

THE PEOPLES OF FORMOSA¹

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WITH FOUR PLATES

The Island of Formosa was discovered by the Chinese about one thousand years ago. Since then it has been occupied by Japanese, Dutch, and Spanish respectively; then it passed into the control of the Koxinga family, and subsequently back to the Chinese, in whose possession it remained for about 200 years. It has now been more than ten years in the possession of Japan. During these periods the savage tribes have been continuously pressed by foreign peoples. In accordance with their varying contacts with foreigners, there has been more or less difference in the character of the civilizing influences upon the various tribes. With some tribes, the original customs have remained intact during the whole time.

AREA AND POPULATION

The total area of the Island of Formosa is 2,333 square ri (13,893 square miles), of which the savage district occupies 1,248 square ri (7,407 square miles). In the savage territory live nine groups of tribes, mutually hostile and differing from one another in customs and languages. These groups comprise in all 723 tribes, whose villages number from three to upwards of three hundred houses each. According to investigations made up to the present time the savage population is as follows: Atayal group, 25,932; Vonuum group, 13,889; Tsou group, 2,267; Tsarisen group, 13,760; Paiwan group, 20,609; Amis group, 27,867; Puyuma group, 6,675; Yaami group, 1,427; Saiset group, 737; total population, 113,163.

COMPARATIVE CIVILIZATION

The degree of civilization to which these tribes may have attained depends greatly upon the nature of the country in which they dwell

¹This paper is extracted from a report to the State Department, made by Mr. Julean H. Arnold, American Consul to Formosa, the main portion of which is a translation of the Formosan Government report—submitted by Mr. Oshima, Superintendent of Police of the Japanese Government in Formosa—on the management of savage affairs during the fiscal year 1907.

as well as upon the opportunities they have had for communication with the outside world. The work of civilizing these tribes was begun during the Chinese administration in Formosa, but their present state of civilization is the result of the assiduous efforts of the Japanese.

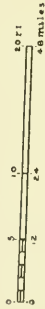
The Yaami and Saiset groups are made up of a very small population. The former group is gentle in nature and dwells upon an isolated island. The latter dwells within the savage guard line, and is quite as civilized as the former. The tribes of the Saiset group are in constant intercourse with native Chinese, whose customs and habits they have adopted to such an extent as to make them quite like the natives. In the near future they will be placed under the regular administration. There is no necessity to enter at length into the descriptions of these two races or groups, and the descriptions which follow will not apply to them.

The Amis and Puyuma groups and a portion of the Paiwan group (about 8,000), living in Koshun Prefecture (the southernmost on the island), have already emerged from a condition of casual cultivation, and now cultivate permanent fields. They are in possession of rice fields and employ plows, hoes, and cattle. Chickens and pigs are also raised by these groups. In their manner of living and in dress they are not very different from the native-Chinese, with whom they associate. They willingly send their children to the schools provided for savage children. Up to the present, more than one hundred children have graduated from these schools, and a number of these graduates are holding positions as assistant police, assistant teachers in savage schools, and government interpreters. Postal communications have been established in these districts, which are easy of access, and native postmen deliver the mails.

Next in order of civilization is the Tson group; then follow the remainder of the Paiwan group and the Tsarisen group. As to agricultural pursuits, manner of living and schooling, the tribes of these groups are not so far advanced as those above mentioned. They are, however, gradually emerging from a state of savagery to one of civilization, and within a short time it is hoped to have them on an equal footing with their semi-civilized neighbors.

The tribes of the Vonuum group dwell in the central range of mountains. Since their contact with civilized people has been very slight, they still retain their savage manners and customs. Moreover, the lands surrounding their houses are poor. By them, head-hunting has been considered the highest achievement. They are

Scale:



Guard Line

Recent advancement in Guard Line

Railways

Ordinary Roads

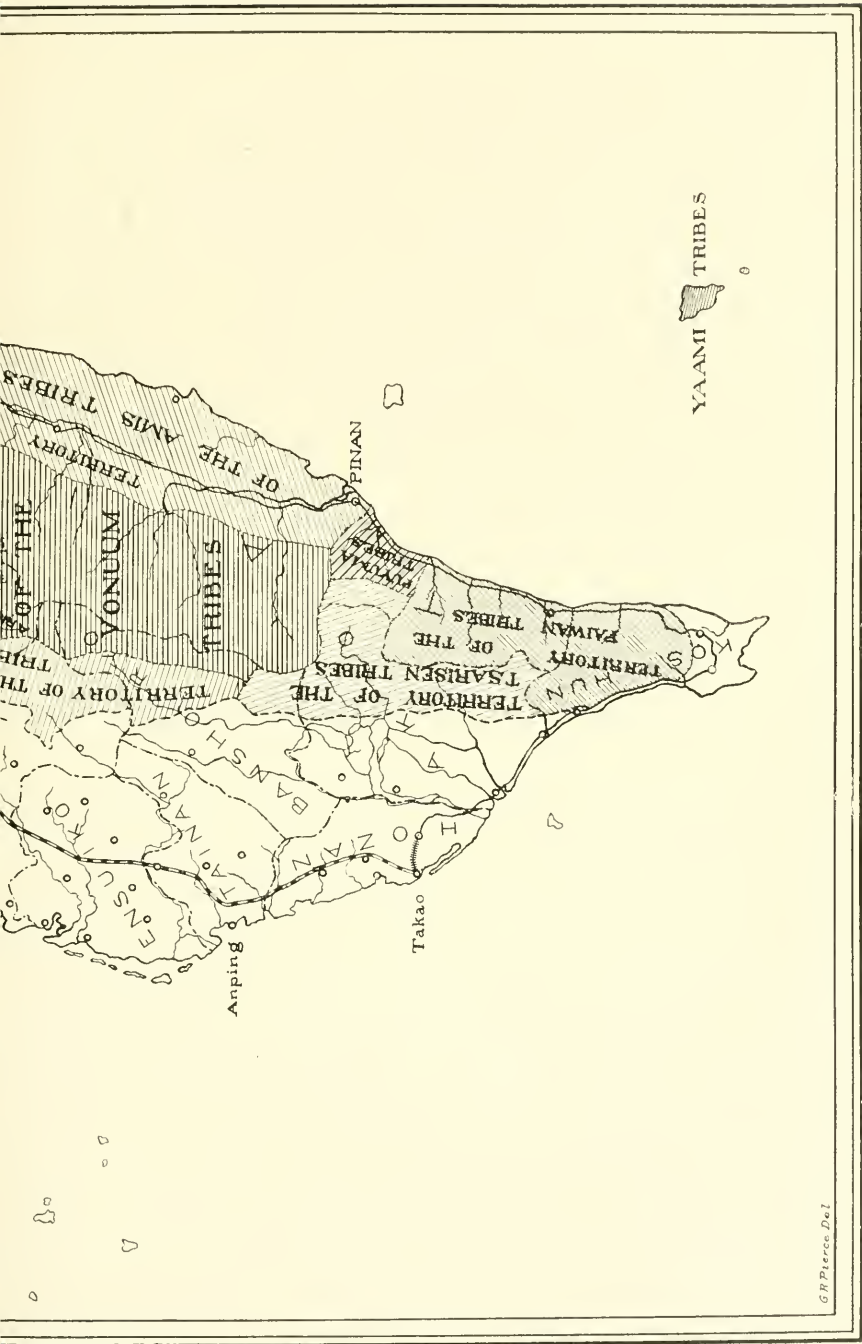
Boundary of savage district

Boundaries of prefectures

Sub-Prefectural towns

Prefectural towns





MAP OF FORMOSA SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF SAVAGE TRIBES

G. R. Pierce, Del.

also addicted to making war on other groups. In 1905 they became particularly troublesome to the Japanese and native Chinese living in the vicinity of their villages, and it was found necessary to make a combined attack on the more atrocious tribes. These were punished, and as a result became partially pacified, no longer giving trouble to the natives and Japanese. Bringing them into civilization will require considerable more work.

The members of the six groups above mentioned, namely, the Amis, Puyuma, Paiwan, Tsou, Tsarisen, and Vonuum are generally known as the southern savages.

The Atayal, or northern savages, tattoo their faces, and for this reason are known as tattooed savages. Their district comprises an area of 500 square ri (2,975 square miles), and is gradually becoming less as the guard line is forced back. They are fierce by nature, and are the largest and most powerful race of savages in the island. They look upon hunting the human head as superior to all else. The human head is necessary as an offering in all of their celebrations. When there is a dispute between members of a tribe, it is settled by awarding the decision to that one who first secures a human head. When a savage lad attains his majority he is not admitted into the tribe as an adult until he secures a human head. Hence, head-hunting has become with them a part of their existence. They take only the heads of Chinese or Japanese (that is, they do not make war among themselves for the purpose of securing heads). The method of taking a head is somewhat after the following order: Several of the tribe, armed with provisions and rifles, approach as near as possible to the frontier and secrete themselves in the jungle in proximity to a frequented path. Here they may await for days a chance of securing a head, and they are not to be satisfied until they secure the much-coveted trophy. Thus, unless afforded proper means of defense, the lives of those engaged in various pursuits in proximity to the savage border are greatly endangered. Under such circumstances it is quite impossible to explore the country inhabited by these tribes. A few of the centrally located tribes of this district never come into contact with the outside world, but, according to the investigations carried on with the neighboring tribes which come down to barter with the native Chinese, their numbers are not great. The Atayal group occupies the northern half of the savage territory, for which reason they are known as the northern savages. In the southern part of the savage territory, with the exception of the lands occupied by the Amis, Puyuma, and Paiwan tribes, most of the country is barren hill land, and not adapted to

cultivation. The forests in most of these districts have been destroyed in order to make room for vegetable gardens. Only the forests in the mountain regions west of Niitaka-yama (Mt. Morrison) are available for lumber. On account of the steepness and ruggedness of the country inhabited by the northern tribes arable lands in that district are scarce. But the land of the Atayals is distinctly rich in forest products, especially in camphor. There is also a bright prospect for gold mining in this district. The northern savage district indeed offers prospects of much wealth.

CUSTOMS AND PRACTICES

The following notes on customs and practices among the savage tribes of Formosa are translated from Mr. Ino's investigations of this subject:

MARRIAGE

In the following particulars marriage customs are uniform throughout the savage district of Formosa:

1. Marriage is effected by a definite ceremony.
2. When the marriage state is once entered into, the relation of husband and wife continues perpetually unless a divorce be made, the reasons for which must be publicly announced.
3. A woman having married once, is not allowed to remarry.
4. Monogamy obtains throughout the various tribes, and is strictly adhered to.
5. Intermarriage between near blood relatives is forbidden.
6. Husband and wife possess equal rights.

The method of effecting marriage differs with the various groups. Among portions of the Vonuum and Tsou groups, there is still a trace of marriage by capture. The Atayal and Vonuum groups practice the "competitive marriage." Among some of the tribes of the Vonuum group "exchange marriages" obtain. The Tsarisen, Paiwan, Puyuma, and Amis tribes effect marriage by exchange of gifts.

The relations of husband and wife are, generally speaking, distinctly cordial throughout all the groups, and divorces are very exceptional. However, in the case of the Tsarisen tribes, if a marriage results in the birth of no children after a certain prescribed period, then divorce ensues. Should the husband die before the wife gives birth to a child, the woman is privileged to remarry; but should the child be born before the death of the husband, the mother, in the event of the death of her husband, is not privileged to remarry,

but shall attend to the bringing up of her child. As already mentioned, husband and wife possess equal rights, so that cruelty to a wife is scarcely known.

BIRTH

The customs pertaining to births which are common to all tribes prescribe that the mother giving birth to a child shall herself cut the navel cord with a piece of sharpened bamboo. The baby is then immediately washed with hot or cold water. In ordinary cases, the day following the birth the mother resumes her regular work in the tribe, although for the period of a month following the birth she confines her attention to work indoors. Among some of the tribes special customs pertaining to births obtain. For instance, with the Tsarisen tribes, when a woman is pregnant the husband performs for the wife certain sacred rites, and at the time of the birth of a child the husband offers prayers for the expulsion of evil spirits. Dinners celebrating births are given, and to these dinners only married couples are invited. It appears that in former times the Paiwan tribes considered giving birth to twins as an ill omen, and the babies (twins) were tied to a tree and allowed to perish.

BURIAL

The customs pertaining to burial of the dead among the tribes throughout the island are as follows:

1. In case of a death in a family, the members of that family indulge in the bitterest lamentations.

2. The manner of interring the dead is not uniform; some tribes bury their dead within their houses, others without.

3. For a fixed period after the burial ceremonies are completed the members of the family do not leave the inside of the house, while at the same time they divest their bodies of all decorations.

4. Among the tribes of the Tsarisen, Paiwan, and Puyuma groups mourning dress is worn. The superstition obtains with most of the tribes that the spirit after death requires the personal belongings of the one who died, and for that reason these are buried with the dead body.

SICKNESS

The most common sickness prevalent among the savage tribes of Formosa is malarial fever. Eye troubles are next in order of frequency. Among the northern Atayal tribes there are considerable lung troubles. * * * As to the cause of sickness, it is generally believed to be punishment inflicted by the spirits of the dead. Among

the tribes of the Atayal and Paiwan groups a superstition obtains to the effect that if a sick person can balance a round particle on the end of a pipe then recovery is certain; on the other hand, should the particle fall to the ground it is a sign that spirits are opposed to recovery. Among the Vonuum, Tsou, Paiwan, and Amis groups, in advanced stages of disease the body of the patient is cleaned with leaves. The tribes of the Tsarisen group shampoo their sick members in advanced stages of disease, while in the early stages of suffering from snake bites, sucking the wound is resorted to.

RELIGION

The ideas concerning after-death which commonly obtain throughout the various tribes are as follows:

1. After death the spirit continues to live.
2. Dream is a medium through which the spirits of the dead may communicate with the living.
3. The spirits of the dead are sometimes given to the acts of the devil.
4. The spirits of one's ancestors are able to counteract the evil done by other spirits.
5. The spirits of one's ancestors have also the power to cause disaster.

As a natural outgrowth of these superstitions ancestor worship became a recognized institution. The Atayal and Paiwan groups believe the virgin forests to be the abode of the spirits of their ancestors. The tribes of the Tsou and Tsarisen groups consider certain old trees to be the abode of the spirits of their ancestors, while the Vonuum, Puyuma, and Amis tribes believe they live in the azure skies. The idea is so far advanced with the tribes of the Paiwan group that they never destroy the trees within a certain designated sacred precinct, which precincts are in reality their places of worship. All of the savage tribes worship with much reverence the supposed dwelling places of the spirits of their ancestors. In fact, this worship seems to constitute the greater part of their religion.

It is generally recognized by all tribes that good or bad crops depend upon the extent of the protection which they afford to the spirits of their ancestors. Accordingly before the sowing of the seed or after the harvesting of a crop, certain ceremonies are indulged in, these ceremonies partaking of the nature of ancestral worship.

In case of sickness it is supposed that all suffering is due to a visitation of evil spirits, and ancestral worship is indulged in for the sake of combatting the work of such spirits.

In soliciting the aid of the spirits of their ancestors certain forms are used, as, for instance, three whistles or the pouring of wine on the ground three successive times.

This idea of appealing to the spirits of their ancestors for aid in whatever undertakings they may be desirous of embarking upon has advanced a step farther in most of the tribes, in that the appeals are made through the interposition of a third person. Generally the old men and women of the various tribes are supposed to possess powers akin to those attributed to witches, and for this reason perform the religious rites for the tribes.

As the idea of worshiping the spirit of ancestors advanced, there developed a strong hatred for the spirits of others than ancestors. Originally the word for spirit in the various savage dialects or languages conveyed but one idea; gradually the term came to suggest reverence as well as hatred—reverence when the term was applied to the spirit of the ancestors and hatred when applied to other spirits.

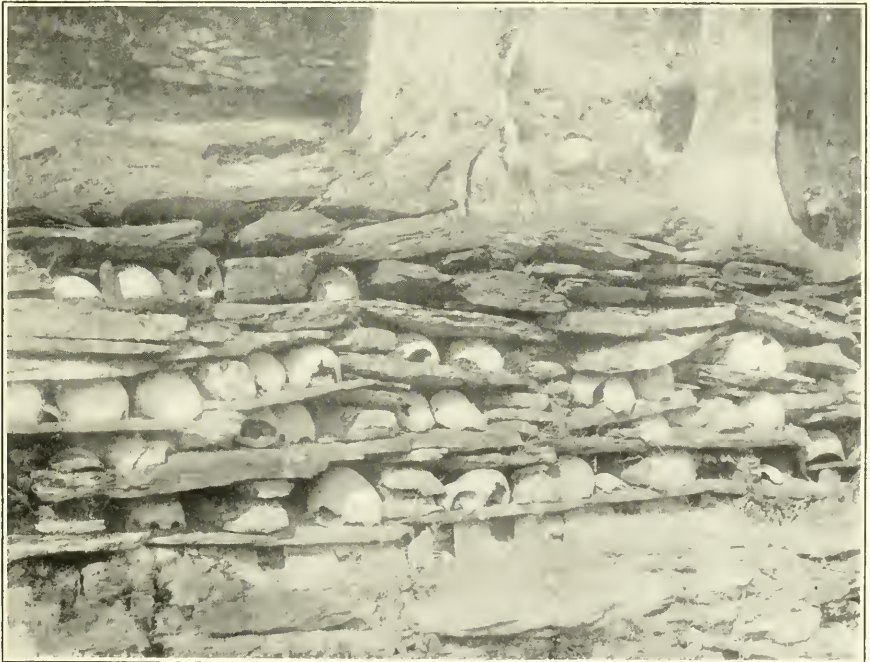
There exists among the various tribes a faith termed "parisi." It embraces the idea of religious purification to dispel evil spirits or the work of such spirits. This ceremony of purification is performed at the time of the ancestral festival. Abstinence from food or drink during sickness and the ceremony of cleansing from evil spirits at the time of death are also classed as acts of "parisi." A neglect to perform the ceremonies of "parisi" at the required times is considered to be a forerunner of calamity.

SUPERSTITION

Mr. Ino cites a large number of instances of superstitious ideas which prevail among the various tribes. Probably the most interesting among these is that which has to do with head-hunting. He states that the practice of head-hunting originally stood for nothing more than a mark of superiority in combat. Gradually this practice became part of their superstitions. For instance, the tribes of the Atayal group now consider that the spirits of their ancestors will not be satisfied unless a human head is part of the offering made at the ancestral ceremonies. Likewise in the case of a dispute between two or more persons, the spirit of his ancestors will guide and protect the one whose cause is just, so that he may secure the first human head, and thereby win his case.



THE "KONKAI" OR DWELLING HOUSE OF THE UNMARRIED MALES OF THE TSOU GROUP



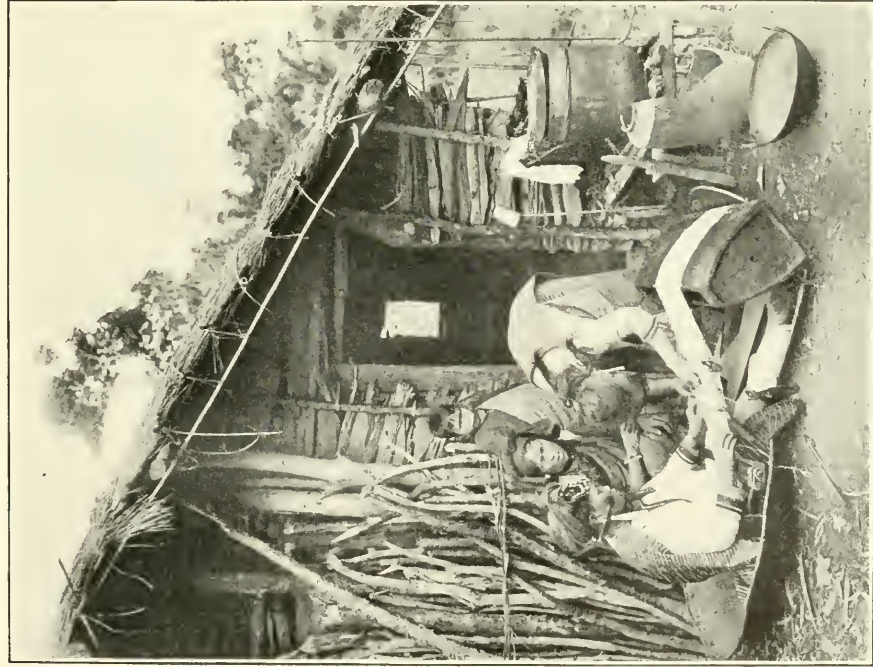
HUMAN SKULLS ON THE SKULL SHELVES OF THE TSARISEN SAVAGES



SAVAGE "DUG-OUTS" ON LAKE CANDIDIUS IN CENTRAL FORMOSA



ATAYAL SAVAGE VILLAGE



ATAYAL WOMEN WEAVING CLOTH



MARRIED ATAYAL WOMAN. TATTOO MARKS ON SIDES OF THE FACE