		2	16	11	77	—	—	136	17
9		3	27	14	112	1	8	108	12
10		2	20	8	72	1	9	50	5
11		2	10	1	10	2	20	55	5
12		1	11	4	44	—	—	39	1
13		—	—	—	—	1	12	28	3
14		—	—	2	26	2	28	15	2
15		1	15	—	—	—	—	16	1
16		—	—	—	—	1	16	16	1
Total		116	639	60	441	9	106	1186	185
% Each Type		62.7	—	32.43	—	4.86	—	—	99.99
% of Persons		—	53.88	—	37.18	—	8.94	100.00	—

1. consisting of a man, his wife or wives, and their children.
2. consisting of the parents, one of their married sons (or daughters) and his (or her) family, and sometimes other unmarried children.
3. consisting of the parents, more than one of their married sons and their families, and sometimes other unmarried children.

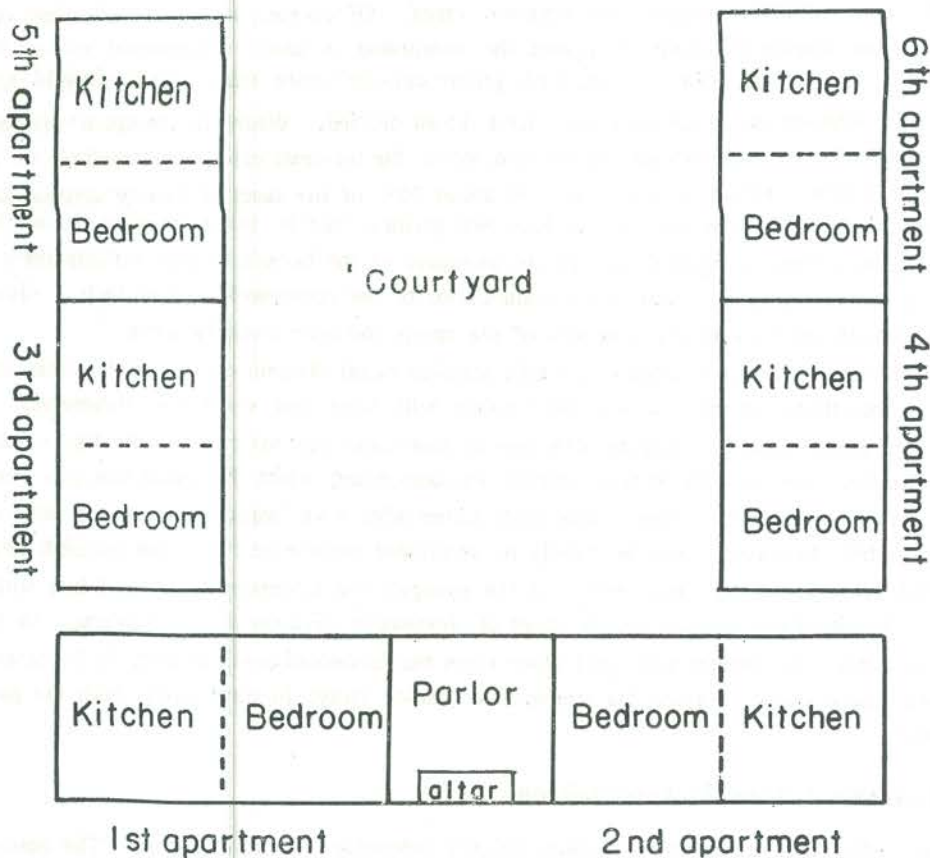


Figure 1 The Arrangement of Lan-ch'eng Family Compound

A nuclear family will normally have a room or two of its own, which can be called an apartment. Apartments suggest different ranks of social status according to their proximity to the center of the building; the nearer to the parlor in the original structure the more important; and the left wing, "the dragon's side," is more important than the right, "the tiger's side." the head male of the compound and his wife occupy the first apartment. Sometimes, however, when he retires he may trade his apartment with the next elder male (usually the eldest son), indicating his retirement and the accession to responsibility of his successor.

The central room of a compound is the parlor (*t'ia*). It is the ritual and social center of the compound, where the family receives guests and worship their ancestors. The gods' pictures or idols and the ancestors' spirit tablets are enshrined on an altar against the wall facing the entrance inside this room. The parlor is shared by all the members of the household.

Sometimes the people who live in a compound as a household group divide their common property. In this case, having divided their common property, they fall into separate household groups who continue to live in the common compound. In this case they may be called a compound group; the only difference from the situation just described is that they now have

separate stoves, separate budgets and separate lands. Of course, before the division of the household, the household group occupying the compound is also a compound group, for it occupies the compound. But a compound group can be more than one household group, depending on whether the group properties have been divided. When the common property is divided, each household always sets up its own stove, but in most cases they continue to share the common parlor. However, sometimes, in about 20% of the cases of family division known to me, the household groups also set up their own parlors--that is, place is made for a family ancestral tablet within the apartment, and the members of the household will worship there and entertain guests there, rather than in the main parlor of the compound. After such a division, the actual social ties between the members of the compound are relatively weak.

The inheritance custom in P'uli and China requires equal division of the joint estates among the sons. Sometimes, in the division the parents will keep one share for themselves. The division of a family usually happens after one or more sons get married. Generally, when all sons are married they will divide their family. In some cases, when the oldest son gets married he will branch out to form a new family unit. Later other sons branch out one by one when they get married. In a few cases, the family is not divided until several sons are married, perhaps when only the youngest son is unmarried. If the youngest son is unmarried he will live with the parents. I collected information on 39 cases of household division in Lan-ch'eng. In 18 of these cases (46%) the parents were still alive when the household was divided; in 15 cases the father had passed away; in three the mother had passed away; in three cases both the parents were dead.

Family Groups: Kinship Composition

Household groups and compound groups identify themselves in family terms. The household may be known as a stove group but the implication of the term in local usage is a group of people who recognize obligations to each other because of family connections. The compound group likewise is recognized as a residential group, but it is assumed to be a family unit. I have described them in separate terms because these two residential groups, households and compounds, and the two kinds of family groups, nuclear and expanded, do not exactly match. A family group living in a common household consists of one or more nuclear families. A nuclear family consists of a man, his wife and their children (cf. Figure 2). At one time the minimal family unit could have been a polygamous family. There once were polygamous families in Lan-ch'eng; but polygamy is no longer practiced. In 1973 there was one very old man who lived with two wives; with his death during my fieldwork period, this sort of family structure disappeared from the village.

When a nuclear family enlarges, it does so by the marriages of its offspring, and if they all remain in the household or the compound, the family may be called an expanded family. An expanded family may live, as I said, in household groups, in which its members share common property and eat from a common stove. Or an expanded family may live in compound groups, in which each nuclear family has its own stove, and perhaps its own parlor, but lives with the others in the compound. Whether in households or in compounds, the expanded family

group can be composed of several nuclear families united by different kinds of kinship connections. When they are united by a parent-child relationship, as when one nuclear family is

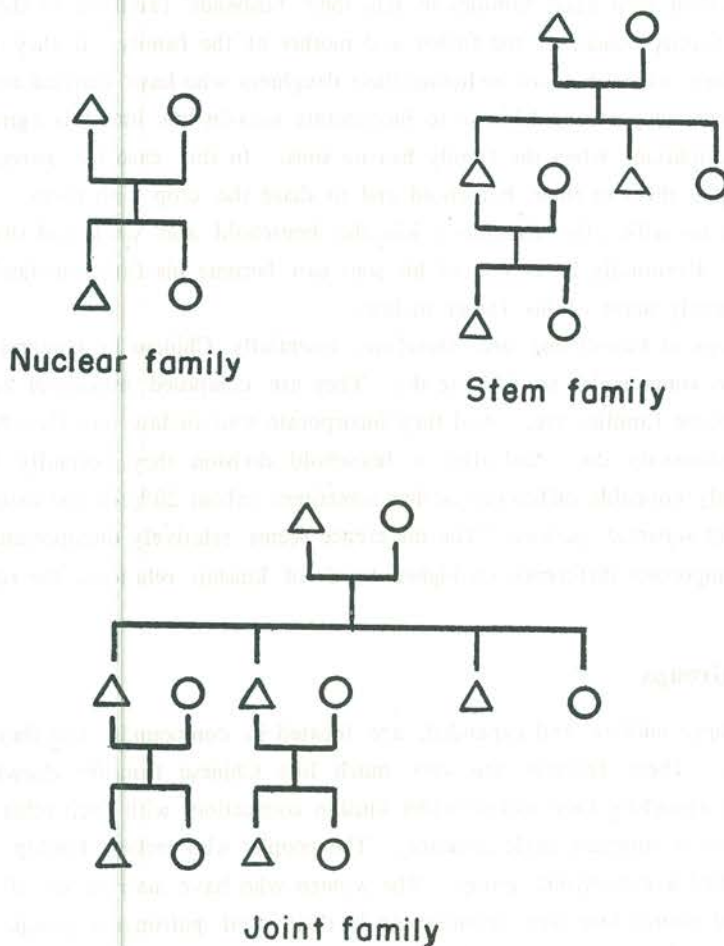


Figure 2 Family Types in Lan-ch'eng

the parents, and the other one consists of their child and his or her spouse and their children, this may be called a stem family (cf. Figure 2). When two or more of the children live together with their spouses and their children (with or without the parents), this is called a joint family (cf. Figure 2). The actual types of families living in households in 1973 are indicated in Table 1. It is notable that in some cases the number of people sharing a common stove can be large: 16 in one household, 15 in another, 14 each in two other households. No matter how large they are, if they share a common stove, and therefore a common budget, they are locally called one household.

The expanded family is formed, as I said, by offspring marrying and bringing their spouses into the functioning family unit. Usually these offspring are sons, which is the usual pattern of family expansion in Chinese societies. But in 1973 in Lan-ch'eng, there were four sons-in-

law living in their fathers-in-law's households. This is not entirely unusual in Chinese practice. In most Chinese communities kinship ties are strongly agnatic: sons stay with their fathers, and daughters leave their own natal families to join their husbands' families; so the adult members of the Chinese family consist of the father and mother of the family (if they are living) and their sons and their wives, but not including their daughters who have married out of the family. But it is also customary among Chinese to incorporate sons-in-law into this agnatic unit under a certain special condition: when the family has no sons. In this case the parents may invite a son-in-law to join them in their household and to share the crop with them. In this case the son-in-law and his wife (the daughter) join the household and work and share on the same basis as a son. Eventually he or one of his sons can become his father-in-law's heir; he may even take the family name of his father-in-law.

Family groups in Lan-ch'eng are, therefore, essentially Chinese in composition. They live in households or compounds, as Chinese do. They are composed mainly of agnates and their families, as Chinese families are. And they incorporate sons-in-law into their households as the Chinese customarily do. And after a household division they normally keep a common parlor. The only noticeable difference is that sometimes (about 20% of the cases) the separate households set up separate parlors. The difference seems relatively unimportant but it suggests a general and important difference on higher levels of kinship relations, the relative weakness of agnatic ties.

Patronymic Groups

Family groups, nuclear and expanded, are located in compounds, and they have a strong patrilineal bias. These features are very much like Chinese families elsewhere. And like Chinese families elsewhere they reckon wider kinship connections with each other on the basis of their descent from a common male ancestor. The people who reckon kinship through agnatic lines can be called a patronymic group. The women who have married out of the family into other patronymic groups lose their membership in their natal patronymic group. A patronymic group is not precisely located in a territory in the sense that family groups are. For the family groups belonging to the patronymic group are not always territorially located next to each other, though many agnatic kinsmen live near each other.

Members of the patronymic group have a common surname. There are many surnames in the village--36 surnames distributed among the 1,186 people, comprising 185 households. Normally, in a Chinese village, there would be a relatively small number of surnames, most people in the village belonging to one of the few major lineages in the village. But in Lan-ch'eng there are many surnames, and in fact there are some people in the community having the same surname who do not belong to the same patronymic group. There are 36 different surnames among the residents of Lan-ch'eng, but these divide into 80 different patronymic groups. A list of all the surnames in Lan-ch'eng and the number of patronymic groups that these surnames have is given in Table 3. That table shows, for instance, that there are many people named Ch'en, but they actually divide into four patronymic groups. None of these four patronymic groups

named Ch'en acknowledges any direct kinship connection with the others. They do not share the same ancestral tomb. They do not cooperate or help each other in farming as a kinship obligation--though sometimes individuals in different patronymic groups may become friends.

Table 2 The Patronymic Groups in Lan-ch'eng, 1973

Patronymic Groups	Households	Number of People
1. Ch'en (1)	16	112
2. Ch'en (2)	2	9
3. Ch'en (3)	1	9
4. Ch'en (4)	1	7
5. Ch'en (5)	1	4
6. Huang (1)	9	57
7. Huang (2)	3	23
8. Huang (3)	2	16
9. Huang (4)	3	14
10. Huang (5)	1	7
11. Huang (6)	1	6
12. Huang (7)	1	4
13. Huang (8)	1	3
14. Lin (1)	5	38
15. Lin (2)	4	26
16. Lin (3)	3	20
16. Lin (4)	1	7
18. Lin (5)	1	6
19. Lin (6)	1	6
20. Lin (7)	1	5
21. Ts'ai (1)	11	58
22. Ts'ai (2)	5	31
23. Hsieh (1)	3	19
24. Hsieh (2)	3	19
25. Hsieh (3)	3	15
26. Hsieh (4)	2	11
27. Hsieh (5)	1	8
28. Hsieh (6)	1	6

29. Li (lower even tone) (1)*	10	65
30. Li (lower even tone) (2)*	1	7
31. Li (rising tone) (1)*	2	15
32. Li (rising tone) (2)*	2	11
33. Li (rising tone) (3)*	1	9
34. Li (rising tone) (4)*	1	9
35. Li (rising tone) (5)*	1	8
36. Li (rising tone) (6)*	1	2
37. Chang (1)	5	30
38. Chang (2)	2	13
39. Chang (3)	1	9
40. Yu (1)	4	29
41. Yu (2)	2	13
42. Yu (3)	1	7
43. Lai (1)	3	20
44. Lai (2)	2	13
45. Lai (3)	2	11
46. Lia (4)	1	5
47. Yang	4	43
48. Yü (lower even tone) (1)*	4	24
49. Yü (lower even tone) (2)*	1	7
50. Chiang (1)	3	21
51. Chiang (2)	1	4
52. Chiang (3)	1	1
53. Chou (1)	2	16
54. Chou (2)	2	9
55. Yü (rising tone)*	4	23
56. Kao	3	19
57. Wu (lower even tone) (1)*	2	13
58. Wu (lower even tone) (2)*	1	5
59. Mao	3	17
60. Hung (1)	1	7
61. Hung (2)	1	7
62. Pao (1)	1	7
63. Pao (2)	1	7
64. Wu (upper even tone)*	2	13

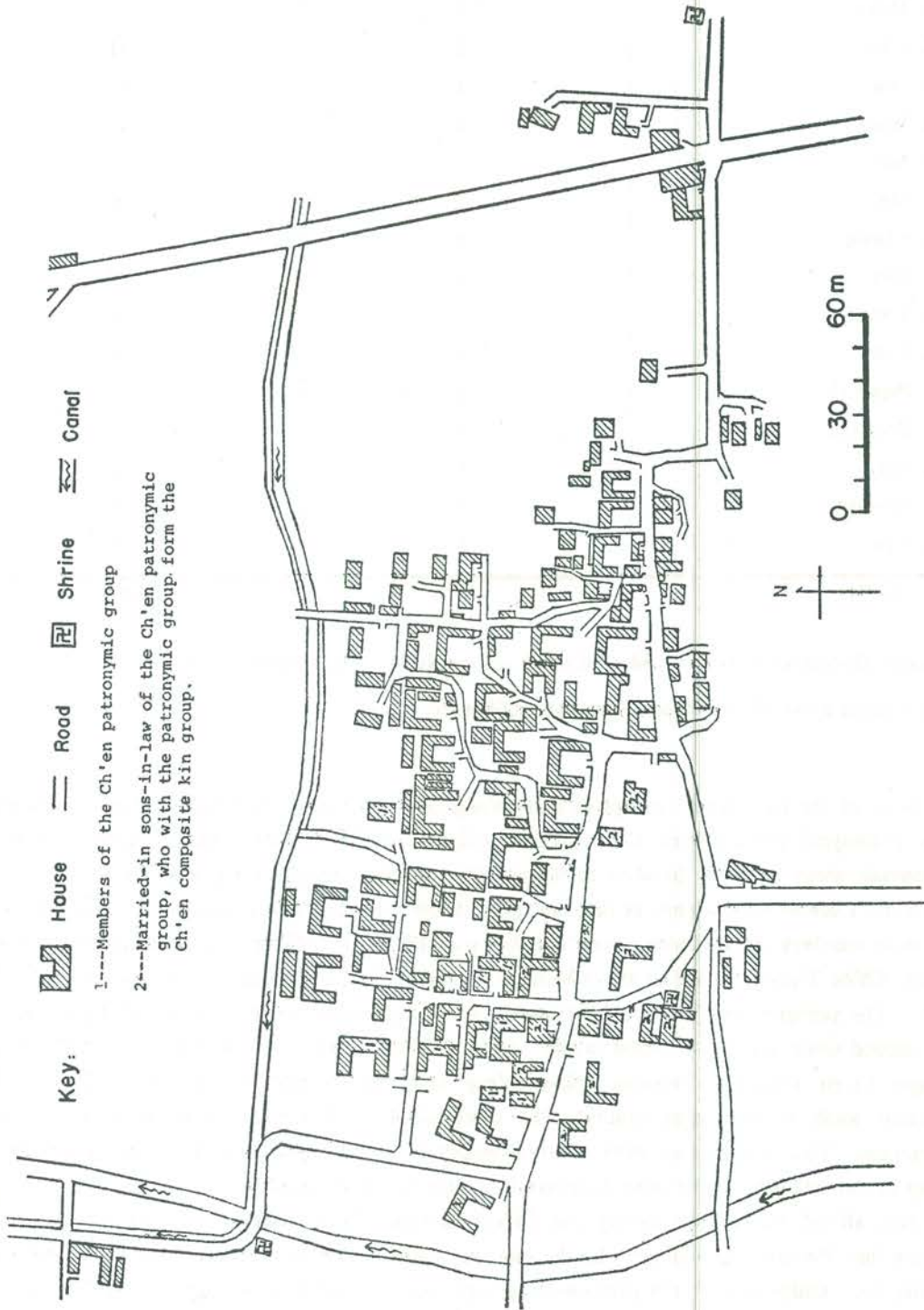
65. Shih	2	12
66. Hsiao	2	12
67. Chao	2	11
68. Hsu	1	11
69. Wang	1	10
70. Mei	1	10
71. Ma	1	9
72. Chuang	1	7
73. Shen	1	7
74. Tseng	1	6
75. Chui	1	6
76. Peng (1)	1	5
77. Peng (2)	1	1
78. Nai	1	4
79. Hsiung	1	4
80. Yan	1	3
Total	185	1186

Source: Household register records and many interviews with the villagers.

*In Chinese tonal difference has phonemic significance.

Most of the patronymic groups in Lan-ch'eng are very small, but there is one relatively large patronymic group named Ch'en in the village. In 1973, there were 112 people in this patronymic group and they lived in 16 households and eight compounds (see Map 3), most of which are close to one another in the west part of the village. The genealogical connections of the male members of the Ch'en group are shown in Figure 3. The ancestor of this patronymic group, Ch'en T'ien-tse, died at the Chang-hua plain. Several of his descendants moved into P'uli. His youngest son (B) and the second son of this oldest son (C) came to Lan-ch'eng. His second son's son (D) settled in the town of P'uli nearby. Eventually the family of B brought Ch'en T'ien-tse's remains to Lan-ch'eng and built a tomb for him there. This is the ancestral tomb of the Ch'en family. His descendants in Lan-ch'eng now reach to the fifth generation. This is the group most like a lineage in Lan-ch'eng, being the largest patronymic group in the village; all the other patronymic groups are much smaller.

Not all of the people having the Ch'en surname claim descent from the first couple coming into the area, and those who do, do not always share an ancestral tomb, as lineages usually do. Only two of the patronymic groups keep a written genealogy of their members. But even in these patronymic groups only a few of the members know these records exist. As



Map 3 The Lan-ch'eng Village

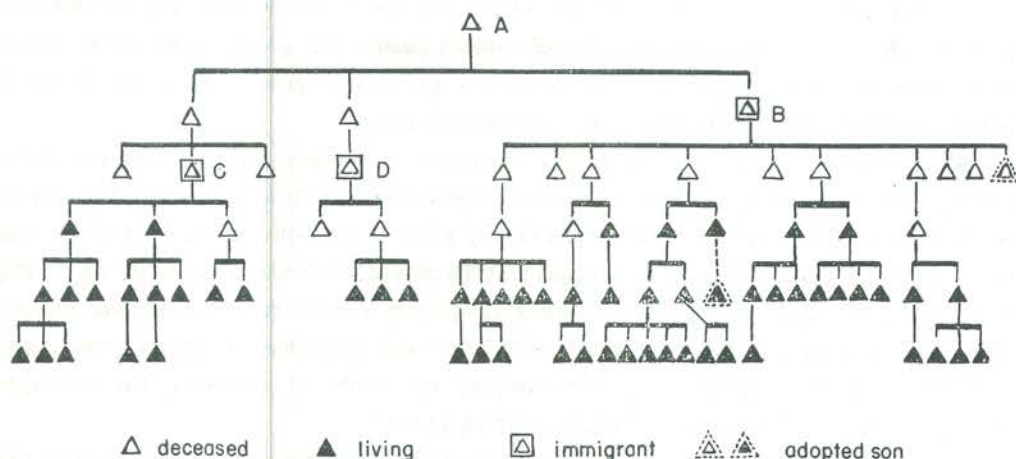


Figure 3 The Male Members of the Largest Patrilineal Group in Lan-ch'eng

for the rest of the people in Lan-ch'eng, they have no genealogical records at all.

The patrilineal groups are not in fact strong social units. They are united conceptually by the recognition of a common paternal ancestry but functionally they only manifest a sense of solidarity on one day a year, on April 4 or 5, the Tomb-Sweeping Day, when they gather together to clean the tomb of their common paternal ancestor. The practice of sweeping the tombs of paternal ancestors is an ancient Chinese custom. For thousands of years the Chinese have gathered to clean their ancestors' tombs on April 4 or 5. On this day even Chinese who were living abroad used to attempt to return home for the tomb-sweeping ceremonies. This was the common practice of early Chinese immigrants to Taiwan; the men often returned to the Mainland for the Tomb-Sweeping Day. This custom, of course, represented the strong lineage loyalty of the Chinese. After the Chinese had lived in Taiwan for several generations, they developed tomb-sweeping groups in Taiwan. As their members increased and their households became dispersed, they recognized a need to maintain agnatic ties, and the tomb-sweeping practice provided a natural yearly occasion on which to express their solidarity. Patrilineal groups were a natural means of developing and maintaining lineage ties in Taiwan on the model of lineages in China. A few years ago this custom was recognized formally by the government who made this day a national holiday.

These tomb-sweeping groups can be very small: if the father of a household has died, his wife and married sons' families will sweep his tomb on the Tomb-Sweeping Day. When a grandfather is dead, his descendants will sweep his tomb. This means that on the Tomb-Sweeping Day an individual may have several tomb-sweeping obligations. In this sense a person may belong to more than one patrilineal group. In a very few cases a patrilineal group may have one or more patrilineal groups nesting in it. Women participate in the tomb-sweeping activities of patrilineal groups according to their relation to primary male relatives. The Chinese have a saying, "when a woman is at home she follows her father; when she is married

she follows her husband; when she is old she follows her son." In the same way an unmarried daughter participates in tomb-sweeping with her father's patronymic group; when she is married she participates in tomb-sweeping with her husband's patronymic group; when she is old she participates in tomb-sweeping with her son's patronymic group.

While patronymic groups are normally important in Chinese society, they are not in Lan-ch'eng. For in Lan-ch'eng they only gather together on the Tomb-Sweeping Day for this special function. And when they gather, each family gives its own offering in front of the tomb individually; no communal offering is provided as Chinese elsewhere would generally do. Except for this function on this day, this group is just a category of people; even as a genuine group, it is very informal, having no leader or membership roster and little sense of group consciousness. Because they exist in Lan-ch'eng only for sweeping the tombs of ancestors, the patronymic group could even be called merely a "tomb-sweeping group."

Patronymic groups in Chinese communities normally are subunits of lineages. But in Lan-ch'eng patronymic groups even though they are reckoned on the same basis as lineages, are not functionally lineages, since they have no common properties and do not for any other purposes act together. Even the Ch'en patronymic group in Lan-ch'eng cannot be called a lineage, for this group does not have a common estate; and while they have an ancestral tomb which they yearly clean together, they do not have a common ancestral hall where they could regularly worship together, as lineages do elsewhere. Also, the members of this patronymic group actually have a sense of belonging to a different group—one which includes certain affines that have no part at all in the yearly tomb-sweeping activities. While the patronymic group is a unit of some major social importance in other places in Taiwan and in traditional China, in modern Lan-ch'eng it is merely a weak and ephemeral social unit.

Composite Kin Groups

Families enlarge to form a different kind of social group than a patronymic group; and in Lan-ch'eng it is a more viable social unit than a patronymic group. And this larger social unit is not composed of the same sorts of people as larger social units in Chinese communities elsewhere.

As a family grows it may grow too large for a single compound, and some members of the family may build their own compounds, and form a separate compound group. Often these are built near the original family compound. These people can be the families of sons, or of daughters who also have retained close ties with their parents. A composite kin group consists of the elder parents of this enlarged kinship group, their sons and their families, and any daughters of theirs who have remained in the area with their husbands. The composite kin group of Lan-ch'eng (and presumably of P'uli as a whole) differs from large kinship groups in Chinese communities elsewhere, such as the lineage or sub-lineage, in that sons-in-law belong to the viable unit of social relations. In Chinese communities elsewhere the daughters, except when there are no sons, have moved out. In Lan-ch'eng a number of sons-in-law have moved in, even when there were other sons in the family. And in other Chinese communities the sons-in-

law who bring the daughter to their homes pay a handsome bride price to her father. But in Lan-ch'eng the sons-in-law have contracted with their wives' fathers to work on their lands for a specific period of years. They thus have moved in with their fathers-in-law at least temporarily. At the end of the service period they sometimes have received land and other gifts from their fathers-in-law. So when they have moved out of the father-in-law's household they do not move far away, for the land they receive and work as their own, having been taken from the father-in-law's land, is adjacent to the family lands. And also when they do not move out of the family compound, they remain in their apartments and live as separate households within the compound, having separate stoves and separate parlors. Sometimes these sons-in-law have become their fathers-in-law's heirs. The presence of the son-in-law in the Lan-ch'eng composite kin group results from this practice of service contract marriage. But this was only a former practice. It is no longer done. The sons-in-law referred to here are older men who once came into the community on this basis and now live on lands of their own. This is why the family groups described earlier have no sons-in-law except families that have no sons and only daughters. A non-Chinese practice that once was current in Lan-ch'eng is now defunct, though the results of that practice are evident in the structure of social relations among the older people. This is now evident in the unusual character of the composite kin group.

Service marriage is still practiced in the four cases already mentioned, in which the sons-in-law were invited in because there were no daughters, but these cases--except for the service marriage arrangement--are in every aspect like Chinese custom elsewhere, for they were invited in because there were no sons. These have come into a relationship to their fathers-in-law by means of the now rare but formerly common practice of working for the father-in-law in lieu of paying a bride price.

The frequency of married-in sons-in-law who came in through service-marriage contracts in the past is evinced in 35 cases on which I gathered considerable details. In 23 of these cases the sons-in-law were living and I talked to them personally. In 12 cases their widows were still living. Of these 35 cases only six of them were cases of sons-in-law being invited in because there were no sons. In the others they came in on service contracts.

The composite kin group, therefore, differs from the patronymic group in several ways. For one thing, it is larger. For another, its members have more than one surname. There is usually a core group of agnates having a common surname, but besides these people there are also sons-in-law and their children who, of course, have different surnames, since they have come from outside the family. The composition of a composite kin group can be seen in such a group consisting mainly of members of the Ch'en patronymic group. This composite kin group consists of not only 112 people of the Ch'en patronymic group (living in 16 households and eight compounds) but also 124 other people belonging to the families as sons-in-law who have married into the Ch'en patronymic group and are living on or near their father-in-law's lands. These 124 people live in 21 households and nine compounds, which cluster near the compounds of the Ch'en patronymic group members or in the same compound as the members of the Ch'en group (cf. Map 3). These 124 affines have six surnames and eight different patrilineal

ancestries. As the affines are more numerous than the agnates, the affines play an important role in this composite kin group.

But the most important difference is the greater social importance of the composite kin group. It is a relatively close group in which reciprocal help agreements are common. Members of this group help one another in working on their separate paddies. They extend offers to help each other sometimes simply to express good will, or sometimes they offer help in exchange for help. They also lend money to one another without interest (anyone else who lends will charge interest). And they sometimes share food together. They are a unit of regular face-to-face relations.

THE PROBLEM

The Specific Task

The important, viable kinship structures in Lan-ch'eng are families and composite kin groups. The major object of this study is to explain the reasons why these structures have taken this form in Lan-ch'eng, and presumably in P'uli plain generally. Because I assume they exist as the result of cultural influences, external social influences and environmental influences in Lan-ch'eng, I will define these structures in terms of such influences. So in a sense this is a study of social adaptation --*i. e.* a study of the social structures that result in a community as it attempts to cope with its varying predicaments in terms of its cultural resources.

The Implications of the Study

Explaining the absence of a Chinese lineage. But this community should be interesting to contemporary scholars of Chinese society because of what did not result there from these attempts to cope: the community of Lan-ch'eng has no Chinese lineage structure.

By a Chinese lineage structure¹ I mean one that has the following qualities:

1. Genealogical relations are reckoned through the male line. Normally this reckoning is kept in a written record. According to such reckoning male members of the lineage are segmented into groups according to their descent from a common agnatic ancestor; females are disenfranchised from their natal lineage membership by marriage and are made full members of their husbands' lineage (Freedman 1958: 134-5).

2. Each lineage practices a form of ancestor worship. At the least, the worship is held at the tomb of the founding ancestors. Usually in addition to this, each lineage holds annual worship services at an ancestral hall that is owned by the lineage.

3. The members of the lineages corporately own at least a tomb where the founding ancestors are buried, and where the lineage members worship together annually. They normally also hold some other land in addition to this; the rent from that is used to pay for communal ancestor worship rituals and other ritual expenses at the ancestral hall and the tomb. Parcels of land of this kind are called "sacrifice-fields." Sometimes also they own another kind of land, an "education field" (literally "book-lamp-field"), the benefits of which are used to help pay for

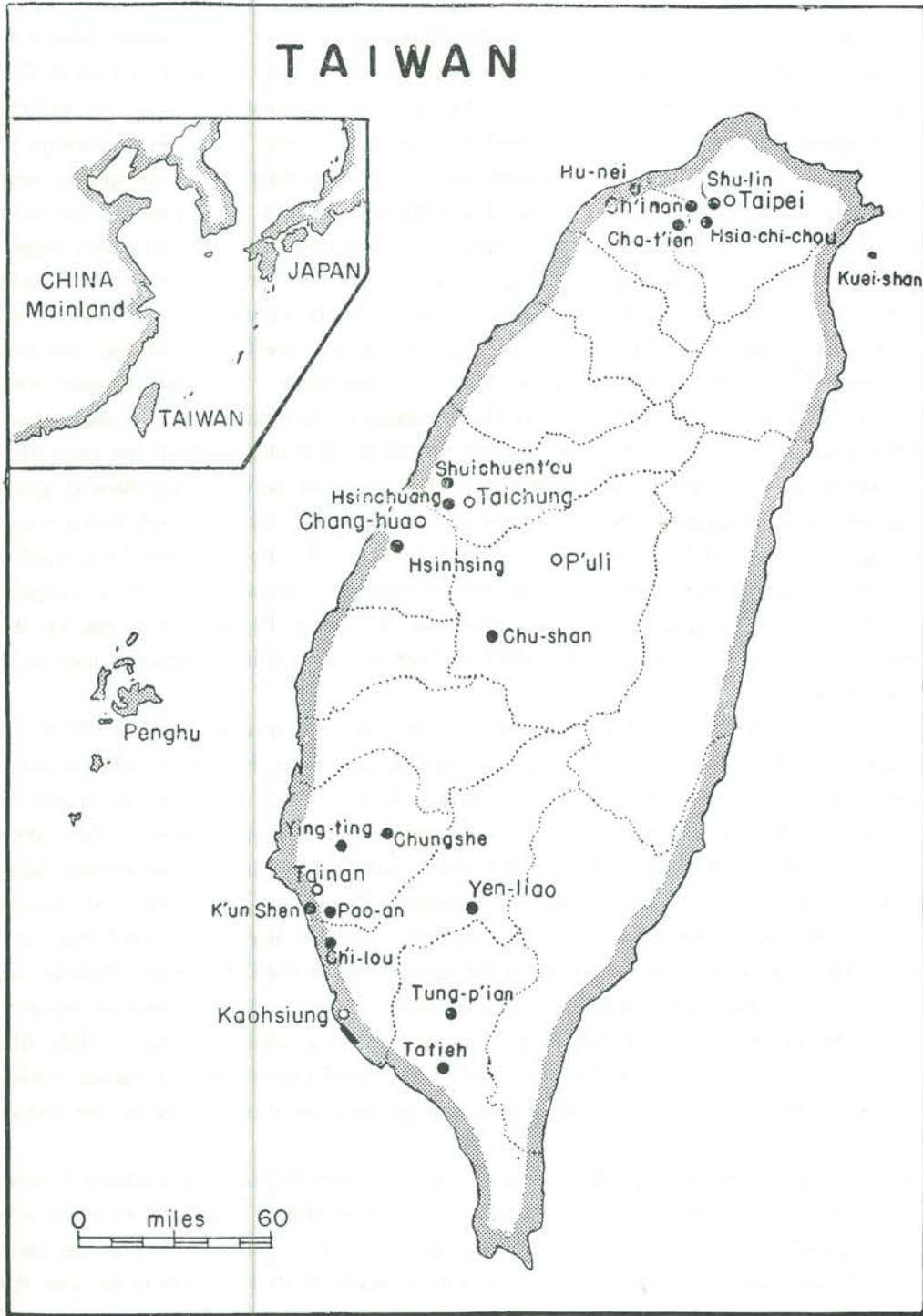
the education of young men from the lineage (Freedman 1958:13). The strength of the lineage is manifested by the amount of property which is owned in common for religious, educational and relief purposes (Hu 1948:9). Differences in the characteristics of Chinese lineages are often attributable to differences in the amounts and kinds of property they hold.

Chinese lineages, therefore, differ from two well known types of lineages in anthropological literature, the segmentary lineage and the conical clan (Kirchoff 1968) or ramage (Firth 1957). The segmentary lineage, such as existed among the Tiv and Nuer of Africa, is a system of descent reckoning through males in which everyone in the lineage has equal rights and equal status by birth (Bohannan 1954; Sahlins 1961). The conical clan (or ramage) is a unilineal system of descent reckoning in which rights and status are not equal, the older siblings having more rights than the younger ones. The Chinese lineage differs from the segmentary lineage in that it may have ranked sublines within lineage--some lines being considered "higher" than others. It, however, differs from the conical clan in that the higher status of sublines within the lineage are not precisely based on primogeniture so much as on the wealth and social achievement (such as education and official position) of the members of the lineage (Pasternak 1976:120-122).

Chinese lineages are common to Chinese society everywhere. In fact, almost anywhere that Chinese culture predominates, Chinese lineages exist. Virtually every study of a Chinese community has found lineage structures (Hu 1948:11; Wittfogel 1938:9; Lang 1946:173). The most important villages where Chinese lineages have been found in Mainland China are the following, from north to south (Map 4): the villages of Ting Hsien, Hopei Province (Gamble 1954); Taitou, Shantung Province (Yang 1945); Ch'uhsien, Anhwei Province (Fried 1953); Kaihsienkung, Kiangsu Province (Fei 1939); Yi-hsu, Fukien Province (Lin 1936;1948); Luts'un, Yits'un and Yuts'un, Yunan Province (Fei and Chang 1945); West Town, Yunan Province (Hsu 1948); Phenix, Kwangtung Province (Kulp 1925); Nanching, Kwangtung (Yang 1959); Sheung Shui, Hong Kong (Baker 1968); Ping Shan, Hong Kong (Potter 1968). Likewise, in all the studies of Chinese villages in Taiwan Chinese lineages similar to those found in China have been found. It should be remembered that these so-called "Taiwanese" villages are essentially Chinese; even though Taiwan is separate from the Mainland and has had in some respects a discrete history, it has long been controlled by people who are culturally and linguistically "Chinese." Since World War II a number of anthropologists have studied villages in Taiwan where Chinese lineages were found. The most important of these are (Map 5): Shu-lin, Taipei County (Sung 1975); Hsia-ch'i-chou, Taipei County (Arthur Wolf 1966, 1968; Margery Wolf 1968); Ch'ian, Taipei County (Ahern 1973); Cha-t'ien, Taipei County (Harrell 1974); Hu-nei, Taoyuan County (Huang 1972); The Kuei-shan Islet, I-lan County (Wang 1971); Hsinchuang, Shuichueht'ou, Taichung County (Thelin 1976); Hsin Hsing, Chang-hua County (Gallin 1966); Chu-shan Township, Nan-t'ou County (Chuang 1974); Chungshe, Tainan County (Pasternak 1972a); Ying-ting, Tainan County (Chen 1975); K'ung Shen, Tainan County (Diamond 1969); Pao-an, Tainan County (Jordan 1972); Yen-liao, Kaohsiung County (Cohen 1976); Ch'i-lou, Kaohsiung County (Chuang 1971); Tung-p'ian, Pingtung County (Hsu 1970); Tatieh, Pingtung



Map 4 Mainland Chinese Villages Where Lineages Have Been Found



Map 5 Chinese Villages in Taiwan Where Lineages Have Been Found

County (Pasternak 1972a).

An underlying reason for the ubiquity of the Chinese lineage is that Chinese culture has strong bias toward lineage formation. This has been an ancient bias: as early as 1766 B. C. in the Shang Dynasty the Chinese were already noted for their reverence to the spirits (including ancestors' spirits), which may be considered as a primitive form of ancestor worship. In ancestor worship it is believed that ancestors have a direct influence on contemporary social affairs of their descendants. That influence is usually said to be to bring good fortune to the living descendants of the deceased ancestors (Hsu 1948), assuming that they have been properly venerated by the living through their offerings at the altar in the home and at ancestral halls. They also are sometimes feared, for if they are not properly venerated or supplicated, they may bring misfortune (Ahern 1973:263). The main function of the Chinese lineage, therefore, is to organize for the supplication or veneration of the ancestors. Since the ancestors whose influence is considered decisive are one's patrilineal ancestors, the groups of people that organize to venerate and supplicate the ancestors are those related to each other through the male line--that is, the people who are agnates. The lineage thus forms in part as a supplicating group. But because the supplication involves the expenditure of resources, especially food, that are given as offerings at the family's altars and the ancestor's halls, the lineage forms as a kind of corporation to which its members belong and contribute. Often they have a corporate responsibility for managing estates of land that have been generally donated by one of their members. The estates are given as a kind of endowment, the profit of which is used in the ancestor offerings.

In addition to the beliefs about the power of deceased ancestors over current affairs, the Confucian emphasis on filial piety also has contributed to the strong bias of the Chinese toward the formation and maintenance of Chinese lineages. Around 500 B. C. Confucius stated that father-son relationship is the most important one among the five basic human relationships, which are essential for the maintenance of the social order. Later in the first century before the birth of Christ, Confucianism became the dominant philosophy in China when an emperor ordered all other philosophies to be expelled. Since that time the emphasis of Confucianism on honoring fathers and elders has contributed to the strength of the Chinese lineage. Elderly men who had several living sons, therefore, receive much respect and often became relatively wealthy. The members of his family as long as he lived were bound together by their filial loyalty to him. Upon his death they continued to be bound together by the ancient Chinese emphasis on ancestor worship. The embryonic lineage structure was inherent in the Chinese family.

That this has shaped the way the Chinese organize is evident in the many instances in which the Chinese have formed patri-lineages even when they did not already exist. For example, some small numbers of Chinese came into the Chang-hua plain on western Taiwan in the period between 1745 and 1823. Even when there were only as many as 10-20 people in an area they formed together as a group. They did so as a kind of lineage corporation to carry on social and economic functions. But they also chose to identify themselves as lineages who, in

addition to other functions, arranged to worship their common ancestor. It has been a Chinese custom in Taiwan for people coming into an area and having the same surname to form a lineage, even if they have no knowledge of a common ancestry other than that they have the same surname. This is especially evident in Chu-shan of Central Taiwan, only about 40 miles to the southwest of P'uli. During the 18th and early 19th century the Chinese were drifting into this area in small numbers, not as lineage groups. But where some of them found they had common surnames they formed as lineage groups and began to worship their common ancient ancestor. They built an ancestral tomb--normally bringing the bones of an ancestor from elsewhere to place in the tomb. They also built an ancestral hall. And from time to time they enlarged, rebuilt or renovated the ancestral hall. Whenever they did so, they were doing it as a cooperative lineage people; so the enlargement, rebuilding or renovation of the ancestral hall were an overt manifestation of the vitality of the lineage group. In this area new lineage groups were formed in 1788, 1823, 1833, 1862, 1877, 1890, 1915, 1921, 1925 and 1926, and ancestral halls were enlarged, rebuilt or renovated several times. A lineage that was formed in 1788 enlarged and rebuilt its ancestral hall in 1802 and again in 1968; another lineage that was formed in 1862 refurbished its ancestral hall in 1946; one that was formed in 1915 refurbished its ancestral hall in 1972; one that was formed in 1925 refurbished its ancestral hall in 1963 (Chuang 1974). All this lineage activity was going on during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, even to the present. And this took place in a region adjacent to P'uli. Yet no such activity was going on in P'uli; as I shall show, this sort of lineage activity never existed in P'uli.

It might be supposed that lineages actually might diminish in modern industrial society, but it has not always been so. In modern cities like Taipei, and even in New York and San Francisco, Chinese people who have the same surname and living in different parts of the city form together as clan groups. They cooperate for the practical advantages of support and mutual aid, but they also build ancestral halls where they cooperatively worship. The power of this cultural tendency to form lineages or agnatic groups is indicated in a modern association of four great Chinese clan groups who have had a loose association since ancient times. Their patronymic ancestors--Liu, Chang, Kuan and Chao--were four friends who covenanted to form a friendly association, and this association of their descendants has persisted even to modern times. In 1975 the families of these four clans met in a convention of their world association in Taipei. Of course when the association met there were many social and economic activities. But besides this there was a prayer for the ancestors. Such is the tendency of the Chinese to form patri-lineage associations who have both practical and spiritual functions.

This tendency is well known to sinologists, who consistently assume that, all other things being equal, Chinese groups will form as patrilineal groups (cf. Hu 1948:14-15; Freedman 1966: 8; Pasternak 1972: 149; Ahern 1973: 246).

In this study I assume that under normal conditions the Chinese would tend to form lineage groups. This would mean that even in a new frontier area within a few generations they would form lineages, presumably within four generations, when the agnatic groups would include

some deceased male ancestors who would be the focus of the group worship.

All this is to say that the communities of P'uli, of which Lan-ch'eng is one, are unusual in that they reveal scarcely any evidence of lineages. This is especially interesting because these communities would seem to have the qualities that make for lineages. This is what one would suppose on the basis of explanations for the Chinese lineages given by the most prominent theories for why the Chinese lineages are formed. Freedman (1966: 159-164) believed that localized lineages (such as he found in southeastern China) developed in relation to three variables: rice cultivation, irrigation and the exigencies of frontier life. Freedman suggested that both irrigation and rice cultivation require a great investment of labor. The high productivity and cooperative nature of the wet rice cultivation system resulted in jointly owned estates, mostly held in land. He argued that joint estates lie at the heart of the Chinese lineage organization (ibid.: 162). But he cautioned that "they are not its simple cause; they are also one of its effects" (ibid.).

Freedman also believed that frontier location affected the formation of Chinese lineages. He stated that the cultivation of virgin land and the necessity for members of a lineage to defend themselves against outside invasion required that they cooperate, and all this need to cooperate for survival was expressed in the form of the organization of lineage groups. Freedman noted that as the Chinese expanded on their southeastern frontiers they used irrigation rice cultivation as a means of stabilizing their position on the frontiers (ibid.: 163). He believed that rice cultivation, irrigation, frontier location and Chinese lineages are closely correlated.

Pasternak (1972a:137) in certain ways opposed Freedman's explanation of the Chinese lineage. He argued that irrigation is not necessarily related to the emergence of the lineage in China. He maintained instead that wet rice cultivation is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for the emergence of the Chinese lineage. He argued that the exigencies of frontier life may inhibit rather than stimulate the emergence of the lineage. He believed that large localized lineages may appear after the Chinese community on the frontier has become stabilized. This would take place because of internal stresses that arise within the community over the scarcity of land and water resources (Pasternak 1959:561). He was primarily interested in the conditions that make Chinese lineages strong or weak. He primarily considered the following factors to be important: "settlement pattern"--that is, the composition and size of the kinship group that originally settled an area; the distribution of wealth in a community; and the need for cooperation created by frontier conditions (Pasternak 1972a:149).

Both Freedman and Pasternak imply that lineages exist, even if only weakly, in every village of southeastern China, including Taiwan. What they disagree on is how lineages emerge and develop.² The qualities Freedman considered necessary for the formation of Chinese lineages included rice cultivation, irrigation, and the special problems of frontier life. The qualities Pasternak considered necessary and contributory to the formation of the Chinese lineage were rice cultivation, internal competition for vital resources, and certain special conditions that arise when a frontier comes under firmer state control. The case that I shall explain would seem in many ways to conform to these conditions. It is highly dependent on rice cultivation by means of irrigation and it lies on the frontier of Chinese society. Yet it never had lineage structures

such as are found elsewhere in China and Taiwan.

The special structural features of this village and the other villages of its region, therefore, raise some questions about Freedman's and Pasternak's explanations of the Chinese lineage. I believe there are weaknesses in the way Freedman and Pasternak tried to explain the Chinese lineage. I shall attempt to explain the social conditions that exist in Lan-ch'eng and P'uli in terms that seem more capable of explaining why Chinese lineages have developed and been maintained in some areas while in other areas (as in the case of my village and P'uli) no such lineage structures have developed.

Explaining structural variation generally. Both Freedman and Pasternak are primarily concerned with explaining why Chinese lineages become strong or weak. They do not explicitly define their assumptions about the conditions that affect the structure of society generally. I have felt it necessary to state my general assumptions because the case I have to explain would seem, in their terms, to fall outside the range of the structures they attempted to explain. Yet Lan-ch'eng has to be considered a specific form of Chinese community. It is after all fully Chinese; and it exists in Taiwan like the other communities in which Chinese lineages have been found. Also, I believe it has taken shape specifically in response to conditions that are of the same order as those that affect the varying strengths of Chinese lineage structures elsewhere in China. Freedman and Pasternak defined those conditions in terms that would seem to omit Lan-ch'eng's specific structure from consideration. The problem with their approach to the lineage question seems to me to be their unwillingness to place the varying forms of lineage structures in a context of general theory that would enable us to identify the circumstances under which Chinese communities might not have Chinese lineage structures. I prefer to assume that the various forms of society anywhere result from influences that in an abstract sense are common to all human societies. In an abstract sense, Lan-ch'eng has taken shape in response to influences that shape all villages and all human society generally. The task of explaining its shape, as in every specific case, is to show how these general influences have worked in specific ways to give it its own distinctive form. Our statement about what makes Chinese lineages strong or weak or non-existent, or in fact what gives any social alignment its specific shape, should be expressed in terms that apply to societies generally. Freedman's and Pasternak's attempts at explanation seem, therefore, unsatisfactory, not only because they leave no conceptual room for the existence of a non-lineal Chinese community like Lan-ch'eng, but also because they do not tie their explanatory statement into a general theory of society.

I will attempt to explain the social structure of Lan-ch'eng specifically in terms of the three general influences on social forms I described at the beginning of this chapter (see Table 3). In the next chapter I describe the heritage, cultural and social, of the peoples of P'uli, and attempt to show how that heritage has shaped its present social structure. In the third chapter I describe the varying social influences that have impinged on P'uli from the outside, and attempt to show how these external social influences also have affected the present social structure of communities in P'uli. In the fourth chapter I describe the production system of Lan-ch'eng and attempt to show how that system has affected its social structure. In the last chapter I summarize the general argument and offer some general comments on how we might define the circumstances under which Chinese lineages do or do not take shape.

Structure of A Chinese Community

CULTURAL AND SOCIAL HERITAGE		EXTERNAL SOCIAL AND POLITICAL INFLUENCES		PRODUCTION AND TECHNOLOGY	
Pre-Ch'ing	Cultural Processes of Sincization	Plains Aborigines Culture	Mountain Aborigines Raiding	- Aborigines system of production:swidden - rainfall agriculture	IMPACT promoted larger family group organization - Tung-lo canal built (1852) - ritual cult groups IMPACT strengthened community and regional unity - introduction of sugar cane by Japanese IMPACT stronger small family ties IMPACT strengthened the solidarity of communities vis-a-vis each other - second Tung-lo canal built (1946) - improved water sharing system (1946) - refined water sharing (1937) IMPACT formation of: Water sharing groups: canal sharing communities; irrigation small groups; pan groups; pump well groups Labor teams: rice harvesting teams; other agricultural labor teams Grain Credit Associations Varying crosscutting social-alignments Loosening of community and larger kin group ties
	Social Processes of Sincization	Plains Aborigines Social Structure - matrilineal family - service marriage Sincization Processes - service marriage - Chinese land acquisition via intermarriage	IMPACT strengthened community and regional unity for defense (Ch'ing had little impact) 1873 Japanese Rule - crushed revolts of Chinese (1895-1901) - removed Aborigines raiding threat (1902-1930) - firm ed their control (1937-1945) IMPACT weakened community and regional unity and larger kin group ties 1895 1945 Nationalist Chinese Rule - mass education - popular political participation - land reform - voluntary organizations - conscription - national and world marketing systems / opened up IMPACT closer local ties to external societies varying crosscutting social alignments: factions, voluntary associations; individual personal ties		
1873-1895	Chinese Culture				
Japanese					
1945					
Nationalist Chinese					
Chinese					

Table 3 Summary of the Major Influences on Lan-ch'eng

CHAPTER II

THE CULTURAL AND SOCIAL HERITAGE

Lan-ch'eng has not always been a Chinese village. It became so, like all of P'uli, through processes that affected the social structure of the community. These processes had a "cultural" dimension in that the populations of Lan-ch'eng and the entire P'uli plain changed their identity from Plains Aborigines to Chinese, a transformation that involved a change in language and in certain customs. These processes also had a social dimension in that this cultural change was accompanied by a change in structural relations among these people. I will explain separately these cultural and social aspects of this sinicization process.

THE CULTURAL PROCESSES OF SINICIZATION

Biologically these populations are not pure Chinese but a mixture of Plains Aborigines and Chinese. Culturally they are now fully Chinese, having identified with Chinese culture and learned the Chinese language. The culture of the Plains Aborigines in so far as it could have influenced the culture of modern P'uli, would have worked against the development of patri-lineages, for the Plains Aborigines were matrilineal. Of the several kinds of Aborigines who have lived in P'uli, those whose descendants now live there were never organized in patri-lineages. These Aborigines may have influenced modern society in P'uli, and of Lan-ch'eng in particular, to develop other forms of social alignment than patri-lineages. In this section I describe the various events that led to the transformation of the Aboriginal culture that once prevailed in P'uli and Lan-ch'eng into a Chinese culture. The transformation is remarkable because these peoples sinicized in many ways, but they never developed lineage structures such as peoples who call themselves "Chinese" characteristically had elsewhere.

Mountain Aborigines

Their history. The origin of the Aborigines of Taiwan is obscure; it is believed that they came from the islands of Indonesia or Mainland China; they may have come from both. After the Chinese came to Taiwan they were culturally divided into two groups: the "Plains Aborigines," who relatively early became highly sinicized, and "Mountain Aborigines" (cf. Ferrell 1969b: 23). The Chinese used to call the Plains Aborigines "ripe savages" (*shou-fan*). The Plains Aborigines were not sinicized until after the Chinese came into Taiwan in the seventeenth century; living on the coastal plains, they were of course the first contacted. The term "Plains Aborigines" fits them well because these were the Aborigines who inhabited the northern and western coastal plains of

Taiwan. But the term "Mountain Aborigines" does not fit the other type of Aborigines well because they also inhabited many lowlands, and in the case of P'uli they inhabited the whole basin, both lowland and highland.

The Mountain Aborigines at one time occupied the P'uli plain, but were later pushed out by the Plains Aborigines and the Chinese. I will briefly explain the culture of the Mountain Aborigines, because their culture may conceivably have had a bearing on P'uli culture. Actually I doubt that the Mountain Aborigines had much influence on the social structure of modern P'uli, because they were pushed out or died out early. However, the perpetual hostility that existed between the Mountain Aborigines surrounding P'uli and the Plains Aborigines and Chinese who replaced them on the plain did affect the society that developed in P'uli.

The Mountain Aborigines who occupied P'uli--both in the lowland plain and the surrounding highlands--were divided into two main tribes, which abutted against each other along the Mei River (see Map 1). The tribe north of the river was called the Atayal and the one south of the river the Bunun.

Their culture. The Atayal subsisted primarily on swidden agriculture. They also practiced hunting, gathering and fishing as subsidiary subsistence. The Atayal lived in nuclear families grouped together in communities. Atayal families were strictly monogamous. Incest taboos extended to second cousins, so marriage always united families not otherwise closely related. It is not known what kind of relatives were preferred for spouses. The Atayal were noted for their customs of tattooing their faces before they could be married (Li et al. 1964:344). Usually wives moved into the households of their husbands. But one recent study of the Atayal reported that about ten per cent of husbands moved into the wives' families; this seemed to occur mainly where the bride's family had a large amount of land. Even though descent was reckoned through either the male or female, land most frequently was passed in the male line (Mabuchi 1960:129). The households of a community were usually closely grouped together. They were united in part by their rituals. The Atayal worshipped beings called *utux*, who consisted of all kinds of spirits and unnamed supernatural powers as well as the spirits of the dead. Premarital sexual relations were considered an offense to the *utux* and endangered the entire community. Such offenses were expiated by specific rites and pig sacrifices. In a single settlement there were often more than one ritual group, each centering around a man who was a ritual leader; the ritual group was composed of his close relatives and friends. These ritual groups collectively formed the informal political authority of a settlement (ibid.). Atayal settlements were characterized by "closedness." It was difficult for them to incorporate outsiders. Likewise, it was difficult for a ritual group to incorporate outsiders. Outsiders joined settlements and ritual groups by performing rites and pig sacrifices (Ferrell 1969b:31; Li et al. 1963 & 1964). Their strong sense of separateness from outside groups is further indicated in their head-hunting customs. Occasionally a group of male adults (usually fewer than 20 persons) formed a warring party and went down on the plains to get heads as trophies. Normally they killed Chinese (who began to come into the area in small numbers early in the nineteenth century) but not other Atayal (cf. Li et al 1964: 607-608). In the mountain regions the settlements of a valley often linked together in offense-defense alliances,

These alliance groups in different highland valleys were hostile toward each other. In general, the populations of highland valleys shared in a common hostility against the lowland peoples (cf. Ferrell 1969b: 31). One prominent theme of Atayal oral tradition was their military exploits, accounts of battles against other tribal groups (*ibid*).

The Bunun, like the Atayal, also subsisted primarily on swidden agriculture and secondarily on hunting, fishing and gathering. But they emphasized hunting more than the Atayal. Bunun oral tradition was particularly rich in animal and hunting lore, reflecting the great importance of hunting in their economy (Chiu 1966: 123; Ferrell 1969b: 34). The Bunun reckoned descent through male line (Mabuchi 1960: 132). They lived in small patrilocal extended families, averaging more than nine persons in size. These were the largest family units known among the Taiwanese aborigines. Marriage was exclusively monogamous and usually involved the payment of a modest bride-price. Sister-exchange marriages were common. Second cousins were marriageable unless their fathers or mothers belonged to the same patrilineal clan. In contrast to the Atayal's compact villages, the Bunun lived in dispersed homesteads of small hamlets. The head of the ranking household of the senior subclan was the priest of the clan. The Bunun were organized into minimal patri-lineages, subclans, clans and usually also phratries. Rules of exogamy prevailed at every level from the minimal lineage to the phratry. Clans and phratries were not localized. Their members were widely scattered, and several such groups were normally represented in a community. The Bunun maintained close ties over large areas through lineal and affinal relationships that have ritual ties (Mabuchi 1960: 131-132; Ferrell 1969b: 34).

The Atayal and Bunun who lived on the P'uli plain were considered somewhat different from their kinsmen in the surrounding mountains, and they were distinguished by name. The Atayal who lived on the plain (in the region north of the Mei River) were called the Mei (sometimes Meili). The Mei established their primary settlement between today's Niou-mian Mountains and the Shi-kang Gorge (see Map 1). The Bunun who lived on the plain (in the region south of the Mei River) were called the P'u (sometimes p'uli; cf. Liu 1958: 19-21). The P'u were concentrated near today's P'i-pa-ch'eng (see Map 1). Because the area that the P'u occupied is larger and a more flat, luxurious plain they were much larger in number than the Mei; historically they were more important than the Mei.

The Coming of the Plains Aborigines and Chinese

The Mei and P'u were deprived of strength and numbers after 1814, the time when the Chinese, who occupied the coastal plains to the west of P'uli, began to exert pressure on P'uli. That pressure was to eventuate in disaster for the P'u people, because eventually they were decimated by Chinese expansion into the area and were replaced almost entirely by another kind of Aborigines who had a very different culture.

Early in the nineteenth century the Chinese had become firmly ensconced in the coastal plains to the west of P'uli. Because the Chinese saw great economic opportunities in other plains, both to the north and east of their territories, they were, as they had been for 150 years, pushing outward in search of more agricultural lands. Eventually their expansive interests began to impinge

on P'uli.

The P'uli basin and the basins to the south, which were together known to the Chinese as Shuei-sha-lien, were touched by Chinese adventurers in 1814. Because P'uli is the largest and most fertile plain in Shuei-sha-lien it was the most attractive area for Chinese immigration. It was, however, the least accessible to the early Chinese immigrants, who at that time had to enter only through the southern portion of Shuei-sha-lien (see Map 2).

Government opposition to Chinese immigration. The Chinese government, which was at that time ruled by the Ch'ing, attempted to restrain the Chinese people from entering Shuei-sha-lien plateau, fearing that Shuei-sha-lien would become a sanctuary for Chinese outlaws. The Chinese government had good reason to fear that frontier populations could become outlaws and jeopardize Chinese interests. The Chinese had learned a lesson from their frontier history that containing Chinese from going to a new frontier would facilitate the ruling of the empire (Latimore 1962).

Also, after the Manchurian Ch'ings took over Mainland China in the seventeenth century, the Mings who had ruled China retreated to Taiwan. For 23 years, the Ming dynasty controlled Taiwan as a hostile, threatening force outside of mainland control. When the Ch'ing government finally took possession of Taiwan in 1683 they feared that the Chinese who had been ensconced in Taiwan would retreat further into Aboriginal lands and set up bases of operation for further resistance. That in fact must have been the case, because during the next 192 years (from 1683 until 1875) there were 40 uprisings on the island, an average of one every five years (Chen 1964: 190-193). Because the resistance to the government was so strong, the Ch'ing government refused to allow the Chinese people to go freely into frontier lands such as Shuei-sha-lien.

But in practice the Ch'ing government did not enforce its policy consistently. When Taiwan came under the control of the Ch'ing Empire, the Ch'ing government considered moving the Chinese people out and abandoning the island. But due to an admiral's insistence on the island's strategic value the emperor was persuaded to keep it (Kuo 1973: 171-3). The Ch'ing government was unenthusiastic about administering Taiwan, and adopted a policy of containing Chinese people within the lands they already possessed. Nevertheless, it seems that the government could not effectively enforce this policy because many Chinese people did in fact slip out into Aboriginal territories. Some government officials pleaded with the emperor to remove the prohibition, and legalize the flow of Chinese into Aboriginal lands. Some of these made this request out of a concern for the Chinese people, feeling they should be allowed to make a home there. Others made this request out of a concern for improving government control of the Chinese immigrants; they felt that the government could control the immigrants more effectively if immigration were legalized. Both groups in practice effectively relaxed the emperor's orders. This tended to aggravate even more the flow of illegal immigrations into Aboriginal lands (Liu 1958: 133 ff.).

The Kuo Pai-nien incident. From the viewpoint of the Chinese people, this flow was necessary. People had already come into Taiwan from Mainland China to escape the heavy population pressure there. In Taiwan the Chinese population on the coastal plains was growing and needing more space. This was evidenced by many intergroup fights along

dialect or sub-dialect lines among the Chinese people. From 1768 to 1860 riots among the Chinese took place on an average of one every three years (Chen 1975: 80), and some rioting continued among the plains Chinese populations as late as 1910. Under this population pressure, certain bold Chinese challenged the inconsistent government policy against immigration into Aboriginal areas.

In this context some Chinese succeeded in illegally taking land in the P'uli plain, but they did it in such an outrageous fashion that they created a violent reaction among the indigenous Aborigines of P'uli and caused the Ch'ing government to actually enforce its policy against immigration into Shuei-sha-lien. In 1814, a Chinese man named Kuo Pai-nien and three friends decided they wanted to take some land in Shuei-sha-lien, especially in P'uli, even though it was unlawful. Presumably their reasons for wanting to move into P'uli were its great fertility. They appealed to the Chinese government falsely in the name of the Aborigines of P'u and the Shuei-she, a settlement of Aborigines living further south on the Shuei-sha-lien plateau. Their appeal stated that these Aborigines were too poor to make a living unless the government would allow them to rent their lands to the Chinese. The government granted permission. But even before a permit was issued the next year, the four Chinese men rushed to the Aboriginal lands of Shuei-sha-lien and took over some land to cultivate it. This was probably possible because the Aborigines did not engage in wet rice farming and much land was uncultivated. After the Chinese occupied the land they also paid taxes on it, perhaps to win a favorable attitude among the Chinese officials, since the Aborigines had not been previously paying a tax on the land. In 1815 as soon as a permit for cultivation was issued, Kuo Pai-nien led a large number of Chinese into Shuei-sha-lien. Later he led 1,000 able-bodied Chinese men into P'u territories. To the Aborigines he represented himself as a high official of the Chinese government in charge of this group. In P'uli the Chinese possessed land and built settlements. However, the P'u people resisted, but without actually driving them out. The two sides remained hostile to each other for several months. Finally, Kuo Pai-nien sent a messenger to the P'u to state falsely that the Chinese would not occupy P'u lands any more, and that the "government troops" would withdraw immediately, if the P'u would give the Chinese emperor deer antlers as tribute. He did this to draw the P'u men out of their camps to hunt deer so that he could attack the P'u camps more successfully. Taking advantage of this opportunity, the Chinese killed half of the P'u people, presumably quite a few women, children and old men. They also burned their houses, and carried off hundreds of cattle, a large quantity of millet, and many utensils. As they heard that the P'u buried valuable objects with their dead, they dug up more than 100 graves, and from each grave they recovered a gun and a knife. They occupied more P'u land and built 14 defensive fortresses to protect the region. The surviving P'u retreated into the highlands. Later they joined the Mei on the north side of the Mei River in P'uli. This incident was called the Kuo Pai-nien incident (Liu 1958: 131-133).

Shortly after this, a high ranking Chinese official sent some people to investigate the incident. For some reason, perhaps because they were bribed by the Chinese, they reported that the fight took place between the lowland Aborigines of P'uli and the neighboring Mountain Aborigines.

Besides, they reported the P'u people were unfamiliar with agriculture, and had asked the Chinese to help cultivate their land. In the fight, the P'u even asked the Chinese to join them in fighting against the Mountain Aborigines. They reported that the people who had been killed were all Aborigines from the surrounding mountains, not from P'uli. A year later the official learned that this report had been false. He ordered the Chinese people to get off the P'u land. But the Chinese took refuge in the fact that they had a permit from the government and refused to obey the order. The official then ordered the governor of Taiwan to revoke the permit. The Chinese were finally ordered to leave. In June of the next year, 1817, a hearing was held and Kuo Pai-nien was sentenced to imprisonment (*ibid.*: 133).

Government reaction: firmer control. The incident caused both the Chinese government and the P'u people to react. The Chinese government reacted by more effectively enforcing its proscription against Chinese immigration into Shuei-sha-lien. But this stricter policy was not hit upon easily. The Chinese officials disagreed on whether Shuei-sha-lien should be closed to immigration. Some maintained that since more than ten thousand Chinese had already invested in land in P'uli, ejecting them would cause a revolt. But some argued that as P'uli is surrounded by rugged mountains, it was too convenient for criminals to hide there. If Chinese people were allowed to go freely into Shuei-sha-lien, the region would become a sanctuary for outlaws. Furthermore, they argued that if the Chinese were to continue to spread into Aboriginal lands, the Aborigines would have no place to hunt, and that would cause unrest. Eventually, in 1817, it was decided to enforce the prohibition against Chinese immigration into Shuei-sha-lien. At the entrances of the South Route and East Route to Shuei-sha-lien stone tablets were set up stating that the Chinese were henceforth prohibited from entering the area (*ibid.*: 133.136-7).

Actually this did not keep the Chinese out. Probably many Chinese never left the area even though they were told to leave, and besides these, there were other Chinese infiltrating the area. There was no way for the government to keep them out completely. They could easily mix with the Aborigines or hide away to evade inspection. Consequently, the Aborigines lost much of their territories and their population quickly declined (Liu 1958:133).

The Invitation. The P'u reacted to the outrage of the Kuo Pai-nien incident by attempting to fortify their positions in the area on their own. The incident had taught them that they were in a danger of further Chinese exploitation. In the incident half their number had been killed. Because of their reduced size, the P'u now felt threatened by other groups against whom they had also been hostile, such as the Mei and other Mountain Aborigines. They recognized a need to strengthen their position.

A means of doing this opened up to them fortuitously in 1822. They were visited at that time by several Aborigines from Shuei-she, the settlement to the south of them, who stated that they had recently met and talked with some Plains Aborigines from a settlement to the west known as Pei-t'ou who had been hunting deer in the neighboring mountains. The Plains Aborigines had said that they had been cheated and oppressed by the Chinese and their land had been taken over by the Chinese. Their situation was miserable. The people of Shuei-she and the P'u agreed that the P'u and the Plains Aborigines were related culturally and ethnically and they would do

well to help each other. Because the P'u urgently needed more able-bodied men to help defend themselves against the Chinese, they decided to invite the Plains Aborigines to settle with the P'u. The P'u asked the Shuei-she people to act as middlemen to carry the message of their invitation. Two chiefs of Shuei-she went to contact the Plains Aborigines of Pei-t'ou and their neighbors, most of them lived on a coastal plain to the west of P'uli known as Chang-hua (Liu 1958: 43-45).

The Culture of the Plains Aborigines. The Plains Aborigines were a different type of Aborigines from the Mountain Aborigines such as the P'u. They lived on the coastal plains of Taiwan, which followed the northern and western coast. These Aborigines were divided into eight tribes--the Kavalan, Ketagalan, Taokas, Papora, Pazeh, Babuza, Hoanya and Siraya (Chang 1965: 530-1). Plains Aborigines mainly subsisted by means of swidden agriculture; like the Mountain Aborigines they had no plow or spade, no draft animals, no fertilizer (cf. Chang 1965: 571). The staple crop was millet. After Taiwan came under the administration of the Dutch East India Company (in 1624), they learned to cultivate the soil, and cattle became important as draft animals (Li 1955: 22). After the Dutch were driven out by the Chinese in 1661, Chinese people began to immigrate in great numbers, and from them the Plains Aborigines learned wet rice farming. Since both the Dutch and the Chinese came in and dominated the island from the south, the southern Plains Aborigines became committed to wet rice agriculture earlier than the rest. As late as the 1680's the Plains Aborigines in the north were still growing millet (ibid.). In addition to agriculture, the Plains Aborigines also subsisted on hunting and fishing. In general, farming was done by the women, and hunting and fishing were done by the men. Men who became too old to hunt or fish helped their wives in cultivating (ibid.: 23).

The social organization of the Plains Aborigines is somewhat unclear because their culture became extinct very early (cf. Chang 1965: 602; Li 1972: 121); except for amateur accounts, there are no clear descriptions. Generally, the amateur accounts described only specific settlements of the eight tribes of the Plains Aborigines, so it is difficult to get a picture of them as a whole. It appears that the social organization of the eight tribes in general were similar. Apparently they reckoned descent through the female line. After marriage, the groom lived with the bride's family. He worked for his parents-in-law in the form of service marriage. Daughters were valued more than sons. When a baby girl was born, she was called by a term that means "a gain"; but a baby boy was called by a term that means "no gain" (Chang 1965: 593-4). Men, however, played a decisive role in tribal organization. Men ruled the tribe by means of age group organizations, the oldest age group becoming the leaders of a tribe. Some Plains Aboriginal tribes were apparently headhunters (Li 1955: 24-25). Each tribe had its distinct language, though all belonged to the Austronesian language family (Ferrell 1969b). All the Plains Aborigines were so influenced by Chinese culture that some scholars call them "Sinicized Aborigines."

The Problem the Plains Aborigines were having with the Chinese. As already stated, the Plains Aborigines came under pressure from the Chinese. This developed as economic pressure. It seems that the Plains Aborigines often hired Chinese laborers to work their lands on a tenancy contract. But the Plains Aborigines needed some cash, presumably to buy things in the Chinese

market and perhaps to pay taxes. The Chinese, even the tenant farmers, were very frugal and often had cash available to loan. They often lent their money to their Plains Aborigines landlords. Later, if the landlords could not pay the debt--and this frequently happened--land ownership was transferred in small increments to the Chinese creditor. Eventually many of the Plains Aborigines became landless and could not make a living. For this reason by the time the P'u had decided to invite the Plains Aborigines of central Taiwan to come to P'uli, the headmen of their settlements were urging their tribesmen to move in the inner-mountain areas. They were already looking for a sanctuary. The P'u invitation seemed ideal. Eventually, all five tribes of Plains Aborigines in central Taiwan, the Taokas, Papora, Pazeh, Babuza, and Hoanya, undertook the venture of moving into the new territory.

The feeling of resentment against the Chinese among these Plains Aborigines at the time of their moving into P'uli is evident in a document which 14 of their headmen signed on the eve of their immigration into P'uli in 1823. The document was signed in An-li, a famous Plains Aboriginal settlement located west of today's Fung-yuan town in Taichung County (Liu 1958: 41-42). The document states that because the Plains Aborigines had been gullible, their Chinese tenants had gradually taken away their lands. All the signatories agreed to urge their people to work diligently and honestly, and to cooperate on the new land to which they were going. It also agreed that they would never oppress the weak, or disturb the Aborigines in the high mountains. And they agreed not to allow Chinese to come in to cultivate land in this area, and not even to allow the hiring of Chinese laborers. Anyone violating the agreement, the document says, would be ostracized (Liu 1958: 39-40).

The migration of the Plains Aborigines. The Plains Aborigines began to migrate into P'uli in 1823 and continued probably until 1831 (Liu 1958: 56-57). Before the first immigration, some Plains Aborigines made an exploratory trip into P'uli (ibid.: 54). To show their willingness to stay for good they had invited some of their women to go with them. Because six women were bold enough to venture into this frontier area, each was awarded a share of land in the eventual distribution of territory; the area to the southeast of P'i-pa-ch'eng is known as "the shares of the women" (ibid.: 83).

During the period of the migrations, two pacts were signed between the P'u and the immigrating Plains Aborigines. The first was signed in February 1824, with two Shuei-she chiefs signing as witnesses. In this pact, the area of P'u land which was given to the incoming immigrants was specified, and the payments, which they called "gifts," given by the Plains Aborigines to the P'u (valued at 1,000 silver dollars) were listed (ibid.: 43-44). The second pact was signed in October 1828. A new area of land being given to the immigrants was specified in the pact. The payments increased to more than 5,000 silver dollars (ibid.: 46-47). Both of the pacts stated repeatedly how the Plains Aborigines had been invited into P'uli and how the immigration was benefitting both parties. Soon after the second pact was signed, in the same month, the Plains Aborigines immigrants signed an agreement among themselves. This document lists the names of their original settlements, the leaders of each, and the assignments of land to each. The people who were assigned the territory that is now called Lan-ch'eng were known as

Tung-lo (ibid.: 49-53).

Further documents indicate that there were altogether six migrations of Plains Aborigines into P'uli, between 1823-1831. The numbers of shares this newly occupied land was divided into is summarized in Table 4. The shares allotted to immigrants into Lan-ch'eng were all given to a group of people known as the Tung-lo. After the immigrations of the Plains Aborigines into the P'u territories, their population increased, so that between 1841 and 1847, their population had increased to about 2,000 (ibid.: 161, 178).

The Tung-lo people. The Tung-lo people were members of the Babuza tribe (Ferrell 1969a: 161-4; Sung & Liu 1952: 2). The Babuza settlements had been distributed in the area among the region now called Pei-tou, Lu-kang, and Chang-hua in Chang-hua County (Liu 1958: 30). The Tung-lo settlement had been located in Fan-tsi-p'u of Tung-lo-hsi-pao (Ambai 1937: 189). Fan-tsi-p'u is today's Yüan-p'u village of the Pei-tou Township, Chang-hua County (Li 1972: 20). More than seven settlements of the Babuza tribe migrated into P'uli (Liu 1958: 34; Chang 1951 appendix II). Six of the seven settlements split into several settlements in P'uli. Only the Tung-lo people stayed together as one settlement. When they moved to P'uli they called their area Tung-lo-she; only later was it replaced by the term Lan-ch'eng. In 1827, the name of Tung-lo first appeared in written form in P'uli. Later when the Chinese came to Lan-ch'eng they called the village Na-hsia (which literally means "The City of Hedges"; cf. Liu 1951 vol. 1: 91). Only since Taiwan came under Chinese Nationalist control in 1945 was the village called Lan-ch'eng, a Mandarin term. But the local people still call it Na-hsia in their local dialect.

The extinction of the Mei and P'u. After the Plains Aborigines immigrated into P'uli, they began to exert pressure on the P'u and Mei. The immigration of Plains Aborigines into Mei territories came late, beginning in 1841, but followed a similar pattern (Liu 1958: 161-2; 182). The effect for both the Mei and P'u was similar: they were eventually replaced by the Plains

Table 4 The Number of Land-Shares

Year	Month	No. of Shares	Shares allotted in Lan-ch'eng
1823	?	346	—
1823	10	86	—
1825	4	162	—
1827	3	81	81
1831	5	123	10+
1831	6	179+	(An unknown number)
Total		977+	91+

Source: The Record of the Sharing Cultivation of Qavitsan (Liu 1958: 56-79).

Aborigines. According to a Chinese official's observation, in 1841, 19 years after the first migration to the P'u area in 1823, the Plains Aborigines had increased to more than 2,000 people, but the P'u had reduced to not more than 20 (*ibid.*:161), a ratio of one to one hundred. Another population estimate in 1847 numbered the Plains Aborigines at about 2,000 and the P'u at 27 (*ibid.*:178). In 1900, the P'u were reduced to five elderly persons (Torii 1900:476-7).

Among the Mei who lived on the north side of the Mei River their replacement by the Plains Aborigines took place more violently. Their treatment by the Plains Aboriginal immigrants resembled the way the P'u had been treated earlier by the Chinese led by Kuo Pai-nien. In 1847, a Plains Aborigine named Hsu Chuang-ch'i led an attack against the Mei people. He and his cohorts killed many Mei people, burned down their houses, and even dug up the chief's nephew's grave and recovered valuables buried with the dead. (In that year, the Governor of Fukein and Chekiang found this case in his rounds of inspection and executed Hsu Chuang-ch'i on the spot; Liu 1958:182). After this incident, the Mei population declined (*ibid.*:312). In 1847, the Mei numbered 124 people (*ibid.*:178). In 1900, only three were left and they were all elderly (Torii 1900: 476-7). Not all of the P'u and Mei were killed, many of them had left and moved further into the mountains (Liu 1958:25;293).

Impact of Plains Aborigines culture on P'uli. The point of this discussion has been to show that the Aborigines who lived in P'uli never could have contributed in a significant way a cultural bias toward patri-lineages, such as is characteristic in the usual Chinese communities. Some of the early inhabitants, the Mountain Aborigines, may indeed have been patrilineal, but they were entirely killed off or driven out of the area before Chinese culture really began to come in. The Plains Aborigines, who inhabited P'uli after them and who were eventually assimilated into Chinese culture, were apparently never patrilineal, but matrilineal. It would seem, therefore, that if their culture had any influence on P'uli culture it would have inhibited the development of Chinese-like patri-lineages in P'uli, and of course, in Lan-ch'eng in particular.

Sinicization: How They Could Sinicize and Not Form Lineages

This does not, of course, entirely explain why the peoples of P'uli, when they eventually had learned the Chinese language and culture and had intermarried with many Chinese immigrants in P'uli, did not then develop lineage structures on the model of the Chinese elsewhere. In this section I will explain how the Plains Aborigines gradually took on the Chinese language, religion and education of the Chinese, and will show why this sinicization process did not include the formation of Chinese-like patri-lineages in P'uli generally, and Lan-ch'eng in particular.

The three political groups of the Chinese in Taiwan. In an earlier section it was mentioned that the Chinese populations living on the coastal plain of Taiwan, under heavy population pressure, had frequently rioted. The riots had taken place between the major sub-types of Chinese that had immigrated into Taiwan. These had come in great numbers after the Chinese ousted the Dutch from Taiwan in 1661. The Chinese people who came into Taiwan, mainly from southeastern China, spoke two mutually unintelligible dialects: Hakka and Hoklo. But they divided into three distinct political groups. The people who spoke

Hakka were one political group. The people who spoke Hoklo were divided politically into two groups who differed in the sub-dialect of Hoklo they spoke and in the region they hailed from; these were known as the Ch'uanchou (spelled with 'uan) and the Changchou (spelled with ang). Besides their differences in language and political loyalties, they also differed in the deities they worshipped. They all worshipped the Ma-tsu goddess and some other deities, but usually each group had its own temples of worship. Furthermore, each group had its own major guardian gods. The Hakka and Changchou had their own distinctive major guardian gods, but the Ch'uanchou were subdivided into three subgroups each having its own major guardian gods (See 1973: 198).

Chinese immigration into P'uli. Most of the Chinese who came into P'uli belonged to the Hakka and Changchou groups. These people infiltrated P'uli before the Chinese were legally allowed to come in there. Even though in 1817, after the Kuo Pai-nien incident, the government began to enforce its prohibition against Chinese immigrating into the Shuei-sha-lien plateau more rigorously, this did not stop Chinese immigration. Probably the Chinese were very cautious at first not to get caught and the numbers who came in were very small. After a few years, some officials began to propose that the "gate" of Shuei-sha-lien be opened, but always there were some conservative and powerful officials who rebutted their proposals (Liu 1958:140ff; 161ff). Just as at previous times, the disagreement over immigration policy among the officials affected the way that the policy was enforced. Local officials enforced the prohibition carelessly, and more Chinese were able to immigrate illegally into Shuei-sha-lien, especially P'uli.

Even though the majority of the illegal immigrants were Hakka and Changchou people, there was a major movement into P'uli of Ch'uanchou people (the dominant Chinese type who were the more commercially oriented and urbanized type of Chinese). These people came to P'uli in 1857 to trade with the Plains Aborigines. They had heard that P'uli was a good place to live and the natives were lazy. Because the Plains Aborigines had had a miserable experience in dealing with Chinese, they refused to trade with these Chinese and even occasionally fought with them. To overcome this hostility the Ch'uanchou Chinese began to adopt Aboriginal customs. The leader of the group even took for himself an Aboriginal name. Eventually the Plains Aborigines began to trade with these Chinese, and the Chinese made a big profit. Their profit attracted more Chinese into P'uli. The leader of the Ch'uanchou had stressed honesty and fairness in all dealings with the Plains Aborigines, and so the Chinese gained the full trust of the Plains Aborigines. Within a few years these Chinese had formed the business district of P'uli. The town of P'uli was Chinese from the beginning (Liu 1958:200-1).

But the majority of Chinese immigrants lived in the rural area of P'uli. They were Changchou and Hakka Chinese, the Changchou forming the greater number. They came as single males or small families. Presumably they had not been welcomed by the Plains Aborigines. They had adopted peaceful tactics just as the Ch'uanchou had done. They not only learned local customs but also married into the Plains Aborigines families. In many and diverse ways these Chinese succeeded in insinuating themselves into the Aboriginal populations of P'uli rural areas.

Sinicization of P'uli. In 1875, the government removed the prohibition against Chinese immigration into P'uli, but many Chinese were already ensconced there. The legalization of Chinese immigration allowed many more to flow into P'uli, and a process began to accelerate. The Chinese were to overtake the whole region. Though the Chinese had once failed to take over the area by force, they now took it peacefully. By 1875 the culture of the Chinese had already begun to predominate in P'uli.

Sinicization in language. This was evident in a change in the language spoken there. Around 1884 or as late as the turn of the century the Hoklo dialect of the Chinese language became common in P'uli (Liu 1958: 94-95). People of Plains Aboriginal ancestry born in Lan-ch'eng around 1860 apparently did not learn much of their own Aboriginal language; for a man who was at that time a leader in Lan-ch'eng and had been born in that year could remember only a few sentences of it in his adulthood in the 1939's (Utsurikawa 1931:40). People born in Lan-ch'eng around 1884 knew virtually nothing in the Plains Aboriginal language. Hoklo Chinese had become the idiom of all communication in P'uli in about 1900 (*ibid.*).

Sinicization in religion. A similar cultural transformation took place in the practice of religion among the people living in P'uli. The Plains Aborigines, who had come earlier into P'uli had already begun to worship some Chinese deities before they came. In the document of 1831, mentioned earlier, concerning the allotment of land in P'u among the Plains Aborigines, it was stated that each shareholder was assessed an amount of millet annually for the birth day festival of a god that was a Chinese culture hero god (Liu 1958: 69). When they arrived in P'uli they built a Chinese temple and assessed the share-holders with expenses for the annual festival at this temple.

Further evidence of sinicization in religion among the people of P'uli appears in the way the people of Lan-ch'eng responded to a drought that took place in 1881. They asked a Chinese man who had moved in only one year earlier what to do about the drought. As this man belonged to the Changchou dialect group, he suggested that they invite a goddess named Ma-tsu from a Changchou temple in Chang-hua, a city on the western plain, to be brought for a visit. The next year, two Chinese men took seven Tung-lo men (i. e. Plains Aborigines people from Lan-ch'eng) to Chang-hua to bring back the Ma-tsu Goddess for a visit. It was said that after the visit, the Mei River began to have more water for irrigation. After that, the P'uli people, irrespective of their different ethnic backgrounds, began to bring the Ma-tsu Goddess to P'uli every year (Ch'en n. d.). Eventually, this ritual came to involve the people of the whole P'uli area.

Sinicization in education. The sinicization of the peoples of P'uli was further advanced by Chinese education. When the Chinese government removed the prohibition against Chinese immigration into P'uli, it also set up an administrative office and appointed a special official for Aboriginal affairs in P'uli. The next year the government established 19 primary schools in P'uli (Liu 1958: 229). Five were established in the town of P'uli, and one was located in Lan-ch'eng. This probably reflected the intention of the government to "civilize" (that is, in this context to sinicize) the Plains Aborigines of P'uli. Even though three years later the number of schools was reduced to six (the one in Lan-ch'eng was discontinued), this beginning in Chinese education,

and the educational commitment by the government that it represented, inevitably established the Chinese tradition of knowledge in P'uli.

These changes in language, religion and education manifested a general trend toward sinicization of the populations in P'uli. Chinese culture was replacing Plains Aboriginal culture. The Plains Aborigines, who had come into P'uli and replaced the indigeneous Mountain Aborigines, could not retain their native culture. When they came to P'uli they had been seeking sanctuary from the Chinese. But even there they did not avoid Chinese influence, for the Chinese were infiltrating P'uli even illegally. When immigration became legal, even more Chinese came. The Plains Aborigines of P'uli were never able to keep away from the Chinese. The result was that the Chinese language, religion and tradition of knowledge became dominant in social affairs in P'uli. Between 1884 and 1900 Plains Aborigines culture in P'uli assimilated into Chinese culture (cf. Liu 1958: 94-95). The number of people who called themselves "Aborigines" gradually declined, until eventually everyone in P'uli, regardless of his cultural background, was identifying himself as Chinese.

Even though the Plains Aborigines tribes had on the whole adopted Chinese culture by 1900 one tribe retained its native culture longer than the rest. The Pazeh tribe became Christianized in the 1870's through the evangelism of Western missionaries (Liu 1961: 189-195). This set them apart from the other four tribes of P'uli and presumably somewhat retarded their rate of sinicization. They retained their native language longer than other tribes, especially in their hymns. Today they are quite sinicized but they remain distinct religiously, still keeping their Christian belief.

Conclusion of Cultural Processes of Sinicization

It was necessary to discuss the cultural transformation of the Plains Aborigines into Chinese because it seems conceivable that to some degree the cultural heritage of a people can influence its current social structure. Biologically the populations of P'uli are offspring of a mixture of Chinese and Plains Aborigines. The cultural heritage of the Chinese who came into P'uli favored lineage structures, but the cultural heritage of the Plains Aborigines who were already there did not favor them. The Mountain Aborigines, who had patri-lineages, apparently did not bequeath anything to the culture of modern P'uli, since they were replaced by the Plains Aborigines. The Plains Aborigines, whose culture may indeed have influenced contemporary society in P'uli, did not have patri-lineages of any sort. It would seem that if the matrilineal culture of the Plains Aborigines had any influence on the structure of contemporary society in Lan-ch'eng, and P'uli in general, it would have worked against the formation of lineage structures. This may be one reason lineage structures never formed in Lan-ch'eng.

There were, however, other and better reasons, which I will explain in the next section.

THE SOCIAL PROCESSES OF SINICIZATION

Even though the peoples of P'uli adopted much of Chinese culture, they did not adopt all of it. They did not adopt, as mentioned earlier, the lineage structures of the Chinese. We must

consider how the populations of P'uli could have adopted Chinese culture without adopting the Chinese custom of organizing in lineages. Other things being equal, we would have expected the Chinese, who brought the culture that was to prevail in P'uli, to form lineages. But the social features involved in the immigration of the Chinese into P'uli worked against lineage formation and in fact contributed significantly to the formation of composite kin groups. Specifically, the Chinese who came into P'uli came as isolated individuals or as small family groups who were socially absorbed into the existing society in P'uli. They did not come as lineage groups. The individuals and family groups who came into P'uli were absorbed into a society that was structurally biased against lineage structures.

Chinese Integration by Service Marriage

This was a type of cultural expansion that the Chinese had long practiced in all of Taiwan and even in Mainland China. The Chinese who had come from Mainland China to Taiwan had mostly been single males (cf. Chen 1964: 169-171). They often went to Taiwan to work on farms in the spring, and returned to their home towns on the Mainland after harvesting the crop in the fall. Presumably some of these people stayed. In 1668 more than half of the Chinese living in Taiwan were single males (ibid.: 116-117). This must have been the pattern of early Chinese immigration into P'uli, where (from their point of view) the area was too dangerous for women and children.

Immigrating Chinese males developed their social ties with the Plains Aborigines mainly through a kind of service marriage. This kind of marriage fitted well with the Plains Aboriginal custom of having grooms move in with the brides' families. In this kind of marriage, an oral contract was agreed upon by a Chinese man and his parents-in-law. The man agreed to work for three to six years for his wife's family. Then he, his wife and children, if any, could move out. He was usually given a fully loaded ox-cart of rice, a tract of land and other things when he left. When he left his father-in-law's home the Chinese man and his family became an independent economic unit.

This was an attractive contractual arrangement for Chinese males for several reasons. For one thing, it was a cheap way to get a wife: with the extremely uneven sexual ratio among the Chinese in P'uli, it was hard to find a Chinese wife, and if a suitable Chinese woman was found she might cost a high bride price. By working for an Aborigine father-in-law a poor Chinese man could acquire a wife without paying any bride price. Another advantage of the contract to the Chinese was the land they could acquire. By this time, the arable lands were already occupied by the Plains Aborigines. Most of the Chinese were probably too poor to buy lands. Another advantage was the security it provided the Chinese. P'uli was still a frontier area. Mountain Aborigines lived in the surrounding hills and when they could they raided the area. The Plains Aborigines who lived in P'uli were also, as mentioned before, generally hostile to the Chinese. Even the Chinese immigrants themselves, being unrelated to each other, and having little or no business with each other, did not band together for protection. Marriage into Plains Aborigines' families, enabled the Chinese immigrants to ensconce themselves in the local society, and to

develop protective alliances with the dominant population of P'uli.

This marriage contract was also attractive to the Plains Aborigines. The Plains Aborigines did not know much about wet rice farming, as they were more used to swidden agriculture and their men were interested in hunting. But, as stated previously, they had begun to learn some wet rice farming practices even before they came to P'uli. But in P'uli their wet rice yields were not good. They soon felt a need for the help of the Chinese immigrants in improving their wet rice cultivation skills. They also felt a need for manpower on their wet rice fields, which respond well to intensive labor activities. The service marriage contract brought the Chinese into a long-term laborer agreement with them. Also, the Chinese gained a reputation for being hard workers. This made the Plains Aborigines prefer Chinese sons-in-law more than Plains Aboriginal sons-in-law. Another possible attractive quality to the marriage contract was that it enabled the Plains Aborigines to learn Chinese, and to provide their children or grandchildren the advantages of being able to advance in Chinese society. Another possible reason for this kind of marriage contract was the security it brought to them. The Plains Aborigines also feared the raids of the Mountain Aborigines, and welcomed social ties with other families for defensive purpose. The Chinese may have been somewhat more attractive kinsmen for this purpose because of their association with the stronger Chinese power to the west.

The practice of Chinese men immigrating into P'uli and on the whole marrying Plains Aboriginal women continued for many years. The village of Lan-ch'eng, presumably had some Chinese immigrants come before 1875; but the majority of Chinese came after 1875, when immigration into P'uli became legal. In 1880, a Chinese couple named Ch'en and their seven children came to Lan-ch'eng from Nei-wan of Chang-hua. Later many other Chinese of Nei-wan came to Lan-ch'eng. It appears that the majority of the 34 Chinese families who came in earliest came around 1880. They all were of the Changchou (the Hoklo speaking rural Chinese group). In the years that followed, more Chinese entered Lan-ch'eng and most of them came as individuals and intermarried with the residents of the village, who had strong Plains Aboriginal roots but who after 1900 were identifying themselves as Chinese.

After 1912 many single Chinese males came to Lan-ch'eng to work in a sugar company that had been established by the Japanese on the outskirts of the village (Taiwan Governor-General's Office 1914:48). Several people I interviewed in the village had come to P'uli as workers for the company. They had lived with families in the village and eventually, as they established a reputation for being honest and good workers, they took wives from among the villagers. They moved into their wives' families for several years as long-term laborers. Chinese immigrants of Lan-ch'eng became very popular sons-in-law.

Small Family Immigration

The majority of Chinese immigrants into P'uli came as single males, but some also came with their wives and children, and thus lived there in small family groups. These families were under similar constraints to develop ties with the Plains Aborigines as the individual Chinese who entered P'uli. They needed security and they often needed land. In either case, their sons needed

mates. These were commonly married to the Plains Aborigines because this social tie had promise of both security and land. The Chinese families of course would have preferred to have their children marry other Chinese in the area. They needed labor on their lands like Plains Aborigines, and they needed larger families for the sake of security. Under these conditions they would have preferred to marry their daughters to Chinese men who could work on their lands. But it was more difficult for their sons to marry Chinese women, because of the scarcity of Chinese women.

When small Chinese family groups inter-married with the Plains Aborigines families they did so on the usual service contract terms, as this was the preferred form of marital residence among the Plains Aborigines. But because actual situations often required compromises this service contract was often modified. Sometimes a Chinese man would agree to service labor on his father-in-law's land but would insist on living with his wife separately (cf. Li 1955: 24). This was probably more common in cases when the son-in-law also owned some land of his own. Sometimes a Chinese family would bring the Plains Aborigine bride to their home for their son, usually when they felt the need to keep the groom's labor on the land. But they paid some compensation, usually in money, for the loss of service on the bride's father's land. It would also have been done when the groom's family was rich enough to pay the compensation for loss of his labor to the bride's family.

Chinese Land Expansion

The Chinese immigrants became ensconced in P'uli by acquiring land. One way they did this, as already mentioned, was by Chinese immigrants marrying into Plains Aborigine families and receiving tracts of land after their service contract was completed. This was especially profitable when the Plains Aborigine father-in-law was rich. For immigrant Chinese families there was another method of acquiring land. Following the local practice of having sons-in-law work for a period of time as laborers, they used their daughters to attract hard-working Chinese sons-in-law to work on their land. These sons-in-law gave them several years of free labor, as they did for Plains Aborigines fathers-in-law. But the Chinese fathers-in-law were less willing to give land to their sons-in-law at the end of the contract period. The Chinese had long been wet rice agriculturalists, and were aware of the value of obtaining and holding land as an immovable capital resource. Land was the most valuable form of property to the Chinese. The Plains Aborigines on the other hand, being used to subsisting by swidden agriculture, in which they frequently moved off of exhausted lands to new territories, were not used to thinking of land as a capital resource. They did not grasp the value of land as the Chinese did. They gave land to their sons-in-law more liberally at the end of the contract service period. The Chinese fathers-in-law, on the other hand, gave other kinds of gifts to their sons-in-law.

Because of the way the Chinese practiced this custom they found daughters very profitable. They even began to adopt daughters in large numbers in order to attract sons-in-law to work for them. Girls were already being adopted by the Chinese for other reasons. For one thing, the Chinese believed that having an adopted girl in the household would increase the fertility of the foster

mother and the sturdiness of her offspring. The Chinese sometimes adopted a small girl who would become the wife of a son in order to save the cost of a bride price, a practice that was called "little daughter-in-law adoption." In both cases, the adopted girl contributed labor to the family. These reasons for adopting daughters were already popular among the Chinese. But the Chinese also discovered that the practice had the additional advantage of attracting Chinese sons-in-law, and that led to a growing interest in female adoption. The Chinese families adopted daughters not only from Chinese families in P'uli (when possible) but also from distant related Chinese families elsewhere in Taiwan, and from Plains Aboriginal families.

By these two methods, marrying into Plains Aboriginal families under the service agreement, and attracting sons-in-law to work cheaply on their lands, the Chinese were able to acquire land. They also acquired land by purchase because they were able to save money. The Chinese were able to accumulate wealth to purchase land more than the Plains Aborigines because they were used to living frugally and saving. The Plains Aborigines did not know how to handle money and they did not know as well as the Chinese how to get the most out of their rice paddies, and so did not make as much profit from their land as the Chinese. The Chinese saved and lived frugally in order to have money to buy land. Gradually they acquired lands from the Plains Aborigines. Sometimes the Chinese were able to buy land from the Plains Aborigines at an outrageously low price. Some Plains Aborigines men, as their society decayed, became addicted to alcohol and opium (the opium they purchased in Chinese-owned dens in P'uli town); they fell into debt, and eventually sold their lands to Chinese buyers. Several Plains Aborigines in Lan-ch'eng sold their lands when they were either drunk or after they had become insane from opium addiction, and in their extremity they sold their lands cheaply. The result was that the Chinese acquired most of the land in P'uli. The eventual transformation of the populations of P'uli from being largely Plains Aborigines in 1880 to largely Chinese in 1900 was probably brought about to a large extent by this process of land acquisition by the Chinese.

The Social Transformation in Lan-Ch'eng

By these several means the Chinese acquired land and transformed P'uli into a Chinese territory. Eventually the Chinese became economically dominant in the area-- a process which is culturally manifest in the sinicization of the whole plain explained in the previous section. This transformation is manifest in a reduced frequency in the number of service contract marriages. I do not have adequate statistical information on the frequencies of service contract marriage in Lan-ch'eng prior to 1900--when they were the predominant type of marriage contract. But I collected information on the marital arrangement on all the living persons in the village, all of whose marriages were consummated after 1911. By this time the number of service contract marriages was much reduced. Of the 262 marriages I collected data on, only 37 were service contract marriages--that is, in which the groom moved into the bride's household and worked for a number of years under contract. Five marriages were little daughter-in-law marriages. All the rest of the marriages, 220, were arranged in the usual Chinese way: the bride was brought to the groom's household and her father was compensated by payment of a bride price. By this time

also, the Chinese practice of rewarding a son-in-law with gifts other than land was prominent. In not one of the service contract marriages was the son-in-law actually given land at the end of the contract period.

How this transformation took shape in certain families of Lan-ch'eng is shown in Figures 4 and 5. In the genealogy of the Plains Aborigines family (Figure 4), there were two cases of intermarriage with individual Chinese males in the second generation, three cases in the third generation, and three cases in the fourth generation. By the third generation most of the members of this family were identifying themselves as Chinese. The members of this family, were now calling themselves Chinese, speaking Chinese and practicing Chinese customs, but they were still practicing the service marriage into the fourth generation. By the fifth generation the service marriage contracts were rare.

The Chinese family whose genealogy is given in Figure 5 came to Lan-ch'eng in 1880 after most of their sons were already born. The parents were both 34 years old, and they already had six sons and one daughter; the oldest son was 13 and the second ten. Later they had three more sons and one more daughter. They adopted a young man in order to make up the lucky number of ten sons. One daughter died young. Two of the nine sons did not marry at all, five married Plains Aborigines women and two married Chinese women. The two eldest sons married Plains Aborigines women and moved in with their fathers-in-law. Though this is contrary to Chinese custom of retaining the oldest son, they probably did this because the parents were not well established in the area and could not pay a large bride price for Chinese brides and needed social ties with the established families of the village. Within a few years the two sons may have acquired land from their parents-in-law, and may have even moved back into their parents' home. In any case, they still worshipped their own ancestors and became heirs of their father. The other sons did not move in with their fathers-in-law; they stayed at home and brought their wives into the household. Presumably by the time they married, the Chinese parents had money to pay compensation to the parents of the daughters-in-law. Also by this time they may have had more land and need their sons' labor on their own land.

Conclusion

The object of this chapter has been to show that social conditions in P'uli never were such that the Chinese could have formed patri-lineages. For the Chinese came as individuals and as small family groups. They never were numerous enough to develop large family units of agnates having several generations of ancestors because they had come as isolated persons or small groups and had insinuated themselves into the larger Plains Aborigines populations. They grew in numbers by bearing many offspring. By acquiring land they grew in influence. Eventually the total number of people calling themselves Chinese was swelled by the ethnic conversion of the Plains Aborigines, who began to call themselves Chinese. But even these "Chinese" did not develop family units that had deep enough ancestries and large enough numbers for them to find it feasible to develop lineage structures.

It seems conceivable that in time they would have developed lineage structures, as their numbers increased and their ancestries became deeper. But there were other processes at work that thwarted this process by the time it might have led to the formation of lineages.

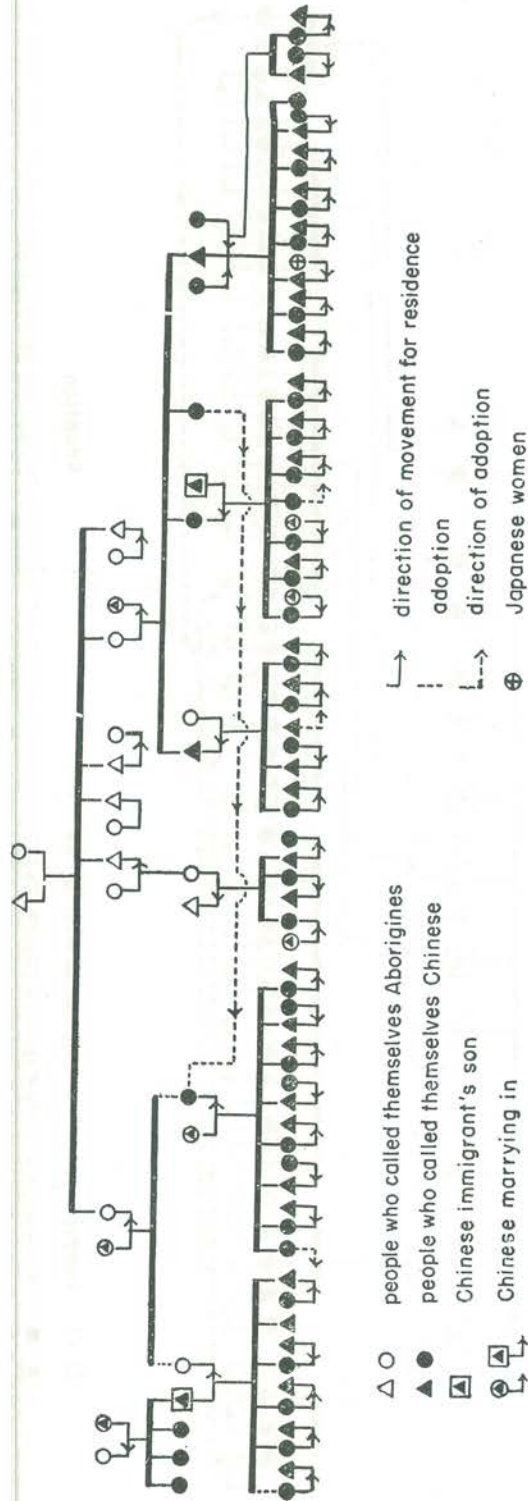


Figure 4 A Genealogy of A Plains Aborigines

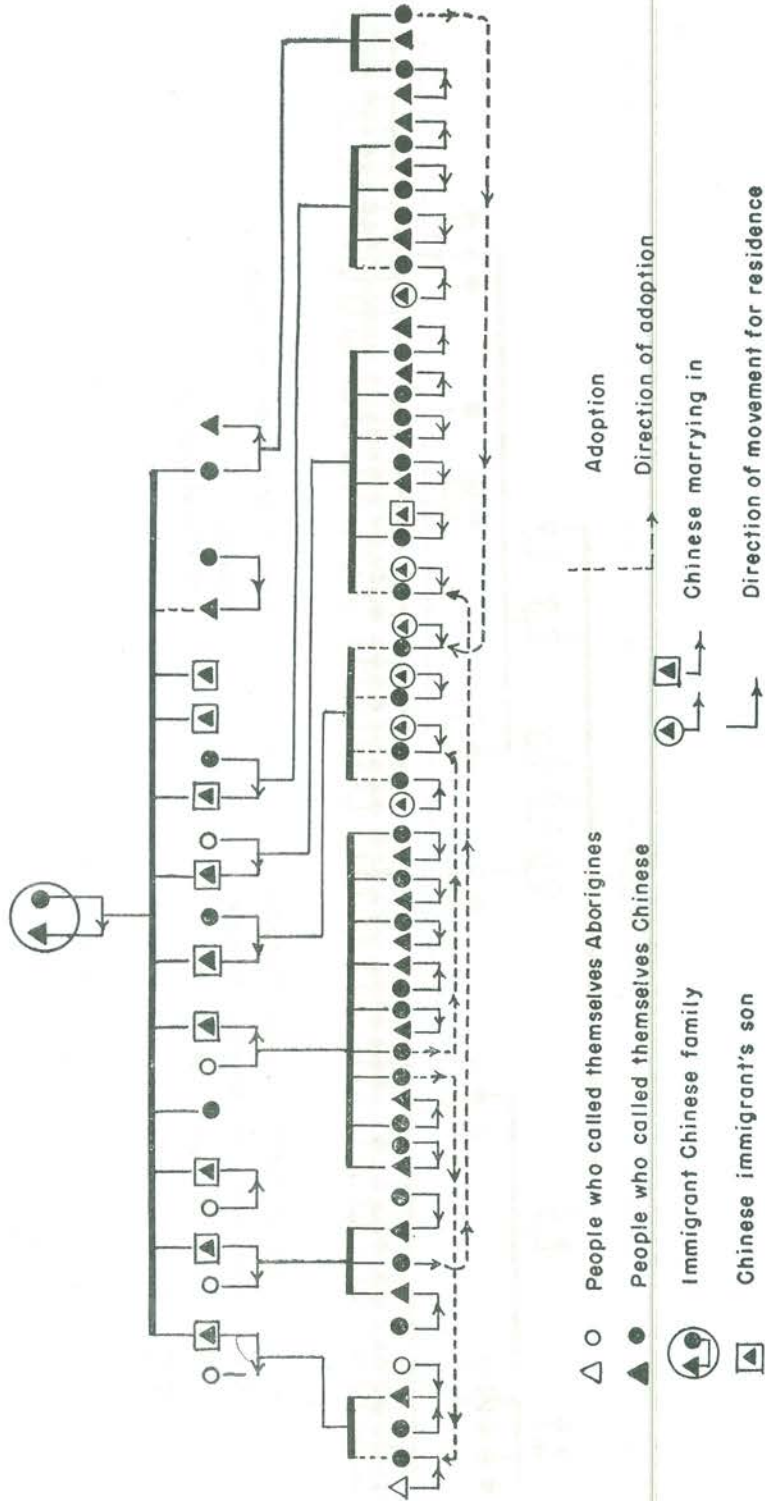


Figure 5 A Genealogy of A Chinese Family

CHAPTER III

EXTERNAL SOCIAL AND POLITICAL INFLUENCES

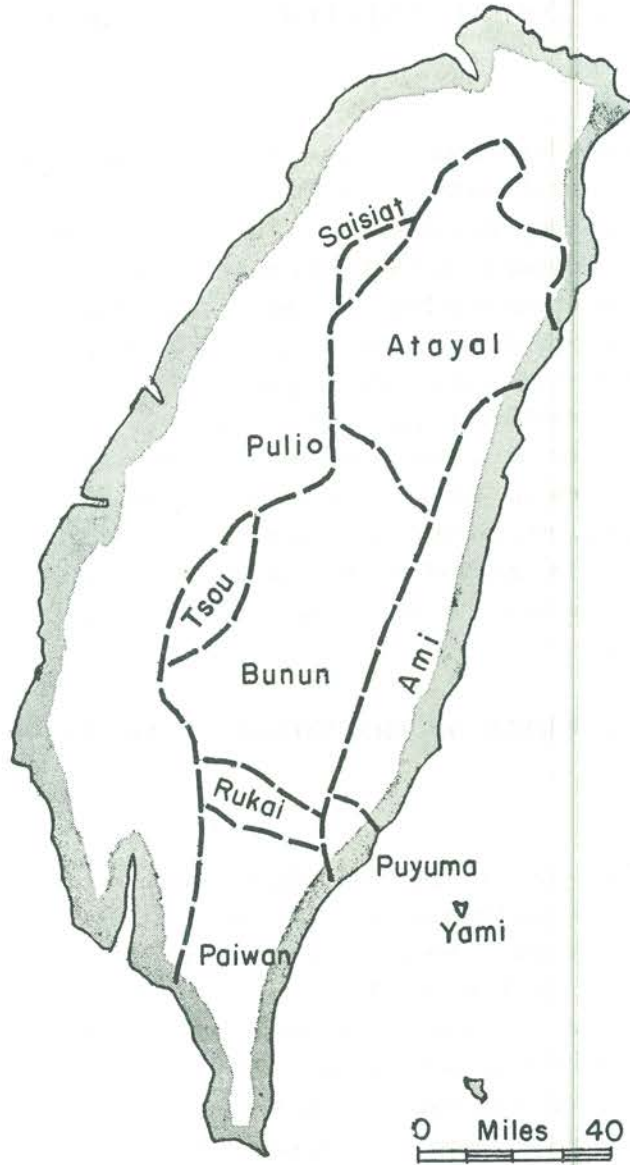
Another type of influence has affected the structure of Lan-ch'eng society and of P'uli generally. This was the influence of social conditions that have existed outside the P'uli plain. Social conditions outside of Lan-ch'eng and even outside of P'uli have affected the internal social ties that have developed in P'uli generally and in Lan-ch'eng in particular. Some of these external social conditions have obliged people in P'uli as a whole, and also people in smaller regions of the plain (including local communities such as Lan-ch'eng), to organize for protection; these have favored the development of composite kin group ties. Others have weakened large family ties by providing attractive employment opportunities for individuals or obliging people to relate to official structures on an individual basis. The external conditions that have affected internal social alignments in P'uli generally and of Lan-ch'eng in particular are: (1) the threats posed by the Mountain Aborigines, who raided the area for a long time until government influence in P'uli became strong; (2) the control of the area imposed by the several governments that successively came to rule the area; (3) the national and international marketing system that eventually came into P'uli.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE MOUNTAIN ABORIGINES

The Raiding

From the earliest times one of the significant influences on the shape of P'uli society was the pressure imposed on it by the Mountain Aborigines who inhabited the highlands surrounding it, especially to the northeast and southeast. This was even true during the time when Mountain Aborigines inhabited P'uli. The Atayal and Bunun tribes raided each other, and they sometimes even raided their own people. The Atayal and Bunun mountain tribesmen especially raided the people who lived on the P'uli plain, even when the plains people were members of their own tribes; and because the people on the plain were more vulnerable to the raids, more of them were killed than the Mountain Aborigines. The Atayal in the neighboring mountains raided the plains people more frequently than the Bunun, P'uli being more accessible to the Atayal tribesmen (see Map 6).

The Atayal had a reputation for being more ferocious than the Bunun. They had long practiced headhunting. The Atayal displayed the skulls they hunted on a skull-shelf (cf. Government of Formosa 1911 plate 15)



Map 6 The Location of P'uli With Respect to the Tribes of Mountain Aborigines in Taiwan

They [the Atayal] are fierce by nature and are by far the largest and most powerful tribe of savages in the island.

The Atayal savages look upon head-hunting as the most glorious thing in their life; inasmuch as human head is required on every occasion, whenever they hold any religious rite or ceremony. When a dispute occurs between the members of a tribe, the decision is given in favour of the one who first secures a human head. When a savage lad attains his majority, he is not permitted to join a company of adults until he gets a human head. In fact, head-hunting has come to be a custom amongst them which they consider to be an almost indispensable part of their existence. They not only seek the heads of Formosan [Chinese] and members of other tribes, as has always been their custom, but even Japanese fall under their hands.

Head-hunting is performed somewhat after the following manner:--several of the tribe equipped with rifles and provisions, approach as near as possible to the frontier and hide themselves in the jungle in proximity to a frequented path. Here, whenever an opportunity arises, they shoot passersby, or emerging out from their hidden place, they make a sudden attack on the labourers who are working near such a spot. They remain in the vicinity for a number of days, and are not satisfied until they get the much coveted trophy. The lives of those engaged in various pursuits in the frontier districts are consequently exposed to constant danger. (Government of Formosa 1911:1-2)

After the Mountain Aborigines had been replaced by Plains Aborigines and Chinese (in the second and third decades of the nineteenth century) the pressure imposed by the Mountain Aborigines raids on the P'uli plain and the rest of Shuei-sha-lien continued. During this time the plains peoples identified the Atayal as the "ferocious Aborigines," as opposed to the Bunun, who raided them less frequently, because in their culture headhunting was not so much emphasized as the Atayal and also they were relatively isolated from the plain.

The pressures of Mountain Aborigines raiding continued until 1930, when the Mountain Aborigines were subdued by the Japanese government. Their threat to the plains people had begun to wane as early as 1902, when the Japanese began to push the Mountain Aborigines further back into the mountains. But the danger still existed, especially for the men who went into the mountains to collect firewood. Some elderly people in Lan-ch'eng still remember some incidents when Mountain Aborigines raided members of their community when they were in the mountains. A member of the village told me that one day her uncle was collecting firewood in the mountains with a group of people, when suddenly several Atayal tribesmen attacked them. Most of the people got away, but one was killed. Her uncle was among the few who were injured but managed to return home. He bore a life-long scar on his head from an Atayal knife wound.

The Lowland Response

The raids onto the plain by the Mountain Aborigines forced the plains populations to protect

themselves. When the Plains Aborigines came into P'uli they were aware of the threat even from the beginning because in their early contracts they called some lands "the share to be defended against raids" (Shou-ch'eng-fen; Liu 1958: 83-84), which meant that this land was assigned to someone in so far as it could be defended against raids. This term for some tracts of land was found in several places in P'uli, all of them being on the frontier of the plain. There is a tract of land northeast of Lan-ch'eng, where the village cemetery is now located, which used to be called "the share to be defended against raids." Elsewhere in P'uli there is a community north of the Mei river known by this name; it once stood at the very edge of the frontier.

After the Chinese came into P'uli they formed a border-guard line system, which the Chinese were building all over Taiwan at the end of the eighteenth century (Liu 1958: 297; Government of Formosa 1911:11). The border-guard line was a series of guard posts set at strategic entrances onto the plain from the mountains. It was manned by the members of the plains communities in turn. In P'uli the border-guard lines were probably set up informally soon after the Chinese began to come into P'uli illegally, that is, after 1815. Later they were reinforced by Chinese government garrisons, after the government came into P'uli in 1875. Presumably the border-guard line served to protect from the raids of Mountain Aborigines, but it also had another function to the Chinese government, when it became involved in the border-guard line system; it enabled the government to keep dissident Chinese from moving out of their community.

Another way the people of the plains protected themselves from Mountain Aboriginal raids was by developing thick hedges around their villages, which served as a kind of palisade. Lan-ch'eng is itself a good example of this type of protective arrangement. For the houses of Lan-ch'eng are nucleated together and in earlier times there was a bamboo hedge around the village. This was probably grown up soon after the village was formed in 1827. In fact, the villagers of Lan-ch'eng (which is the Mandarin name for the village) actually still call the village "Na-hsia," in their Hoklo dialect, which means "the hedge-walled city." This hedge eventually disappeared because after 1930 the raids were finally stopped and later, because of a malarial epidemic, it had to be completely torn down.

They also built watchtowers within villages to protect themselves from the raids. In the area of the present Lan-ch'eng cemetery, a watchtower once stood. But after 1930, when a watchtower was no more required it was torn down.

In addition to these direct protective measures the people on the P'uli plain also sought supernatural aid to safeguard themselves from the Mountain Aborigines raids. In Tau-mi-k'eng, a settlement on the south of the plain, for instance, people built a temple in 1871 primarily as a place to pray to the deities for protection from Mountain Aborigines headhunters (Liu 1958: 203).

After the Chinese became ensconced in P'uli they employed another device to protect themselves from the Aboriginal raiders. They attempted to terrorize them. They displayed the heads of Aborigines they were able to kill in the raids. They hung the heads in public places,

usually at the gates into the towns, as a warning to the Aborigines. They also sometimes even consumed the bodies of raiders. In 1892, a Chinese high officer visited P'uli. In his diary he recorded that the Atayal Mountain Aborigines often raided P'uli, and that the plains people, when they killed an Atayal Aborigine in one of these raids, even sold his flesh. They also made jelly out of his bones, and this was sold out quickly (Liu 1958:303).

The effect of the hostility of the Mountain Aborigines toward the plains people was to force the plains people to unite in certain ways critical for their survival. They organized, for one thing, on the basis of their common regional interest. They formed the border-guard line system to which the various communities of the plain contributed personnel. The result was a unity based on their common regional interest. Also, people within the region united as communities. Presumably the members of each community worked together in deciding who should be sent to the border-guard line. They also united in developing their protective hedges and building their watchtowers. And they had to have some community-wide system for deciding on how the watchtower should be manned. And building a temple where supernatural help could be sought required the joint effort of local people. All such protective measures brought the residents of a community together as a united group. People on the plain were therefore brought together as local community groups as well as, on a larger scale, a regional group. Other possible bases of social unity had to take a secondary role compared to the regional and communal bases of social solidarity.

Thus, unity on the basis of common agnatic descent, such as is the basis of the lineage unit commonly found among Chinese elsewhere, was not favored by the hostility of the Mountain Aborigines. The external pressures imposed by the Mountain Aborigines did not as such oblige the people of P'uli generally, or of Lan-ch'eng in particular, to emphasize their agnatic kinship connections. In as far as the social pressures of the Mountain Aborigines affected social relations of Lan-ch'eng, it obliged the people to unite on other grounds than kinship solidarity.

THE INFLUENCE OF RULING GOVERNMENTS

When governments came into the P'uli area they attempted to bring safety to the people of the P'uli plain by protecting them from the Mountain Aborigines raids, and eventually they were able to subdue the Mountain Aborigines. This removed the necessity for the local populations to organize for protection. But the governments brought their own influences to bear upon these populations, obliging them to shift from organizing to protect themselves from the Mountain Aborigines to organizing to respond to the policies of the governments who came to control the area.

The Ch'ing Government

Ch'ing occupation of P'uli. Three governments have ruled the P'uli plain. The first was the Ch'ing Chinese government who began to rule Taiwan in 1684. For a long time the Ch'ing government had no control over P'uli, as it lay on the fringe of the lowlands when the Chinese

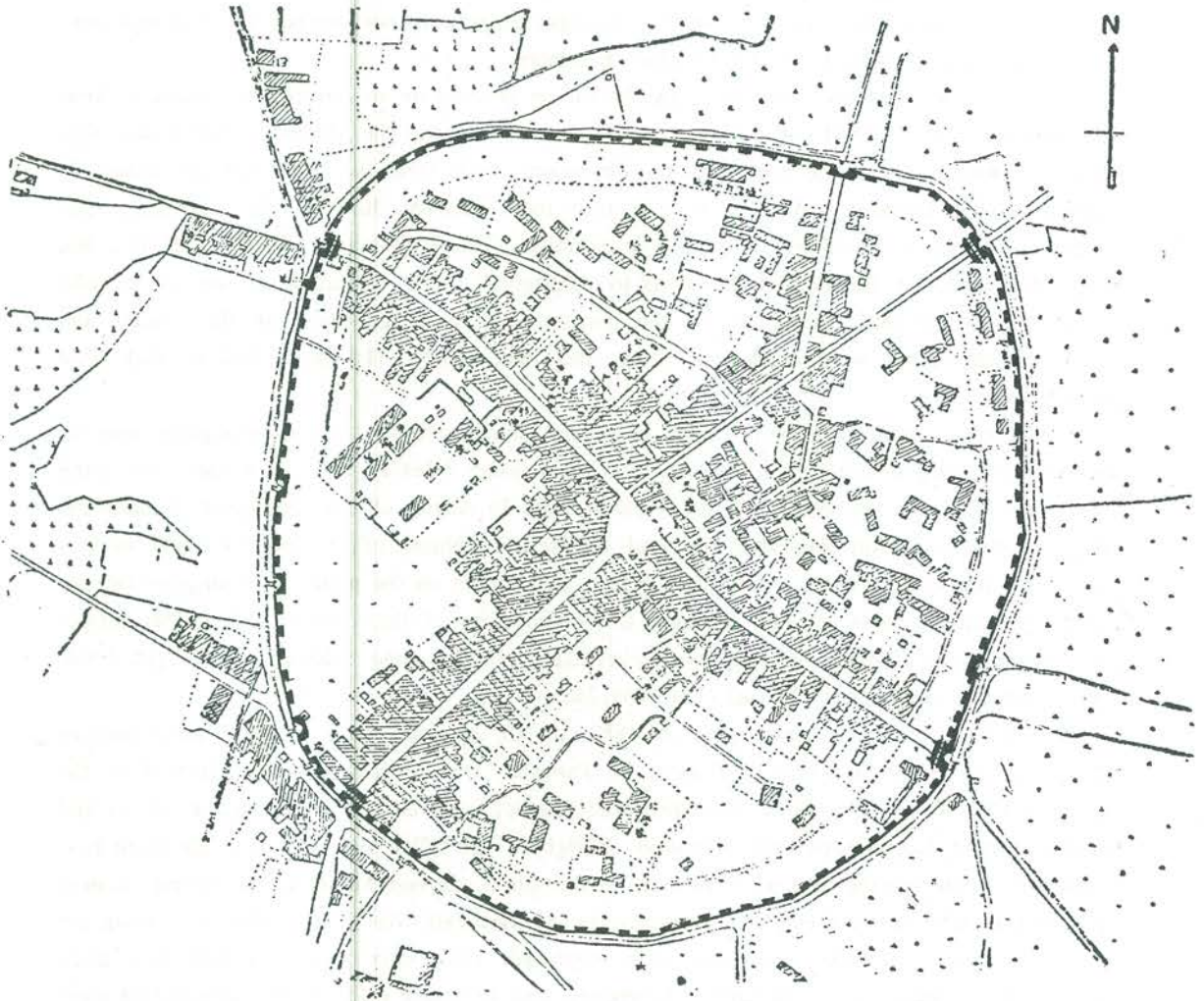
people were first establishing themselves. In fact the Ch'ing came to regard P'uli as a dangerous possible sanctuary for Chinese rebels. In 1786, a Chinese man named Lin Shuang-wen and some cohorts revolted against the Ch'ing in north Taiwan. When they were defeated they retreated to the Shuei-sha-lien plateau (Liu 1958:281). Because of the rugged terrain of the plateau, it was very difficult for the Ch'ing government to destroy the remaining forces of Lin Shuang-wen. Finally, with the help of the Plains Aborigines within Shuei-sha-lien, they squashed his forces. Because of this incident, the Ch'ing government decided to isolate the plateau by discouraging Chinese from entering it. In 1815, as was mentioned earlier, some Chinese began to immigrate into P'uli, and it was that same year that Kuo Pai-nien killed half the population of the P'u tribe. In 1817, the Ch'ing government ordered all the Chinese to be ejected and no Chinese immigrants were allowed to enter the Shuei-sha-lien plateau. As I said in the previous chapter, despite the order, many Chinese remained in P'uli. And after 1857, by means of trading with the Plains Aborigines, many more Chinese slipped into P'uli (Liu 1958:201). Until as late as 1873, the Chinese Ch'ing government did not exert much control of the people living on the P'uli plain.

As the Ch'ing government prospered it began to extend its influence more firmly into its marginal territories. In 1873, the government sent a clerk (from the office in charge of Mountain Aborigines affairs in Lu-kang of west Taiwan) to Ta-tu-ch'eng (after 1945, it has been called Ta-ch'eng), a village in P'uli (Liu 1958:204). Two years later the official prohibition against immigration into P'uli was removed and the government officially moved its office of Mountain Aborigines' affairs to P'uli. The jurisdiction of this office included the whole of the Shuei-sha-lien plateau and the surrounding mountains (Liu 1958:221, 224-225). Also during this time the Ch'ing government began to build a road to Shuei-sha-lien from the southwest in 1875; it took ten months to build (ibid.:212-216). They built another one coming into P'uli from the north in 1887 (ibid.:256-259).

Ch'ing policy toward Mountain Aborigines. As the Ch'ing government became interested in the Shuei-sha-lien area it had to solve two major administrative problems. It had to solve the problem of Mountain Aborigines' raids, and it had to develop an administration for effectively managing the Chinese populations of P'uli.

To control the Mountain Aborigines' raids they established garrisons to assist the already locally formed border-guard lines (Liu 1958:204, 299-300). They also built an earthen fortress around the P'uli town to defend the town from Mountain Aborigines' raids. In 1878, the commander of the army in Taiwan allotted 4,000 dollars to have an office built for the official in charge of Aboriginal affairs and an earthen fortress having four gates built around P'uli town. Outside of the fortification a wall of thorny bamboo poles and a moat were also to be built (Liu 1958: 225; Map 7).

In 1876 and 1877, a new governor named Ting Jih-ch'ang took office and proposed the "interiorization" (that is sinicization) of the Mountain Aborigines of Shuei-sha-lien and two other areas (Liu 1958:230-233; Li 1975:8). His plan was extremely ambitious. He proposed that in each settlement of Mountain Aborigines a local chief be paid to ensure that there be no more



Map 7 P'uli Town in 1914, showing the fortification wall and the four gates into the town (from Liu 1958:226a)

killings of plains Chinese, and to ensure that no one blocked the flow of water; that the Mountain Aborigines be required to shave their heads in Ch'ing Chinese fashion; that they be restrained from bringing guns or knives to town, from purchasing arms and ammunition, and from drinking alcoholic beverages; that they be vaccinated against small pox and taught to farm in the Chinese fashion; and that schools be set up to teach their children to read Chinese. He also attempted to attract the Chinese from the Mainland to settle in P'uli. Governor Ting, however, only held office for five months. So these plans were not carried out, although some of his policies were picked up later by other governors.

The various measures undertaken by the Ch'ing government to control the Mountain Aborigines were poorly carried out and were not sufficient to control the Mountain Aborigines; they did not remove the threat of the Mountain Aborigines' raids from the people of the plain. So they took other measures--and these were scarcely more effective. In 1882, the government set up two garrisons of 50 soldiers each on the frontier of the P'uli plain (Liu 1958:293-41). But they did not in fact function as deterrents to Aboriginal raids. According to an officer who visited the area in 1892, the money for the garrison was being embezzled by the officers and no permanent troops were on duty at these sites (ibid.: 295). The Ch'ing had in fact little control of P'uli.

This was especially evident in 1887, when the Bunun and some Plains Aborigines rose up against the Ch'ing government. The Ch'ing soldiers were defeated and as a result the south route into P'uli was temporarily closed to the outside. In August of the same year, because the Atayal still hunted P'uli plainsmen for head trophies, a Chinese officer brought 2,500 soldiers into P'uli to stop the killing. As long as these soldiers were on the plain the Aborigines did not attack the plains people, but they managed to ambush many of the Chinese soldiers. This mission of the army was a limited success. In October after putting some soldiers on the guard-line posts, the army pulled out of P'uli (Liu 1958:260).

The Ch'ing, however, kept trying. In 1887, the Ch'ing government instituted many bureaus of Aboriginal affairs and land settlement in Taiwan. One such bureau was formed in the north of P'uli Town (Liu 1958: 248-249). The function of a bureau of Aboriginal affairs and land settlement was to pacify the Mountain Aborigines. The office was located at the north pass from Puli plain into the Atayal territories. In the office, several Mountain Aboriginal women who married Chinese were employed to entertain the Mountain Aborigines who came down the plain. Also several trade supervisors were employed. Their duty was to ensure fair trade between the Chinese and the Mountain Aborigines, and to ensure no arms and ammunition were sold to the Mountain Aborigines by the Chinese (ibid.:250).

Ch'ing administration of the plains population. The other administrative problem of the Ch'ing was to develop an effective system for governing the plains people of P'uli (who were, as mentioned previously, becoming more and more "Chinese"). The Ch'ing did not make this a matter of major concern until after 1885. In that year the Ch'ing, whose capital was on the Mainland, made Taiwan a separate province of China and made it a matter of policy to train a Taiwanese army to protect the island, to tax the people effectively to pay for the army and

the government, and to pacify the Mountain Aborigines (Liu 1958:240, 248). Previously, in 1875, the Ch'ing government officially moved its office of Mountain Aborigines affairs to P'uli. But the chief official of this office did not come until 1885. And this time the office was called the Office of P'uli, in charge of the affairs of both the Mountain Aborigines and the plains people. The number of personnel in this office varied between 27 and 43 people. And the office was located at the north of P'uli town (Liu 1958:238-240).

The Office of P'uli set up neighborhood organizations in each village of P'uli. After the Chinese came to Taiwan in the seventeenth century, the Chinese government, following the Mainland system, had divided every village on the lower plains into ten neighborhoods. After the Chinese government came into P'uli, in 1885 it imposed this system on P'uli (Liu 1958:239-240). This kind of neighborhood organization still can be seen in today's P'uli.

In 1887, Governor Liu Ming-ch'uan noticed the strategic position of P'uli and decided to have a Deputy General move to P'uli. The next year, the officer moved in and brought 172 soldiers with him, who were barracked inside P'uli Town. Forty soldiers took turns guarding the four gates and Ta-tu-ch'eng, the village adjacent to Lan-ch'eng to the south. They enforced a curfew on P'uli Town at night (Liu 1958:246-247).

The effect of the Ch'ing government on the communities of the P'uli plain was relatively slight. The Ch'ing did not in fact, for all their plans, really pacify the Mountain Aborigines and during the 23 years (1873 to 1875) that it had official control of P'uli, it was not able to develop an efficient system of administration. It did, however, assist the plains populations in the protective guard-line they had already developed. And it helped build and maintain the protective barriers around some communities, especially P'uli Town. And in the town they had enough control to enforce a curfew.

The people of P'uli plain, then were obliged, during the time of the Ch'ing administration, to continue to be organized on regional and communal bases for protection, and they were obliged to maintain neighborhood units for some administrative purposes. But they never trusted the Ch'ing government and remained aloof from it. The result was that they tended to unite as a regional population and as localized communities for defense against the Mountain Aborigines, and to unite as villages and neighborhoods for administrative purposes. But these regional, settlement and neighborhood groups did not have a strong kinship unity. None of the conditions imposed by the Ch'ing pressure favored the development of lineage groups.

The Japanese Government

Policy toward Mountain Aborigines. The second government to rule P'uli was the Japanese. They came into Taiwan after defeating the Ch'ing in 1895. They were met by revolts of the Chinese residents of Taiwan. Of course, the Mountain Aborigines were also not subject to the Japanese. But as the Chinese lived on the plains and in the cities, the Japanese set out first to gain control of the Chinese as their immediate goal. It took about seven years to subdue the Chinese (Liu 1959:230). During this period, from 1895 to 1901, the Japanese government adop-

ted a conciliatory policy toward the Mountain Aborigines. So in P'uli the pressures imposed on the plains people by the Mountain Aborigines were just as strong as ever.

But from 1902 to 1909, the Japanese began to launch an offensive against the Mountain Aborigines. They reconnoitered the area and made a study of the Aborigines. In 1911, they even published a book in English on them (Government of Formosa 1911). Whenever possible, they tried to advance the border-guard lines further up into the mountain territories. In the meantime, the Japanese adjusted their policy toward the Mountain Aborigines (Liu 1959: 230). From the years 1910 to 1914, the Japanese launched a full-scale, five-year plan to subdue the Mountain Aborigines. Their army repeatedly attacked Aboriginal settlements. Where possible they confiscated Aboriginal weapons, which were by this time fairly up-to-date rifles. The Japanese set up police stations in Aboriginal territories. Roads into the Aboriginal territories were opened and the guard-lines were advanced. During these five years the government spent a total of \$15,000,000.00 on this offensive.

By 1915 the Mountain Aborigines were effectively subdued by the Japanese offensive. The Japanese set up administrative offices to control the Mountain Aborigines, and even built schools for the Mountain Aborigines children in Mountain Aboriginal territories. However, the Mountain Aborigines hostility continued in the form of harrasing attacks on the plains people when they came into the mountains. It was during this time that the group of firewood gatherers from Lan-ch'eng were attacked, as described earlier.

Actually Mountain Aborigines resistance and recalcitrance toward the Japanese remained until 1930, when a full-scale revolt (which is called "the Wu-she incident") occurred in October. This was the last effort at independence by the Mountain Aborigines. It arose in the region to the northeast of P'uli. They rose up against the Japanese and fought them fiercely for 43 days. The Japanese had to bring in 1700 soldiers and their most modern equipment, including airplanes, to put down this revolt (Liu 1959: 290-344).

Japanese policy and Chinese resistance in P'uli. As the Japanese were attempting to subdue the Mountain Aborigines they were also attempting to bring under control the populations of the P'uli plain, who were by this time becoming more and more "Chinese." When the Japanese defeated the Ch'ing Chinese and Taiwan was ceded to Japan, the Ch'ing Chinese government collapsed in Taiwan. Government officials and soldiers withdrew from P'uli, leaving it especially vulnerable to the Mountain Aborigines' attacks. During the period from July to October of 1895 more than ten people were killed in P'uli by the Mountain Aborigines. The P'uli plain was also harrassed by Chinese bandits. In hopes of restoring order, local leaders in P'uli invited the Japanese army to come into P'uli. Three times they asked them to come in. Only after the third request, on October 23, when the local leaders were joined by the major merchants of the town, did the Japanese army come into P'uli. There was no bloodshed (Liu 1959: 73-75). However, soon after this, there were a number of localized revolts by the Chinese peoples of P'uli against the Japanese. It took seven years (from 1895 to 1901) for the Japanese to subdue the Chinese in P'uli, as well as in all of Taiwan.

The revolts were touched off by the oppressiveness of the Japanese administration. A year

after the Japanese came into Taiwan, they abolished local Chinese law and appointed the Japanese Governor-General to be the dictator of Taiwan. The Governor-General had full power to legislate, adjudicate and administrate all affairs in Taiwan (Liu 1959:188). To this the Chinese people of Taiwan resisted. From 1897 to 1901, 3,475 Chinese were executed because of their opposition to Japanese rule (Li 1975:41). In P'uli, there were several revolts during this period. In 1896, a general revolt broke out in P'uli and the rest of Shuei-sha-lien. In retaliation the Japanese burned down 12 communities in Shuei-sha-lien, most of which were in P'uli. That the people of Lan-ch'eng played an important part in the uprising is revealed in that Lan-Ch'eng was one of the communities burned (Liu 1959:92). In 1898, 50 P'uli civilians plundered a Japanese mail wagon in the south of P'uli (ibid.:100). A major step in quelling the revolts was taken in 1901 when the Japanese government confiscated all weapons in Taiwan (ibid.:143). But even after that there were uprisings. A revolt broke out in the winter of 1913 and 1914 in north and central Taiwan, including P'uli. Eventually 16 men from P'uli were arrested and six of these were from Lan-ch'eng. Two of these six were sentenced to prison and the rest were released (Liu 1959:166-176).

The extension of Japanese administrative control. After this time the Japanese brought Taiwan under firmer administrative control. Never before had Taiwan been so efficiently ruled. The Japanese formed a bureau to survey the lands held in Taiwan, and discovered many lands that had never been registered under the Chinese. The total tax revenue collected from the lands under the Japanese was increased by almost four times the amount collected by the Ch'ing (Li 1975:43). The Japanese also founded schools for educating the Taiwan Chinese in Japanese. But the Chinese were not allowed to attend schools established for Japanese students (Yanaihara 1956:73). Furthermore, in 1907, to get firmer control of the land use system the Japanese government ordered the private canals in P'uli to be transformed into public canals (Bank of Taiwan 1950: 77). This meant that the distribution of the water and the maintenance of the canals were under the administration of the government. They appointed a local person to be responsible for this. Eventually (in 1923) the Japanese formed an irrigation association in P'uli to organize the people in a cooperative association for managing water (Taiwan Provincial Water 1965:254). They also established a credit cooperative for the local populations of P'uli.

The Japanese also established farmers' associations in the various counties of Taiwan. They were set up for two purposes: to supply agronomic information to farmers, such as recommendations of patterns of cropping, and to provide chemical fertilizers and improved varieties of seeds at reasonable cost. The extent of the Japanese government commitment to the farmers' association and the credit cooperative is indicated by the size of the official staff they employed: it numbered about 40,000 people, 9,000 of them working as agricultural advisers to local villages (Stavis 1974:62). I have no information on how much this program actually affected the people of P'uli but eventually, under the Nationalist Chinese, this program was to have a major influence on community affairs in Lan-ch'eng.

Though Taiwan had been under firmer control for some time, when the Sino-Japanese War broke out in China in 1937, the Japanese felt it necessary to ensure fuller control of the Chinese

in Taiwan. They launched a full-scale policy of Japanization. They tried to rid the Chinese of their Chinese customs, which were viewed as potentially subversive, and convert them to Japanese customs. Among the Chinese institutions that they targeted for change were lineages and Chinese corporate associations. A police officer regularly attended corporation meetings to ensure that no subversive activities were being planned by the local populations (cf. Pasternak 1972a:135). In 1944, the Japanese government ordered to merge two cooperatives and form the P'uli Town Farmers' Association. The purpose was to have a tighter control on the farmers. Many Chinese during this time began to speak Japanese, changed their names to Japanese names, crushed their idols, and began to wear Japanese clothing.

Summary of effect of the Japanese. The Japanese occupation had a greater effect on the organization of the communities on the P'uli plain than the Ch'ing who preceded them. The Japanese administered P'uli more efficiently. They taxed them more consistently and thoroughly. Also they exercised more effective direct judicial control of the people of P'uli through the courts and through the management of irrigation activities; most of all, they influenced local affairs in P'uli by subjugating the Mountain Aborigines. The pacification of the Mountain Aborigines reduced the necessity of the populations of P'uli to organize for protection. Regional and community organizations for protection were no longer needed. Presumably regional cooperation diminished in some respect because of this. But another effect of the Japanese on the people of P'uli was to stimulate the solidarity of the Chinese against the Japanese. The Japanese oppressiveness in P'uli served to foster the unity of regional and village groups as resistance groups, for there were some region-wide uprisings, and scattered village-sized uprisings. The village of Lan-ch'eng must have at times been united as a resistance unit, since the Japanese chose to burn it down once in retaliation for its resistance; and some Lan-ch'eng men must have participated in the general revolt of 1913 and 1914 against the Japanese, since six men from Lan-ch'eng were arrested. It would seem that, as under the time of the Ch'ing, the local populations of P'uli were primarily organized as a regional group, and as local village settlement groups.

The Japanese tax would have favored a different kind of social arrangement, for the Japanese taxed land owners individually. This tended to force family groups to operate as independent units. Each family head had to deal directly with the Japanese government to pay the tax. This kind of influence had already existed under the Ch'ing, but because the Ch'ing had poorly administered their territories their influence was weak. But under the Japanese it became more important, and in later times it was to become a very powerful influence on affairs of the people of P'uli.

None of these influences actually favored the development of lineage groups, as the Chinese populations of P'uli during this period were still new in the area and had no strong kinship relations that might have been united by lineage reckoning. Moreover, the Japanese specifically sought to keep lineages from being important among the Chinese. In any case, none of the influences the Japanese brought to bear on the Chinese populations of P'uli favored the unification of the local populations on lineage lines.

The Nationalist Chinese

The third government to rule P'uli was the Nationalist Chinese government, who came to Taiwan in 1945 after World War II and have remained the rulers of Taiwan until now. When the Japanese left Taiwan they left a Chinese population that had been isolated from the governmental and administrative process. They had been isolated because the Japanese did not give administrative responsibilities to the Chinese; practically all positions of any political significance in the Japanese colonial government, from the Governor-General down to the headmaster of a village school, were filled by Japanese. The Chinese had also been isolated from the Japanese government because they on the whole did not like the Japanese and avoided them. The units of social importance to the Chinese populations of Taiwan, and specifically in P'uli, were their families, their villages and their social ties with neighboring villages, with whom they had aligned for protection or cooperation in resistance to the Japanese.

The coming of the Nationalist Chinese changed the relationship that the local Chinese had toward their government, for they identified with the Nationalist Chinese government, rather than resisting them, as they had the Japanese. They welcomed the Nationalist Chinese as liberators. But it soon became clear that the Chinese government was in some sense separate from them, for the Nationalist government was largely made up of Mainlanders who had retreated into Taiwan from Mainland China in 1949. During the early years of the Nationalist Chinese occupation of Taiwan this difference between the Mainlanders and the Taiwan-born Chinese became a cause of serious tension, which eventually was mollified as the government adjusted to the new situation. But because there were few Mainlanders in P'uli the tension during this period had relatively little affect on P'uli.

Educational policy and the mass media. But the Nationalist Chinese were to have a profound effect on social affairs in P'uli through their policies. One of these was their program of national education. Before academic year 1968, according to the Constitution children were required to attend schools tuition free for six years beginning at the age of six. (The Japanese had had a similar policy but the percentage of students who actually were involved was much smaller.) In 1968, to further upgrade the quality of the citizenry, the government added another three years of compulsory education (Administrative Research 1973:17-18). At present about a quarter of the 16 million population are students. As education is now so widespread, almost everyone under 50 can read Chinese and speak the official Mandarin language, even though the Chinese dialects spoken at home are Hoklo and Hakka. This has the effect of removing the communication barriers between local communities and the larger national society.

The government furthered national education by improving and enlarging the facilities of the mass media. Television has become the most important mass media. The majority of rural families have television sets in their homes. In Lan-ch'eng, in 1973, there were 57 television sets, about three households to every set. Most of these had been bought within the previous two or three years.

Education coupled with the mass media tended to give people, even farmers that live far

from the cities, a sense of belonging to the national community; it also brought to them an awareness of the international issues confronting their nation. People have become less isolated than before and became part of national culture and society. Young people in the rural areas have become ready to participate in regional and national affairs.

One effect of people's acquiring more education was the enlargement of their friendship networks. As people's friendships developed they had more connections outside their natal communities. This expanded their outlook and also their opportunities to move out of their communities. Another effect of education of course was professional. Students who have been able to have higher education can be professionally oriented, which gives them more opportunities to work in the cities. The national education program thus has significantly affected the social alignments of people in the nation--and specifically in our case in P'uli and Lan-ch'eng--by opening opportunities for educated individuals to work in government offices and in private companies whose connections reached across the nation, and sometimes beyond it.

The educational program of the Nationalist Chinese also had the effect of enhancing another policy. For the Nationalist government has encouraged people to adopt the norms, values, and attitudes that are fitting to political involvement and responsibility. A recent study has shown that the educational system has been an important agent of political socialization (Wei 1973b: 468-469).

Political policy and the development of actions. But the involvement of the Taiwanese Chinese people in politics was also specifically encouraged by the opening up of a number of public offices that were to be filled by election. In P'uli the people had long been used to having a village headman who represented them to higher authorities. Before the time of the Nationalist Chinese this man came to this position by the support of the community elders. According to traditional practice he was selected by consensus, not by a formal election in the western sense. But very early after the Nationalists took Taiwan over in 1945 they encouraged the villagers to elect their heads. The first election for village mayors were held in 1946 (Kuo and Wang 1957: 390). In Lan-ch'eng this entailed no change in leadership, but it meant a new method of political participation, and was eventually to have far-reaching effects on effects social relations.

The Nationalist Chinese also established many other elected positions. The Township Head of P'uli, for instance, had always been an official appointed to office by higher authorities. The Nationalists made this an elected position in 1950, and they also established a township council to which 15 persons were to be elected. In 1951 they made the Head of the County an elected position, and established a county council of about 38 members, who were to be chosen by election (The Commission 1965: 248, 40). They also established the Provincial Assembly which had 71 members, all to be chosen by election (Wei 1973b: 446). In 1969 the government added a number of elected positions to the National Assembly and the National Legislature (Wei 1974: 16; cf. Wei 1973a: 86-90). And in 1972 the government added 15 elected positions to the Control Yuan (*ibid.* :24). Also the government made the key positions of leadership in the agricultural agencies elective positions. The P'uli Farmers' Association was run by a Board of 11 persons who were elected by representatives of the local farmers, and positions of leadership

in the Irrigation Association was made an elective position. By the beginning of the 1970's, at the local level in Taiwan, firm patterns for active political participation and responsibility were established. Villagers and townsmen were made conscious of the importance of representation and participation (Walker 1973:377). This process of popular involvement in politics took place in the country as a whole, including P'uli. It has affected the shape of social life in P'uli.

The result of these developments has been to add a new dimension to social alignments among the people of P'uli. There is in Taiwan essentially only one political party, the Kuomintang--there are two minor parties but they are so small that they have to be subsidized to remain active. The result is that political action on local levels in P'uli has taken shape in terms of loosely organized factions. Many villages, such as Lan-ch'eng, as they have organized to fill elected offices, have become rent into factions. It appears that factions in local communities have taken shape in the context of the expansion of opportunities for political action.

There are two factional groups in Lan-ch'eng. Each is composed of a group of friends who share a common political interest. They are not instituted and their membership varies; sometimes people shift their loyalty from one faction to another. Not all the adult males in the village belong to or have a sense of membership in a factional group; only about one-third of them do. The members are, of course, all adult males, and married. On the whole, faction members are relatively well-off and influential. The leaders of each faction are among the most prominent men in the village. In 1973 the leader of one faction was the village mayor; the leader of the other was a former mayor who was then the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the P'uli Farmers' Association; even though he is younger than the mayor he is more well known in the P'uli township as a whole.

The two factions are not formally named but they are sometimes referred to as the "older faction" and "younger faction." They do not differ precisely in age, since there are some older men in the younger faction, and some younger men in the older faction. But, in general, they do differ in age; certainly their core groups differ in age. The core members of the old faction are the older men would have led the community under traditional custom. They are mostly older than 55; all of them are grandfathers; the mayor and his ten appointed neighborhood heads, all of whom belong to the older faction, have an average age of 58. These men would have in the past controlled village affairs, but in recent years the situation has changed. They are not active in organizations of the P'uli township as a whole. The core members of the young faction are, in contrast, younger men, having an average age of 35. They have children but no grandchildren. The core members of the younger faction are better educated than those of the older faction. In fact they are mostly school mates, having been educated up to junior high school together; other villagers of those school mates whose fathers are active in the older faction do not belong to either factions. The members of the two factions also differ in their interest in social and political issues that arise outside Lan-ch'eng. Whereas the members of the older faction take little interest in township affairs or the government-sponsored associations in the township, the core members of the younger faction have much interest in township

affairs; as already mentioned, their leader was also chairman of the township farmers' association. The members of the younger faction also mostly live in the eastern part of the village, which is a newer settlement of the village. But the real division is not territorial, since people never associate this difference with factional difference. Perhaps the most important difference is in their longevity in the village. The core members of the older faction are the leaders of established families in the village, and their households are grouped in the central section of the village. The core members of the younger faction are the leaders of the more recent comers to the village, and their households are grouped in the newer section of the village. The younger men in the newer area of the village on the whole control their own household, their fathers being either dead or having their own households or being otherwise unable to participate in politics because of senility or ill health. In this marginal area there are also some young men who are sons of the core members of the older faction and also friends or school mates of the core members of the younger faction. These young men are not involved in either faction.

Land Reform. Besides using education and politics to involve the people of Taiwan, including those of P'uli, in national affairs and to encourage them to identify with the national culture, the Chinese Nationalist government instituted a large scale program of economic development. The intent was to enable more of the common people to prosper, and thus to level economic differences. As they had lost popular support on the Mainland because of their failure to level economic differences, the Nationalist government took this task seriously in Taiwan from the start.

The most important part of this program was the land reform program. Prior to the coming of the Chinese Nationalists serious differences in economic class had developed among the western plains but not so much in P'uli, as it was a relatively new frontier area, where the frontier populations were less socially differentiated. But social differences associated with differential control of land gradually became more apparent in P'uli, as their society became more stable and secure. This was especially evident in the landlord-tenant relationship. Under the Japanese the landlord had the power to remove his tenants at will. Also he was able to charge high rents for the use of his land. In some places, such as in P'uli where the yield was less certain, the landlord took a fixed amount of the crop, no matter how large or small it was. Also, tenants themselves had to pay for many of the expenses invested in the use of the land themselves. They paid, for instance, the cost of transporting the landlord's share of the crop to the landlord. They also paid the costs of the irrigated water they used on the land, and the costs of all improvement and maintenance of the land. Besides these formal payments, it became the custom of the tenants to give extra gifts at different festival times to the landlords, because of their fear of losing the land.

In 1949, as a first step of land reform, the government started a farm land rent-reduction program. Its aim was to cut the exorbitant rentals, which ranged from 50% to 70% of the annual main crop yield, to a reasonable level. Under this program, farm rentals were not to exceed 37.5% of the total annual yield of the main crop. On this new basis, leases were signed for altogether 256,558 hectares of farm land in Taiwan, benefiting a total of 296,043 farm

facilities (Administrative Research 1973:11). In 1951, as a second step of land reform, the government began to sell government-owned lands to the landless farmers, mainly the incumbent tenant-farmers (Tang 1954:81; Chen 1961:57). In 1953, as a last step of land reform, a "Land to the Tiller" program was announced and carried out. Under this program, the government bought landlords' estates in excess of three hectares (valued at 2.5 times the total annual main crop), paying 70 percent in land bonds and 30 percent in stock in publicly-owned industries, to be paid for in ten years. Tenants were given the opportunity to purchase from the government the land which they had rented. The purchase price was the price the government had paid, and the price was to be repaid over a period of ten years (Stavis 1974:35). In 1953, the per hectare paddy rice yield was 5,388 kilograms. From this yield they had to pay an average of 1,168 kilograms as the year's installment on the purchase of the land. This meant that the average farmer was able to keep 4,220 kilograms for himself, which was 2.2 times the amount he was able to keep for himself in 1948. By 1963, all the land purchased under this program was fully paid for, and these farmers held full title to the land they had purchased. From then on, the entire crop yield of the land had belonged to the farmer. In 1972, the per-hectare yield of rice was 8,364 kilograms, over four times that of 1948 (Administrative Research 1973:11).

The result was a major change in the status of most rural people. They had more money to purchase more consumer goods, which in turn helped the development of light industries in Taiwan (Wei 1973b:447-448). They also took more interest in public affairs, and gradually more former tenants took over political positions previously dominated by the large land owners (Wei 1974:21). Also, they became more interested in having their children educated. They wanted their children to be educated above the elementary school level (Wei 1973b:460-463).

In Lan-ch'eng, before the land reform, 30 of the approximately 130 hectares of paddies were owner-cultivator lands and 100 hectares were tenant lands. After the land reform, the situation was reversed; that is, there was more owner-cultivator land than tenant land. In 1973 Lan-ch'eng had 123 hectares of paddies, of which 104 (84%) was owner-cultivator land and 19 (16%) was tenant land. Before the land reform, in Lan-ch'eng there were five resident landlords and several absentee landlords, none of whom had ever lived in Lan-ch'eng. The five landlords belonged to two Ch'en families, who were among the early Chinese immigrants. Land reform reduced their land holdings and they and their descendants can only rent out a small portion of the land they now have. After the land reform, the living standard of Lan-ch'eng rose significantly. In 1956, electricity was installed in the village; and in 1961 running water facilities superceded the well-pumping facilities. In the early part of 1973, seven households had refrigerators; by the end of that year ten other households had also bought one. At the end of 1973, the villagers had more than 30 motorcycles; in October, 1974, they had 60.

Government sponsored voluntary organizations. The Nationalist Chinese also sponsored two national-level organizations, a farmers' association and an irrigation association. Both of these organizations are relatively autonomous from government administration in that their leadership is elected from the local populations and in that their budgets come from the minimal

fees collected directly from these populations and from some profit-making activities. The organizations are therefore to some extent private and voluntary. But in fact they are organized according to laws that are enforced by the central government. There are special offices set up to supervise local branches of these associations. And the Police Department has the authority to investigate their activities. So what seems largely "voluntary" is in a real sense required by the government. Indeed there was a time when all land owners were compelled to join these voluntary associations.

The Farmers' Association was actually instituted during the times of the Japanese (in 1944) but under the Nationalist Chinese it became a very important means of shaping social affairs among the rural populations. The Farmers' Association was set up as an organization to be administered by the local farmers themselves. Virtually every land owner was required to join the Farmers' Association. The Farmers' Association in P'uli is organized on these bases. At the lowest level the members are land owners who join the Farmers' Association by paying the yearly dues of N. T. \$4 (= 11 cents U. S.). The members of the Farmers' Association in a village constitute one Small Group of the P'uli Farmers' Association. There are 23 Small Groups on the P'uli plain, each with a village settlement; the farmers who live in P'uli Town are divided into seven other Small Groups. Each Small Group elects a head and a clerk, and three representatives to the Farmers' Association Representative Assembly, which is the township level of the organization. This Assembly normally meets only once a year. They elect from their members 11 persons who form the Board of Directors for the Township Farmers' Association. This Board appoints a General Manager who administers policies set up by the Board and the Assembly. He has under his supervision a number of employees, mostly local people who are hired according to their qualifications. These are responsible for carrying out the several programs of the Farmers' Association. It has a livestock insurance program, to protect farmers in case of losses of livestock; an agricultural extension program, which sponsors study and discussion programs and home improvement clubs; a credit association; and a supply and marketing program, which runs an animal feed factory, sells fertilizer, rice and feed and electric appliances at a favorable price, and maintains a grainary.

Actually, within a given village, the local members of the Farmers' Association seldom meet as such. But some members of the community participate in two organizations sponsored by the Farmers' Association. One of these is the Agricultural Study Group. Most of the innovations in agricultural techniques come into the community through this group. In 1973 about 25 farmers were active in this group, most of them in their 30's, and most of them relatively well off. They meet once a month. They have a head and a secretary, both chosen by election, and they collect monthly dues of N. T. \$20 (= 53 cents U. S.). In their meetings they hear reports from an agricultural extension worker employed by the Farmers' Association, and they discuss their current farming problems. They also occasionally gather socially. In the eighth lunar month of the year, which is one of the slack agricultural seasons, the members and their families go on a sightseeing tour which is financed partly through monthly dues. The tours can be extensive. They may travel for three or four days, sometimes by plane. They therefore get

to know each other rather well, and become a relatively close social group. Because they are successful farmers, they often take positions of leadership in farming activities in the village. The group provides therefore a social basis for the development of the "young faction" mentioned earlier. They often propose one of the faction members for public office and support him actively. Chiang Chang of Lan-ch'eng, who is the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Farmers' Association, in his election campaign in 1973, for the representative of the Assembly of the P'uli Township, gave special attention to this group, and the group gave him their full support.

The other voluntary social group that arises from Farmers' Associations' activities is the Home Improvement Club. This is a club for women, and is in fact the only association in Lan-ch'eng for women. The club consists of about 20 married women. They are generally in their 30's and many of them are the wives of the younger faction men and are somewhat well-to-do. The Club holds its monthly meeting at a member's house. In the busy season of farming, the meetings are temporarily suspended. The focus of attention for the meetings is primarily cooking and housework activities. Usually the meetings are led by a woman agricultural extension worker. The women who actually participate are literate and noted for their superior homemaking abilities.

Besides the Farmers' Association the other "voluntary" association that the government sponsors is the Irrigation Association. When, in 1907, the privately-owned canals of the plain became public canals under the rule of the colonial Japanese government, an irrigation corporation for each canal was formed (Bank of Taiwan 1950:77; Provincial Water Conservancy Bureau 1965:254). In 1923, the P'uli Irrigation Association was formed. In 1938, the P'uli Irrigation Association was combined with two other irrigation associations in adjacent townships and the new association was called the Neng-kao Irrigation Association (Provincial Water Conservancy Bureau *ibid.*).

Today, under the Nationalist Chinese the irrigation area of the Neng-kao Irrigation Association consists of the three townships: P'uli, Yu-ch'ih and Kuo-hsing Townships. Under these three township branches there are several irrigation canal systems. Each system consists of a major canal and its tributary canals. The government requires each canal system to be organized into several Irrigation Small Groups. These are groups of people sharing a portion of a canal, that have to cooperate to use water allotted to them according to a plan set up by the Irrigation Association. During the annual period when irrigation water is scarce, the Small Group Chairmen and the officers of the Neng-kao Irrigation Association meet often to discuss how to cope with the scarcity. Otherwise, they meet routinely to examine the maintenance of the canals and other general affairs.

Neng-kao Irrigation Association is governed by a representative assembly, having 21 members. Thirteen of these come from P'uli. Of the 13 representatives of the P'uli Branch, four came from the Nan-hung Canal, and three each came from the Pei-hung, the Chia-tung-chiau and the Shou-ch'eng-fen Canals (See Map 9 in Chapter IV). Because of the numbers and concentration of voters, normally one of the 13 comes from Lan-ch'eng village.

The effect of these two "voluntary" associations sponsored by the Nationalist Chinese government is to encourage the development of social ties that reach outside the larger kinship groups and the local village groups. The persons elected from the village such as Lan-ch'eng to the Representative Assemblies of the Farmers' Association and the Neng-kao Irrigation Association are brought in personal relationship with other elected officials in P'uli and outside of P'uli. The other local association sponsored by the Farmers' Association, that is, the Agricultural Study Group for the men and the Home Development Club for the women might seem to be village level unity since these organizations are set up on the village level and are open to everyone in the village. Actually, however, the people who participate are a selective group within the village, normally those people associated with the younger faction. The Study Group and the Home Improvement Club have turned out to be associations that appeal to younger farmers and their wives who have a greater interest in township, county and national affairs than the older people in the community. The overall effect, then, of these voluntary organizations seems to be the fostering of social bonds that reach across village and settlement boundaries and foster other kinds of social bonds than normally develop in the usual lineage-based Chinese community.

Conscription. The Nationalist government has contributed to the tendency for individuals to have wider ties of friendship and professional contacts by the policy of conscripting people for military service. Beginning in 1951, under governmental supervision, every young man reaching the age of 20 and physically qualified had to serve in the military for two or three years (The Commission for Historical Research 1965:175). Also, most men, when they had fulfilled their military duty, were required to belong to the Military Reserve, in which they had to be active for a few weeks each year. One effect of these military obligations has been, of course, to expand people's perspectives. Men get to see other parts of Taiwan and neighboring islands, and they bring descriptions of these back home. They and their families grow in their interest in and knowledge about the nation as a whole. Another effect of these military obligations has been to develop ties of friendship during the time of military service, including the time of membership in the Military Reserve. Those friendships sometimes persist for life, and extend between people widely separated around the island.

Summary of the Nationalist Chinese influence. The overall effect that the Nationalist Chinese government in Taiwan has had on social relations in P'uli was to reduce the ties people had to their village community and region, and to increase the direct ties of families and individuals to the national society. These new important ties were primarily ties of friendship and employment, and they crosscut and sometimes competed with the corporate ties of family, kin group and village. Individuals often found themselves more directly tied to interests and opportunities outside the kinship group and village community. Of course they were not cut off from social relations with their kinsmen and neighbors; they did not give up their ties to kinsmen and neighbors. But they did add to these ties some other ones, and those became increasingly important. The old ties are still relatively strong, but they have been weakened by the growth of other ties of friendship and professional association largely induced by policies of the Nationalist government.

Summary of Government Influences on P'uli

The Ch'ing government, the Japanese and the Nationalist Chinese, in their attempts to control and administer P'uli have brought varying sorts of influences upon the people of P'uli, including of course the people of Lan-ch'eng. These influences have obliged these people to organize in different ways: mostly (in the early period) as community groups and regional groups and (more recently, especially under the Chinese Nationalists) as individuals, or at least as nuclear family groups. But whatever influences these external political units brought to bear on the people of P'uli--including those of Lan-ch'eng--did not seem to favor lineage structures such as the Chinese formed elsewhere. In P'uli the structural pressures from the governments that ruled the area did not favor the formation and maintenance of lineages.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE NATIONAL AND WORLD MARKETING SYSTEMS

I have been attempting to show how social conditions outside of P'uli (including Lan-ch'eng) have affected social conditions within it, especially mentioning the outside political groups that have exerted an influence upon it--the Mountain Aborigines, and the Ch'ing, the Japanese and the Nationalist Chinese governments. Another sort of social condition outside of P'uli has had an influence on social conditions within P'uli. This is the system of goods distribution. This system was at first only local and specific to different areas within Taiwan. P'uli was one such area; the exchange of goods in the area mostly took place between people living within the area. But as Taiwan gradually integrated under the administrations of the various governments that ruled it, these localized and limited distribution networks enlarged to link up the whole of Taiwan, including P'uli, into a national system of trade. The network enlarged into the international market, so that the system of goods distribution in P'uli and Taiwan was brought into the marketing system that connected up all around the world (cf. Wallerstein 1974). As this network of trade and distribution enlarged, the areas of the world to which Taiwan was most strongly linked changed according to the governments that controlled the island. Under the Ch'ing the Taiwanese markets were most closely tied to Mainland China. Under the Japanese they were tied to Japan. Under the Nationalist Chinese they became linked into the international market, especially with the countries of the West and Japan. Because P'uli lay in a marginal area of Taiwan it was brought into this national and international marketing system relatively late.

Trade under the Ch'ing

During the time that the Ch'ing ruled Taiwan, the people of P'uli were primarily dependent on resources available to them in their own region. They raised rice, supplemented by sweet potatoes, peanuts and vegetables. This was because routes of access into P'uli were rough, sometimes narrow and steep, so it was difficult to exchange goods with the outside world. The

small surplus of rice that the people of P'uli produced was sold to itinerant peddlers who came in on foot. The peddlers travelled between P'uli and the western lowland plains of Taiwan, where their homes were. Most of the peddlers who came to P'uli were from the seaport town of Lu-kang. When they came to P'uli they brought salt, cloth, tea, dried fish, herbal medicines, and other products of the lowland plains. In P'uli they bought products that the Mountain Aborigines had sold to the people on the plain. They were therefore mainly mountain products: deer antlers, which were used in the making of medicines (those of young deer being the most prized); deerskins, used in making leather goods; and edible fungi. Eventually, as roads were built, making transport easier, the itinerant peddlers settled in P'uli and became merchants, retaining their commercial ties with the communities of the western plains and beyond.

Trade under the Colonialist Japanese

When the Japanese took over Taiwan they made extensive efforts to develop Taiwan so that it could supply the Japanese Empire with agricultural products and serve as a market for Japan's industrial products (Koo 1973:398; Wei 1973b:442). In 1902 the Sugar Industry Encouragement Act was promulgated. Under this act various forms of subsidy were to be given to sugar-cane farmers. The government also made grants of land to Japanese-owned corporations that agreed to develop sugar plantations. They offered them subsidies for the development of irrigation and drainage systems, for the sugar-cane fields, for the breeding of better species, and for the introduction of fertilizers, etc. (Yanahara 1956:103; Koo 1973:400). The Japanese also ordered Taiwanese farmers to plant a certain percentage of their land in sugar cane, and they gave or loaned seedling sugar-cane plants to farmers. This created a strong tie between rural populations of Taiwan and the Japanese market. By the 1930s Taiwan had an open and dualistic economy; a large peasant agriculture existed side by side with a small, modern, non-agricultural sector controlled by Japanese (Ho 1978:4).

This transformation affected P'uli as well as the rest of Taiwan. In P'uli sugar cane was already being produced before the Japanese came, but only in small quantities, planted only on marginal land, and consumed by chewing the raw stalks; it was mainly eaten by the children. But Japanese policy turned sugar production into a large scale industry in P'uli. In 1911 a Japanese corporation set up the P'uli Sugar Company, and the following year the company installed a sugar refinery (Taiwan Governor-General's Office 1912:5; 1914:48). Soon afterward they built a narrow-gauge railway to transport the sugar cane from the fields to the refinery. The P'uli Sugar Company, that is the refinery and headquarters, was situated in Ta-ch'eng, a village next to Lan-ch'eng. The impact of this pressure on Lan-ch'eng was considerable. Because the company desired lands for their plantations that were adjacent to each other, they traded land they owned elsewhere for land close by. This enabled them to acquire about 25 percent of the land in Lan-ch'eng. But besides these lands, many of the other lands owned by people in Lan-ch'eng were planted in sugar cane. The Japanese encouragement of sugar-cane planting, and a relative insufficiency of irrigation water for wet rice growing on the lands of

Lan-ch'eng, and the accessibility of the sugar refinery strongly induced these farmers to grow sugar cane for sale to the company. Normally they raised sugar cane under a contract with the company. As a result, Lan-ch'eng became one of the highest sugar-cane producing areas of P'uli.

Other indications of the close articulation of the P'uli economy with the Japanese market also developed in P'uli. Timber that grew abundantly in the surrounding mountains began to be logged during the reign of the Japanese, and a lumber mill was set up in P'uli town. A few foundries appeared during this time, to make implements such as hoes, plowblades and scissors. Some ore was shipped in, but also locally owned metal implements were remade and reshaped there; this was not only important for the lowland peoples of P'uli but also for the Mountain Aborigines who depended on knives for their living and protection. The town of P'uli developed as a marketing center. A merchant class and shops developed in the southern part of town. Eventually it became a business section, where people from all over P'uli shopped for cloth, clothing, Chinese herbs, jewels, cooking utensils, cooking oil, dried fish, and other products from outside P'uli. They also visited herbal doctors and the two movie theatres that were established there. From this market town lesser marketing stations developed in the surrounding villages. In Lan-ch'eng there appeared a small shop which sold dry foods (such as rice cake, rice stick, dry fish, noodles, etc.), Chinese pickles, betel nut, seasoning materials, and certain hardwares, spirit money and incense.

Trade and Commerce under the Nationalist Chinese

When the Chinese Nationalists took over Taiwan in 1945 they sought to draw Taiwan into a wider market of international trade. As soon as World War II was over, Taiwan under the Nationalist Chinese began to trade in the international market. The United States, Canada, the nations of Western Europe, and of Latin America, with whom Taiwan had scarcely traded before, began to trade in greater and greater amounts (Ho 1978:392-393). By 1971 Taiwan was exporting, in value, more than 90 times the amount it exported in 1952 (Administrative Research 1973:63). But the growth in the value of goods traded was not the only important change in Taiwan's international trading activities. The types of goods traded became far more diverse. Whereas formerly Taiwan mainly exported agricultural crops, she began to export many kinds of manufactured goods. Within Taiwan, from 1949 to 1973, manufacturing production increased at an average rate of 17.6 percent per year. By the 1970s manufacturing and international trade goods had become the mainstay of Taiwan economy (Ho 1978:186).

The change...in favor of export activity can be seen to have facilitated the emergence of export-led economic growth and a complete change in Taiwan's outlook during the 1960s. While exports of major commodities, sugar and rice, fluctuated and stagnated, exports of other goods, spearheaded by the products of the new import-substituting industries, increased from a meager U.S. \$27 million in 1952 to U.S. \$96 million in 1960, and then to U.S. \$1,500 million in 1970—thus reducing the export share of rice and sugar from 78 percent in 1972 to only 3 percent in 1970 (Lin 1973:116).

And as Taiwan was increasing her exports she was importing more and more goods from the international market. By 1971 she was importing more than 40 times as many goods, in value, as in 1952 (Administrative Research 1973:63).

This transformation was manifest in P'uli. As the nation elsewhere was industrializing and consuming more and more goods imported from more nations, P'uli itself was industrializing and purchasing more foreign goods. The transformation was facilitated by the roads widened and paved by the government. Roads between P'uli and the cities of Taiwan were paved, and roads all over the P'uli plain were paved. Buses and traffic grew until the town of P'uli was closely linked by car or bus to outlying mountainous regions, and to P'uli. In 1973 every day there were about 40 buses going from P'uli to Taichung, the nearest city on the western plain, and about 60 others going from P'uli to other nearby towns and villages. Today you can travel from P'uli to Taipei in about four hours. And the people of P'uli do travel. Many of them have travelled to many parts of the island, sightseeing and visiting relatives and friends. P'uli itself has become an object of tourism; foreigners, mostly Japanese, and Taiwanese, go there to see the neighboring mountains. These developments in the transport system symbolize the rapid narrowing of the distance between P'uli and the rest of Taiwan. Puli has been brought into the national and international industrial market. This narrowing of the distance of outside cities has brought much industry into P'uli. The town of P'uli has a government-owned winery and feeding company, privately owned paper mills, rice mills, lumber mills, textile factories, a butterfly handicraft industry, etc. The town is still an import entrepot for mountain products. Many hotels have been built to accommodate the tourists. Shops sell TV sets, stereos, tape recorders, cameras, refrigerators, tanks of butane of gas, motorcycles, tractors and tillers. There are several movie theaters, banks and loan corporations. This transformation has of course been occurring within the villages of P'uli.

Lan-ch'eng itself, being relatively close to the town, has been more affected by the external market than some other villages of the basin. Its shops hold many products. In 1973 there were four stores. Two were very small, selling only candy, cake, betel nut, soda pop, spirit money and incense. Both of these were opened recently. The other two had been opened earlier, one in 1952 and one in 1957. (The only store in Japanese times was closed down in the 1950s.) These two stores sell daily necessities and luxuries such as eggs, cooking oil, soy-bean sauce, noodles, rice sticks, canned goods, pickles, cake, candy, soap, detergent, cigarettes, matches, wine, soda pop, betel nut, children's toys, spirit money, incense, fresh fruit, soy-bean curd, and vegetables--virtually all of them produced outside the village. They also sell small household goods and a few farm supplies. Even though these items cost more than in P'uli town, people buy in these stores, especially for small purchases, because they are nearer and, most important, because credit in these stores is easily obtained. People buy on credit heavily from these stores. It is not uncommon for people to owe one of these stores. A certain family owed a store as much as N. T. \$ 100,000 (=U. S. \$ 2,500), which was not paid for three years. In 1973 in Lan-ch'eng there was a store selling pesticides, much of it produced outside of Taiwan. It had about N. T. \$ 100,000 (=U. S. \$ 2,500) gross income annually.

The agricultural products of Lan-ch'eng, especially sugar cane and water bamboo-shoots, now sell for cash to buyers who market these goods to the rest of the island. The Japanese Sugar Company, which became defunct after the Chinese Nationalists took over the island has now been transformed into an animal feed producing factory. The sugar cane grown in P'uli is now marketed through middlemen who ship it outside for consumption in the cities where people like to chew the sugar cane stalks and drink sugar cane juice. Nowadays these buyers come to the fields to purchase the sugar cane. They buy all the yield on contract in advance; they pay half the sale price down and agree to provide a team of laborers to harvest and transport the sugar cane. They offer as low a price as possible, hoping that the price of the market during harvest season will be high. Some have made a lot of money; I was told that some of them grossed N. T. \$ 1,000,000 (U. S. \$ 25,000) annually.

Besides sugar cane, water bamboo-shoots and peanuts are also raised in Lan-ch'eng and sold for cash. Besides these products, surplus rice (which is raised for subsistence), and corn and sweet potatoes (which are normally raised for animal feeder), are sometimes sold for cash. In 1973 water bamboo-shoots began to be planted in large amounts. It quickly became an important cash crop in Lan-ch'eng, second to sugar cane. For many years, water bamboo-shoots had already been an important cash crop in several other neighboring communities of P'uli. It has in great demand in big cities. When the shoots are harvested the villagers carry their shoots to certain collecting stations set up by middleman buyers on the roadside near some of the neighboring communities.

Besides producing agricultural products Lan-ch'eng now also produces wooden manufactured goods. There are four woodworking factories on the fringe of the village, all of them financed by capital provided from outside the village. The first one was built in 1970, and the other three soon afterwards. They produce whatnots, chopping blocks and shoe boxes for export to the U. S. and Europe. About 50 people, mostly women, work in these woodworking factories. In 1973 the nearest factory had about 30 workers, in which (except for the several male lathe workers) most were Lan-ch'eng women. Employees worked 12 hours a day and were paid N. T. \$50 (U. S. \$1.25) daily. The women like these jobs because they are able to remain near their homes, and they can earn money to supplement their family incomes. The job opportunities in these factories have brought some cash to the families of Lan-ch'eng to enable them to purchase the many consumer goods now available in Lan-ch'eng shops.

The woodworking factories have brought the international marketing system into Lan-ch'eng, and opened up employment opportunities within this marketing system for many people of the village. But besides these jobs, others further afield have also become available to the people of Lan-ch'eng. Besides those people working in the woodworking factories there were 148 people working in jobs outside the village; this is 12 per cent of the total population of the village. Of these, 76 were working in the town of P'uli. They were working as clerks, government officials, cashiers, taxi drivers, carpenters, masonry helpers, winery workers, barbers, trash men, paper mill workers, mail men, tailors and elementary school teachers. All these people were living in Lan-ch'eng and commuting to and from P'uli daily. But there were also 72

other residents of Lan-ch'eng who had left the village entirely to work outside the P'uli plain. Twenty-six worked in Taipei, 16 in Taichung, nine in Chang-hua, and the rest were scattered in cities on the western plains. Almost all of these 72 people were young people working in factories. The rest mostly worked as house maids, store clerks and truck drivers.

The effect of Lan-ch'eng's becoming more closely involved in the national and international market has been to atomize the members of the community. Many members of Lan-ch'eng now have jobs outside the community, and many others, even if they work within the community, have jobs that are closely tied to the outside economy. Even the farmers produce a lot of their crops for cash to middlemen who sell their crops outside of P'uli. These are new ties of social association which have developed through the encroachment of the market into the community. Old ties of relationship such as kinship would not seem to have been strengthened by these new developments. As these new social ties have become more important they have detracted from bonds of kinship such as lineages, for the companies that these people have been employed by have been owned by outsiders whose only ties with their employers have been occupational.

Summary of the Influences of the National and International Marketing System

The effect of this gradual encroachment of the national and international market system into P'uli has been to set up conditions within P'uli that tended to loosen the ties between people. Adults have come to be more directly involved in activities shaped by the market. The opportunities for entrepreneurship and employment in P'uli have gradually come to be more stipulated by conditions extant in the national and international market. Conditions in the wider economic spheres have defined the kinds of opportunities people in P'uli have for personal advancement and benefit. Individual ties to employers (whose primary interests often lay outside the region) became of great importance. Individual relations to merchants and buyers having strong economic ties outside of P'uli became important. This kind of external influence--that is, the expanding international market which gradually extended with more force into P'uli--opened up certain new economic and professional relationships there, and may have to some degree weakened some traditional ties of family and kinship.

The result has been, again, to make for social alignments that are different from lineage alignments. In so far as the market system has affected social alignments in P'uli it has favored social ties that are very different from those of lineage and family.

SUMMARY

The effect that the several social conditions external to P'uli have had on P'uli, and in particular on Lan-ch'eng, has been to favor the development of several different sorts of social alignments, none of which have been based primarily on ties of kinship. The pressure on the people of P'uli imposed by the Mountain Aborigines induced them to organize regionally

and locally for protection. When the Ch'ing government came into power they did not change the situation in P'uli much. The effect of the Japanese government control of P'uli was eventually to remove the pressure of the Mountain Aborigines. But their administrative policies also created hostility toward them among the Chinese of P'uli, and this tended to strengthen regional and community unity. The effect of the Nationalist Chinese government, however, was to open up new opportunities for people in P'uli to align themselves along other lines. The involvement of the public in the political process brought conditions into P'uli that allowed factional groups to form. The Nationalists' economic and educational policies opened up greater opportunities for individuals to become involved in wider economic activities. In addition to their administrative policies in P'uli, the Japanese and the Nationalist Chinese instituted economic policies that encouraged the people of P'uli to become more closely tied to the extensive marketing networks of the world economy. They have been drawn into stronger relationships with people outside the villages, and even outside P'uli.

The overall effect of the pressures on P'uli emanating from social conditions external to P'uli has been to foster social alignments other than those of lineage. Insofar as these conditions have affected social arrangements of people in Lan-ch'eng and all of P'uli, they have fostered social arrangements that are different from those of lineage.

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CHAPTER IV

PRODUCTION AND TECHNOLOGY

So far I have tried to show the historic developments that have shaped the structure of the village of Lan-ch'eng and all of P'uli generally. These have been, first, the processes by which the populations of P'uli sinicized and, second, the various pressures that were imposed on them by outside groups--that is, by the Mountain Aborigines, the Ch'ing Chinese, the Japanese and the Nationalist Chinese, and by the national and international system of trade. It remains to show how the system of production has affected the social alignment of people in P'uli, and specifically in Lan-ch'eng, on whose production system I will focus in this chapter. The people of Lan-ch'eng and of other settlements in P'uli have organized not only to respond to pressures from the outside, but also to deal with predicaments that are imposed by the nature of the land they live on, using the technology they have at hand. The purpose of this chapter is to explain the various constraints on social relations imposed by this system of production.

THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

The P'uli plain is generally believed to have excellent qualities for growing crops. Much of the plain is covered by alluvial fill, which is a yellow-brown latosol (Chen 1963:135). The precipitation that waters it mainly falls in summer, between June and September. Annual rainfall generally exceeds 1,500 m. m. (58.6 inches; see Appendix A). Rains are so heavy during summer that some of the land becomes saturated and marshy. The temperature is relatively mild for Taiwan. In summer, when the rest of the island is exceedingly hot, the temperature in P'uli is relatively cool; the mean temperature in July, the hottest month, is 26.8° C (80.2° F). In winter when much of the island, especially the northern part, is very cold P'uli is relatively warm; in January, the coldest month, the mean temperature is 15.3° C (59.5° F; see Appendix B.). One of the most important reasons for this is that mountains surround it. That gives P'uli another desirable quality: it is shielded from typhoons. Taiwan is often struck by typhoons, which normally come from the east; but P'uli being under the shadow of the Central Mountain Range usually experiences less damage than the rest of Taiwan.³

HISTORY OF THE TECHNOLOGY OF PRODUCTION AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE STRUCTURE OF LAN-CH'ENG

In this region, which has these several desirable qualities for human habitation, people have worked out varying modes of livelihood, using the technology available to them. By technology I mean not only the actual implements used in production, but also the knowledge, skills and methods involved in the production enterprise. Through time, as in most places in the world, the technology available for use in the production system changed in P'uli from a simple one, in which hunting, fishing and horticulture were the means of subsistence, to a highly organized capital intensive system of production based on irrigation and the sale of crops through a national and international market. That transformation entailed varying forms of social alignment, each arising in part from the predicaments raised by the natural qualities of P'uli and the specific technology available to the people who in each successive period were living on it. The object of this chapter is to explain the varying technological systems that have existed in P'uli, and most particularly in Lan-ch'eng, up to the present, and the varying social alignments that were entailed in those systems.

The Aborigines System of Production

I have mentioned earlier that the Mountain Aborigines who once subsisted in P'uli lived by shifting horticulture, hunting and fishing. The Plains Aborigines who came into the area in 1823 already had had about 100 years of contact with the Chinese in the west. They may have learned a little wet rice farming from the Chinese. Presumably still mainly lived by horticulture, supplemented with hunting and fishing. They avoided exhausting the land by a system of fallowing, in which a given tract of land was left fallow every year. They may have burned off the land before broadcasting their seed in the spring. They mainly planted millet, but because millet stalks could be broken down by the winds, they also sowed pearl-barley seeds among the millet, pearl-barley having stronger and taller stalks (cf. Chang 1965:571). But whenever water was available they tried wet rice farming, and this seems to indicate the gradual sinicization process that must have been taking place. The higher yield of wet rice also would have stimulated their interest in wet rice farming. Just like many people in the world who made the transition from an old system of production into a new one, they were inexperienced. Their farming knowledge and techniques for irrigation were far inferior to the Chinese.

The Chinese System of Production

Early rice farming in P'uli. The Chinese, who had begun to come in a little before the Plains Aborigines (1815), felt the Aborigines did not know how to use the land well. One

early Chinese visitor to the area commented that even though the Aborigines did not know how best to use the land, it was so fertile that even their crude land use methods yielded more than enough for their needs (Liu 1958: 54). It was partly because of the fertility and pleasantness of the region that the Chinese began to come in P'uli.

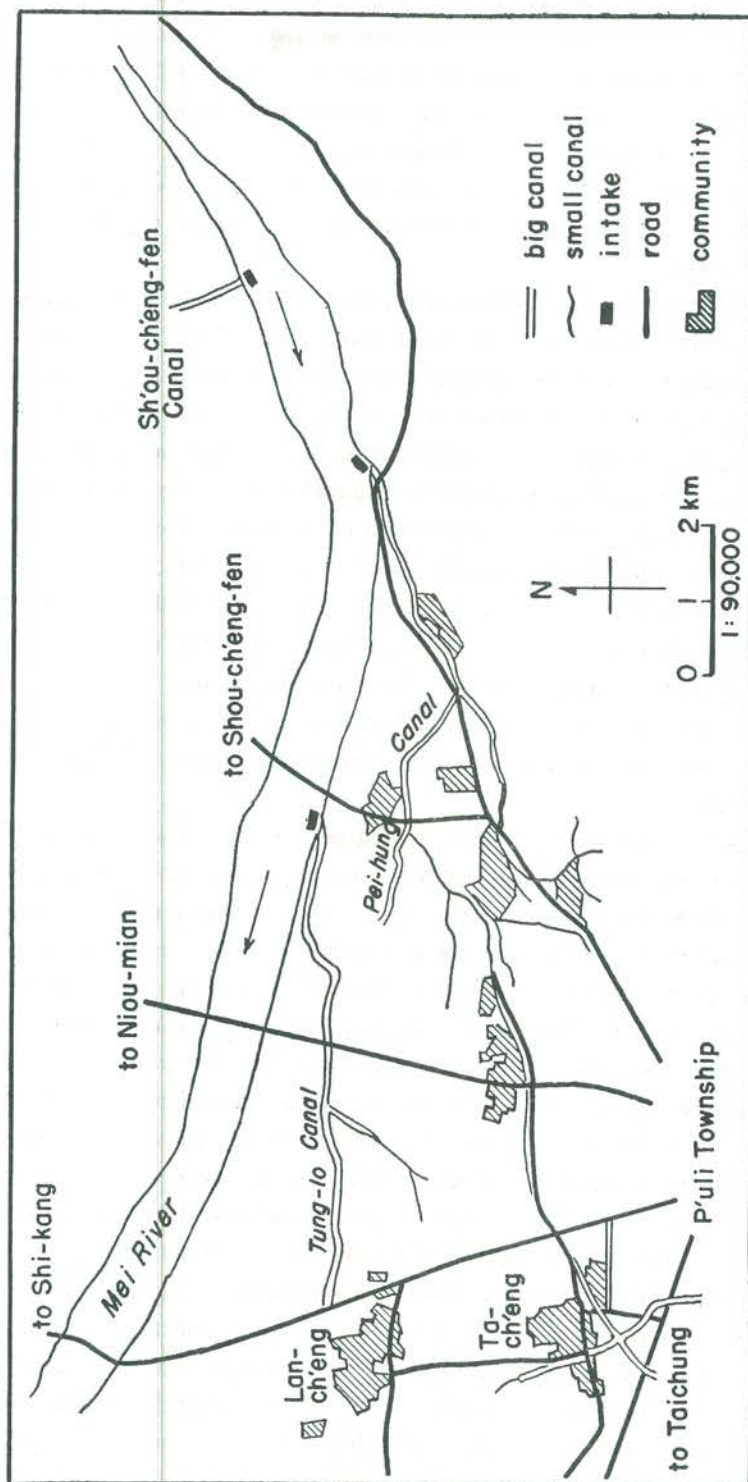
The Chinese came into P'uli with a highly developed rice farming culture. They used iron plows and harrows (with iron teeth) in the cultivation of land. They also had other farm implements such as spades, rakes, shovels and sickles, all of which were partly made from cast iron. They used threshers and winnowers for rice harvesting. To fertilize the fields, they used both human and animal dung, which they carefully gathered and preserved. Infrequently green manure was used for fertilizer. Water buffalos and oxen were used to prepare the fields for transplanting rice. People built irrigation works in order to draw water into their rice paddies. All of these practices were traditional Chinese land use activities. Wherever the Chinese went, if the natural environment allowed, they planted rice and watered it by means of irrigation canals.

Before the Chinese came into P'uli presumably there was no rice farming and no irrigation. Most of the land was watered by rainfall. When they came in they brought their rice farming tradition. Sometimes they nevertheless built small reservoirs at the corners of fields where they stored water and drew it off to their several plots by means of ditches they dug themselves. They depended essentially on rainfall to water their rice. Thus, everyone had water at the same time. When it did not rain, most of them had no water. There was no competition for water resources (as often happens in traditional Chinese land use situations) because what did exist was available to all. Also, there was little need to cooperate in the use of water. Family labor was very important for welfare and survival. During rice farming season, when rain watered the ground, every family had to take advantage of it at the same time. Members of the family worked together getting nursery fields ready for sowing and rice fields prepared for transplanting. As the rain water would only stay on the ground for a few days, the more labor they could mobilize quickly, the more success they would have. Because every family had to take advantage of the water at the same time, there was no way for them to help each other. Each family had to work its own farm (cf. Pasternak 1972b: 206-7). Large families such as a joint family, therefore, had the advantage in mobilizing labor for rice cultivation. Rainfall farming enhanced intra-familial cooperation, and gave the advantage to larger families. In addition to the necessity to mobilize a large labor force in order to make use of water, there was the quality of rice that also necessitated a large labor force. When rice reaches maturity it soon falls to the ground, or breaks the stalk; when it falls down it rots quickly in the moist soil. Also, typhoons sometimes strike in summer and may hit during the final period of maturation, which does break off the stalks. During harvest, therefore, many people must get into the fields to harvest the crop quickly. Rice by its own properties is best raised by relatively large cooperative groups, such as a large group of kinsmen.

Early irrigation systems in P'uli. Just how soon the people of the P'uli plain began to irrigate their lands is unclear. It seems reasonable to suppose that where the land was adjacent

to streams the rice farmers would have built a rudimentary short canal to water it. The first canals recorded were built in 1826 (Bank of Taiwan 1950:2). In this year 12 small canals were dug in P'uli, apparently by farmers who had the capital to finance the digging. People were also building reservoirs for storing water after the heavy rains. Those who owned canals and reservoirs were presumably more wealthy than some of the others. They sold some of their water to neighboring farmers. (Later, when the Chinese government came into the area, these private canal owners were required to pay a tax on the canals they owned.) The canals may at first have served the lands of only a single settlement. They were later expanded and joined with other canals to serve a wider area. For instance, the Tung-lo Canal was dug to serve only the Tung-lo settlement (which was later to be known as Lan-ch'eng; see Map 8). Later it became incorporated in the more extensive Pei-hung Canal System.

Early forms of irrigation in Lan-ch'eng. Certain natural qualities of the watershed have affected the patterns of irrigation in P'uli. One is the steepness of the slope of the plain. The Mei River flows into the plain at a fast pace and then below the Chiou-kung-lin area (see Map 9) it slows down, as the slope of the land there declines at a much slower rate. By the time it flows past Lan-ch'eng, it is moving relatively slowly. The Nan-kang River enters the P'uli plain from the south more slowly than the Mei River, and carries more water. Water flows across a higher portion of the P'uli plain until it reaches the point where it joins the Mei River. Where the two rivers meet, the water table of the adjacent alluvial lands which are desirable farmland is, of course, near the surface of the ground. The communities near the confluence of the two rivers (see Map 1), therefore, have always been able to draw water for their rice paddies without building canals. Water can be obtained in the area simply by digging shallow wells and pumping it into ditches that distribute the water to the land. The communities of Shuei-wei, Pa-gu and the western half of Shuang-liau and Ji-nan have abundant water. The Ch'i-k'an-chiau, Kung-t'ian-kou and the eastern half of Suang-liau and Ji-nan, the wells have to be deeper, sometimes as deep as ten meters, in order for them to have enough water for irrigation. Further up the plain from this area, however, the water table becomes too low to be drawn up easily from wells. Lan-ch'eng and Hung-ua-ts'u are the lowest settlements down the P'uli plain where underground water cannot easily be drawn up from wells. They have always needed surface water that is drawn off from rivers for irrigation. Hung-ua-ts'u, however, lies at a point where it can benefit from the waters of a spring that are brought there by the Chia-tung-chiau Canal. That canal, however, did not until recently reach the lands of Lan-ch'eng. Lan-ch'eng has always depended on water drawn off the Mei River. Several other communities that lie alongside the Mei River were irrigated before Lan-ch'eng. The Mei River, however, has always had a limited amount of water; during the driest time of the year (January) it carries on an average only 0.5 CMS (cubic meters per second). (The Nan-kang River, by comparison, carries 3.7 CMS at this time.) The scarcity of water available from the Mei River has imposed more problems for the residents of Lan-ch'eng than the other settlements that draw water from the Mei River, for Lan-ch'eng lies at the lower end of the area that must depend entirely on irrigation from the Mei River.



Map 8 The Irrigation Systems of Mei River, Ca. 1914

Lan-ch'eng probably was the last of the settlements drawing from the Mei River to be irrigated. As already stated, there is a reference in the early records to 12 canals being dug in P'uli in 1826. It seems likely that the original Pei-hung Canal which came off the Mei River was one of these 12; in 1851 it was widened and extended (cf. Liu 1958:201). This was also probably the case with the Tung-lo Canal, which was built primarily to supply water to Lan-ch'eng lands. But it is said in Lan-ch'eng that the actual canal--which I assume to have been the first wide canal dug there--was dug a year after the Pei-hung Canal; that would have been in 1852.

The social requirements of the Chinese irrigation system. The construction of these canals required, of course, a great deal of social cooperation. The 12 canals that were dug in 1826 may have been dug by settlement groups; these were probably mainly those groups large enough to muster the manpower to construct such canals. But by the 1850's when the larger canals were dug this was probably made possible by another type of social arrangement. Special contractual arrangements enabled larger numbers of people--more than could be mustered by any one settlement--to cooperate in the construction of a canal. We do not know exactly what social arrangements enabled these specific canals to be built, but there is reason to believe that cooperative groups were formed as corporations. This is especially clear in one case on which we have some reliable records. The case was the formation of a corporation in 1888 which was organized to build a canal in the south of P'uli. But the nature of the corporation that was developed in this case would seem to exemplify the social arrangements that existed even before 1888, and may have been those involved in the canal building of the 1850's in other parts of P'uli.

By 1888 the Ch'ing government had sent an official in the area, and he recorded the specific circumstances under which a canal building corporation was formed to build a canal that tapped water from the Nan-hung Stream at a place called Niou-tung. In 1826 the Plains Aborigines had already built a small canal there, which was called the Nan-hung Canal and must have been one of the early 12 canals (Liu 1958:201). This canal only watered a small area. The leaders of the Plains Aborigines, who built the canal, collected water fees from the farmers who used the canal water. But they did not maintain the canal well. Floods often destroyed the canal, and in dry season it was not usable for irrigation. The farmers resented having to pay water fees for such a canal. In 1888 the Ch'ing official who was responsible for the Shuei-sha-lien area wanted to extend the canal and dig it deeper, so that it could supply the people of P'uli Town with drinking water. The cost of the job was estimated to be about 3,000 taels. This was such a large figure that the official was afraid there would be no way to get enough of a return from the canal to justify the investment. He, therefore, decided not to ask the government to finance it. Instead, he sought private capital from the local residents, supposing that they would enjoy the benefits of the canal long enough to eventually get a return on the investment. He first asked the leaders of the Plains Aborigines, who had built the existing rudimentary canal, to assume the responsibility for the building project. But they could not muster enough capital for the project. He approached the Chinese leaders in the area

to put up the capital. In a report to his superior he described the way the Chinese canal cooperative was formed (Liu 1958: 270).

Officer Lin Sheng-piau and I and some soldiers went to inspect the area where the new canal was to be dug. There we went to the Shih-lau-ta Barracks and there I met Yü Ch'ing-yuan, the leader of local Plains Aborigines, and asked him about digging the canal: "Why didn't you answer when I asked you to build this canal?" Yü answered, "The water fees we collected from the old canal is a very minimal amount. And the capital for digging this new canal is so great that we cannot afford it." At that moment the leaders of Wu-ch'eng-pao [a region south of P'uli], Ch'en Shuei-ch'uan, Wu He-ch'i and others, came to see me concerning another official matter. Then I advised them to get people together as share holders. And I ordered them to dig the new Nan-hung Canal and when it is finished they could, as has been the custom, tax the users at the rate of ten per cent of the yield. Also, the older Nan-hung Canal could be under their administration. Then those leaders left. They later reported to me after examining the new canal area. They said, "It is not only costly but also there are more than 40 *chang* [13 meters] of a rock that we don't know whether we can dig through. Nevertheless, Since you ordered us to do that we have to try. We have collected 28 shares of capital, each share being 100 silver dollars. But we don't know if this project will succeed or not. But we are afraid that if we succeed the local leaders [the Plains Aborigines] will do as they have done before. They will try to get some part of the profits from it. So there could be a fight about it. We have to make it clear at the beginning. We should have a local official as a witness. Only under these conditions are we willing to take the responsibility for digging. Will you give us this kind of promise?" I examined these leaders and the digging through the stone wall, and the digging of the canals, and [I know that] they did not stint in capital [=expenditures]. They did this not only for the government, but also for the benefit of the local people....

Eventually this corporation held a total of 32 shares. These shares were owned by 25 people who had 11 different surnames; they were not, therefore, aligned as kinsmen. The social unit that formed for the construction of this canal was not in any way conceived as a kinship group. It was a business group, a corporation. Its owners held shares in it according to the proportion that they had initially invested. Presumably they collected profits on their investment according to their shares in the corporation. It is not precisely known how the profits were taken. Presumably the ten per cent charge made of the cultivators who used the water was taken in kind.

Observe that this arrangement had been "the custom." Presumably the canals that were built elsewhere in P'uli were built by people who organized into corporations like this one. The people of Lan-ch'eng told me their forefathers at one time paid water fees to the Tung-lo Plains Aborigine. Presumably, as in the case of the Nan-hung Canal, the Plains Aborigines had first dug and controlled the canals that tapped water from the Mei River, and later the

Chinese took over the development and ownership of these canals. The Chinese were richer and more well organized than the Plains Aborigines. Presumably their involvement in the irrigation system made it more efficient and profitable.

But the Chinese employed a method other than canal building to ensure that water would flow to the community settlements on the plain, and this other method also affected the way people on the plain organized. This other method was the supplication of the gods. This from the Western point of view would probably not be considered a technological device. But within the Chinese world view it was. The Chinese may have practiced their rituals for religious reasons, but their rituals also were believed to have very specific beneficial effects on the irrigation system. For the canals that were built in early times were not large enough or strong enough to ensure the success of a canal building project. For example, the Nan-hung Canal built in 1888 had several false starts, several failures. This was because the early canals were frequently destroyed by floods. In the summer, when the rains are heaviest, the land was often flooded. It has continued to be a problem. In 1926 the Nan-hung Canal was completely destroyed by a flood. As late as 1958 there was a major flood, and I have heard there was some flooding in 1970. In addition to building dykes and canals, therefore, the people of P'uli felt a need to employ other means to control the flooding. These were ritual means.

Of these, there arose two kinds of ritual cults aimed at safeguarding the irrigation system from destruction by the floods. "Canal-head cults" arose some time in the early period of irrigation in P'uli. These were intended to protect the canal heads from damage. The canal "head" is the very highest point of the canal, where water is drawn off from the river. This portion of the canal usually is the part that most quickly gave way during a flood. To protect the head of a canal from damage, the people who depended on it for water gave offerings to deities. These rituals are still practiced today in a few places in P'uli, one of them being Lan-ch'eng. The offerings are given formally at the head of the canal in the afternoon on the 29th day of the seventh lunar month (which is used as the agricultural calendar). The offerings are given at this time because this is believed to be the time when the gate of hell is closed for the year. People believe that if they pray at this time, the deities will chase all the evil spirits back into hell, and thus protect themselves from the influence of evil spirits that cause flooding.

In Lan-ch'eng the Canal Cult Society originally gave offerings at the head of the First Tung-lo Canal; later after the Second Tung-lo Canal was dug in 1946, they changed the ritual to the head of the new canal. Today the ten neighborhoods of the village take turns hosting the annual ritual, two neighborhoods cooperating in the task each year. The members of the two cooperating neighborhoods contribute a certain amount of money for the annual communal offerings. Among them a household head is chosen by divination to be the "censer master." The "censer master" has to burn incense daily for the whole year in a censer dedicated to the Ma-tsu Goddess. Also, his family has to prepare the annual communal offerings on behalf of the whole village. The annual canal-head ritual is considered a village-wide ritual and is presided over by the village mayor. In addition to the communal offerings, each household in

the village gives private offerings at the head of the canal. The cult at the canal head was especially important in the past. After the irrigation association was formed, the association budgeted money to be given as offerings at each of the many canal head rituals. But around 1957 the irrigation association discontinued this practice mainly because the technology had by that time greatly alleviated the threat of flooding. The canal-head cult ritual has disappeared in many communities in P'uli, but Lan-ch'eng is one community that still practices it. It also still happens to have flooding problems.

The effect of the canal-head cult ritual has been, of course, to unite all those people who were dependent on a single canal. The canal-head cult was, therefore, a cooperative enterprise similar to the canal building corporations that arose in the mid-nineteenth century.

Another ritual cult that arose in P'uli, aimed at safeguarding the irrigation system, eventually became more important than the canal head cult. This was the Ma-tsu Goddess cult. The Ma-tsu Goddess cult was originally widely practiced in southeastern China, and was brought in by the Chinese who came to P'uli. Probably the cult was first brought in as early as 1824 by the peddlers who became merchants in P'uli. This form of the Ma-tsu cult was focused on attempts to gain prosperity in business. But in 1881 the Ma-tsu Goddess cult was brought into Lan-ch'eng. In this year (Ch'en n. d.) there was a crop failure in Lan-ch'eng because water in the canal seeped out of it. The chief of the Tung-lo Plains Aborigines asked a Chinese man named Ch'en Ch'ao-tsung who had come with his wife and seven children from the Chang-hua plain a year before, about what they should do about their misfortune. Ch'en proposed that they invite the Ma-tsu Goddess of Chang-hua City in the west of Taiwan to pay a visit to the Mei River. The Ma-tsu was from a temple known as Nan-yao Temple. In the next year, 1882, in the first ten days of the ninth lunar month, Ch'en led seven Tung-lo men and one Chinese man to Chang-hua "to invite the Ma-tsu idol to pay a visit"--that is, to ask permission of the temple keepers of the goddess to allow them to bring the idol to the Mei River; she was brought there on a palanquin. Again in 1889, the goddess was brought into P'uli by 14 people. A few years later the town mayor took charge of the ritual on behalf of the plains people and made the ritual a concern of the whole plain. It is said that the mayor received a divine instruction from the Ma-tsu, which instructed the people that each of them should bring earth to a place called Shih-tzu-t'ou on the upstream of the Mei River. Afterwards, the seepage of the river lessened and water flowed down more abundantly for irrigation.

Since then, the ritual has become an annual affair. All the people of the plain have become involved with the ritual. The ritual is performed during the ninth lunar month, and other idols have been added to it. The modern focus of the ritual is a parade of idols carried on palanquins to various communities on the plain. Usually five idols are carried in the parade; they are the Ma-tsu of Chang-hua City, the Lu-kang Ma-tsu, the Koxinga of Chu-shan, the Tiyeh of Sung-po-k'eng and the Ma-tsu of P'uli. The parade of the Ma-tsu festival formerly lasted one month, but recently it was reduced to a half-month after 1962. When the idols are in the village, the people invite their relatives, friends or clients to share a feast with them,

and they provide an opera or puppet show to entertain the deities. Thus, the Ma-tsu cult has become more than a cult to gain prosperity for irrigation. It is now a much more generalized ritual aimed at the general welfare of the people of P'uli.

It involves a social arrangement that extends over the whole basin, and includes the people of Lan-ch'eng. There is a plain-wide Ma-tsu Goddess Society, whose office is located in the Ma-tsu Temple in the town. Every village major is a member of this society in representing his villagers. The 33 settlements of the P'uli basin take turns in hosting the idols for a day, either individually or jointly with other settlements. Lan-ch'eng and the neighboring village, Ta-ch'eng, host them on the eighth day of the month. On this day the celebration is even more busy and lavish than the Chinese New Year, which is supposed to be the most important festival. In Lan-ch'eng, there is a local Ma-tsu Goddess Society, which exists for the Ma-tsu festival. The members of this society include every person in Lan-ch'eng. Each year, two of the village's ten neighborhoods alternate in taking charge of the festival, especially the communal offerings and the opera. In the festival of the previous year the household heads in the two sponsoring neighborhoods selected through divination one person who would assume responsibility for burning incense as an offering to the Ma-tsu Goddess twice a day, morning and evening, in his house for the whole year. He is called the "censer master." The communal cost for the festival is shared by all the villagers.

The Production System under the Japanese

This system of irrigated rice cultivation was significantly modified under the Japanese. This was done in two ways, by the introduction of sugar cane for Japanese consumption and by the improvement of the irrigation system. Each of these had an effect on social arrangements in the area.

Introduction of sugar cane and its impact on social alignments. As was mentioned in the previous chapter, the Japanese introduced sugar cane into P'uli in 1911. Sugar cane was an attractive crop to be introduced into P'uli because the climate in P'uli is more suitable for sugar cane than in most of the rest of Taiwan. Sugar cane will grow adequately in areas where the annual mean temperatures stay between 18° and 30°C (65°-86°F), but it develops sweetness and juice best when temperatures stay between 20° and 26°C (68°-79°F) (Wang 1963:211-3). As it happens, temperatures normally range between 20° and 26° in P'uli (see Appendix A). Also sugar cane grows best when the annual rainfall ranges between 1500-2000 m.m. (50-78.8 inches), and when two-thirds to three-fourths of it falls in summer and autumn. If rainfall is less than 1200 m.m. (47.2 inches), the sugar cane must be irrigated (Wang 1963:213-16). Appendix B shows the annual monthly rainfalls in P'uli. It reveals that in a period of 35 years only four had rainfalls of less than 1500 m.m. and 19 had more than 2000 m.m. Sugar cane in P'uli, therefore, seldom needs irrigation to supplement the rainfall. Also, the seasonal variation of water in P'uli is extremely favorable for sugar cane. For in P'uli winters are dry and springs are wet--a combination that produces the best sugar cane (cf. Figure 6; Wang 1963:217). P'uli also has another advantage for raising sugar cane, because it has relatively

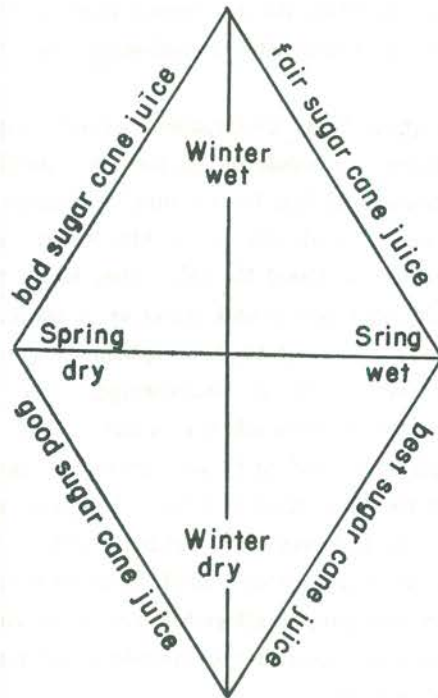


Figure 6 The Relations of Annual Precipitation and the Quality of Sugar Cane Juice

less wind than in most places in Taiwan (cf. note 3; Wang 1963:219).

The production requirements of sugar cane raising had a different effect on the social arrangements from rice cultivation. Unlike rice, sugar cane is not so labor intensive, as it does not require transplanting. Also, sugar cane does not require the careful and frequent watering of the plants that rice does, particularly in P'uli, which normally receives almost enough rainfall for sugar cane. Also, sugar cane does not need to be harvested in such a hurry as rice. Sugar cane can, therefore, be raised by a small nuclear family group without the necessity of the help of other kinsmen. Sugar cane farming, then, tended to weaken ties between nuclear families, or at least did not provide the economic incentives for maintaining large family cooperation.

Improvement of the irrigation system. The Japanese government gradually took more control over the irrigation system until it had complete control of it. In 1901 it decreed that all canals and reservoirs that are necessary to the public interest would be brought under government control (Bank of Taiwan 1950:8). In P'uli no private canals became public canals until 1907 (ibid.:77; Provincial Water Conservancy Bureau 1965:254). According to the edict, the owners and users of a canal may form a corporation, which was to be represented by a manager elected by the owners and users of the canal. But the government reserved the right to fire the manager. It supervised the financing of the corporation owning each canal. Later in 1906 and 1913 the Japanese government modified the edict to bring the corporation under stricter

supervision (Hsu 1955:123-128). In 1908, the government decreed that all canals built by the Japanese government were to be completely administered by the Japanese government (ibid.:129-133).

A few years later, possibly about 1914, the Japanese began to require the communities using water from the Mei River to follow a schedule set up for the equitable distribution of water from the Mei River. These communities had by this time constructed three canal systems, the Shou-ch'eng-fen Canal System on the north side of the Mei River, and on the south side the Pei-hung Canal System and the Tung-lo Canal System. They had, however, not coordinated their use of the Mei River; each canal system took water as it needed without considering the needs of the others. This gave an advantage to the communities who drew water off earliest. The canal system lowest on the river was at a disadvantage; this was the Tung-lo Canal System, the canal on which Lan-ch'eng depended for water. This apparently came to the attention of the Japanese (though how it did so is not recorded) because they established a system of water sharing between the three canal systems. This was a significant development for the residents of Lan-ch'eng who had previously suffered under the former arrangements. Under the new schedule they could be assured of enough water to cover about 116 hectares (120 *chia*) of land, whereas the other communities altogether were given enough to water about 466 hectares (480 *chia*). Under this water schedule the Tung-lo Canal received about half as much water as each of the other canal systems.

Apparently this system of water sharing remained relatively unchanged until 1926. In that year there was a flood that completely destroyed the Tung-lo Canal. The Japanese rebuilt the Tung-lo Canal and added a connecting link to the Pei-hung Canal. This provided a means of ensuring the flow of water to Lan-ch'eng during dry periods and also provided a more coordinated canal system for controlling floods.

Social implications of water sharing under the Japanese. The Japanese treated each group of people dependent on these canal systems as a discrete group for purposes of administering these canal systems. The people dependent on a single canal system were called an "irrigation small group" (or simply a "small group"). The Japanese government appointed one person from each irrigation small group to oversee the affairs of the group's canal system. Normally they appointed the mayor of Lan-ch'eng as the chairman of the Tung-lo Small Group. Similarly normally appointed the mayors of the larger communities to oversee the other two canal systems.

The effect of the water sharing system on the people of P'uli under the Japanese was, therefore, to create social cooperative groups united by the common need for water. Each irrigation small group had to work together in the management of its canal system. The water sharing system also fostered a kind of Mei River social cooperative unit because all three canal systems were dependent on the same natural resource, the Mei River.

It also created tensions, however, between upstream and downstream communities that were dependent on water from the Mei River. This was because the water was easily stolen by upstream communities, the canals being made only of dirt. It was easy for an upstream

farmer to steal water from the canal as he liked, even if it was not his turn. This was especially serious for downstream communities when water was scarce, because they were left without enough when water was crucially needed. This, of course, created tensions between downstream and upstream communities.

The overall impact of this tension in Lan-ch'eng was to unite the people more strongly as a whole community. This stronger bond partly took shape in the form of a boxing club. Boxing clubs are customary in traditional Chinese society and are considered a form of recreation, but also they may serve a very practical purpose (cf. Kulp 1925:207-9). The practical intent of the boxing club in Lan-ch'eng was rather apparent from the beginning. In 1909, six Lan-ch'eng men went to the border-guard training center situated in P'uli Town in order to receive training from an instructor named Chiang Ch'ao-yueh. One reason for their wanting training in self defense at the center was to prepare to serve as border-guards against Mountain Aborigines raids, which were at that time still going on. But another important reason was to prepare to show their strength to the upstream people, who were at that time taking water that the people of Lan-ch'eng sorely needed. The people of Lan-ch'eng were at that time proposing to the Japanese that the Japanese arrange to ensure that they be given a fair share of the water. They wanted the water to be scheduled equitably with the upstream people. The upstream people were, however, reluctant. It was in this context that the Lan-ch'eng boxing club seemed to become important. In 1910 the men of Lan-ch'eng formed a boxing club called *Chi-ying Wu-kuan* and invited the instructor of the border-guard training center to teach self-defense at the club. The Lan-ch'eng boxing club was the first one organized among the Pei-hung and Tung-lo canal communities. Training in the boxing club was rigorous. A person in training devoted all his available time to training; for this reason normally the training program was set up in four-month periods, the one during the slack agricultural season being the most intense. During 1910 and 1911, 16 Lan-ch'eng men took part in the three consecutive four-month sessions. Whether this revealed the sense of tension with upstream communities is not known but the pattern of formal training discontinued after the Japanese instituted the water sharing program that required the upstream people to share water with the downstream people. People who had had training, however, continued to meet occasionally for social and recreational reasons. The rigorous training program was resumed in 1926, which was the year in which the flood destroyed the Tung-lo Canal and the Japanese rebuilt the canal system and connected it to the Pei-hung Canal System. Whatever the reason, for this revival of interest, the number of people who joined the boxing club training program was much greater--53 men. They were trained by the same instructor who had started the program initially. During this period the people of Lan-ch'eng had a number of conflicts with upstream people over canal water. Most of them were minor. But one that is remembered by many people in Lan-ch'eng today took place in 1933. The fight was between the men of Lan-ch'eng and two upstream communities, Hu-tsi-erh and Ta-nan. The men of Lan-ch'eng won. Their most outstanding fighter was a man named Ch'en Erh, who fought bare-handed with an opponent who had a long knife. Ch'en Erh managed to wrench the knife from his opponent's hands. His strength frightened the opposition and they

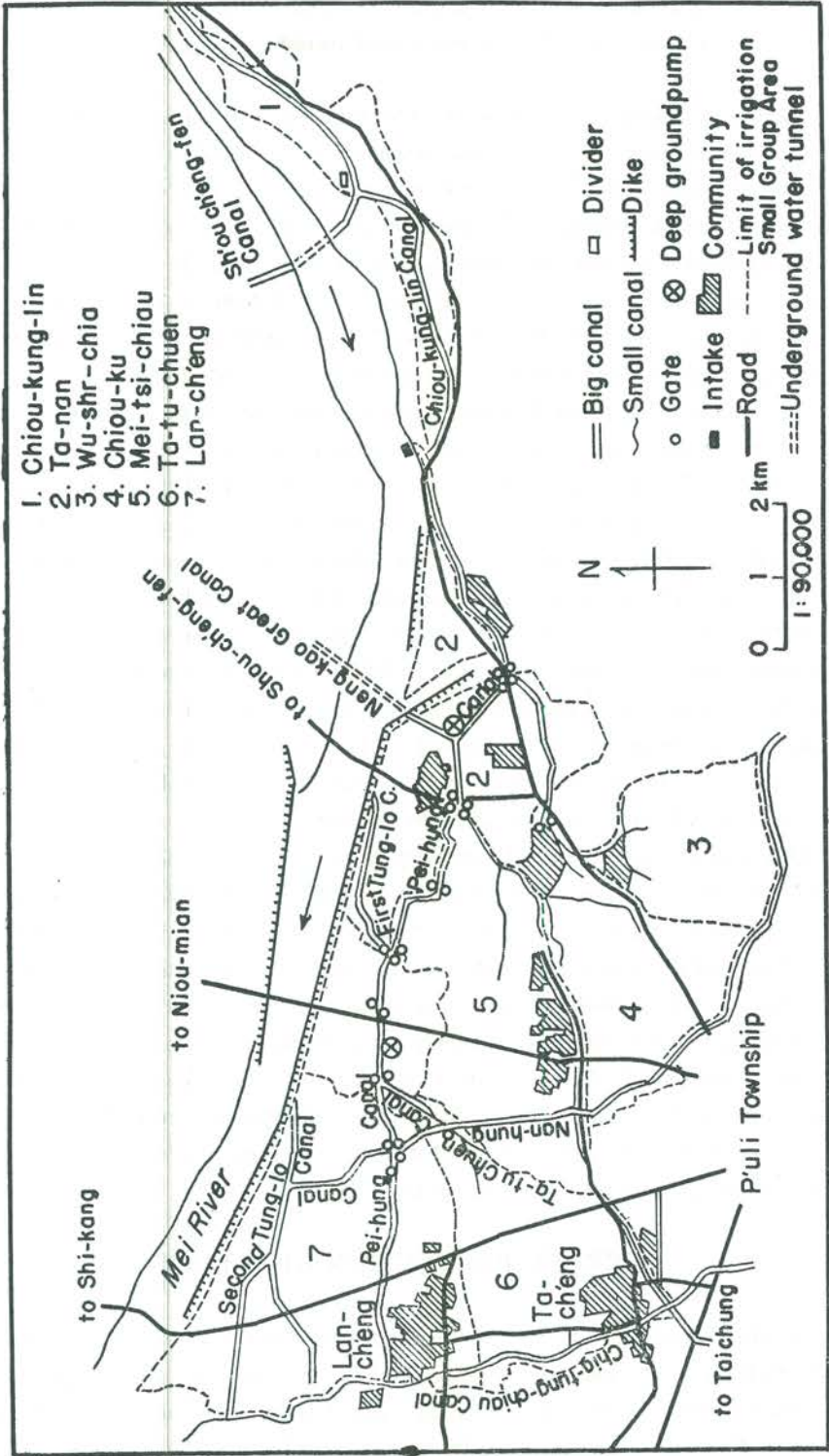
ran away. People from Hu-tsi-erh and Ta-nan even today remember this fight and have said to me that they are afraid of the people of Lan-ch'eng. The fighting revealed the intensity of community concern over water. The fighting also revealed how strongly the people of Lan-ch'eng had joined together as a social bloc; for they arranged for their members to be trained in the boxing club to prepare for these intercommunity conflicts, in order to ensure they would have enough water.

The Production System under the Nationalist Chinese

The irrigation system remained essentially unchanged until the time of the Second World War, when the administration of the system apparently broke down. The water sharing system was apparently not well enforced.

After the war two events took place that brought an immediate improvement in the water sharing arrangements in Lan-ch'eng. One was the construction of the Second Tung-lo Canal (see Map 9). This canal was built early after the Nationalist Chinese took over Taiwan in order to water land to the west of Lan-ch'eng; this land had once been owned by the Japanese sugar company. Under the Japanese the surface water necessary for raising sugar cane was so slight that no need was felt for additional canal works. But with the coming of the Nationalist Chinese administration and the emphasis on rice cultivation this land needed more water. It was opened for rice farming by the construction of the Second Tung-lo Canal in 1946. After this year, the Tung-lo Canal was called the First Tung-lo Canal.

The second important development that took place after the Second World War was the reinstatement of an enforced water sharing program among all the communities sharing water from the Mei River. This was initiated by a man named Ch'en Yung-ch'uan who had formerly been a mayor of Lan-ch'eng but had been made head of the irrigation department of the Neng-kao Irrigation Association. This association had been formed by the Japanese in 1938 in order to coordinate and oversee irrigation affairs in three townships, P'uli being the largest. Ch'en Yung-ch'uan used his position to try to pull the irrigation system together again, and he did so in such way as to enhance Lan-ch'eng's supply of water. In 1946, when the water sharing schedule was resumed under his authority, he proposed that more water be made available to the lands of Lan-ch'eng. He knew that the lands higher up in the Pei-hung Canal System had more water than they needed. In fact he had come to know that the fields of these communities were too cold and too poorly sunlit to be able to use properly all the water they had. He persuaded the communities higher up in the canal system that they did not need so much water, and arranged for Lan-ch'eng to have the water freed from these communities. Rights to this water were then given to certain lands in Lan-ch'eng that had been inadequately watered. He also arranged to have the connection between the Pei-hung Canal and the First Tung-lo Canal widened and deepened so that the First Tung-lo Canal became fully integrated into the Pei-hung Canal System; the gate of the head of the First Tung-lo Canal was also closed and the first two kilometers of the First Tung-lo Canal was left dry (see Map 9). In



Map 9 Pei-hung Canal Irrigation System, 1973

the same year a canal called the Chia-tung-chiau Canal to the southwest of Lan-ch'eng was extended into Lan-ch'eng, so that even more land owned by members of Lan-ch'eng village became irrigable.

In 1957 a major change was made in the Mei River canal systems that had a significant effect on the social alignments of the people dependent on the canal water. In that year three organizations, the Taiwan Provincial Water Conservancy Bureau, the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction and the Department of Agronomy and Engineering of the National Taiwan University, constructed a widened and deepened cement-lined irrigation system. This new canal system brought more water into all of the Mei River canal systems. And it brought it six times as fast as before. Also, it made the flow of water to downstream communities more secure. The cement lining made it more difficult for upstream people to steal water out of turn.

At about the same time a new concept in rice irrigation was accepted by the farmers, and this had an effect on the water sharing system. Formerly the farmers had felt that, to produce a high rice yield, a rice plant had to stand in at least three (and up to fifteen) centimeters of water for nearly all of its growing period. The standing water was drained only during the weeding, fertilizing, and harvest periods. Farmers also felt that a few times during the growing season the water should be replaced. This irrigation method was called "continuous irrigation" (Vandermeer 1968:728). About 1956, a series of experiments conducted by specialists revealed that rice plants needed less standing water in the fields than had traditionally been thought. Yields could be maintained with periodic applications of relatively little water if the timing was well coordinated with the periods in the rice plant life cycle. The farmers eventually were taught this new concept of rice irrigation, and this freed more water that could be applied to fields that had previously had too little water to produce rice.

Some other innovations in the 1960's provided a greater certainty and a greater amount of water to the communities drawing water from the Mei River. In 1968 the reinforced concrete lining for the Pei-hung Canal was extended an additional 2,119 meters, which opened up much more Lan-ch'eng land to irrigation. In 1969 a deep well was dug beside the Pei-hung Canal, from which water could be raised by an electric pump. In 1972 a second one was added (see Map 9). Also, during this time another major canal system was constructed. This was the Neng-kao Great Canal which drew water from a water source high up in the mountains and brought it down through a tunnel and introduced it into the Pei-hung Canal. Water began to flow from this tunnel early in 1973 and by 1974 it was supplying a considerable amount of new water for the lands of the Pei-hung Canal System.

CURRENT PRODUCTION GROUPINGS

These various changes have as before affected the way people have aligned themselves in Lan-ch'eng and P'uli. To explain what influence these have had on social alignments in Lan-ch'eng and the neighboring communities of P'uli I would like here to summarize the various kinds of social groups that are brought together in production activities. This section is therefore an

extension of the previous subsection on the production system as it developed under the Nationalist Chinese, but I have set it apart here because it contains considerably more detail on the social cooperative groupings involved in production activities in the area and because it in some ways more fully explains certain social consequences of innovations made even before the Nationalist Chinese took over responsibility of the area.

Water Sharing Groups

As has been mentioned before, the people sharing a common surface water source are brought together for cooperative purposes. This will occur without regard for sentimental attachments between them; it is preeminently a cooperative group. There are several kinds of such groups.

Canal Systems. There are four major canal systems in P'uli. One of them is the Shou-ch'eng-fen Canal System, which draws water from the Mei River into the region north of it. The Pei-hung Canal System, which by now has absorbed the Tun-lo Canal System, draws Mei River water to the south side of the river. The Nan-hung Canal System draws water from the Nan-kang River in the south portion of the P'uli plain. The fourth canal system is the Chia-tung-chiau Canal System that draws water from a large spring in P'i-pa-ch'eng (see Map 1). Three of the canal systems supply water to lands owned by members of Lan-ch'eng, the Pei-hung Canal and the Chia-tung-chiau Canal which in recent years was extended northward into the Lan-ch'eng area, and the Nan-hung Canal, which is normally used only as a flood-control drainage canal. The two canal systems that actually serve the needs of Lan-ch'eng for irrigation water are the Pei-hung which waters about 62% of the lands and the Chia-tung-chiau which waters the remaining 38%.

This division has an important social implication: the farmers of Lan-ch'eng are not brought together as a single bloc even by the irrigation system. This is because some of them water most (or all) of their lands from the Pei-hung Canal System; others of them water most (or all) of their lands from the Chia-tung-chiau Canal System; and some others of them water their lands from both canal systems. Thus, the various interests of the farmers of Lan-ch'eng fall variously according to the water sources they depend on.

Irrigation Small Groups. This is even more clearly evident in the water sharing arrangements among people in a canal system. Each of the canal systems is divided into several localized cooperative water sharing groups called Irrigation Small Groups. An Irrigation Small Group is a group of people who receive an allotment of water from the Canal, according to a schedule set up by the Irrigation Association. A canal system, such as the Pei-hung Canal, allots each of the various small groups that belongs to it a time when it may take water from the canal. The schedule is not based on a 24-hour day but on a schedule that is fitting to the needs of the crops and the availability of water. The Pei-hung Canal System schedule is normally set up for a 60-hour cycle, during which each small group gets water for a period proportionate to its predetermined needs. This is known as the "long cycle." During times when water is scarce the system goes on a "short cycle," which is 36 hours long, in order to ensure that everyone gets

at least some water (see Table 5).

Members of the small group are therefore united for water sharing purposes. They act together in electing a chairman (who represents the group at meetings of the Irrigation Association) and a clerk (who keeps the records and coordinates activities of the members). Membership in these Irrigation Small Groups does not fit with village boundaries. There are, for example, three different small groups to which people from Lan-ch'eng belong. None of them is made up solely of people from Lan-ch'eng and none of them includes all the farmers of Lan-ch'eng. There is a small group known as the Lan-ch'eng Small Group, and most of its members come from Lan-ch'eng, but as some lands in the Lan-ch'eng area are now owned by people living elsewhere who have bought land in the area, the Lan-ch'eng Small Group also includes them. The Lan-ch'eng Small Group draws water from the Pei-hung Canal System. Another small group that belongs to the system is the Ta-tu-chuen Small Group. The Ta-tu-chuen Small Group was once part of the Lan-ch'eng Small Group; at that time the whole group was called the Tung-lo Small Group; in December, 1965, the Ta-tu-chuen Small Group was separated from the Tung-lo Small Group and the latter began to be called the Lan-ch'eng Small Group. The majority of the members of the Ta-tu-chuen Small Group live in the Ta-ch'eng village, which is located to the south of Lan-ch'eng. In 1973 only eight Lan-ch'eng villagers were members of this group. The chairman and the clerk of this small group have always been Ta-ch'eng villagers. The other Irrigation Small Group to which Lan-ch'eng people belong is part of the Chia-tung-chiau Canal System. This is the Pei-p'u Small Group. About a third of its members are from Lan-ch'eng and they are very influential in the group. Memberships in these Small Groups are stipulated by the location of the lands.

The effect of these varying water sharing groups is to divert the social interests of people away from village loyalties. People living near each other in the village of Lan-ch'eng and perhaps united with each other on other social grounds, may for water-sharing purposes be united to different groups (See Figure 7).

Pan groups. Not only do water sharing small groups draw the people of Lan-ch'eng into different social units, but even with each small group the bonds of cooperation are various. A small group is divided into several seasonal water-sharing groups known as *pan*. A pan group is a group of people who, in a given growing season, share a small water line. An irrigation small group will be divided into several pan groups. The members of a pan group consist of all those people in a given area of the small group territories who, in a given season, announce that they plan to grow rice and will therefore need to enter a water sharing program. In the spring all members of a Small Group give notice to the clerk that they are planning to grow rice that spring. The clerk counts the number of people in the small group and attempts to divide them into pan groups having an equal number of members and having lands near enough to each other to make cooperative irrigation relatively easy. These pan groups then work together for that season in the two main tasks of the pan group, "water watching" and "water distributing". When the small group has its turn to receive water, those who "distribute" the water work together while those who are responsible for "watching" the water walk up the canal

Table 5 Examples of the Pei-hung Canal System's Watering Schedules (two cycles), 1973

Small group and time	Ta-nan	Wu-shr-chia	Mei-tsi-chiau	Chiou-ku	Ta-tu-chuen	Lan-ch'eng	Total
Water giving time (begin at Feb. 11)	6 a.m. to 1:58 p.m. Feb. 11	to 6:28 p.m. Feb. 11	to 0:53 a.m. Feb. 12	to 6:05 a.m. Feb. 12	to 11:40 a.m. Feb. 12	to 6 p.m. Feb. 12	
Hours	7 hrs 58 mins	4 hrs 30 mins	6 hrs 25 mins	5 hrs 12mins	5 hrs 35 mins	6 hrs 20 mins	36 hrs
Water giving time (begin at Mar. 20)	6 p.m. mar. 20 to 1:25 a.m. Mar. 21	to 5:35 a.m. Mar. 21	to 11:30 a.m. Mar. 21	to 4:20 p.m. Mar. 21	to 10:20 p.m. Mar. 21	6, a.m. Mar. 22	
Hours	7 hrs 25 mins	4hrs 10 mins	5 hrs 55 mins	4 hrs 50 mins	6 hrs	7 hrs 40 mins	36 hrs

Source: The Neng-kao Irrigation Association

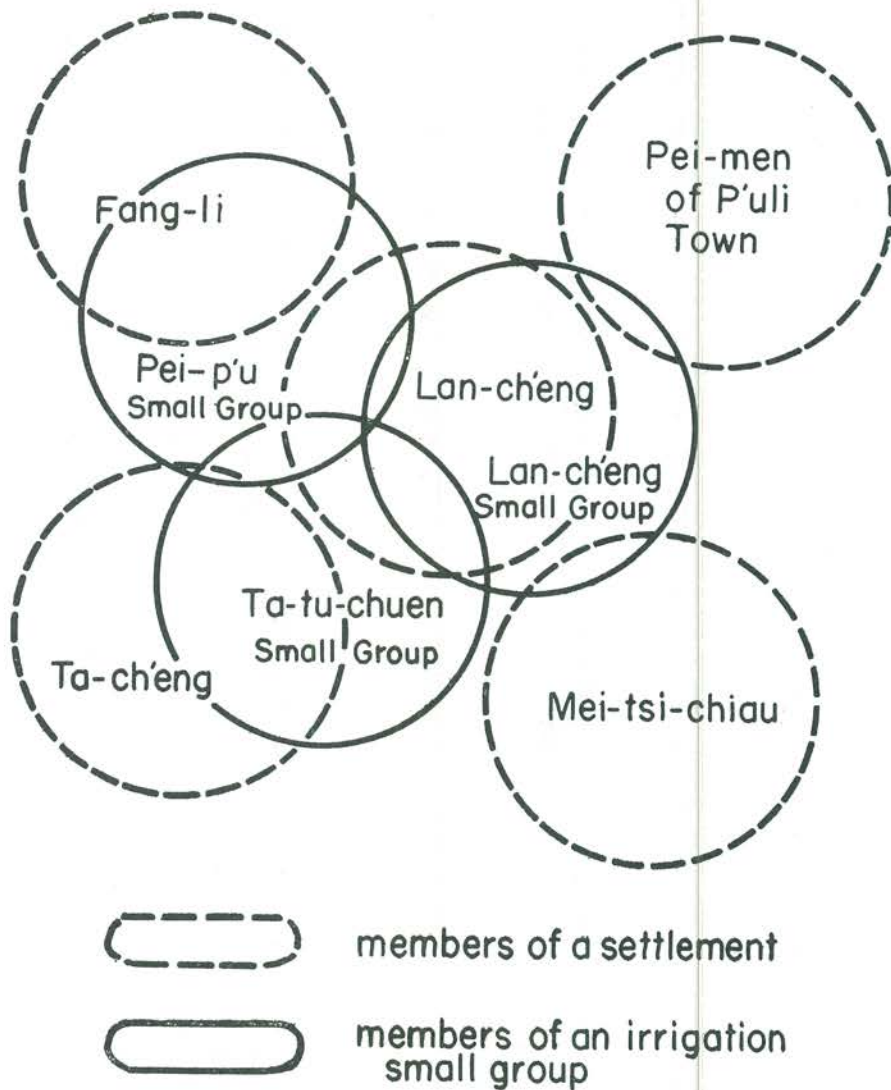


Figure 7 The Relation of Settlement Membership to Irrigation Small Group Membership

to ensure that none of the water is being stolen by any other groups above them on the canal. These activities of course are only important during the season when water is scarce. When water is abundant neither the distribution by turns nor the water watching is really necessary; everyone simply draws water as he likes. But when the water watching and water distributing activities are going on they entail close cooperation. The pan groups within the small group are task groups who work in turns, according to a schedule worked out by the clerk. At any given time when the small group has water one pan group is distributing water, another pan group is watching water and the others off. The schedule is staggered so that each pan group has turns at distributing water, watching water, and at being off. To facilitate this, the number of pan groups in the small group is always odd, so that the turns of the pan groups fall each time at a different time in the day. The effect of this complicated system of cooperative working and coordinated scheduling is to draw the members of each pan group into close social interdependence.

But a pan group seldom has the same people in it from season to season. Every spring some people, for different reasons, choose not to raise rice that season and therefore are not active in any pan group. And every year the groupings of people into pan groups is somewhat different, depend on the people in the area of the Small Group lands who decide to raise rice that year and on the location of their lands. So even if the pan groups are closely bound together in their work activities they do not remain so tightly for long. Pan group social ties vary and thus tend to divert social ties away from continuing social bonds within the cooperative group.

Pump well groups. These are a group of people who have sunk a well in order to get water for their fields. This began to be a practice in the 1960s, when people had tractor motors that could be used to draw water. In 1973 there were nine pump wells in Lan-ch'eng. Two of them were owned by individuals, but the others were owned by groups who shared in the expense of sinking the well and the cost of the water pump, which was by then driven by either an electric motor or a diesel engine. Most of these groups had less than a half dozen members. The largest group had nine members. The members of this group did not come from the same village settlement, for five of them were from Lan-ch'eng and the other four belonged to neighboring villages.

Conclusion of water sharing groups. Even though the sharing of surface water draws people together it does not today draw people of a single village together. The ties crosscut village boundaries. In the system of water sharing social ties vary and crosscut traditional village boundaries and unite people in various ways. This would seem, like so many other of the conditions affecting social affairs in Lan-ch'eng, to work against traditional ties of village solidarity.

Agricultural Labor Teams

Besides sharing water for production purposes the people of Lan-ch'eng share labor in the form of exchange labor arrangements. This is especially important for rice harvest but also is evident in the harvest of other crops.

Rice harvesting teams. A rice harvesting team consists of males who agree to work together on each other's rice paddies. As the harvesting of rice, the major crop in Lan-ch'eng, is considered exciting and important, the rice harvesting teams are important social groups. Once the rice reaches maturity it must be harvested quickly. People believe that the earlier the harvest the better the rice will be in quantity and quality. The farmers are anxious to get their rice harvested quickly. Threshing is done by machines that are most efficiently operated by several people, and the rice is carried to storage by people, using a carrying pole, or sometimes by buffaloes pulling a cart. In either case extra labor help is desired and special arrangements for obtaining buffaloes (such as borrowing, renting, or sharing) must be made. So the harvesting and threshing activities are best performed by a cooperative group rather than by an individual farmer working alone. Thus, harvesting is a social activity. Sometimes the extra labor is obtained by hiring--the laborers are hired only by farmers who have the cash. But the traditional method of getting extra labor help is by reciprocal labor agreements, in which a group of farmers band together to help each other harvest their fields and thresh their crops. In 1973, for example, the harvesting period for the second crop of rice lasted 29 days (from November 4 to December 2). During this period there were nine rice harvesting teams, normally having about eight members. There is a tendency for members of a composite kin group to work together, but the harvesting teams also include some friends. These labor teams tend to stay together from year to year, sometimes for as long as 30 years. If someone who belongs to a team cannot participate he seeks someone to take his place; he usually chooses a close relative. During the rice harvesting period the men of the team work together in the fields. The wives, daughters, and daughters-in-law of the farmer whose fields are harvested and threshed on a certain day will cook food for the team that day. They also winnow and dry the rice in the courtyard and do other miscellaneous chores. These days are the busiest time of the year for the women, especially for the housewives (Hsieh 1975).

Other labor teams. In addition to the agricultural labor teams for rice harvesting, there are also rice-transplanting teams, sugar cane-planting teams and peanut-harvesting teams. The number of members in these teams is small and the times they are active are short. These teams are organized more informally than the rice harvesting teams. But sugar cane-planting teams and peanut-harvesting teams more often are composed of hired laborers. This is because rice is a subsistence crop and sugar cane and peanuts are cash crops. People depend on subsistence crops for living, so their friends and relatives are more willing to exchange labor or even donate labor on it. But cash crops are usually for profit beyond mere subsistence. The planting and harvesting of a recent cash crop water bamboo-shoot (*Zizania latifolia*) usually are done by nuclear family labor.

Grain Credit Associations

Another form of social group that is formed in the production process is the Grain Credit Association. These have arisen because of the long investment term that is necessary in agriculture before a return is realized. In Lan-ch'eng the term for rice maturation is about four

months; for sugar cane it is one year; and for another recent important crop, water bamboo-shoot, it is a year. Hence, sometimes the farmer has to borrow money for seed, fertilizer, insecticides and other necessary cash outlays. These needs are annual and the sums of the loans may be small and quickly repaid at the time of harvest. But a farmer may need a large amount of money that must be paid back over a longer period of time. Such an expense would be the price of a bride for his son, or of constructing or renovating his house, or the purchase of land, or a subsistence loan after a crop failure, etc.

When people need a small amount of money they borrow from relatives or friends, but when they have needed a large amount of money, they have traditionally borrowed from a credit association known as "the grain credit association." This is an informally organized group of relatives and friends, who form a lending association around the person who immediately needs financial help. The person who needs the loan organizes a group of relatives and friends, usually between seven and 13 people, who will be willing to join such a grain credit association. He is called the "head" of this informal organization, and the others the "legs." At the beginning, when the association is formed, each member except the head donates a share of unhusked rice and gives it to the head. This share may be, say, 500 catties (=300 kg) of unhusked rice. The shares of rice paid by "legs" become a grain pool loaned to the "head." He receives the whole amount of this pool at the time of the rice harvest. But in succeeding harvests he no longer can receive anything from the pool; he must instead contribute the stipulated share for several successive harvests until all the others have had a turn at receiving the grain pool. There is in his case, however, one exception: he must sponsor a feast for all the members and he may deduct the cost of that from his harvest donation. The other members of the grain association will have one turn at receiving the whole pool. The decision as to who should receive it in his turn is made at the time of the feast after harvest. The members of the association decide who should next receive the pool on the basis of the amount of interest they offer to pay for the benefit of receiving the pool; the interest the highest bidder offers is subtracted from the amount each donor puts into the pool. How this system works and how it benefits the "legs" can be most easily explained by reference to Table 6, which charts the financial transactions when there are five members of a grain association. It shows the amount each member pays in a series of five harvests, and the amounts each receives when he receives the grain pool. At the first harvest the head (A) receives 2,000 catties of grain (usually unhusked rice), each of the four other members of the association having contributed 500 catties. At the second harvest the remaining members of the association bid for the grain pool by indicating the amount of interest they are willing to pay for it. The ones that need money the most will bid the highest interest, and therefore will receive the pool earliest. If (C) turns out to be the highest bidder for the pool after the second harvest, he will receive it. Suppose that he has offered to pay ten catties in interest on a 500-catty share, each of the other members, except (A), pays 490 catties into the grain pool for that harvest; (A) however pays a full 500 catties, less the cost of the feast he sponsors at the harvest time; this is the equivalent of 50 catties of grain, so his net contribution

to the grain pool will be 450 catties. At the third harvest suppose that (D) is the highest bidder, having bid 20 catties in interest for each share. The "legs" who have not yet taken their turn to receive the total pool therefore deduct the interest from their contributions, but (C) and (A), because they have taken their turns, pay full 500-catty shares into the pool (except that A again deducts 50 catties from his payment for the feast). At the fourth harvest (C), (D) and (A) pay the full share amounts as before, but (B), who has not yet received the grain pool is able to deduct the amount of interest (in this case ten catties) from his donation. In the fifth harvest he receives full payments of 500 catties from each of the other members (except A who sponsors the feast). The advantages of this system fall most to those who need the help. They are able to borrow early in the cycle at a rate of interest that is probably lower than can be found elsewhere. Normally, the "legs" who do not need the loans do so out of friendship for the one who does need help. But sometimes a "leg" may be a shopkeeper who already is owed some money by other members of the association; he is able to subtract those debts from the amounts he pays to the person who receives his contribution. Because the two Lan-ch'eng shopkeepers are rich, the villagers generally like to invite them to take part in a grain credit association. They also welcome such invitations in order to show their grace and to collect their debts. Other people are willing to become "legs" out of a sense of concern for the "head." Such "legs" will be close relatives or friends of his, and they will join privately to assist him through his financial difficulties.

Table 6 Payments and Receipts of A Supposing Grain Credit Association, 1973 (in catties of unhusked rice)

Members Harvests	Members				
	A(head)	B(leg)	C(leg)	D(leg)	E(leg)
1st harvest	(2,000)	500	500	500	500
2nd harvest	450	490	(1,920)	490	490
3rd harvest	450	480	500	(1,910)	480
4th harvest	450	490	500	500	(1,940)
5th harvest	450	(1,950)	500	500	500

note: Figures in parentheses represent amount received by the "head" and the "legs"; other figures are payments made.

In 1973 there were about ten grain credit associations in Lan-ch'eng. Quite a few of the "legs" in these associations were the in-laws and friends of the "head" who were living in other communities on the plain and some villagers are "legs" for the associations whose "heads" are in other communities.

Observe that these grain credit associations have a similar effect as many of the other social groupings associated with production activities: they draw people together for a given, single purpose that does not necessarily coincide with other groupings in the community. Members of a Grain Credit Association can be anyone and, in fact, often people even from outside the community become active in them. A Grain Credit Association tends to crosscut the usual social ties in the community and thus would seem to weaken traditional bonds within the community and to foster the development of ties with people of different kinds outside the community.

THE FUTURE

The future of the world is uncertain. It is difficult to predict what will happen in the years ahead. There are many factors that could influence the future, such as technology, climate change, and global politics. However, one thing is certain: the future will be different from the present. We must be prepared for whatever comes our way and work together to create a better world for ourselves and for future generations.

The future is a blank canvas. It is up to us to paint it with our actions and decisions. We have the power to shape the world we live in, and we must use that power wisely. Let us strive for a future that is peaceful, prosperous, and full of hope.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The problem that was posed in the first chapter was to explain why the important, viable kinship units in Lan-ch'eng, and presumably in the neighboring villages of P'uli, today are families and composite kin groups, rather than the usual kinship group found in Chinese communities in Taiwan and formerly on the Chinese Mainland--that is, Chinese lineage groups.

I have assumed that Chinese people usually are inclined to unite along lineal lines, as was explained in the problem statement of the first chapter. I believe--and Sinologists generally seem also to believe--that, all other things being equal, the Chinese people form patri-lineages or patri-clans in order to worship patrilineal ancestors, and possibly also to perform other practical activities. When practical exigencies call for people to cooperate they tend to establish their cooperative units in terms of agnatic relationships. This has been the pattern all over China and Taiwan in the past and even into the present. The fact that this has not taken place in P'uli suggests that in P'uli this cultural tendency has been overridden by other considerations. It has been the object of this study to identify what those considerations are.

I have sought to identify those specific conditions in terms of three kinds of influences that seem generally to give a community its characteristic shape: (1) its social and cultural heritage, which sets some kinds of constraints on present social relations and provides resources in the form of knowledge, skills, technology and social arrangements that can be managed in dealing with present problems; (2) the social conditions outside the community that have in different ways interacted with the community or impinged upon it; and (3) the system of production by which the members of the community maintain themselves.

I have tried to show that the heritage of Lan-ch'eng, and of the neighboring communities of P'uli, has affected its particular social form. Actually the people of this area have shifted from a Plains Aborigines identity (discarding some associated Plains Aborigines customs) to a Chinese identity (acquiring Chinese religious customs and the Chinese language). This cultural transformation occurred as the Plains Aborigines of P'uli Plain allowed Chinese men who had recently moved into P'uli to marry their daughters. The Chinese men or their children (or at least people calling themselves "Chinese") came to control most of the land and to be the dominant figures in family and kinship groups. But the larger kinship groups that emerged during this period were never lineages on the order of the usual Chinese lineages because the Chinese sons-in-laws were important members of the family during the period when these people were sinicizing. Composite kin groups were the common and significant form of social grouping. As these family groups became sinicized they may likely have become somewhat more "Chinese"

in their structure--that is, they may have developed a stronger patrilineal bias than they originally had. But this did not take place because the other influences that subsequently came to bear upon the social relations of these people actually constrained social ties from taking this particular shape.

The social systems located outside of Lan-ch'eng (and the other communities of P'uli) tended in the early years to constrain people to be united as community settlement groups and as a P'uli plain regional group. This was especially the effect of the impingement of the Mountain Aborigines on these communities, because the Mountain Aborigines frequently raided them. But as governments who were ensconced elsewhere in Taiwan came to extend their influence on the area the necessity for the people on the P'uli plain to unite for defense diminished. As governments extended their influence the members of this region and their communities came more to be linked to people and societies outside the region. This first became important under the Japanese, who brought them into a colonial relationship with the Japanese market. But this influence was tempered by the fact that the Japanese were resented by the local populations. These populations tended to identify with each other as Chinese--in their local communities and in their region--vis-à-vis the Japanese oppressors. The Nationalist Chinese did not have that problem because in P'uli they were generally welcomed as friends. The trend of involving these populations in wider social affairs was enormously advanced under the Nationalist Chinese. Township-wide, county-wide and nation-wide associations were formed; other institutions such as mass education and conscription, along with these, worked to draw people into wider social networks. The national and international market further drew them into wider social ties, more outside goods were imported for local consumption, and more locally produced goods were produced for sale into the wider market. All this had the effect of tying these populations socially to outsiders--to people from other communities in P'uli, entrepreneurs from outside P'uli, and national government agencies--rather than strengthening social bonds within the community or within the larger family groups. If there was ever a tendency during the period of sinicization when the patrilineal family groups might have been formed into patri-lineage groups, the social influence emanating from outside the community and region, impinging upon it, actually worked increasingly against the development of such ties and increasingly worked to form social bonds of a new type--those that drew people of different locations and regions together in economic and social relationships.

The production system that developed in the area likewise worked against the formation of Chinese-like lineage groups. For the activities and technology of production tended to draw people together into groupings that crosscut kinship and village ties. Canal systems drew members of different communities together; and in some places, as in Lan-ch'eng, where people were dependent on two different canal systems, the canal systems may have pulled the residents of one community in contrary directions, because their irrigation small groups were not composed solely of people from the same community.

The result is that in the village of Lan-ch'eng there are many kinds of social ties that draw many different kinds of people together. Instead of the multiple bonds of social obligation

that hold lineage group members together, there are now several kinds of kinship groups: nuclear families, patronymic groups and composite kin groups. But besides these kinship groups there are many other kinds of viable social groupings, some that exist only within the village and some that connect village members to people outside the village. Within the village there are neighborhood groups, agricultural labor teams and factions; and all of these divide the members of the village in different ways. There are also an Agricultural Study Group and a Home Improvement Club that tend to support the unity of the "young" faction. But there are some social bonds that are still seen as village-wide, such as those of the Boxing Club and the Agricultural Small Group and the religious cult societies, which most or all the members of the community participate in together. And besides these groupings there are the ties of different members of the communities to outside people. A few people are members of the Irrigation Association Representative Assembly and the Farmers' Association Representative Assembly where they develop personal connections outside their family and community. The village Mayor represents the community to the government offices and to the Ma-tsu Goddess Society of P'uli. Beyond that, all or most of the members of the community are for production purposes, united in a crisscross fashion with outside people. They are brought into relationship with people in other communities through the canal system, the Irrigation Small Groups, the pump-well groups, and the grain credit associations. These social ties do not fall in the same place; people are united in different ways on different principles. The reduplicated ties of kinship defined patrilineally in most Chinese communities do not exist in such a context, and are not likely ever to develop there. This is because the influences of social affairs and production activities work against it by constraining people to unite along other lines.

This places the discussion about Chinese lineages in a different context. For it explains that Chinese lineages are social forms shaped by conditions that in a general sense are common to all societies. The problem with Freedman's and Pasternak's attempts at explaining the Chinese lineage structures was that they did not express their discussions in conceptual terms that could be related to societies that do not have Chinese lineages. The case of Lan-ch'eng is an especially telling case, because it is a fully Chinese community in a rural setting having the qualities Freedman and Pasternak considered necessary for developing lineages, and yet it does not have and never did have Chinese lineages. It is true that these two authors did in different ways offer explanations that assumed but did not clearly define the parameters I have tried to draw attention to in this study. They both recognized that the social and cultural heritage of a people was important. Both recognized that outside groups could affect internal social alignments, such as the threat of conflict with hostile groups on the frontier. But neither of them applied these assumptions in a systematic way. Though they saw cultural and social heritage as important, they did not articulate this as a general and broad condition that affects the particular form of societies everywhere. And though they saw that hostile relations in a frontier area would affect a society's specific form, they did not deal with the kinds of influences that other types of external societies, such as governments and the international marketing system, would have

on a society's specific form. This study has sought to do that. In an abstract case, then, this study may be conceived as a defense of the so-called "adaptive" frame of reference, in which it is assumed that the particular shape that a society has is the result of influences that can be analytically distinguished from the society itself and thus can be viewed as determining impingements upon it.

NOTES

1. Starting from Hu Hsien-chin and Freedman following, many anthropologists of China have noticed that the geographical distribution of Chinese lineages is uneven. Hu says (1948: 11):

While the common descent group-lineage has played a significant part in the warp and weft of Chinese society, it did not play a role of the same importance in all parts of the country...Fukien and Kwangtung have developed their *tsu* organization very strongly, so that it reaches into Chinese emigrant communities abroad...the strong centripetal force here is conducive to considerable friction between *tsu*. The *tsu* are also strongly entrenched in the rice-growing regions of the Yangtze Valley. To the North Chinese, kinship affiliation is not as formal or close as it is to the native of Southeastern and Central China. However, it is by no means absent. Genealogies and ancestral halls are maintained practically everywhere and the word of *tsu* elders commands a considerable amount of respect. The pattern of migration is somewhat different too: *tsu* ties do not count as heavily and the Chinese settlers in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia do not contribute to *tsu* finances in their original home.

It is interesting that Hu contrasts the difference of the lineage ties with emigrants that exist in North China and Southeastern China. The strong economic ties between the overseas Chinese and the home village is an important factor in the strong development of the lineage in the two southeastern provinces of Fukien and Kwangtung.

Freedman is also impressed by the high frequency of strong, localized lineages distributed in Central and Southeastern China. Especially strong, highly differentiated lineages are often found in Fukien and Kwangtung. Villages composed entirely of one lineage (in which cases the lineages are relatively strong) are more common in southern provinces than in northern provinces (Freedman 1958: 1 passim; cf. Hsiao 1960: 326-328). In an effort to explain this uneven distribution of lineage types Freedman spent nearly two decades of research and produced two ambitious works (1958, 1966); he died before finishing a third book on the subject.

Strong, localized lineages are more often found in rural areas than in urban centers. Hu (1948: 10) says that the *tsu* is of the greatest importance in rural neighborhoods. Olga Lang (1946: 180) says that lineages are essentially a rural phenomenon. This may be because villages existed earlier than cities; it may take time to develop strong lineages. Another factor may be that people in rural areas are spatially and occupationally less mobile than in cities (cf. Hsiao 1960: 323).

There were two kinds of lineages in China, which are differentiated according to the area covered. These may be referred to as the small scale lineage and the large scale lineage. The

small scale lineage is the localized corporate lineage. The large scale lineage is not localized but is united by the recognition of a common agnatic ancestry. Normally this does not take shape except when a common interest is recognized. A large scale lineage is organized on the basis either of aggregation or segmentation (Pasternak 1976:152-3). Large scale lineages may have a hierarchy of sub-lineages and of ancestral halls (Freedman 1966:37; cf. Pasternak 1972a:86-94). A large scale lineage may be called an aggregative lineage. Nevertheless, it is always expanded or united from small scale lineages. We may say, therefore, that a localized corporate lineage forms the basis for Chinese lineage organization. Furthermore, in most previous studies of Chinese villages, scholars have described localized corporate lineages. Almost all of Freedman's work has been devoted to localized corporate lineages. Hence, in this thesis, when I use the term "lineage" without an adjective, it means a localized corporate lineage.

To characterize the variable forms of the Chinese lineage, Freedman (1958) once constructed two extreme types, which he called "A" and "Z", and proposed that most lineage forms vary somewhere in between. In his type A the Chinese lineage is relatively weak.

Lineage type A is small in numbers, with a population of two or three hundred souls. Apart from one or two small shopkeepers and a few craftsmen, its members are cultivators of small pieces of land which they own outright or rent from external landlords. Their general level of income is low. They own no common property except for a lot of land which is the grave site of the founding ancestor ... In order to protect itself from the assaults and insults of other lineages and to mediate its contracts with the state it places itself under the dominance of a strong lineage... Apart from domestic ancestor worship... and annual rites at the tomb of the founder of lineage, there is no ancestral cult. There is no recorded genealogy, individual men being placed in the system merely by their generation ... and their ascription to one or other of the sub-lineages which trace their origin from the sons of the founder. No genealogical unit stands between the sub-lineage and the household, nor is there any tendency for groups of closely related households to cooperate economically and ritually. Headship of the sub-lineages and the lineage passes to the oldest men in the senior generation of these units, no other formal leaders being recognized. Disputes are brought before sub-lineage and lineage heads, but when they cannot be resolved a gentleman from the protecting community is brought in to try to reach a settlement (Freedman 1958:131-32).

In his type Z the Chinese lineage is relatively strong.

Lineage type Z numbers two or three thousand people, among whom there are retired bureaucrats, the families of bureaucrats in office, and gentlemen aspiring to officialdom. There are also some well-to-do merchants, a proportion of small traders and craftsmen, and a mass of cultivators, the greater part of whom work land held in the name of the lineage or its various settlements. The majority of the members of the lineage are poor, but the lineage as a whole is corporately rich in land,

ancestral halls, and such other items of property as rice mills. Men tend to stay within the community, and even if they go out of it in order to take office or engage in business they leave their families behind, return when they are older, and send money back. There is a hierarchy of ancestral halls, but it is not symmetrical; that is to say, some sub-lineages are more segmented in respect of halls than other sub-lineages, while some branches of one sub-lineage are more segmented in the same fashion than other branches. This asymmetry corresponds to an uneven distribution through the lineage of men of high status and wealth. The written genealogy plays an important part in the system, both linking the lineage to other lineages in connections which bring prestige and useful alliances, and showing the membership of property-owning segments. Regular rites of ancestor worship in the halls express the existence of particular segments, and at the same time, by segregating tablets and discriminating among the worshippers, underline the status differences in the community. As in type A, genealogical headmen are appointed, but here their position is overshadowed by that of the gentry (if they are not themselves gentry) who constitute, with help from the richer merchants, a central government of lineage affairs. Despite the existence of a hierarchy of segments, disputes tend to be referred to mediators drawn from the lineage elite, while in extreme cases the elite and the genealogical heads may sit as a court in formal judgment (ibid.: 132)

2. Most of the Chinese scholars only describe the Chinese lineage briefly or in passing, and they give little attention to explaining it. Fei (1939) and Hsu (1948) describe Chinese lineages briefly in their studies and do not explore their conditions or origins. However, two young Chinese scholars of Taiwan have attempted to deal with the problem. Both of them draw examples from their fieldwork in Taiwan to support their arguments. Chen Chi-nan (1975: 107) notes that for the lineage to develop in a new place, either a number of lineage members must come into the area, or else a family of a couple that originally settled in the area must remain in the area for several generations, allowing its members to form a lineage organization. He makes a distinction between an indigenous society and an immigrant society. An immigrant society may eventually become an indigenous society (but not vice versa), when its members come to view their society as their permanent home. In an indigenous society, where its members are less under the pressure of home traditions, lineage organizations may emerge and develop more voluntarily. If they do, the lineage organization is liable to be weak and not highly developed. As to the rights and obligations within the lineage, Chen (ibid.: 138 passim) classifies lineages into three types. In one type, rights and obligations are defined in terms of the major segments or branches of the lineage; each segment presumably receives an equal share; this he calls the *per stirpes* type. In another type, rights and obligations are defined in terms of the individual male members of the lineage, each male receiving an equal share; this he calls the *per capita* type (cf. Freedman 1966: 50-52). In the third type, rights and obligations in the lineage are defined on the basis of the amount which the original person who

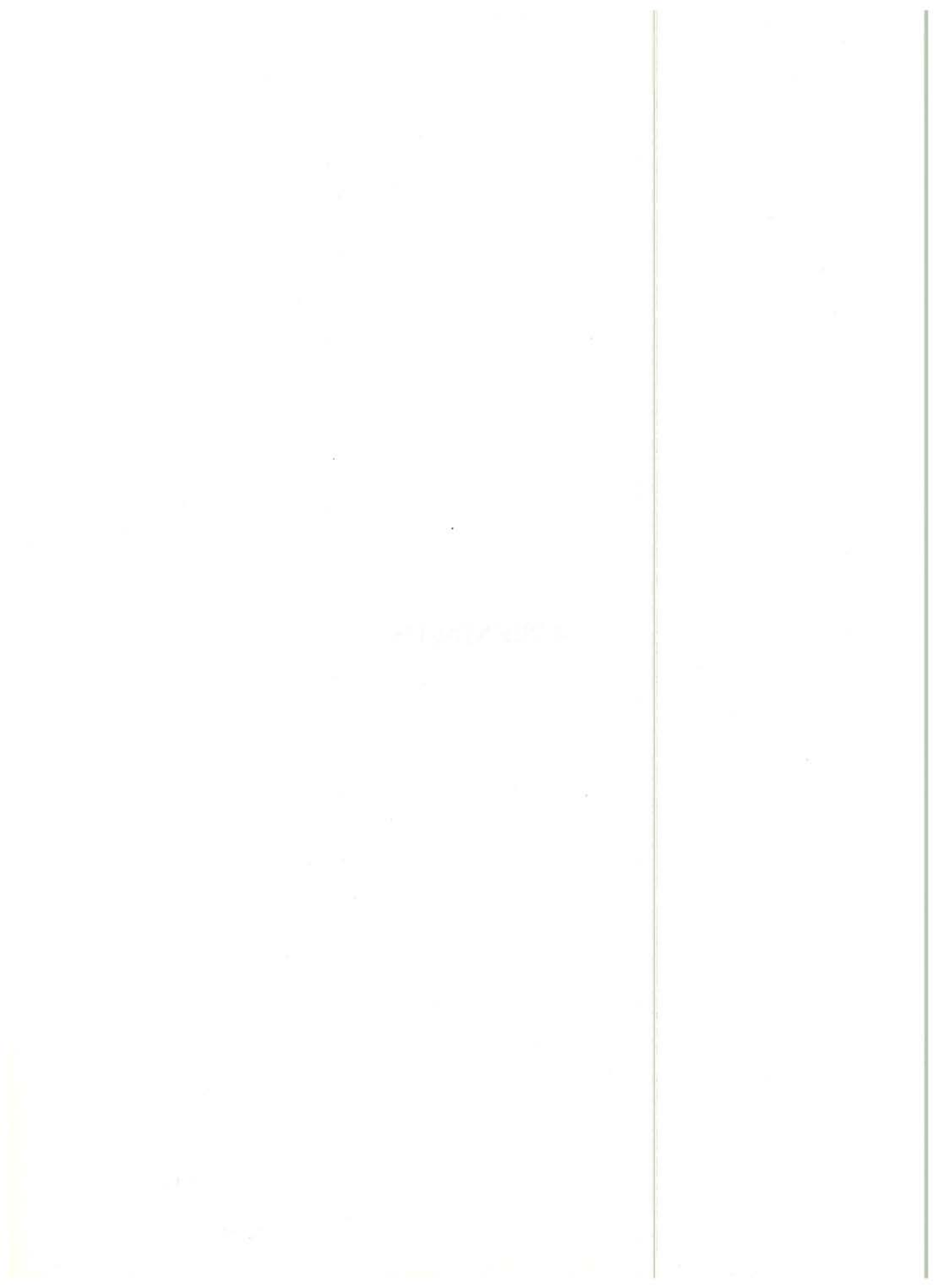
formed the lineage donated to it; in these cases a larger donor and his heirs will receive more shares than a small donor; this type he calls the *share* type. Even though Chen classifies Chinese lineages into three types, the three types are only applicable to the time when a lineage is formed. As the lineage develops, the principles of other types will enter. In his examples (1975: 117-130), Chen shows such development. Therefore, I would call the *per stirpes*, the *per capita* and the *shares* the three major principles of Chinese lineage organization instead of three types. The *per stirpes* and *per capita* are kinship principles; whereas the *shares* is the principle where voluntariness is expressed in the context of kinship.

Chuang (1974) takes a position similar to Pasternak's. He maintains that in the first stage of Chinese settlement non-kin-based groupings, such as religious societies, were prominent. Only in a second stage of settlement, when population pressure on the land and the differentiation among surnames were increasing, the lineage would emerge and develop. Chuang (*ibid.*: 122-127) also gives concrete examples of the voluntary element in lineage.

The explanations of these two Chinese scholars for the origin and continuance of the lineage are not so precise as those of Freedman and Pasternak, but they suggest some factors that may operate in Chinese lineage formation that Pasternak and Freedman did not discuss. They depict the adaptive or voluntary element in Chinese lineage organizations. This has rarely been stated in previous Chinese lineage studies.

3. An example can be given by data recorded in the Lake Jih-yueh area which is in the south of the P'uli basin. Its altitude is higher than that of P'uli, and hence the wind speed there is probably slightly higher than that of P'uli. On August 29 and September 3 of 1959, Typhoons Joan and Louise hit Taiwan. The maximum wind speed was 43 meters per second for the former and 44.5 meters per second for the latter. Yet in Lake Jih-yueh, the maximum speed per second was only 6.7 meters per second. On November 18, 1959, the maximum speed per second of Typhoon Freda in Taiwan was 29.2 meters, but the maximum speed in Lake Jih-yueh was only 6.3 meters per second, the lowest among the typhoon's recorded speeds in various parts of the island (Wang 1967: 105-9).

APPENDICES



Appendix A P'uli's Temperature, 1961-71 (°C)

Year Month	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	Monthly mean
Jan.	15.1	13.6	11.3	17.4	15.8	17.3	14.9	15.3	18.4	15.5	14.3	15.3
Feb.	17.3	16.7	15.1	18.2	19.8	17.7	15.5	14.1	16.9	17.1	17.1	16.9
Mar.	19.5	18.1	19.2	20.5	19.1	22.2	19.0	18.5	18.7	19.0	18.9	19.3
Apr.	22.5	20.9	22.5	26.7	23.5	23.4	22.4	20.7	21.8	21.8	23.0	22.6
May	24.9	25.2	26.1	26.8	23.0	24.0	25.0	23.3	25.0	24.3	23.8	24.7
June	26.6	25.2	26.2	25.7	26.7	24.7	26.2	23.0	25.2	25.8	25.5	25.5
July	26.8	26.3	26.3	27.8	28.0	25.5	27.2	26.2	26.3	26.5	26.5	26.8
Aug.	25.9	26.2	25.7	26.9	30.5	25.3	26.3	26.7	27.1	26.0	25.4	26.6
Sept.	25.5	26.3	27.8	27.6	26.9	24.3	24.7	26.0	26.6	25.5	24.9	26.0
Oct.	22.9	22.9	24.8	25.7	24.1	23.5	22.9	22.1	22.0	25.0	23.2	23.6
Nov.	21.3	19.9	22.8	20.8	24.0	22.2	20.8	19.6	20.0	21.3	18.9	21.1
Dec.	18.1	16.8	17.8	17.4	20.7	19.5	14.3	17.9	17.6	18.9	17.2	17.8
Yearly mean	22.2	21.5	22.2	23.5	23.5	22.4	21.6	21.1	22.2	22.2	21.6	22.2

Source: P'uli By-product Factory, Taiwan Sugar Company 1973: 1

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Appendix B P'uli's Rainfall, 1938-72 (m. m.)

year	month	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total
1938		24.1	213.1	257.7	193.5	242.3	127.2	920.9	656.2	229.2	130.6	31.1	25.9	3061.8
1939		47.3	18.7	177.4	320.1	430.7	827.4	702.8	197	231	60.5	8.0	2	3022.9
1940		30.5	11.1	275.1	157.3	426.3	651.4	182.1	402.2	99.3	44.9	16.9	0.1	2396.2
1941		169.6	126.8	352.2	334.8	333.6	682.1	191.1	221.4	118.2	29.6	68.7	140.8	2769.9
1942		28.4	60.4	49.0	84.6	327.7	352.2	370.9	566.8	240.4	34.7	42.6	34.3	2192
1943		27.8	67.4	180.2	135.4	99.1	475.3	440.4	339	39.4	0.8	37.3	95.5	1849.5
1944		1.3	29.9	238.2	277.7	574.6	780	429.3	502.8	92.3	2.9	23.8	194.5	3147.6
1945		65.6	279.7	26.8	72.8	668.4	250.1	328.8	564.3	487.2	28.2	8.1	10.4	2790.2
1946		17.8	4.5	43.6	2.3	342.4	501	326.8	274.3	188.5	60.2	5.5	27.6	1794.5
1947		62.8	100.6	216.1	162.3	352.6	1855.4	310.2	298.2	127.9	46.8	32.1	77.4	3642.4
1948		78.2	59.5	19.8	357.2	170	651.8	252.3	363.3	219.5	0.4	0	32.6	2204.6
1949		56.3	89.7	62	67.6	167.8	100.4	327.3	371.3	248.7	34.9	20.9	3.4	1550.3
1950		61.2	129.5	53.7	194.1	628.3	682.3	657.9	460.3	51.7	206.3	74.3	30.9	3230.2
1951		25.1	46.9	106.9	341.6	869.1	449.4	237.9	394	128.2	19.1	25.6	36.2	2680
1952		20.3	47.8	79.1	197.6	278.5	362.6	537.2	291.1	207.3	3	18.1	109.9	2152.5
1953		51	73.5	172	343.4	562	315.5	314	409.5	89.8	43.8	40.5	12.6	2427.4
1954		40.5	51.6	65.5	216.6	35.7	299.9	317.8	106.8	172.8	35.3	55.3	4.7	1402.5
1955		14.7	0	6.9	136.3	135.4	424.1	536	448.9	381.1	0	8.8	19.1	2111.3
1956		101.1	99.3	49	53.5	209.3	167.6	388.3	226.8	650.2	15.1	19.4	93.3	2072.9
1957		1.5	85.5	147.8	81.9	330.9	540.9	63.5	171.1	100.7	59.8	0	33.1	1616.7
1958		73.6	109.5	118.2	20.9	274.3	192.4	264.8	262.2	140.4	49.1	1.7	27.6	1535.7
1959		21.5	112.7	38.1	169.6	241.6	411.3	476.8	754	284	5.5	39.6	16.6	2571.3
1960		26	9	157.1	125.5	233.5	565.9	392.7	494.6	170	1.5	12.1	33.2	2221.2
1961		5.5	69.8	151.2	105.9	294.4	211	253.6	259.9	172	10	7.3	22.6	1566
1962		39.3	81.2	134.6	99.9	78.4	509	295.1	324.7	207.5	16.2	64.1	7.9	1857.9
1963		17.1	21.9	129.5	40.9	22.3	183.7	298.8	195.2	463.6	10.2	49	17.6	1359.8
1964		145.9	22.7	14.3	1.4	129.2	395.5	72.8	253.1	41.3	37.6	4.2	0.2	1118.2
1965		21.5	26.9	29.3	114.8	288.4	576	211.2	279	50.6	81.1	41	9.3	1812.8
1966		6	91.8	116.2	92.2	169	1155.1	342.3	675.8	74.1	0.3	28.5	10.1	2761.4
1967		42.6	66.7	17.6	122.1	625.4	209.8	287	216.8	67.1	20.8	11.9	32.6	1720.4
1968		18.1	245.9	247.4	39.1	339.7	510.2	79	247.1	61.9	101.5	0	0	1893.9
1969		40.3	14.8	122.9	10.5	301.6	414	174.5	187.5	198.3	21.6	9.3	0	1555.3
1970		52.2	29.5	115.1	20.1	354.5	303	121.4	359	475.9	63.7	12.5	47.4	1954.3
1971		60.6	39.7	12.9	15.1	176.1	215.8	141.5	140	287.7	26.4	9	65	1189.8
1972		73.2	95.3	7.5	120.8	464.6	1008.9	330.5	313.8	50.2	5.8	26.3	80	2576.9

Source: Neng-cao Irrigation Association rainfall record

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CHARACTER LIST

All Chinese terms and names are in their Mandarin form unless followed by H for Hoklo.

An-li	岸里	Hsiung	熊
		Hsu	徐
Chang	張	Hsu Chuang-ch'i	徐懋棋
chang	文	Hu-tsi-erh	虎仔耳
Changchou	漳州	Huang	黃
Chang-hua	彰化	Hung	洪
Chao	趙	Hung-ua-ts'u	紅瓦厝
chen	鎮		
Ch'en	陳	Jen-ai	仁愛
Ch'en Ch'ao-tsung	陳朝宗	Ji-nan	日南
Ch'n Erh	陳耳		
Ch'en Shuei-ch'uan	陳水泉	Kao	高
Che'n T'ien-tse	陳天澤	Kuan	關
Chi-ying Wu-kuan	集英武館	Kung-t'ian-kou	公田溝
Ch'i-k'an-chiau	赤崁脚	Kuo-hsing	國姓
Chia	甲	Kuo Pai-nien	郭百年
Chia-tung-chiau	茄荖脚		
Chiang	江	Lai	賴
Chiang Ch'ao-yueh	江朝月	Lan-ch'eng	籃城
Ch'ing	清	Li (lower even tone)	黎
Chiou-ku	九股	Li (rising tone)	李
Chiou-kung-lin	九芎林	li	里
Chu-hsing	聚星	Lin Sheng-piau	林勝標
Chou	周	Liu	劉
Chu-shan	竹山	Liu Ming-ch'uan	劉銘傳
Chuang	莊	Lu-kang	鹿港
Ch'uanchou	泉州		
Chui	墜	ma-tsu	媽祖
		Mao	茆
Fan-tsi-p'u	番仔埔	Mei	眉
Fang-li	房里	Mei (Surname)	梅
Fung-yuan	豐原	Mei-tsi-chiau	梅仔脚
		Ming	明
Hsiao	蕭		
Hsieh	謝	Na-hsia (H)	林仔城

Nai	乃		
Nan-hung	南烘	Taichung	臺中
Nan-kang	南港	Ta-nan	大湳
Nan-t'ou	南投	Ta-tu-ch'eng	大肚城
Nan-yao	南瑤	Ta-tu-chuen	大肚圳
Nei-ti-lin	內底林	Tau-mi-k'eng	桃米坑
Nei-wan	內灣	t'ia (H)	廳
Neng-kao	能高	T'ien-chung	田中
Niou-mian	牛眠	Ting Jih-ch'ang	丁日昌
Niou-tung	牛洞	Tiyeh	帝爺
Pa-gu	八股	Ts'ai	蔡
pan	班	Tseng	曾
Pao	豹	tsit-k'au-tsau (H)	一口竈
Pei-hung	北烘	Tung-lo	東螺
Pei-men	北門	Tung-lo-hsi-pao	東螺西堡
Pei-p'u	北埔		
Pei-t'ou	北投	Wang	王
Peng	彭	Wu (River)	烏
P'i-pa-ch'eng	枇杷城	Wu (Surname; upper even tone)	巫
P'u	埔	Wu (Surname; lower even tone)	吳
P'uli	埔里	Wu-ch'eng-pao	五城堡
Shen	沈	Wu He-ch'i	吳和奇
Shi-kang	史港	Wu-shr-chia	五十甲
Shih	施		
Shih-lau-ta	史老榻	Yan	嚴
Shih-tsi-t'ou	獅仔頭	Yang	楊
Shou-ch'eng-fen	守城份	Yu	游
Shuang-liau	双寮	Yu-ch'ih	魚池
Shuei-sha-lien	水沙連	Yü (lower even tone)	余
Shuei-she	水社	Yü (rising tone)	宇
Shuei-ua-k'u	水蛙堀	Yü Ch'ing-yuan	余清源
Shuei-wei	水尾	Yüan-p'u	元埔
Sung-po-k'eng	松柏坑		

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