

Taiwan under Ch'ing Imperial Rule, 1684-1895: The Traditional Society*

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What was traditional society in Taiwan like during the late Ch'ing period? While much has been written about folk lore, family organization, and social classes like the peasantry and literati, we still actually know very little about community and the quality of life in traditional China. How large was the typical rural or urban family? How easy was it for an individual or family to achieve a higher social status and enjoy a better living standard? What was the life expectancy of a man or woman in this society? What was the manner of dress, mode of housing, and type of food eaten in the countryside and city? At what age for male and female did marriage take place? How was wealth and property transferred from one generation to another? How was law and order maintained in the typical community? These and other questions can only be answered if family and community life are examined in detail. In the 1920's and 1930's studies of the Chinese mainland village community and family life began to appear, but it is not at all clear from these accounts if they accurately represent or reflect social conditions of more than a century ago.¹ The social historian has scarcely begun the task of reconstituting the social community and structure in China before this century, an effort already begun by scholars for European and Japanese pre-modern societies. A major obstacle making this approach difficult to undertake is the paucity of historical materials showing family and community life in village and town. Perhaps an extensive investigation of literary materials, undertaken in the future, can reveal family life and conditions of the common people, but this task will be a huge undertaking.

As for describing social conditions in traditional Taiwan the problem is somewhat different. Shortly after the occupation of Taiwan by Japan in 1895 a commission of Japanese scholars was created to examine social customs pertaining to family, property inheritance, marriage, and ancestor worship in different regions of the island.² This commission conducted numerous sessions with distinguished members of the Chinese community. In these question and answer interviews various members of the community elite were cross examined about all aspects of family life and relationships. While the respondents were elderly men — we probably will never be able to perceive traditional Chinese society through women's eyes — these oral interviews constitute the first

* I wished to thank my colleague Professor C.N. Tay for preparing the Chinese abstract and for translating the poems cited in this article.

1 For an excellent review of the strengths and limitations of these early community studies see Morton H. Fried, "Community Studies in China," *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, 14:1 (Nov. 1954), pp.11-36.

2 For a history of this commission, its goals and organizations, and its achievements see Ramon H. Myers, "The Research of the Commission for the Investigation of Traditional Customs in Taiwan," *Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i*, 2:6 (June 1971), pp.24-54.

recorded and systematic attempt by foreigners to learn about the life of people, high and low, in China. In addition the commission collected documents showing the various decisions governing transactions with other families. These informations are dependable and useful for describing Taiwan society of the late nineteenth century. It is not at all certain however, that these informations accurately depict society of the early nineteenth or for the eighteenth centuries. Therefore, the conditions and characteristics of Taiwan society discussed below apply only to this frontier society which had achieved a fairly defineable form. Much more research will be necessary before we can properly understand how this traditional society actually evolved and assumed the form which the Japanese found when they occupied Taiwan.

The Community

It should be made very clear from the outset how the term community is used below. The social bedrock of Chinese society was the family; clusters of families formed lineages or clans which in turn made up villages, market towns, cities and port metropolitan areas. The community, as a social unit, comprised an aggregate of families of different surnames working in diverse occupations and sharing common interests. Certain communities could trace their founders to different districts on the mainland. I will begin by discussing the basic unit, the family, and examine its organization, formation, typical life cycle, and finally the procedure by which it broke up to form new families. The family maintained important relationships with the clan, the community temple, the village council, *pao-chia* leaders, market town *ti-pao* officials, and members of the literati class. The interaction of the family with these elements formed a social web whereby more powerful units in the community exercised authority and obtained acceptance and obedience by families and individuals. An analysis of the community power structure is another task awaiting the future scholar. Therefore, the multi-interconnections of the family with outside units will be only briefly mentioned and not exhaustively examined.

Before the mid-eighteenth century Taiwan society possessed little inherent social stability because of the insuperable difficulties of individuals to form families. The early settlers were mainly men; women and girls were extremely scarce. Marriages were difficult to arrange, and few men could obtain a wife. The following description of social conditions in villages of Chu-lo district for this period shows how serious these conditions were.³

There are many more men than women. There are villages of large size (several hundred people) in which not one person is related by blood to another. Severe restrictions prevent wives and women from accompanying the men during each crossing between the mainland and Taiwan. One has to spend a great deal of money to obtain a wife. Therefore, the young men in villages (between the ages of 16 and 19) are most numerous and group together in bands. Very few families can be formed, and for those which have, most of the men have married widows, acquired expensive concubines, or obtained slave girls.

The preponderance of males is clearly understandable as emigration from Fukien and Kwangtung was most difficult, and men were better suited to make the dangerous passage than women. But why so many villages with people having no kinship ties with one another? Perhaps

3 Quoted in Tai yen-hui, "Ch'ing-tai T'ai-wan hsiang-chuang chih chien-li chi ch'i tsu-chih" (The Formation of Villages and Their Organization in Taiwan during the Ching Period), *T'ai-wan ching-chi shih chiu-chi* (Economic History of Taiwan: No. 9), Taipei, 1968, p.58. Tai yen-hui quoted directly from the Chu-lo gazetteer.

this was due to the manner in which crossings of the Taiwan straits were arranged. Or people constantly were moving from one settlement village to another. That such mobility was high can be observed in the example of a 61 year old farmer who lived in Yuan-lin village of Pai-an township in 1899. Farmer Chang Shui could trace his descendents through 16 generations back to Nan-ching district of Chang-chou department in Fukien. His first descendents had lived in the south and then moved northward to Kan-yuan village near Hsinchu city. They again moved to Ta-chiu-tien village of T'ao-chien township. In the 1860's they moved to the present village of Pai-an township. Then in the mid 1880's they moved to the present village of Yuan-lin.⁴ Males with little property continued to move about until they had accumulated enough wealth to marry and permanently settle down.

We possess very little information on village and household size for the early period, and even the data available for the late nineteenth century do not accurately include all village residents because of considerable underreporting. For example, in Table 15 I have arranged information found in local source materials to show size of village and household for selected townships in Chia-i and Yun-lin districts located in the south. These must be regarded as older villages as this information was compiled in the very late nineteenth century. Observe that most villages were smaller than 100 households, and the population rarely exceeded 500 persons. The

TABLE 15
Village and Family Size for Certain Districts in Taiwan for 1880s

| District | Township (pao) | Village (Number) | Households Per Village | Persons Per Village | Persons Per Household |
|------------|-------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Chia-i | Ta mao hsi | 17 | 159 | 715 | 4.5 |
| | Ta mao pei | 14 | 69 | 223 | 3.2 |
| | Ta mao pei nan | 56 | 77 | 140 | 1.8 |
| | Ta mao tung hsia | 22 | 47 | 186 | 4.0 |
| | Ta mao tung ting | 64 | 28 | 138 | 4.9 |
| 2. Yun-lin | Psi sha yun | 23 | 44 | 249 | 5.7 |
| | Ta chiu tien tung | 45 | 43 | 107 | 2.5 |
| | Ch'i-chou | 39 | 41 | 195 | 4.8 |
| | Sha-lien | 131 | 98 | 640 | 6.5 |
| | Ta mao tung | 30 | 23 | 89 | 3.9 |
| | Ta mao pei | 19 | 65 | 190 | 2.9 |
| | Pu hsu tung | 46 | 48 | 234 | 4.9 |
| | Pu hsu hsi | 61 | 39 | 141 | 3.6 |

Source: For Chia-i see *Chia-i kuan-nei ts'at-fang-tse* (Survey Records of Chia-i District), Taiwan, 1890s. Reprinted by Bank of Taiwan, Taipei, 1959 as No. 58 of the *T'ai-wan wen-hsien ts'ung-k'an* (Publication Series on Taiwan Cultural Materials).

For Yun-lin see Ni Tsan-yüan, *Yun-Lin hsien ts'ai-fang-ts'e* (Survey Records of Yun-lin District II), Taiwan, 1894. Reprinted by Bank of Taiwan, Taipei, 1959 as No. 37 of *T'ai-wan wen-hsien ts'ung-k'an*.

4 Taiwan sōtokufu minseibu shokusanka, *Taihoku kenka chōsasho* (A Survey Report of the Farm Economy in Taihoku Prefecture), Taipei, 1899, pp.189-190.

information on persons per household shows an erratic pattern for the average household size per village. First, the size of the average village households is not correlated with the number of persons per village. Second, the average household size ranges from a low of 1.8 to a high of 6.5. The average range is from 4.0 to 4.9. The difficulty of interpreting these figures is due to (1) underreporting, and (2) listing as households units which do not contain bonafide families of husband, wife, and their children. Local source materials always listed numbers of people as *ting-k'ou*. The term *ting* according to Ch'ing law meant a male who had reached the age of sixteen. The term *k'ou* usually denoted females beyond the age of fourteen. For this reason, children were invariably not counted in population recordings or for that matter, even in *pao-chia* records. Had their number been included in Table 15, the average number of persons per household probably would have been between 6 and 7.

In order to obtain a clearer picture of village and household size, I have selected a large populated township in Yun-lin district for 1894 and arranged the information according to household frequency range. In Table 16 the reader can observe that in Hsi-luo township there were 52 villages and one market town with a total of nearly 5,000 households and roughly 20,000 people. The majority of villages were smaller than 100 households. It was not until a village reached a size of 200 households that population began to exceed 500 persons. Again, there appears to be no correlation of household size with village size. Household size is still quite erratic and smaller than 5 persons per household. The data suggest considerable underreporting which is confirmed by information obtained much later by Japanese investigators examining Chinese farms. A survey in 1899 of farms in the north presented detailed information on household size, land size, tenure status, and income and expenditures for nine farms which appear to have been selected to represent certain cropping patterns. The size of these farms in terms of

TABLE 16
Frequency Distribution of Households and Population for Hsi-luo
Township of Yun-lin District According to Village (1894)

| Frequency Range by Household | Village (Number) | Total Households | Total Number of Persons | Persons Per Household | Average Number of Households Per Village | Average Number of Persons Per Village |
|------------------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|--|---------------------------------------|
| 0 - 50 | 18 | 488 | 1,805 | 3.7 | 27 | 100 |
| 51 - 100 | 26 | 1,833 | 7,189 | 3.9 | 71 | 277 |
| 101 - 150 | 3 | 341 | 1,305 | 3.8 | 114 | 435 |
| 151 - 200 | 3 | 488 | 1,817 | 3.7 | 163 | 606 |
| 201 - 300 | 2 | 510 | 2,168 | 4.3 | 255 | 1,084 |
| 301 - 500 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 501 - 1,000 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 1,001 - 6,000* | 1 | 1,317 | 5,723 | 4.3 | - | - |
| TOTAL | 53 | 4,977 | 20,007 | 4.0 | - | - |

Source: Ni Tsan-Yuan, *Yun-lin hsien ts'ai-fang-tse*, 1, pp. 100-103.

* This entry is not a village but Hsi-luo market town, the principal town in Hsi-luo township.

people ranged from a low of 6 and 7 to a high of 29 and 43 persons per household.⁵ Another survey of 68 rice farms studied throughout the island in 1919-1922 showed the average size to be 11.9 persons and the range according to farm size class from 7.1 to 22.8 persons per farm.⁶

While more research must be done before we can obtain a clear picture of family size in the pre-modern period, the available information so far suggests that villages were not large and rarely exceeded 100 households. In the early period villages probably did not contain very many nuclear families and the extended family was rare. As economic conditions improved and more women began to immigrate, the formation of families rapidly increased. By the end of the nineteenth century the typical village of between 50 to 100 households probably contained between 10 to 20 households of individuals without any family association. These people might include elderly couples, widows with one or more children, or male laborers too poor as yet to obtain suitable wives. Above this stratum were a large number of nuclear families containing from 6 and 7 to 9 and 10 persons made up of one or two grandparents, a husband and wife, an uncle or aunt, and one or more children.⁷ These households might number from 30 to 60. Finally, above this stratum would be a small number of households, perhaps as many as 10 or 20, numbering from 12 or 15 to

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.185-208.

⁶ Taiwan sōtokufu shokusanakyoku, *Taiwan noka keizai chōsa* (A Survey of the Taiwanese Farm Family), Taipei, 1923, p.82. This demographic information can be seen clearly from the following information arranged according to farm size class in terms of the land unit, *chia*.

| farm size class | average farm size | persons per farm | workers per farm | non-workers per farm | ratio of consumers to workers |
|-----------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 6.13 to 13.81 | 8.94 | 22.8 | 10.2 | 12.6 | 2.24 |
| 4.91 to 6.12 | 5.62 | 13.9 | 7.6 | 6.3 | 1.83 |
| 3.34 to 4.90 | 4.04 | 11.1 | 6.1 | 5.0 | 1.82 |
| 2.38 to 3.33 | 3.04 | 8.4 | 5.1 | 3.3 | 1.65 |
| 1.41 to 2.37 | 2.08 | 8.3 | 3.7 | 3.4 | 1.92 |
| 0.00 to 1.40 | 1.05 | 7.1 | 3.5 | 4.8 | 2.37 |
| average | 4.12 | 11.9 | 6.0 | 5.9 | 1.97 |

Observe that the average number of persons is 11.9. As these were better off farms of higher than average income, the average size farm was bound to be rather high. Note the correlation between persons per farm and farm size which is similar to that on the mainland as observed in the extensive farm data collected by John L. Buck. The number of workers (available males capable of performing farm work within the family) rises with the household size and farm size, but so also does the number of nonworkers per farm who we can simply call consumers. For the very smallest farms the ratio of consumers to workers is quite large, but this ratio falls as farm families increase their size and add more land. Then for the very large households the ratio again rises. This pattern can also be observed for mainland China and appears to be typical of peasant economies in general. It was first observed and measured by A.V. Chayanov in Daniel Thorner, Basile Kerblay, R.E.F. Smith, eds., *A.V. Chayanov on the Theory of Peasant Economy* (Richard D. Irwin, Inc.: Homewood, Ill., 1966). I found evidence of this same pattern in north China villages. See R.H. Myers, *The Chinese Peasant Economy: Agricultural Development in Hopei and Shantung, 1890-1949*, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 1970, pp. 132-133.

⁷ These are the members of the typical family as reported by Chinese respondents to questions advanced by The Commission for The Study of Traditional Customs in Taiwan. "Kyūkan kenkyūkai mondō hikki" (Notes on Questions and Answers by the Commission for the Study of Traditional Customs), *Taiwan kanshu kiji*, 2:6 (June 1902), p.21.

as many as 30 or 40 persons. These large households, made up of subdivisions (*fang*), consisted of one or more sons who had taken wives and produced children. They continued to remain under the authority of an elder, paternal household head (*chia-chang*) but lived in separate sections of the household.

In the strange, alien land which the Chinese immigrant found himself in Taiwan, he quickly attempted to form a family and establish a community in which social behavior was familiar and predictable. Without family ties or attachments, an individual in Chinese society was adrift and alone. Only within a family could a person find a suitable role and form personal relationships which enriched one's life. The Chinese in Taiwan placed enormous importance on forming a nuclear family to achieve later an extended family. The larger the household size achieved through direct descent by blood lines, the greater the glory reflected upon the family's ancestors. The more intense the reverence displayed by household members toward its ancestors, the greater the psychic satisfaction experienced by all members, for they believed that maintaining family continuity and harmony was the important goal for both individuals and families to strive to achieve. The emphasis given toward achieving large family size during this period was no different from that expressed by individuals and families on the mainland.⁸ In fact, social and family customs in the two areas did not fundamentally differ. In 1890 the official Li Yuan-ch'un wrote: "The people living in Taiwan have come from the Chinese mainland, and their customs and manners are no different from those living on the mainland." As for festivals and religious rites, "in all of these practices, they are no different than the people of the mainland."⁹

As families are concerned with achieving certain commonly accepted goals, they must be concerned with behavior that requires the family adapt to the community and respond appropriately to pressures and influences upon it from outside. In addition the family must maintain reasonable means of preserving its form and achieving internal integration for itself. Finally, the roles and functions of each family member must be made to form some pattern which is desirable for the family over its life span. Goal gratification, adaptation, integration, and pattern maintenance must be carried out with some degree of success if the family is to preserve its autonomy, form, and continuity.¹⁰ But in regulating individual and family behavior to meet these requirements, the family does not operate in a vacuum but in a complex web of social relationships. For example, the family is integrated into some kind of economic system in which exchange relationships are constantly taking place. The family is also involved with external organizations concerned with political behavior which make demands upon the family and from which the family strives to derive benefits for itself. Again, the family must function in a community with other families which requires that certain social obligations be performed and

8 Suzuki Shinichirō, *Taiwan kyūkan kankonōsai nenjū gyōji* (Traditional Customs for Ceremonial Occurrences and Annual Functions in Taiwan), Taipei, 1934, p.4. The importance of ancestor worship for mainland families is powerfully presented in Francis L.K. Hsu, *Under the Ancestors' Shadow*, Stanford, 1971. Hsu's substantive findings apply very much to family development in nineteenth and early twentieth century China.

9 Li Yuan-ch'un, *T'ai-wan chih-lioh* (A Concise History of Taiwan), Taipei, 1958, p.35. Li Yuan-ch'un was originally from Shensi. This history, based upon a topical outline, was written in a dry, factual matter as most histories of provinces or locals of this period.

10 This analysis is based upon Norman W. Bell and Ezra F. Vogel, *A Modern Introduction to the Family*, New York, 1968. See in particular their introductory chapter "Toward a Framework for Functional Analysis of Family Behavior," pp.1-34.

that various rewards be obtained. Finally, the family finds itself in a particular culture which stresses a system of values that demands conformity and acceptance by the family and from which in turn the family acquires certain guidelines by which to regulate itself, elicit individual approval, and satisfy all members. These complex relationships must be taken into account when examining how the Chinese family in Taiwan sought to achieve its goals and maintain its life cycle.

What did families in this traditional society seek to achieve? If household members could be polled individually, their answers would probably not differ because each identified closely with the same family goals. This much can probably be said. The Chinese family desired security, harmony between its members, a satisfactory living standard, and some social status. It was the responsibility of the household head, the *chia-chang* or *hu-chü*, to plan, regulate, and organize the household's resources to achieve these ends.¹¹ According to Ch'ing law and local custom in Taiwan the household (*chia*) was a collective unit in which all property and wealth were held by the household head.¹² He alone represented this collective unit in every transaction involving sale and purchase of property, contracting debt or lending money, and collecting income and authorizing expenditures. In addition, he performed the rites of ancestor worship for the household, decided work schedules and tasks for household members, and agreed to when the household wealth would be partitioned. Other members were to display proper respect and obey his commands. The rearing of children was conducted specifically to inculcate this attitude of respect and obedience to the *chia-chang's* authority.¹³

Suppose we consider the life cycle of a representative family to examine the decisions and procedures of family behavior during such a time span. A husband and wife with several children have just received some property from partition and establish an independent household. In the early years their primary decisions relate to matters of production and distribution. Meanwhile, this family will provide some support to the aged parents who perhaps are being rotated between different households of the same kin or may even undertake to provide for them under its own roof. If the family prospers and acquires property, its social status rises. In the event that the eldest or only son dies before reaching adolescence, the family will acquire a son-in-law in order to ensure that ancestor worship will be continued by the next generation and that the household wealth can be transferred to a son who will assume the obligation of maintaining ancestor worship. Acquiring a son-in-law or daughter-in-law in Taiwan was a common custom. A household usually adopted a male child (*yang-tzu*) from relatives, friends or from strangers as a prospective son-in-law. The household supplying the male child did not have to obtain the son's consent unless he was above 15 years of age.¹⁴ When a lad reached *ting* or adult status he could resist and disobey his parent's

11 There were a variety of terms to denote the household's special status: *kuan-li-jen*; *pan-li-jen*; *chu-i-jen*; *tang-shih*; *chu-shih*; *lao-t'ou-chu*. For a discussion of this see "Kyūkan kenkyūkai mondō hikki," *Taiwan kanshu kiji*, 2:6 (June 1902), p.22.

12 Tai yen-hui, "Ch'ing-tai T'ai-wan chih chia-chih chi chia-ch'en" (The Family System and Family Property in Taiwan during the Ch'ing Period), *T'ai-wan wen-hsien*, 14:3 (Sept. 1963), p.4.

13 *Ibid.*, p.6. See also the important stress placed upon sons' obedience to their fathers as reported by Chinese elders to Japanese scholars in "Dai sanju ikkai Taihoku kanshū shūmonkai" (The 31st Session of the Commission to Enquire about Traditional Customs in the Region of Taipei), *Taiwan kanshū kiji*, 5:6 (June 1905), p.37.

14 *Ibid.*, p.37. The same custom pertained to a husband selling his wife. Only if the wife fully agreed could this transaction take place. Even in cases when a wife had become addicted to opium, the husband could not, according to customary law, sell her.

order to enter another household, but because of the acute shortage of girls in the early period, the practice of purchasing young girls as prospective daughters-in-law also became widespread and persisted to a greater degree than on the mainland. This was one of the rare examples where a son could disobey his father.

When a boy reached 16 and a girl 14, custom dictated they be married.¹⁵ Marriage could not take place between families with the same surname. Even in the case of an adopted female child (*yang-hsi*), this custom applied. For example if her original surname was Chen and she was acquired by a household with a surname Li, she then acquired the surname Li. She could not be married to a family with the surname of Chen.¹⁶ The parents usually selected an elderly person to visit a prospective bride or husband's household to make arrangements for the parents to meet. If the parents agreed, a marriage contract book was drawn up. Depending upon the wealth and social status of the families, the bride's household was given a sum of money (*p'ing-chin*). For upper class families this sum ranged between 260 to 500 taels; for middle class families, between 130 to 260 taels, and for lower class families the sum was between 45 to 90 taels.¹⁷ During times of hardship this sum had even fallen as low as 35 or 40 taels. After the parents paid this sum, a portion might be given to the bride as her marriage trousseau depending upon the prosperity of her household. After both families signed the marriage contract, a feast took place, and the bride then moved into the household of her husband.¹⁸ She brought with her some wealth, land or money (*chuang-lien*), as a bridal trousseau.¹⁹ This wealth was considered her private property and was not supposed to be incorporated into the aggregate wealth which her husband eventually claimed after partition of his household's property and wealth. There were cases, however, where the bride's husband managed her *chuang-lien*, but it is not known if this practice was widespread.²⁰ In these cases, only after her husband's death, and only if her children were still young, could she manage this wealth as she desired.

15 "Kyūkan kenkyū kai mondō hikki" (Notes on Questions and Answers by the Commission for the Study of Traditional Customs), *Taiwan kanshū kiji*, 1:9 (Sept. 1901), p.26.

16 "Kanshū mondō roku" (A Record of Questions and Answers Concerning Traditional Customs), *Taiwan kanshū kiji*, 1:8 (Aug. 1901), p. 37.

17 During the late nineteenth century 1.5 silver *yuan* was equivalent to 1 silver tael. See Chou Sheng-jen, "Ch'ing-tai T'ai-wan mi-chia chih," p.124. These ranges are given in silver *yuan* dollars in "Kanshū mondō roku," p.41.

18 The procedures for marriage are clearly outlined in Okamatsu Santarō, "Shinzoku sōzoku" (Consanguinity Descent), *Taiwan kanshū kiji*, 1:8 (Aug. 1901), pp.13-22. This is part two of a long study which appeared in 4 parts. See also the long, detailed description of marriage arrangement in *Taiwan kyūkan seido chōsa ippan*, pp.7-11 in reference material section of this study. Also *Taiwan shihō*, II, Part 2, pp.282-351.

19 For a discussion of this custom see "Kanshū mondō roku," p.41; *Taiwan shihō*, II, Part 2, pp.352-361. This custom is still maintained even today in Taiwan. For a description of this custom and some estimates of actual value of the *chuang-lien* or *se-koi* in Fukien dialect see Myron L. Cohen, "A Case Study of Chinese Family Economy and Development," *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 3:3-4 (July and October 1908), pp.166-170.

20 "Kyūkan kenkyū mondō roku" (A Record of Questions and Answers by the Commission for the Study of Traditional Customs), *Taiwan kanshū kiji*, 2:12 (Dec. 1902), p.35. This information was provided by several Chinese respondents on June 14, 1902 in Taipei to Japanese scholars of The Commission for Study of Traditional Customs.

After one or more sons brought their brides into the household and the daughters had been married and departed, the family began to assume the form of an extended family household with sub-divisions (*fang*) comprised of each son and his wife and whatever children they had produced. If the household head successfully maintained family harmony and prosperity continued, everyone lived together under a single roof. However, several developments might take place to disturb these relationships and initiate partition of the household. First, arguments between brothers might break out in which they began to urge the household head to partition.²¹ Second, the death of the *chia-chang* and the inability of the eldest son to become his successor and keep the family intact might lead to partition. The decision as to the appropriate time to divide the household wealth was extremely difficult to make. Numerous folk proverbs stressed the importance of proper timing.²² A premature partitioning might make it impossible for the newly created households to maintain their living standards and, as a result, suffer economic decline. Partition, however, was to be avoided as long as possible. One proverb emphasizing this states:²³

“A small household barely has enough to eat.
But when a large household divides its wealth,
It too becomes poor.”

One of the major difficulties of partitioning family wealth was to distinguish between household wealth, the private wealth of individuals, and the collective wealth tied up in ancestor worship.²⁴ Every family had a small shrine within its doors where ancestor worship was practiced, but many households also contributed greatly toward temples where ancestors of the household lineage group were worshipped. The wife of the household head possessed her bridal trousseau as did the wives of each of the sons. Finally, some wealthy households possessed land which they leased to schools and collected rent. Individuals with their private wealth were permitted to keep it when partitioning took place, but all wealth claimed by the household was distributed between the eligible male heirs.

The local customs concerning property division were not always clearly defined. For example, there was no specific time in the household's evolution for partition to take place. When partitioning did occur, it seems to have taken place during the winter period after the fall harvest.²⁵ If the eldest son was below the age of 16 upon the death of the household head, the immediate family or relatives would obtain the service of a specialist skilled in handling partitioning cases (*t'o-ku*). The *t'o-ku* served as an executor of the family estate until partition

21 For evidence of this assertion see Kamiuchi Kōsaborō, “Shina hōkei no hōsei oyobi kanshū no mitometaru zaisen sei” (The Property System as Observed from the Customs and Laws of the Chinese Legal System), *Taiwan kanshū kiji*, 6:1 (Jan. 1906), p.4. Kamiuchi Kōsaborō was a member of the “Commission”, and in this particular article he strongly emphasized the close correspondence between local customs for property partition and the rules for this outlined in the Ch'ing legal code for civil affairs.

22 Yamanaka Shōji, “Rigen ni awareta Taiwan oyobi Shina no kazoku seikatsu” (Family Life in Taiwan and China as Seen in Folk Proverbs), *Taiwan bunka ronsō*, II, p.100. A more thorough analysis of these folk proverbs would indeed reveal some of the important tensions which beset family life in traditional China. A useful study in this regard is W.A. Scarborough, *A Collection of Chinese Proverbs*, Shanghai, 1875.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 100. “Hsia-chia ch'ih ch'iung, ta chia fen ch'iung.”

24 Kamiuchi Kōsaborō, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

25 “Kyūkan mondō roku” (A Record of Questions and Answers Concerning Traditional Customs), *Taiwan kanshū kiji*, 1:10 (Oct. 1901), p.39.

took place.²⁶ The procedures for partitioning wealth took place at a gathering of the family and close relatives. All sons older than 16 years of age were permitted to receive a share of the family wealth. For those under 16 a *t'o-ku* was appointed to assist them in managing their wealth share. The eldest son usually received a slightly larger share if he was appointed to perform the family ancestor worship rites and/or look after the aged parents.

The procedure for household division was to assign lots for various property shares, and then for each eligible male heir to draw equal lots. With these claims to the household wealth in hand, the son and his family would then re-organize its household accordingly. For some time the sons might continue to live together, but this action depended upon the pre-existing harmony and affection which prevailed at the time of partition. The usual arrangement for division of wealth was to provide 20 percent for support of the aged parents, another 20 percent for ancestor worship (a share which might be donated to the village or community temple), and the remaining 60 percent divided equally between the eligible male heirs.²⁷ The share made over to one or more sons for supporting the aged parents was called *yang-shan-liao*, and only after the death of the parents and their funeral, could this wealth, if any still remained, be equally divided between the sons.²⁸ In the event that household division took place before the death of the *chia-chang*, and property had been equally divided, local custom upheld the right of the household head to take back this wealth from a son who was squandering it foolishly.²⁹ In the event that the household had no eligible males to transfer the wealth, the widow was allowed to inherit the property and manage it at her discretion.

From these variations just described by which households accumulated, shared and disposed of wealth and property, we can conclude that in this traditional society, local custom preserved and protected the family and ensured its continuity over time. Rather than bestow all authority and wealth to only the eldest son in the expectation that he would properly maintain the family line, customary law made provision for all male heirs to carry out this function. Equal division of wealth among the male heirs gave greater assurance to the present generation that some member of the next generation would carry out appropriate ancestor worship and maintain the family line, as each would be given some means by which to integrate into the existing community. Numerous transactions were constantly taking place between families: purchase and sale of young male and female children; payments to bride's household and some wealth transfer from bride's household to that of her future husband. For these reasons accumulation of wealth by the single family was a slow and arduous activity, and the probability of retaining this wealth intact for more than a generation was extremely low.

26 For details of selection of the *t'o-ku*, who also served in matters of litigation and as a go-between for households and officials in the district yamen see *Taiwan kyūkan seido chōsa ippan*, section for reference materials, pp.28-31; *Taiwan shihō*, II, Part 2, pp.487-498; Okamoto Santaro, *op. cit.*, *Taiwan Kanshū kiji*, 1:10 (Oct. 1901), pp.18-22. The role of such special individuals has scarcely been touched upon by students of traditional Chinese society.

27 "Kyūkan kenkyūkai mondō hikki," *Taiwan kanshū kiji*, 2:6 (June 1902), p.24. For a similar discussion of family inheritance customs as practised in the Tainan area see *An-p'ing hsien tsa-chih* (Miscellaneous Records for An-p'ing District), Bank of Taiwan: Taipei, 1959, f.a. 26, pp.16-17.

28 The customary procedure by which sons took care of the aged parents was for each to support the parents for a period on a rotation basis. For discussion of this practice see "Kyūkan chōsa shimon hikki" (Notes on Questions Regarding the Survey of Traditional Customs), *Taiwan kanshū kiji*, 3:3 (March 1903), p.36.

This was a report of dialogue between Japanese scholars and Chinese elders on June 14, 1902 in Taichung.

29 "Dai jūkai kyūkan kenkyūkai hikki," *Taiwan kanshū kiji*, 2:9 (Sept. 1902), p.24.

Family transactions involving property, debt, and marriage often led to disputes which had to be resolved by outsiders or through litigation. The severity and intensity of these disputes determined whether or not relatives could be called upon to bring compromise, or whether members of the village council or the heads in the *pao-chia* system would have to intervene. If these mediators failed, households, quite often with the aid of a *t'o-ku*, would petition the district yamen to have the matter decided through litigation. The more prosperous and larger the household, the greater its authority in a lineage group. Families of a powerful, flourishing clan could depend upon many relatives for assistance, but by the same token they were obligated to render help when relatives demanded it. Such reciprocity was powerfully rooted in the social fabric and determined individual career paths and even family fortunes.³⁰ Members of poor households had to depend primarily upon their own good fortune and hard efforts to advance. The acquisition and accumulation of wealth was the principal means by which social classes were differentiated, but important roles in the community were not always performed by the most powerful and wealthy. Medium wealth families with individuals possessing outstanding abilities to serve as go-betweens in family disputes, serve as liaison with literati or officials, and deal with semi-officials like the *ti-pao* could maintain a high social status and be an effective force in the community.

So far I have only discussed this traditional society in terms of a fixed family structure anchored in the community. The representative family cycle described above applied to only a few families in the eighteenth century, because few families in villages and towns had come into existence. Not until the very end of the century did villages begin to shed their transient features and become truly permanent, stable communities. This social advance occurred unevenly throughout the island because rural settlement patterns differed so greatly. But as stability in the community became commonplace, the social structure comprised of different classes and occupational groups began to assume a more defined and fixed form. While we possess very little quantitative information for income distribution by class or occupation before the late 1890's, this does not mean that we can not extrapolate backward into time our vision of the form of Taiwan society as of 1900 for regions that we know were fairly stable. The reader should understand, however, that eventually a sharp break occurs in which a community characterized by economic security, permanence of its residents, and stability in its social structure is preceded by a diffuse community of few families, numerous bands of young men, and transient laborers. Therefore, this social order possessed an element of dynamic social change at some particular time in the past according to district and region.

Social Classes

Chinese society never had been a caste society in which an individual was born into a given occupation and social class, fated to live his life in a predetermined way. Talented and fortunate individuals moved along different career paths to succeed or fail in different occupations which enabled them to establish families of different structure, size, and living style. Just as upward social mobility permitted men of merit to distinguish themselves, so too was there family disintegration and the ruination of individual careers. While individual family fortunes waxed and

³⁰ See Fried, Morton H., *Fabric of Chinese Society: A Study of the Social Life of a Chinese County Seat*, Praeger: New York, 1953.

waned the over-all social structure remained relatively fixed over time by the late nineteenth century. At the apex of the social pyramid stood the privileged and wealthy who by virtue of successful official or military careers had acquired property and power. At the broad base of this pyramid were farmers, unskilled workers, and skilled craftsmen, each occupational group coping as best it could within the circumstances it found itself to improve its lot.

Social classes can be distinguished by differences in living styles, sources of income, claims to goods and service, social and political privileges, and obligations under the law. While it is difficult to trace social movement between classes and group, we can show exactly how wide the chasm that separated rich from poor in Taiwan. At the same time it can be argued that individuals did move into the apex of the social pyramid by acquiring more wealth and the social status to accompany it, and more people filled out the base of the social pyramid. The process being suggested is that over time the unequal wealth that characterized social classes became more obvious as society became differentiated according to occupation and wealth accumulation. The reason for this process is quite simple. In the early period the overwhelming majority of migrant settlers were poor and fairly equal in their property and wealth holdings. As agricultural and commercial development took place, cities developed, economic specialization advanced, and general progress continued, certain individuals and groups naturally advanced while the remainder stayed at the same level or advanced much more slowly. Economic development, therefore, created income disparity and made poverty more conspicuous than in the past when greater equality prevailed. At the base of traditional Taiwan society were the rural and urban poor: the agricultural workers, the small tenant farmer, the peddler, the unskilled urban worker, and the fisherman. Just above this large group were those owning property, having economic security, earning larger income, living more comfortably, and possessing larger size families: the farmer, the urban skilled worker such as the mason, bricklayers, carpenter, the yamen clerk, artisan, boatmen, entertainers, and small merchant shop keepers. Moving still upwards, we encounter a sharp break between the next social group and the latter. Here we observe farmers with holdings exceeding four hectares, large merchant shop keepers, and holders of the *sheng-yuan* examination degree. Finally, at the top stood a small elite group with enormous property and enjoying an opulent life style. These individuals had obtained the highest literati degrees, had previously served as officials, or were merchants of great wealth. To show these groups on the basis of their incomes and expenditures I have compiled Table 17 based upon some household budget data gathered by Japanese scholars between 1899 and 1901 for households in the small city of Meng-chia on the Tanshui river, a community which later merged with Ta-tao-ch'eng to become present day Taipei.

The possession of considerable property determined the size of gap separating the wealthy from the medium and lower income classes. Wealthy urban families with property valued over 100,000 yen derived annual income roughly ten times that of middle income families, whereas middle wealth holders earned incomes about twenty times that of the laboring poor. In some examples household expenditures even exceeded average annual income. The reason for this budget deficit was the unusually large outlay for ceremonies such as a marriage or funeral, and in such instances a household simply incurred indebtedness for an undetermined period. It is interesting that households at this stage of development exhibited an expenditure pattern similar to that of spending units in modern society. Upper income households allocated a much higher percentage of their expenditures for furniture, education, and travel than did lower income households. These same households also spent a smaller fraction of total outlays for food, whereas

TABLE 17
Living Expenditures of Selected Households by Social Class in Late 19th Century Taiwan

| Social Class | No. of Persons | Total Expenditures | | Food and Fuel | | Clothing | | Furniture | | Ceremonies | | Education | | Opium | | Transportation | | Others | | Comments |
|---------------|----------------|--------------------|-------|---------------|------|----------|-------|-----------|-------|------------|-----|-----------|-----|-------|-------|----------------|-------|--------|--|---|
| | | Value | % | Value | % | Value | % | Value | % | Value | % | Value | % | Value | % | Value | % | Value | % | |
| Upper No. 1 | 20 | 9,083 | 1,185 | 13.0 | 712 | 8.0 | 521 | 6.0 | 3,927 | 43.0 | 20 | 0.2 | 240 | 2.6 | 800 | 8.2 | 1,678 | 9.0 | owns property valued at 100,000 yen | |
| Upper No. 2 | 20 | 9,406 | 1,362 | 14.0 | — | — | — | — | 2,700 | 29.0 | 120 | 1.2 | 840 | 9.0 | 1,000 | 10.4 | 3,384 | 6.4 | property valued at 100,000 yen | |
| Upper No. 3 | 10 | 6,433 | 638 | 10.0 | 884 | 13.0 | 1,273 | 20.0 | 1,490 | 23.0 | 80 | 1.0 | 232 | 3.0 | 360 | 6.0 | 1,476 | 24.0 | property valued below 100,000 yen | |
| Middle No. 1 | 10 | 3,342 | 440 | 13.0 | 338 | 10.0 | 314 | 9.5 | 1,780 | 53.0 | 10 | 0.5 | — | — | 80 | 2.0 | 380 | 12.0 | same as above | |
| Middle No. 2a | 2 | 572 | 179 | 31.0 | 173 | 30.0 | 129 | 23.0 | 5 | 1.0 | — | — | 36 | 6.0 | 18 | 3.0 | 32 | 6.0 | same as above | |
| Middle No. 2b | 2 | 2,354 | 129 | 5.0 | 125 | 5.0 | — | — | 2,000 | 85.0 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 100 | 5.0 | same as above | |
| Middle No. 3a | Unknown | 7,627 | 830 | 11.0 | 180 | 2.0 | 300 | 4.0 | 4,720 | 62.0 | 35 | 0.2 | — | — | 100 | 0.8 | 1,462 | 20.0 | merchant who earns 5,000 yen a year | |
| Middle No. 3b | Unknown | 2,300 | 780 | 33.0 | — | — | — | — | 800 | 36.0 | — | — | — | — | 100 | 4.0 | 620 | 27.0 | wholesale merchant, earns 1,800 yen per year | |
| Middle No. 3c | Unknown | 743 | 240 | 32.0 | — | — | — | — | 120 | 16.0 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 383 | 52.0 | merchant | |
| Middle No. 4 | 20 | 2,930 | 1,300 | 44.0 | 100 | 3.0 | 100 | 3.0 | 1,050 | 37.0 | 10 | 0.5 | — | — | 200 | 7.0 | 170 | 5.5 | rich farmer earning 1,500 yen per year | |
| Lower No. 1a | 7 | 146 | 58 | 40.0 | — | — | — | — | 15 | 10.0 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 73 | 30.0 | small farmer with 1.4 <i>chia</i> and earns 220 yen per year | |
| Lower No. 1b | 12 | 156 | 156 | 100.0 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | ten and vegetable farmer with 2 <i>chia</i> earning 115 yen per year | |
| Lower No. 2a | Unknown | 165 | 96 | 58.0 | 29 | 18.0 | 25 | 15.0 | 8 | 5.0 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 7 | 4.0 | artisan earning 70-80 sen per day | |
| Lower No. 2b | 172 | 127 | 74.0 | 24 | 14.0 | — | — | — | 7 | 4.0 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 14 | 8.0 | masons earn 50-60 sen per day | |
| Lower No. 2c | 283 | 90 | 32.0 | 3 | 1.0 | 2 | 1.0 | 171 | 61.0 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 3 | 1.0 | carpenter who earns 15 yen per month | |
| Lower No. 3a | 73 | 43 | 59.0 | 12 | 16.0 | 3 | 4.0 | 4 | 5.0 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 11 | 16.0 | clerk who earns 15 yen per month or 180 per year | |
| Lower No. 3b | 114 | 80 | 71.0 | 11 | 9.0 | 8 | 7.0 | 3 | 2.5 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 12 | 10.5 | coolie laborer; earns 45 sen per day | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | a transport worker (earns 50 sen per day) |

Source: Rinji Taiwan kyūkan chōsa kai, Dai nibu, *Chōsa keizai shiryō hōkokai*, Vol. II. The calculations above are based on data appearing in pp. 500-595.

the percentage of expenditures for food in lower income households was much higher. The wealthy spent extremely large sums for clothing, especially for female attire. They also employed tutors to educate the male children and traveled more often. Opium smoking was quite common for at least one of the family members of this wealthy stratum. Middle income families rarely purchased opium and could only afford to educate the most gifted male child at a local school or *shu-yuan*. Families of coolie laborers, cart haulers, and unskilled workers spent as much as three-fifths or more of their yearly outlays for food.

Another feature characterizing various social class spending habits was the inelastic response of ceremonial expenditures to income change. In spite of their low incomes the lower income groups insisted upon spending the same share of their income for funerals, weddings, engagements, and festivals as did the middle and upper income groups. As family income rose, the household continued to spend even more expenditures on various ceremonies because of the enormous emphasis placed upon these events by this culture. This spending characteristic reflected the importance given by families for the birth of a male son, the marriage of a family member, a funeral, or a religious rite.

Aside from entertainers, prostitutes, thieves, and unemployed coolie laborers, the lowest and poorest social class was that of beggars.³¹ When natural calamities struck or a family unit had totally disintegrated, the ranks of the beggars increased. The crippled and diseased without family and means of visible support squatted near markets or temples to beg. Those that could walk canvassed the city begging for copper coins. The average daily earnings of a beggar came to 7 or 8 Japanese sen per day, at most 20 sen per day, so that their income ranked far below that of the poor coolie worker. Beggars typically grouped in bands and lived in abandoned buildings near temples or schools. Anywhere from twenty to thirty people might live in a group under the leadership of an outstanding individual who could organize the daily begging route for each member, manage the group's meager stock of medicine, food, and clothing accumulated over a long period, and arbitrate quarrels between members of the band. Each band selected such a leader by his qualities for resolving quarrels, eliciting obedience, and dealing with officials. Local officials made each beggar band leader responsible for the behavior of their members. Beggar bands were integrated into the *pao-chia* system in each district whereby the leader reported to the local yamen, wrote his name, and informed officials of the size of his group and its location. Any infraction of the law committed by a member of his group resulted in severe punishment for him.

The beggar band took care of its own. If a beggar fell ill, the group obtained a doctor through the use of a middleman to examine him, and medicine from the band's meager supply was used for his care. When poor weather prevented begging outdoors, the group's reserves were distributed equally by the leader. In the hovels where each band lived, a beggar possessed his own sleeping area and a small degree of privacy. Merchants in different parts of a city agreed to permit beggar bands to beg at each merchant's shop on the first and fifteenth day of the lunar month in order to eliminate constant harassment by individual beggars. This procedure ensured some income

31 For an excellent description of social life and activities of beggar bands in Taipei and Tainan during the late nineteenth century see Nishikawa Giyū, "Kojiki no jōkyō" (The Conditions of Beggars), *Taiwan kanshū kiji*, 6:6 (June 1906), pp.491-510; also Ho Te-chen, "Kojiki no jōkyō" (The Conditions of Beggars), *Taiwan Kanshū kiji*, 6:8 (Aug. 1905), pp. 13-14; Totsuo Sanjin, "Kojiki no jōkyō" (The Conditions of Beggars), *Taiwan kanshū kiji*, 6:7 (July 1906), pp.28-47.

re-distribution from the more wealthy to the very poor. Each beggar band assigned certain members to canvass a certain number of blocks and their shops on these days. In Ta-tao-ch'eng and Meng-chia cities the second and sixteenth days of each lunar month were set aside for these bands to roam the streets and conduct their business. The beggars of Ta-tao-ch'eng were known to walk to Meng-chia on the assigned day to beg and then return to make their rounds in Ta-tao-ch'eng.

The poor were tolerated by the local authorities and to some extent even supported by society so long as their activities did not disrupt peace and endanger local security. If the beggars constituted a cellar flow where all individuals not integrated into the family structure collected, how did individuals in general improve their lot and obtain higher status and privilege? As already stressed, the early eighteenth century contained villages of a formless character in which males predominated. "There were many peasants of 40 and 50 years of age who had never taken a wife. Many men who had not found available girls either purchased a wife or a young boy and made him the legal son."³² Economic development and free migration of people to Taiwan in the late eighteenth century gradually corrected this sexual imbalance and permitted more families to form, so that by the mid and late nineteenth century most villages possessed a class structure based on the nuclear and extended family.

For a man fortunate enough to acquire a wife, raising a family on the land depended as much upon luck as on hard work and prudent, skillful management. Sickness or the death of a male deprived a family of potential income, perhaps crippling its ability to save and buy land. Families with able-bodied males stood a much better chance to accumulate land or at least farm enough land so as to buy and own some farm capital. For example, the household of Lin Pai-lu in 1899 contained only eight persons of whom two could perform field work. Lin's ancestor had arrived in Taiwan in 1779, worked as a coolie laborer, and finally settled in Hou-tang-chang village. The Lin household owned and farmed only 1.5 *chia* of land, earning about 460 yen per year from the sale of sugarcane, vegetables, peanuts, and pigs. It spent 399 yen for grain, hired labor, seed, fertilizer, rent for tools and cart, taxes, and other items. The annual residual came to only 60 yen or roughly 7 yen per person. On the other hand the household of Lo Shih-hsien, whose ancestor arrived in 1756, contained 32 persons of whom nine males performed field work with ten laborers hired on a part-time basis. The Lo family rented 19 *chia* of paddy land and 1 *chia* of garden land, obtained an annual income of 983 yen, and spent 721 for managing the farm and buying various essential goods. The residual amounted to 262 yen or about 8 yen per person. The important difference between the two households was that the Lo household possessed 7 labor animals and a large number of farm tools: its total farm capital amounted to 1,560 yen in value.³³ Families with many able-bodied workers could accumulate wealth like the Lo household, but a household like the Lin family simply could not earn enough to buy additional land and capital.

But mere labor power alone was not the only reason a rural family could achieve wealth and status in the community. In order for a family to increase its holdings to estate size and acquire mercantile wealth, the acquisition of political power was necessary. For individuals without education in frontier Taiwan the sure path to acquire such power was a military career. The famous Lin family of Wufeng, just outside of Taichung, illustrates this case. The Lin family had

³² Tai yen-hui, "Ch'ing-tai T'ai-wan hsiang-chuang chih chien-li chi ch'i tsu-chih," p.58.

³³ *Taihoku kenka nōka keizai chōsasho*, pp.185-189 and pp.205-207.

settled in the Taichung area during the eighteenth century. In the early nineteenth century one of its male members, Lin Wen-ch'a, became a leader of a local home-guard group. In 1859 this unit was despatched to the mainland to assist government troops to quell the Taiping rebels. Lin Wen-ch'a gradually worked his way up through the ranks to become one of Tso Tsung-t'ang's top field officers. In 1864 Lin returned home to assist local officials to suppress disturbances in his native area. Through his successes in putting down insurrection Lin managed to expand greatly the land and mercantile fortunes of his family. Lin's military prowess earned him honors and a degree and raised his family to elite status. Lin Wen-ming, his younger brother, also chose a military career and enhanced the family's fortunes still more. Lin Wen-ming was finally murdered, and even though the Lin family spent huge sums to rehabilitate his name, by the end of the century it had become a local power unit in central Taiwan, branching into the "camphor business, the retail trade, urban real estate, and possibly coal mining in northern Taiwan, thus legitimizing the use of these accumulations and placing them in activities to augment wealth still further."³⁴ The usual procedure by which individuals in mainland China attained elite status in their community was to pass the first examination grade or buy an academic title to enter the literati class.

For its size in the empire, Taiwan produced an astonishingly large supply of literati, as observed in Table 2. Even westerners commented upon the island's reputation for producing successful examination candidates. The Rev. Charles Gutzlaff writes in his journal that "the literati are very successful, and people in Fuhkeen sometimes send their sons to Formosa to obtain literary degrees."³⁵ General economic prosperity and the large number of *shu-yuan* throughout the island also accounted for why so many students were well prepared and performed capably in the examination system. But purchasing a degree still enabled more people to achieve literati status than by the examination route. A good illustration of how a degree could be purchased is that of Lin Pen-yuan who arrived in Taiwan in the late eighteenth century and finally managed to open a rice shop.³⁶ His son Lin P'ing-po reclaimed considerable land, obtained tenants to farm it, and became an extremely wealthy *ta-tsu* household. With this new wealth Lin purchased an official degree. His five sons later married to form five separate, large, extended family households, and when these families later partitioned their households, the Lin clan had become extremely powerful throughout central and northern Taiwan.

Good fortune, hard work, and earning a literati degree enabled many families within one or two generations to improve their economic and social status in this frontier society. This society did not contain merely the wealthy and poor. By the early nineteenth century, there had emerged a fairly broad stratum of families of medium size wealth. They accounted for many of the upper level villagers: wealthy farmers, landlords, and moneylenders. In the market towns and cities they comprised the merchants, yamen clerks, businessmen operating restaurants and entertainment establishments, skilled artisans, moneylenders, military officers, school teachers, and members of the lower literati. While the aggregate of these individuals and their families might have accounted for as much as one-fifth or even one-fourth of this society, and this estimate is only a guess, they

34 Johanna Menzel Meskill, "The Lins of Wufeng: The Rise of a Taiwanese Gentry Family," in Leonard H.D. Gordon (edit.), *Taiwan: Studies in Chinese Local History*, pp.6-22.

35 "The Journal of Rev. Charles Gutzloff," *Chinese Repository*, 1:3 (May 1832), p.97.

36 A brief description of the rise of the Lin family can be found in Takeuchi Sadayoshi, *Taiwan kanshū* (Traditional Customs in Taiwan), Taipei, 1915, II, pp.532-534.

comprised a middle income group in the truest sense of the word.³⁷ Their economic position and social status lay between the poor, the tenant, and unskilled laborer and the powerful merchant, official, and upper literati at the apex of society. The majority could read and write some characters and enjoyed living standards of modest comfort. In order to see how this group came into existence, we must examine the settlement patterns over this period and describe how cities, towns, and villages evolved.

Colonization and the Formation of Community

The Chinese colonizing Taiwan originated from four principal administrative departments in Fukien: Hsing-hua, Ch'uan-chou, Chang-chou and T'ing-chou, which contained fifteen districts; settlers migrating from Kwangtung came from three principal departments: Hui-chou, Ch'ao-chou, and Chia-ying-chou, which contained eight counties.³⁸ These densely populated districts, located in the hilly sections of these two provinces but yet close to the sea or main rivers leading to the sea, supplied Taiwan with virtually all its immigrants. As early as the late Ming period, colonists had made the crossing, first to the Pescadores and An-p'ing or Tanshui and Keelung, and then moving slowly, fanning out in these districts to establish villages and market towns. Given the available information on when areas within each district became settled, it is possible to construct maps for each district to show settlement patterns. In the following table (Table 18), I have selected only three districts to show the complex pattern in which areas first became settled. I selected these areas merely to provide uniform coverage for the chief south, central, and northern districts of the island.

TABLE 18
Chinese Colonization in Taiwan for Three Districts According to Time

| <i>Geographic Area</i> | <i>Administration District</i> | <i>Township (Li or Pao)</i> | <i>Approximate Period of First Colonization</i> |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| North | Tanshui | Ta chia jui | 1662-1722 |
| | | Hsing-chih | 1662-1723 |
| | | Chih lan ehr | Before 1684 |
| | | Pai-chieh | 1723-1735 |
| | | Chih lan i | Before 1644 |
| | | Chih lan san | Before 1644 |
| | | Pa li pao | Before 1644 |
| | | Ch'uan-shan | 1723-1735 |
| | | T'ao-chien | Before 1644 |
| | | Hai-shan | 1736-1795 |

37 The precise size of this middle class is still unknown for both Taiwan and mainland China. A careful quantitative analysis of the first Japanese population census in Taiwan together with a comparison of the occupational structure might provide a crude estimate of the size of this middle class. This is an important area of research which has been neglected for too long. It is quite possible that this traditional society had produced a much larger middle class stratum than pre-modern Europe had done. If so, this finding would have an extremely important bearing upon our assessment of the quality of life in pre-modern China.

38 Sekiguchi Masataka, "Taichū chihō ijūminshi" (A History of Settlers in the Taichung Region), *Taiwan kanshū kiji*, 1:6 (June 1901), pp.3-4.

| | | | |
|--------------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|
| Central | Chang-hua | Hsien-tung | Before 1662 |
| | | Ma-chih | Before 1662 |
| | | Yen wu hsia | 1662-1722 |
| | | Wu-hsi | 1662-1722 |
| | | Ehr lin hsia | 1723-1735 |
| | | Tung lo tung | 1662-1722 |
| | | Sha lien hsia | 1736-1794 |
| | | Hsien-hsi | 1662-1722 |
| | | Yen wu shang | 1736-1794 |
| | | Wu-tung | 1662-1722 |
| | | Ehr lin shang | 1662-1722 |
| | | Shen-keng | 1723-1735 |
| | | Tung lo hsi | 1622-1722 |
| | | South | Feng-shan |
| Hsing lu wai | Before 1662 | | |
| Hsiao chu shang | Before 1662 | | |
| Feng shan shang | Before 1662 | | |
| Pan p'ing | Before 1662 | | |
| Hsing lu nei | Before 1662 | | |
| Ch'ih-shan | 1662-1722 | | |
| Hsiao chu hsia | Before 1662 | | |
| Feng shan hsia | Before 1662 | | |
| Jen chu shang | Before 1662 | | |
| Jen chu hsia | Before 1662 | | |
| Chang chih i t'u | Before 1662 | | |
| Chia hsiang nei | 1735-1794 | | |
| Kuan yin shang | Before 1662 | | |
| Kum yin hsia | Before 1662 | | |
| Chiang hsi shang | 1662-1723 | | |
| Chiang hsi hsia | 1662-1723 | | |
| Chiang tung chung | Before 1662 | | |
| Wei-hsin | Before 1662 | | |
| Chang chih ehr t'u | Before 1662 | | |
| Chia hsiang wai | Before 1662 | | |
| Kuan yin chung | Before 1662 | | |
| Kuan yin nei | 1662-1723 | | |
| Chiang hsi chung | 1662-1723 | | |
| Chiang tung shang | 1662-1723 | | |
| Chiang tung hsia | Before 1622 | | |

Source: The above information was rearranged and selected from Inō Yoshinori, *Taiwan bunkashi*, III, pp.383-390.

Colonization took place in certain areas long before the Ch'ing established firm control over the island. In this early period parts of the Pescadore islands, sections of An-p'ing district, and small zones around Tanshui and Keelung harbors were lightly populated with clusters of villages dependent upon a few market towns and the principal port cities. Along the western coast a few small port cities evolved because they possessed convenient harbors and were located on small rivers originating from the mountainous interior. During the early and mid eighteenth century

colonists began pushing northward and toward the interior while from the north their counterparts moved southward from Tanshui and Keelung. At the same time modest movement eastward toward the interior began from the few port centers scattered along the western coast. The pace of rural settlement accelerated toward the end of the century and continued into the next century as immigration from the mainland increased. Settlers inched southward into I-lan on the eastern side of northern Taiwan. Other colonists moved south of Hsinshu city, and districts east of Taichung began to fill rapidly. In the extreme south migrants pushed eastward into Heng-ch'un district. By the second and third quarter of the nineteenth century a handful of settlers had even pushed into the eastern side of the island, a region long controlled by aboriginal tribes, and began clearing land to farm.

In the south the first settlers cleared land and clustered in small rural communities protected by fortifications made of bamboo, wood, or earth. Villages located on alluvial plains even built moats for their protection. In the north households congregated less in compact villages but located in twos and threes or separately some distance from another. Tomita Yoshirō has observed two distinct patterns of village settlement in Taiwan during this period. He argues that rural communities north of Taichung tended to consist of scattered families or small clusters of families located some distance apart. In the south villages appear to be larger in size and more compact with households congregated closer together.³⁹ Tomita explains this regional difference in village size and structure according to geography and settlement patterns. In the south water was less abundant, and farmers had to endure a long dry season during the months from November to March. In order to organize satisfactory means of providing adequate water supply, households clustered together where water was available. Furthermore, in the early period of colonization Tomita points out that households at first were located some distance apart, but families pooled their resources and obtained land which allowed them to settle in small villages. For self defense, villagers then constructed various kinds of fortifications to ward off possible attacks by aboriginal tribes and bandits. In the north rainfall was more abundant, and water could be found nearly everywhere. Settlers did not feel compelled to locate in special areas because of water availability. Perhaps the most important reason for the diffused pattern of rural household location was the manner in which land was reclaimed for farming. Wealthy *ta-tsu* households arranged to have land cleared and then brought tenant colonizers into the area to farm the land. Scattered parcels of land were given to each tenant. After some time these tenants had improved their economic position sufficiently to lease some of their land to other migrants who had moved into the area. Land became more fragmented in its use, and households continued to multiply on the basis of this early settlement pattern.

Tomita cites the importance of *ta-tsu* households reclaiming land as a key factor in differentiating village structure and size in the north from the south. He mentions the case of the wealthy *ta-tsu* family Chang Ta-ching who first began clearing forests northeast of Taichung for his lumber business.⁴⁰ When land became cleared, he gave parcels to tenants in lots of 2, 3, 4, and 6 *chia*. To assist the farmers to get a start Chang built irrigation facilities to guarantee sufficient water. He also planted trees and bamboo groves for reforestation and to protect tenants against

39 Tomita Yoshirō, "Taiwan shuraku no kenkyū" (A Study of Taiwan Villages), *Taiwan bunka ronsō*, II, pp.152-154. See in particular two maps showing the patterns of farms scattered about the landscape between pages 160 and 161.

40 *Ibid.*, pp.161-162.

typhoons. Much more geographical and historical research, particularly the construction of maps, must be undertaken to confirm Tomita's contention that village size and structure between the north and south differed as radically as he claimed and evolved according to the pattern he described because of geography and land reclamation procedures. It is doubtful that only these two broad patterns of village settlement and evolution took place, as colonization and economic development are complex phenomena not easily classified into several, simple categories.

A simple morphology can be advanced to describe and explain the evolution of communities larger than villages. At the top of the hierarchy were large metropolitan centers with population exceeding 15,000 to 20,000 people. These centers evolved to large size because they provided economic and/or administrative functions. Throughout the Ch'ing period Taiwan-fu was the largest city in Taiwan. It bore close resemblance to the typical large walled city on the mainland erected mainly for administration. W.A. Pickering in his travels through the island remarked that "Taiwanfoo is at the best nothing more than a typical Chinese town. One would see its characteristics repeated, with but few essential change, throughout China."⁴¹ In the 1850's the city contained around 70,000 people and was protected by a seven meter high wall extending nine kilometers around the city. The main roads, intersecting at right angles, were lined by homes constructed of bamboo or earth, covered with straw. Many homes had a rural seclusion derived from these bamboo fences or cactus hedges in front. The various public markets served to distribute food and basic essentials throughout the city. A main street led from the west gate to the prefectural yamen. The city's most impressive edifices were the yamen, the residence of the highest ranking military general, two large temples, and the examination hall. Pleasant gardens and parks dotted the city, giving it a tranquil calm.

Other large cities were Tanshui in the north which achieved importance and size for economic reasons. In addition, numerous, small port cities dotted the western coast: Ma-t'ou, Yen-shui, P'o-hsi, Pei-kang, Chung-kang, Ta-ch'i, Hsin-chuang, Pan-chiao, Hsi-chih, Tung-kang, Lu-kang, and Wu-hsi.⁴² After 1895 only the latter three ports continued to operate; the remainder declined to small rural market town status as trade shifted toward the Taipei to Kaohsiung inter-island railroad. During the Ch'ing period these ports played an important role in Taiwan's expanding foreign and domestic trade. In these ports the merchant guilds managed their activities and maintained a traffic of goods with market towns in the interior. Tanshui was definitely becoming the most important port in the island in the late nineteenth century as large ocean vessels came as far up the Tanshui river as Hsin-chiang, docked and were unloaded by some 200 to 300 small boats which operated between Hsin-chiang and Meng-chai.

Aside from large port cities there were district capitals serving as administrative centers, but in many instances also providing economic functions of trade and handicraft production. By the late nineteenth century every district capital was surrounded by large, imposing walls, many of which like Taiwan-fu and Chang-hua had been rebuilt several times. These walls were constructed of dirt, brick, and ceramic tile to a height of no more than 12 to 18 feet with a fairly wide base. Officials and literati raised the necessary funds to employ workmen and purchase materials for their construction. To do this officials sometimes purchased land or residential homes for leasing;

41 W. A. Pickering, *Pioneering on Formosa: Recollections of Adventures Among Mandarins, Wreckers, and Head-Hunting Savages*, London, 1898, p.33.

42 Tomita Yoshiro, *op. cit.*, p.199.

the rents obtained were allocated specifically for building costs or annual repair.⁴³ Other times a surcharge was levied on the principal crop collected and exported from the district capital.

The walls of Taiwan-fu were built after the great Chu I-kuei rebellion, and thereafter periodically rebuilt, enlarged, and improved. The last major renovation occurred in the 1820s.⁴⁴ Northward in Feng-shan district, the district capital looked out upon tall, majestic mountains. The scene of this walled city nestled below these jagged peaks so inspired the official Hsieh P'ing-hsiang, that he composed a poem in the form created by the T'ang poet Liu Yu-hsi when he was stationed in Szechwan.⁴⁵

Rows of mountains screen our gateway to the sea in the east;
the atmosphere of this frontier barricade is imposing.
It reminds me of Kushan (Drum mountain) and Ch'i-wei (Bannertail)
brightly confronting one another in Fukien.

Walled cities of district capitals to the north were built in the nineteenth century: Hsinchu in 1825; Ta-chia in 1824; Taipei in 1881; I-lan in 1813. In the south walled cities were constructed as early as the second quarter of the eighteenth century and after: Chia-i in 1723; Chang-hua in 1731; and Feng-shan in 1788.⁴⁶ The dating of city wall construction shows the uneven regional development over this period; southern districts were well advanced by 1800, but only during the nineteenth century had district capitals become large and wealthy enough to construct the standard walls with their four or more entry gates.

Finally, there were towns of small and large size scattered about in each district which had evolved primarily because of the economic function they played in that district's economic development. These towns served as collection centers for rice, sugar, and other raw materials which were then packaged and shipped to either the district capitals or the port cities. The transportation system to move commodities was appallingly poor. Inhabitants of Taiwan-fu or travellers setting forth from that city found that the few decent roads emanating from the city quickly ended in foot paths virtually impassable in poor weather. Not a paved road existed in the province in the 1870s, and travellers desiring to reach the north from Taiwan-fu found it safer and quicker to go by sea. An official of the Imperial Maritime Customs Service complained that "in South Formosa there are no roads in the European sense of the word, — the foot paths and dry water-courses which do duty as roads have no claim to be so entitled, for they are in no way kept in repair, nor have they been macadamized, raised or drained in any way."⁴⁷ C. Imbault-Huart reported that it normally required ten days to travel from Tainan to Tanshui, a time length regarded as excellent, as excursions into the central highland along the way could prolong

43 "Honto shojo no kenchiku oyobi kanri no hōhō" (The Methods of Constructing and Managing the Various Walled Cities of Taiwan), *Taiwan kanshū kiji*, 2:1 (Jan. 1902), p.48.

44 "Taiwan chikujo enkakukō" (A Brief Account of City Fortifications in Taiwan), *Taiwan kanshū kiji*, 2:3 (March 1902), p.31.

45 *Ibid*, p.25.

46 The first walls built around Chu-lo district seat before this region was divided into Chang-hua and Chia-i were entirely made of wood. Wooden walls, in fact, constituted the principal form of city walls before the late 1720s. For a map and sketch of this see Economic Research Office, *Chu-lo hsien-chih* (The Gazetteer for Chu-lo District), Taipei, 1962, pp.24-25.

47 "Inland Communications in China," *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, 28, Shanghai, 1898, pp.95-96.

the trip as much as forty days.⁴⁸ The movement of goods has been well described by an observer who accurately depicts how villagers had to ship their commodities to market towns or coastal port cities.⁴⁹

Produce from the interior is conveyed in bullock carts either direct to the port or to a minor port, to be brought on in small native craft by sea. In the case of goods going into the interior the mode of conveyance is the same. The carts are clumsy, with huge solid wooden wheels, which, as they turn on wooden axle-trees, make an excruciating noise. In winter – the dry weather season – the roads on the plain are deep in dust, while in summer – the wet weather season – they become seas of mud, and traffic has sometimes to be suspended altogether. The various small rivers which run into the sea on the west are too shallow for navigation, except by very small boats for short distances.

The difficulties of shipping large volumes more than ten to twenty miles limited specialization, prevented the market for local producers to enlarge, and necessitated the complex hierarchy of commercial organizations described in the previous section.

Community Organization

According to the first Japanese census of 1905 seven out of ten working males were employed in agriculture and fishing.⁵⁰ Specific information for percentage of families located in villages as opposed to towns of size over 1500 persons is not available, so that the occupation pattern of 1905 must serve as a rough gauge to measure urbanization at this time. As of 1900 seven or eight out of ten families probably resided in villages; society was still overwhelmingly rural, and the village community predominated as the basic social unit. Considerable variation in community organization and life certainly existed, particularly between the purely Fukienese, Hakka, and aboriginal villages. Until specific materials are examined and new information gathered, we must remain content with the very rough outline sketched below.

The village or *chuang* had to have some form of leadership to keep families together and provide for their interests. The activities and functions undertaken by this leadership very likely depended upon the level of economic development and social stability achieved. In the eighteenth century leaders were still probably concerned more with protecting the village from outsiders. As security became commonplace, village interests became more complex. They might have involved access to water, rights to farm certain lands, privileges to use forested areas, and claims to bamboo groves. Sometimes quarrels between families or different villages concerning marriage contracts, land tenure agreements, or debts might embroil the entire village if a family was sufficiently powerful to muster village support for its ends. Did inter-village conflicts decline or increase as social stability and economic growth advanced during the nineteenth century? Was violence more characteristic of this society in the nineteenth as compared to the twentieth century? These are important questions to raise, but until the history of individual villages are written we will not have any answers.

48 C. Imbault-Huart, *L'île Formose: Histoire et Description*, Taipei, 1968, pp.280-281.

49 J.D. Clark, *op. cit.*, p.92.

50 George W. Barclay, *op. cit.*, p.60.

Were village leaders supplied by a few, dominant lineages in a village? From information collected by the Japanese in the 1930s, it appears that by this time villages contained up to a half dozen dominant lineages as observed by the same number of surname households being conspicuous. In Table 19 villages with surname households are compared according to their north and south location.

TABLE 19
Distribution of Household Surnames in Selected Villages of the North and South (ca. 1930s)

| Village Number | Number of Households | Number of Surnames | Distribution of Family Surnames by Top Five Ranks (Percent) | | | | | Percent of Total | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|--------------------|---|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|------------------|------|
| | | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | | |
| I. Northern Taiwan* | 1 | 236 | 33 | Lin (29.7) | Ch'en (12.3) | Chang (10.3) | Ts'ai (8.1) | Yeh (5.1) | 65.5 |
| | 2 | 199 | 28 | Ch'en (29.1) | Yeh (11.1) | Lin (10.6) | Ou (5.0) | Li (5.0) | 60.8 |
| | 3 | 229 | 32 | Li (31.4) | Lin (15.3) | Chang (8.3) | Ch'en (7.4) | Huang (6.1) | 68.5 |
| | 4 | 170 | 25 | Lin (56.5) | Huang (6.5) | Li (5.3) | Yeh (5.3) | Ch'en (4.1) | 77.7 |
| | 5 | 63 | 13 | Lin (65.1) | Ch'en (6.3) | Wang (6.3) | Li (4.8) | Chang (3.2) | 85.7 |
| | 6 | 138 | 21 | Ch'en (22.4) | Lin (16.4) | Wang (11.2) | Wu (9.7) | Li (7.5) | 67.2 |
| | 7 | 60 | 20 | Yu (35.0) | Liao (16.7) | Lin (13.3) | Li (5.0) | Lu (3.3) | 73.3 |
| | 8 | 117 | 22 | Lin (32.5) | Li (7.7) | Lai (7.7) | Yeh (6.8) | Chuang (6.8) | 61.5 |
| | 9 | 100 | 17 | Lin (26.0) | Lai (24.0) | Shen (11.0) | Chung (9.0) | Li (4.0) | 74.0 |
| | 10 | 240 | 33 | Lin (53.3) | Ch'en (7.5) | Huang (3.8) | Lu (3.8) | Lai (2.9) | 71.3 |
| | 11 | 247 | 31 | Lin (23.1) | Huang (17.4) | Ch'en (13.0) | Chang (12.6) | Ch'u (5.7) | 71.8 |
| | 12 | 121 | 17 | Ch'en (33.9) | Hsü (22.3) | Lin (9.1) | Chang (6.6) | Yang (6.6) | 78.5 |
| | 13 | 184 | 32 | Li (11.9) | Hsü (11.4) | Huang (10.3) | Yu (6.5) | Ch'en (6.5) | 46.6 |
| | 14 | 103 | 20 | Lu (44.7) | Chang (10.7) | Ch'en (7.8) | Chien (5.8) | Hsü (5.8) | 74.8 |
| | 15 | 76 | 21 | Wu (15.8) | Huang (14.5) | Ch'en (10.5) | Tan (10.5) | Lin (9.2) | 60.5 |
| | 16 | 56 | 15 | Ch'iu (21.4) | K'ang (21.4) | Huang (17.9) | Lu (8.9) | Wu (8.5) | 78.1 |
| | 17 | 76 | 19 | Lu (30.3) | Hsü (9.2) | Li (9.2) | Huang (7.9) | Liu (6.6) | 63.2 |
| | 18 | 138 | 24 | Hsü (36.2) | Chang (11.6) | Li (8.0) | Huang (6.5) | Hsieh (5.8) | 68.1 |
| | 19 | 228 | 35 | Chiang (10.1) | Lo (10.1) | Hsü (7.9) | Yeh (7.0) | P'eng (6.1) | 41.2 |
| | 20 | 187 | 34 | Hsü (15.0) | P'ing (13.4) | Wu (11.8) | Chang (7.0) | Ch'en (6.4) | 53.6 |
| II. Southern Taiwan** | 1 | 239 | 32 | Lai (32.2) | Lin (26.8) | Ch'en (8.4) | Chang (6.3) | Huang (4.3) | 78.0 |
| | 2 | 207 | 38 | Ch'en (31.4) | Chang (6.8) | Chung (6.8) | Lin (5.8) | Huang (4.8) | 55.6 |
| | 3 | 168 | 28 | Lai (48.2) | Chang (11.3) | Chung (6.0) | Yang (3.6) | Ch'en (3.6) | 72.7 |
| | 4 | 272 | 38 | Ch'en (21.3) | Liu (15.1) | Li (9.9) | Tai (8.8) | Chang (7.0) | 62.1 |
| | 5 | 244 | 32 | Kao (49.6) | Chang (7.9) | Ch'en (6.1) | Lin (4.1) | Cheng (3.7) | 71.4 |
| | 6 | 178 | 33 | Kuo (16.3) | Ch'en (13.5) | Chu (9.6) | Liu (7.9) | Lai (7.3) | 54.6 |
| | 7 | 126 | 33 | Wu (24.6) | Ch'en (9.5) | Hsu (7.1) | Yang (4.8) | Liu (4.0) | 50.0 |
| | 8 | 255 | 33 | Ch'en (22.0) | Chang (18.0) | Kuo (16.5) | Liu (6.7) | Su (3.9) | 67.1 |
| | 9 | 97 | 24 | Wu (24.7) | Wang (16.5) | Ch'en (10.4) | K'o (7.2) | Yang (4.1) | 62.9 |
| | 10 | 40 | 12 | Wu (57.5) | Cheng (7.5) | Yang (7.5) | Lin (7.5) | Liu (2.5) | 82.5 |
| | 11 | 17 | 10 | Liu (23.5) | Pang (17.6) | Yang (7.6) | Hung (5.9) | Ts'ai (5.9) | 60.5 |
| | 12 | 188 | 25 | Wang (16.5) | Yen (13.9) | Ch'en (10.6) | Chang (10.6) | K'ang (9.0) | 60.6 |
| | 13 | 37 | 9 | Cheng (48.7) | Liao (13.5) | Ch'en (10.8) | Huang (8.1) | Lin (5.4) | 86.5 |
| | 14 | 342 | 37 | Lien (40.1) | Lin (15.8) | Ch'en (7.3) | Huang (5.0) | Ts'ai (5.0) | 73.2 |
| | 15 | 107 | 27 | Ch'en (14.0) | Chou (12.1) | Wu (12.1) | Huang (11.2) | Ts'ai (7.5) | 56.9 |
| | 16 | 53 | 22 | Wu (22.6) | Ch'en (17.0) | Liu (15.1) | Yao (7.5) | Huang (3.8) | 66.0 |
| | 17 | 393 | 32 | Li (15.0) | K'o (13.2) | Chou (10.9) | Wu (8.9) | Ch'en (7.9) | 55.9 |
| | 18 | 226 | 35 | Chang (13.3) | Ch'en (10.6) | Li (8.0) | Tseng (6.2) | Ou (6.2) | 44.3 |
| | 19 | 204 | 17 | Kuo (26.0) | Huang (14.2) | Wu (8.0) | Hsiao (9.8) | Kiang (8.8) | 66.8 |
| | 20 | 346 | 39 | Hu (46.8) | Ch'en (14.2) | Lo (6.1) | Lin (2.6) | Wang (2.3) | 72.0 |
| | 21 | 442 | 36 | Wang (28.1) | Liang (13.6) | Su (12.0) | Lin (8.8) | Chang (7.5) | 70.0 |
| | 22 | 401 | 21 | Hsieh (48.6) | Fang (23.9) | Wong (6.0) | Li (5.2) | Ch'en (4.2) | 87.9 |
| | 23 | 391 | 19 | Kuo (48.1) | Liu (31.1) | Huang (7.0) | Wong (5.0) | Hsü (1.5) | 92.7 |
| | 24 | 327 | 18 | Lin (76.5) | Huang (5.5) | Ts'ai (4.3) | Ch'en (3.1) | Wu (2.4) | 91.8 |

* Denotes communities of scattered households.

** Denotes communities of conglomerate households.

Source: Tomita Yoshirō, "Taiwan shuraku no kenkyū," pp. 178-181. I have not listed the village name but merely given each village a number.

In specific villages households of one surname might account for as high as thirty to forty percent of village families, and in other instances even higher, but generally they accounted for less. If conditions of the 1930s approximated those of the late nineteenth century, it would appear that several key lineages had emerged in most villages, and the probability was quite high that they

could supply many, if not all, of the village leaders and *pao-chia* headmen. However, the further we retreat into the past, the less likely these same conditions existed. As family formation was more infrequent and social instability more wide spread, conditions as in villages 9 and 12 in part II of Table 19 might have been the typical pattern. Only after sufficient time had elapsed and families achieved large size and multiplied could a few, powerful lineages emerge and conditions like those in Table 19 become observable.⁵¹ This development probably took place at an uneven pace throughout the nineteenth century.

The successful families who either reclaimed land for the *ta-tsu* families or acquired land on their own certainly produced many village leaders. But wealth was not the sole criterion for being selected as a village leader. Village leaders were expected to maintain law and order in their communities and provide the necessary conditions by which households could improve their material life and live in harmony with one another. Being a village leader meant resolving disputes, mobilizing resources of money and labor for village projects on an equitable burden basis from families, and dealing with officials in which village and family interests were involved. These tasks required special skills of perceiving differences in human character and dealing with such differences accordingly, suggesting in an imaginative way means for obtaining agreement between feuding families or individuals, and having the patience to see that tasks once begun were completed to everyone's satisfaction. Therefore, special leadership attributes were as important and necessary as wealth to manage community affairs.

In the early period of rural community settlement the elders comprising the village council chose a village headman from among their ranks. As district administrative control extended to villages large and small, officials insisted upon having some guarantee that village headmen were able and reliable. The general procedure that evolved was for the village elders (*ch'i-lao*) to petition the yamen and express their preference for a particular village leader. If their petition was granted, the village leader or *tsung-li* was authorized to represent the village in all dealings with outsiders and charged with maintaining peace and order within the village.⁵² The village headman retained his position as long as he was able and satisfied in his job, and villagers were happy with his performance. He was assisted by a council (*tung-shih-hui*) and an assistant (*chuang-fu*). The village council and elders helped the headman resolve disputes and preserve order. They petitioned officials when local conditions became dangerous for person and property. They worked closely with *pao-chia* leaders to provide village defense, register households, and see that village taxes were paid on time. They also assisted officials when they carried out new land surveys. Many of the village elders could read and write some characters, and frequently they had to demonstrate their abilities to uphold customary law.

Each village contained a temple, usually constructed when the village was first settled. The temple was managed by a group of directors (*tung-shih*), numbering from several to a half dozen

51 This assertion is also confirmed in Tai Teruo, "Taiwan narabi ni Shindai Shina no sonshō oyobi sonshōbyō" (Villages and Village Temples in China during the Ch'ing Period and in Taiwan), *Taiwan bunka ronsō*, I, p.229. Tai points out in this study that there did not appear to be any villages based upon a single lineage group in which all households had the same surname. There were only a few cases of this sort in mainland China.

52 Tai yen-hui, "Ch'ing-tai T'ai-wan hsiang-chuang chih chien-li ch'i ch'i tsu-chih," p.63; Inō Yoshinori, *op. cit.*, I, p.650; Tai Teruo, *op. cit.*, p.292.

qualified persons who kept accounts, managed the temple's finances, and used its property for earning income.⁵³ These temples supported themselves through village donations or by leasing temple lands and collecting rents. Often a powerful lineage erected the temple and managed it in the interests of both the lineage and the village. All villagers used the village temple, and special rites paying homage to the gods of land and harvest were performed by the village headman.⁵⁴ In the event of severe droughts, prayers for rain were conducted in the temple.

Many villages drew up special rules governing the use of community property to distinguish it from that of private property. These same rules applied in the village's relationship with other villages. They pertained to the use of meadows, forests, and water by villagers, established fines for households caught stealing grain and property from other households, and administered various kinds of punishment for adultery, gambling, and drunken behavior.⁵⁵ The village headman and council passed judgement when such rules had been broken, administered the collection of fines, had offenders beaten for minor offenses, or even expelled individuals from the village for serious crimes. The origins of most village feuds lay in villages disagreeing over one another's claims to certain lands covered in these village rules. A good example of one village's claim to such land is that of Chang-lu village in the township of Hsiang-tung-chung in the Kaohsiung area which claimed in its records to have the right to a barren, unreclaimed area of 118 *chia* called Lao-chin-shan.⁵⁶ There was a small organization of directors (*tung-shih*) who supervised the use of this land for the villagers of Chang-lu. Chang-lu villagers had migrated from Kwangtung, and for over a century they claimed riparian rights to this land. The first settlers of Chang-lu had purchased this land from the aborigines. The villagers quartered their livestock on it. During the rainy season of July and August the thick grass of these barren lands prevented extensive flooding. After the rainy season villagers entered these fields and cut the high grass, each household cutting two cartfuls of grass for its needs.

Every area containing more than a score of villages constituted a small sub-unit within the district which I have constantly referred to as a township. In the south as far as Heng-ch'un, these areas were called *li*; north of I-lan they were *pao*; on the eastern side of the island they were *hsiang*, and in the Pescadores *ao*.⁵⁷ Each township usually contained one or more market towns (*chieh*) in which each town was merely a larger concentration of households than a village. Like villagers entered these fields and cut the high grass, each household cutting two cartfuls of grass form of earthen wall to ward off attacking bandits or aboriginal tribes. Each town also had its tutelary head who was selected by the same procedure that villagers selected their headmen. The town elders and literati members petitioned the district yamen to appoint the headman of their choosing, who often was a member of the literati class. If the district yamen agreed to the petition, the town head or *tsung-ch'ien-shou* then became responsible for managing the town's

53 For an excellent account of the activities of *tung-shih*, particularly in collecting funds for temples and managing clan, village, and city temples see the long dialogue between Japanese officials and Chinese elders in "Kyūkan mondō roku" (A Record of Questions and Answers Concerning Old Customs), *Taiwan kanshū kiji*, 1:5 (May 1901), pp.36-44.

54 Tai Teruo, *op. cit.*, p.307. In his study of village and village temples Tai Teruo stresses that the temple played the same central role in village life as the parish did in rural England. (p.305)

55 Tai Teruo, *op. cit.*, pp.276-277.

56 *Taiwan shihō*, I, Part 1, p.467.

57 "Ch'ing-tai T'ai-wan hsiang-chuang chih chien-li chi ch'i tsu-chih," p.61.

affairs.⁵⁸ His duties were similar to that of the village *tsung-li*, and he too operated with the aid of an assistant and a council. The larger the town, the greater the likelihood that the leaders officiating and managing town activities were members of the literati.

In the chief town of each township the district *yamen* also designated an individual who had been suggested by petition from local literati and elders to carry out important duties of registration, collecting taxes, and apprehending criminals.⁵⁹ This individual, the *ti-pao*, served as an important lower echelon administrator without rank or formal salary. Quite often the *ti-pao* managed the principal town of a township while at the same time being responsible for the affairs of the township.⁶⁰ The *ti-pao* also settled feuds and arbitrated cases involving disputes over interpreting customary law. In this respect his role was the same as that of village and town headmen. Within these towns temples played the very same functions they performed in villages; the common people went there to worship their gods, and town leaders performed the expected religious rites. These town temples were also managed by directors (*tung-shih*) who managed their wealth.

The Quality of Life

Sinological studies, strangely enough, have ignored any analysis of the material standard of life in China. Compare, for example, the countless studies devoted to linguistics, problems of textual translation, and political organization with those systematically describing and examining in detail the living conditions of the Chinese people. While local gazetteer materials contain some fragmentary information about customs and living standards, scholars in the final analysis will probably have to mine the numerous literary materials for bits and pieces to recreate the actual living conditions in pre-modern China. My comments below are most sketchy, and my intent is merely to whet the appetite of the reader for more of the same and encourage another researcher to take up this theme with tenacious zeal.

By the beginning of the second quarter of the eighteenth century literati from the mainland who had travelled in Taiwan and observed local conditions closely were struck by the care-free mode of life of the people, the ease by which they parted with large sums for every day living, and the higher living standards that appear to have evolved by this time. After the Chu I-kuei rebellion Lan Lu-chou wrote the following poem describing the Taiwan he observed of the mid 1720's.⁶¹

58 Inō Yoshinori, *op. cit.*, I, p.649.

59 *Ibid.*, p.650.

60 "Ch'ing-tai T'ai-wan hsiang-chuang chih chien-li chi ch'i tsu-chih," p.62.

61 Quoted in "Taichū chihō ijūminshi," p.19. This poem is from Lan Lu-chou, *Tung-cheng chi* (Collected Writings on an Expedition to the East). Elsewhere Lan Lu-chou has described the spending habits of the migrants in these terms.

When the wealthy gather, they hold very elaborate celebrations. They spend anywhere from 2 taels and 500 or 600 copper cash to 3 or 4 taels. The amount they spend on these affairs is equivalent to the property wealth of a middle grade family. The wealthy also wear elegant clothes of silk and satin. Even a person without anything to eat will insist upon wearing similar attire in order to conform to custom, although it might mean his starving to death.

Quoted in *Chōsa keizai shiryō hōkoku*, II, p.514.

Luxury and extravagance are the pitfalls of Taiwanese customs,
 Which still persist even after the great rebellion.*
 One banquet costs a middle family's fortune; and fine garments
 Startle even men of high station.
 The farmers are lazy, and the intellectuals are not diligent,
 Scrambling for trivialities and becoming cruel and arrogant.
 Quarrelsome and game for litigation,
 They give play to their imagination.
 The high and the low without distinction,
 Join hands over the gambling table.
 What is needed is strict restriction,
 With an authority as sharp as a knife's edge.
 Don't ever say that I am pedantic!
 Just think it over carefully by yourself.
 We must be severe like fire, not like water;
 It's the medicine for the hour.

According to Lan Lu-chou Confucian ethics and behavioral norms rapidly eroded away in this frontier area. Officials must sternly initiate frugality, the virtues of hard work, honesty, and humility amongst the people both of high station and low. Lan Lu-chou, an upright, incorruptible scholar of the literati class, was naturally appalled by the behavior he found in Taiwan. Therefore, his rhetoric must be understood as the carpings of a zealous official, but his observations that the common people ate and dressed better than the people of mainland China suggest that the material standard of life on the island was indeed quite high. Local records also seem to support this assertion.

What truly impressed travellers and officials touring Taiwan was the absence of any sharp distinctions between the life styles of rich and poor, particularly as related to dress. The gazetteer describing conditions in Chu-lo district in the early eighteenth century comments as follows.⁶²

The people are neither rich nor poor. The clothes and caps they wear are of beautiful colors. Their boots and stockings are made of cloth, and their shoes are brocaded. After only wearing them a short while, they discard them.

Later in the same century Chou Hsi described life in Chang-hua in the same manner. "The people are neither rich nor poor, and their clothes, worn by master and servant alike, are made of fine silk gauze."⁶³ Hsieh Chin-luan writes of conditions in Taiwan district for an even later period as follows.⁶⁴

* This is a passing reference to the great Chu I-kuei rebellion.

62 Chou Chung-hsuan, *Chu-lo hsien-chih* (The Gazetteer for Chu-lo District), Bank of Taiwan: Taipei, 1962, Vol. 2, p.146. In mainland China, however, the living styles of rich and poor were conspicuously different. For an excellent description of such social class differences in eating and living standards see Hsiao I-shan, *Ch'ing-tai t'ung-shih* (A History of the Ch'ing Period), Taipei, 1962, II, p.551.

63 Chou Hsi, *Chang-hua hsien-chih* (The Gazetteer for Chang-hua District), Bank of Taiwan: Taipei, 1962, Vol. 2, p.292.

64 Hsieh Chin-luan, *Hsü-hsiu T'ai-wan hsien-chih* (Revised Gazetteer for Taiwan District), Bank of Taiwan: Taipei, 1962, Vol. 4, p.51. Hsieh also mentions that

The wealthy are like the poor and those in between live no differently.
 The author of the *Shih-shu hsien-ch'ing* (The Private Thoughts of a Yamen Official), Bank of Taiwan: Taipei, 1961, p.19, remarks that even the farmers wore good quality clothing and shoes and had ample food to eat.

The clothing worn by high and low is made of fine silk gauze. After coming to Taiwan, people become very extravagant in their living customs.

Ch'en Wen-ta comments that in Feng-shan district "the clothes that people wear are elegant and luxurious."⁶⁵ And in Tanshui sub-prefecture the clothing of the common people are made of silk gauze; the silk used for such clothing was imported from Kiangsu, Chekiang, and Kwangtung provinces.⁶⁶ Men and women alike seemed to prefer colors of bright red.

As in most frontier areas in the early phase of settlement building, people are more concerned with community affairs and less obsessed with their personal fortunes. For this reason the early migrants to Taiwan, interested as they were in community building, found it distasteful to allow any of their group to remain in abject poverty. Wang Pi-ch'ang, writing in his revised local history of Taiwan district, remarks about this phenomenon.⁶⁷

Everywhere that one observes, there seems to be general sympathy for the poor and the sick. Although the people are poor, none become slaves.

The remark that children, particularly females, are not permitted to be sold into slavery can be found in virtually all the district histories for the eighteenth century. The people also ate well. Shen Mou-yin, in his history of Miao-li district, stresses that three meals were eaten each day between sun rise and sun set. The people made excellent wine from the rice, and noodles were very popular.⁶⁸ The common people also frequently ate pork, and even laborers moving from job to job could afford to eat fish and shrimp.⁶⁹

Other signs of prosperity were the great abundance of water buffalo. Throughout southern and central Taiwan every farmstead seems to have owned at least one such animal, and in many cases even two. Livestock such as pigs and fowl abounded.⁷⁰ Travelers were careful to point out the elegance of shrines and temples, and how well these structures were maintained.⁷¹ The Taiwanese also were inveterate gamblers, and both young and old participated in this pursuit. This custom seems to have been more pervasive in this frontier region than on the mainland. The general atmosphere of abundance and confidence expressed by the people in the economy and the security of employment can be observed in the following remarks by the official Yu Yung-ho who visited the island as early as 1697.⁷²

Although the prices of goods here have doubled, traders do not hesitate to stock goods. Customers pay their bills promptly. Employees plan their leisure time carefully, and even if the opportunity arises to earn an extra 100 copper cash, they are uninterested. Even the children carry considerable sums of money on their person. The people are not hesitant at all to spend their money.

65 Ch'en Wen-ta, *Feng-shan hsien-chih* (The Gazetteer for Feng-shan District), Bank of Taiwan: Taipei, 1962, Vol. 2, p.80. Ch'en Wen-ta also points out that these living conditions existed as far south as An-p'ing (p.80).

66 Ch'en P'ei-kuei, *Tan-shui t'ing-chih* (The Gazetteer for Tanshui Sub-prefecture), Bank of Taiwan: Taipei, 1963, Vol. 2, p.300.

67 Wang Pi-ch'ang, *Chung-hsui T'ai-wan hsien-chih* (Revised Gazetteer for Taiwan Districts), Bank of Taiwan: Taipei, 1961, Vol. 4, p.397.

68 Shen Mou-yin, *Miao-li hsien-chih* (The Gazetteer for Miao-li District), Bank of Taiwan: Taipei, 1962, Vol.1, p.116.

69 *Chang-hua hsien-chih*, Vol. 2, p.293.

70 *Ibid.*, p.294.

71 *Chung-hsui T'ai-wan hsien-chih*, Vol. 4, p.402.

72 Quoted in *Chōsa keizai shiryō hōkoku*, II, p.514.

Our best historical evidence for living standards is from eighteenth century records. For the nineteenth century our information becomes more fragmentary and uncertain. It is well known, for example, that in this century cotton cloth became a prevalent substitute for silk in the weaving of everyday clothing. As cotton was cheaper than silk, the income effect from such commodity substitution presumably permitted families and individuals to spend a higher percentage of annual income for other goods and services such as furniture and household improvement. It is not clear, however, to what extent farmers built their homes with ceramic tile instead of thatched straw or increased their livestock number, donated more money to temples, or spent more lavishly for annual festivals and funerals. While such trends are difficult to identify, it is of some interest to examine the remarks of western travellers who toured Taiwan in the 1850's and 1860's and appreciate their insights and assessments of the quality of life of the people. One of the most detailed, lively written, and illuminating statements ever written about the peasantry by a foreigner in the nineteenth century is the following statement by the French consular official C. Imbault-Huart who has written one of the best general histories of Taiwan for this period. His lengthy comment deserves to be translated.⁷³

One finds in the colony of Formosa the same qualities and defects of the peasant of continental China. Like the Chinese peasant, the Formosan peasant works endlessly, with patience and perseverance, but without any care for the future; like the Chinese peasant the Formosan peasant is exploited by the moneylenders who demand on occasion payment of all or part of his harvest. The description below, which I have alluded to elsewhere as the condition of the Chinese peasant, certainly applies to the Formosan colonist. Permit me to reproduce it here.

Stooped over all day long, often under a burning sun, immersed in water or mud up to his knees in order to till the soil or plant rice, the peasants can hardly rest even for a moment to swallow down their bowl of rice, a mere pittance of food which their wives or children have brought them in the field, or to take several puffs from their old pipes, blackened by smoke. The peasants have a little more leisure during the slack farming season, yet this enforced leisure is only relative. They leave for a brief time their work in the fields, to pick up, for the most part, manual work of the most diverse kind: weaving straw mats; making utensils, spinning, etc. in order to augment wherever possible their small earnings.

Their conditions, in sum, are even more miserable and pitiful than those of our own peasantry. The latter work far less, supported as they are by the recent inventions of modern science, complaining always, ending up by accumulating a considerable sum of money. The Chinese use their resources while enduring great hardship, yet never murmuring a word, always working as they must, but never becoming wealthy. They earn at most 50 copper cash (around 48 cents) a day. That suffices to support them – on truly a prodigious economic and social scale – and to maintain an entire family of women and children; the family is of large size, for the Chinese are accustomed to marry very young and place great importance on the glory and honor of having a large progeny.

The Chinese peasant lives in his cottage made of bamboo or mud, with a bowl of rice for nourishment, a cup of tea for drink, a wooden plough to work his fields, and some buffalo to turn the wheel for irrigation; he considers himself happy if after paying his taxes and levies to the government, if what remains thanks to the gods of the household and soil, will carry him through to the end of the year. As his needs are few, he is content not to try and better his lot and that of his family. He is quite content to live from day to day: heedless of tomorrow is the principal trait of his character. One such peasant, a little more literate than his confreres but not any different from them, was with us on an outing in the neighborhood of Peking one day. While discussing this

73 *L'île Formose: Histoire et Description*, pp. 234-236.

lack of foresight, he suddenly burst out saying: "today we have wine so let us drink it; if tomorrow we have reason for sorrow, we will somehow endure it tomorrow." These words, which bring to mind the famous aphorism 'serious affairs are for tomorrow' indicate the very carefree nature of the Chinese peasant's character.

If the harvest is good, and if he obtains a good price for his products which nature unexpectedly provides, he has no concept of putting some of the remaining money, after having paid his moneylenders, in a bank or commercial firm as protection against bad years. Further, he does not conceive that the tables may turn upon him, and that fortune is fickle. He hastens to live high; he gives parties, invites friends to drink and eat; he buys handsome clothes, purchases some gifts for his wife and daughters, and then proceeds to spend the rest on smoking opium. And if the harvest is bad? He does not use good judgement. He runs to those he has entertained in the past and asks their assistance but meets only with disdain and contempt. He does not encounter a friend who will lend him the smallest sum at the legal interest rate, and so he has no other recourse but to return to the rapacious usurer to whom he has already pledged his fields and their future harvests or exchanged his clothes and jewels for a ticket from the pawnbroker which he had bought during better times but now receives a loan for only a quarter of their value in order to take care of his immediate needs. Happy indeed if his lack of foresight and his expensive vices have not obliged him to sell his small plot of land and take to the road begging.

I have quoted this long description because it contains not only some important truths and falsehoods about peasant life and character but because it offers a vision of the Chinese countryside and peasantry which persists as a standard caricature to this day. First, as Imbault-Huart correctly asserts, the conditions of life and behavior of the rural peoples of Taiwan and the mainland were similar.⁷⁴ The attributes of hard work, meager diet, and general hard life certainly characterized not only the Chinese but the Asian peasant life of this period, and they contrasted greatly to the character of the European peasant whose life had greatly improved due to an agricultural revolution. The attempts of farm families to use their labor at various tasks other than farming to earn income was also typical of the Taiwan peasant. The following description of farmers in Chang-hua district during the eighteenth century attests to their vigorous efforts to find additional work when farming did not require their attention.⁷⁵

In Chang-hua there is considerable arable land. The peasants busily farm, and in the fall they harvest a large crop. Even in their spare time they take their bullock and cart to look for employment. In winter they take their axes to the mountains and gather wood. After the harvest threshing, they take the sugar cane stalks and press them to make sugar.

But as already discussed above, the typical Chinese family was not the large, extended household of a dozen people or more. To be sure, arranged marriages were conducted for couples still of pre-adult age, but households constantly were forming in which the nuclear family predominated. The conditions of peasant life which Imbault-Huart described appear to apply more to the poor north China peasant than the Taiwan peasant, where grain was the staple, not rice. It is the mode of household expenditures which belie the carefree attitude of the peasant and his alleged disregard for the future. Peasants did spend lavishly for important events of the year and at important times in the cycle of the household: a birth, a wedding, or a funeral. But as I have argued elsewhere with reference to peasant consumption and saving habits during the twentieth

⁷⁴ On this important point the gazetteers describing customs and conditions also agree. See in particular *Chung-hsiu T'ai-wan hsien-chih*, Vol. 4, p.397; *Hsiü-hsui T'ai-wan hsien-chih*, Vol. 4, p.51.

⁷⁵ Bank of Taiwan, Economic Research Office, *T'ai-wan fang-chih hui-k'an ch'uan-san: Chang-hua hsien-chih* (The Revised Gazetteer Series for Taiwan, Vol. 3: The Local History of Chang-hua District), Taipei, 1959, p.137.

century, Chinese family farms had a high propensity to save, particularly from cash income.⁷⁶ They used these savings to buy additional land or to spend for relatives upon occasions which would strengthen kinship ties. These ceremonies or festivities were important reciprocal exchange relationships between members of the same lineage which formed the basis of so much rural cooperation and mutual help. Finally, the typical peasant, while fatalistic, daily worked to achieve specific short and long term goals, and he adhered to a fixed regimen to realize these goals. The happy go lucky nature of the peasantry described above simply does not characterize this class accurately at all.

By the end of the nineteenth century many western travellers in China and Taiwan began expressing their horror of the poverty of the people. These travellers came from societies which had been experiencing marked economic improvement for over a century or more and in which the living standard gap between East and West was becoming increasingly obvious. However, for those Chinese reared and accustomed to life on the mainland, general living conditions in Taiwan over this period appear to have been considerably better in spite of the fact that prices were higher. The backwardness of public health and medical facilities constituted an even more serious problem for the island than the mainland. The sub-tropical climate favored malaria and a host of diseases caused by parasites. Perhaps for this reason, the mean life expectancy of Taiwanese for different ages was still very low by the end of the nineteenth century. It is still not clear, however, if these conditions of life expectancy were higher or lower than on mainland China. From the first Japanese population census G. Barclay has estimated the mean life expectancy for male and female for 1906, a year which certainly approximates conditions at the end of the century and even before.⁷⁷ I reproduce this in Table 20 to show that life expectancy for children below five years of age was less than forty years, and if one fortunately lived to the age of 30, his chances were very good of living until 65 or 70 years of age.

TABLE 20
Mean Life Expectancy of Taiwanese at Different Ages for 1906

| Age | Years | |
|-----|-------|--------|
| | Male | Female |
| 0 | 27.7 | 29.0 |
| 1 | 33.2 | 34.0 |
| 5 | 35.9 | 38.8 |
| 10 | 33.5 | 27.2 |
| 30 | 20.4 | 25.5 |
| 50 | 12.0 | 15.5 |

Source: George W. Barclay, *Colonial Development and Population in Taiwan*, p.154.

For age groups except 10, females had a longer mean life expectancy than did men. High infant mortality was naturally an important reason for a very high death rate, an important demographic aspect of this period.

⁷⁶ Ramon H. Myers, "The Commercialization of Agriculture in Modern China" in W.E. Willmott (edit.), *Economic Organization in Chinese Society*, Stanford University Press: Stanford, 1972, p.180.

⁷⁷ *Colonial Development and Population in Taiwan*, p.154.

Conclusion

By examining the family, the village community, and the town in historical perspective, I have argued that a very important social change took place over this period, best characterized by a transition from an impermanent social community to a more stable order. In the very early period of Ch'ing rule males greatly exceeded females, and few families could be formed. As the number of females increased through migration and natural expansion, more families formed, and villages and towns became more permanent in character.

The available demographic information, while scanty, suggests that the nuclear family predominated, although the cultural ideal for this society remained that of the large, extended family. As time passed, families made use of the same practices and arrangements characteristic of families on the mainland: marriages were arranged and performed by parties still of pre-adult age; son and daughter-in-law adoptions were frequent; partition of family wealth was undertaken to guarantee a male heir his role in agriculture and a place in the village community; finally, a variety of exchange relationships characterized arranged marriages and adoptions of children which enabled families and individuals to improve their social and economic position in the community.

Individuals of merit could easily advance in this frontier society in spite of a great gap which separated the rich from the poor. The powerful lineage groups so conspicuous in the third quarter of the nineteenth century could trace their origins to very humble beginnings in the eighteenth century. Successful military, literary, and business careers, in that order, constituted the main routes by which individuals and their families gained wealth and earned social prestige.

Village and urban leaders were recruited from amongst the more able and wealthy families by the elder and literati of the community. A community leader not only had to have some wealth to allow him time to manage community affairs, but he had to be knowledgeable of customary law, capable of resolving disputes, exercise good judgement to advance the community's best interest, and able to preserve harmony and peace. These leadership virtues applied to all levels whether it was the village headman, a *pao-chia* leader, or the family head. As powerful families and their lineages emerged, they provided an even larger share of the community's leaders. Where more than one lineage competed, leaders came from more diverse family origins.

Taiwan became settled and populated by households forming villages, market towns, and large walled cities. The southwest and northwest areas were filled first, and then migrants began reclaiming land in the interior, first in one district and then in another. The first villages built walls for protection, and as cities became more affluent their leaders constructed walls like that for their counterparts on the mainland. Officials collected funds from the literati, placed levies on marchants, and gathered rents from those using government properties to build these walls and repair them. City walls, structures, and temples were well maintained throughout the period, further attesting to the general prosperity of the island.

The organizations responsible for economic development in trade and agriculture produced a standard of living in terms of food, clothing and shelter superior to that on the mainland. High mortality caused by tropical disease accounts for why life expectancy in Taiwan was probably lower than on the mainland. Severe famines were rare, although disasters such as violent

storms and earthquakes often caused great loss of life and property. The poor were supported by the charity of the middle and upper income families, and they organized themselves to provide their own means of support. Community life, therefore, depended upon the formation and maintenance of the family line, and the capability of its leaders to provide peace and harmony for all.

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* There has been great confusion on the proper rendering of Inō's first name. Professors Ts'ao Yung-ho of the National Taiwan University Library and Wang Sung-hsing of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica of the Republic of China have indicated to me by letter that it is correct to cite Inō Kanori rather than Inō Yoshinori, although sometimes Inō penned his essays with a Y. This information arrived too late to make correction in these essays. In the future, scholars referring to Inō's works should cite as Inō Kanori.

Glossary

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| an-ch'a-shih 按察使 | chih-li-chou 直隸州 | hsien-ch'eng 縣丞 |
| an-ch'a-shih ssu 按察使司 | chin-shih 進士 | hsien-ju-hsüeh 縣儒學 |
| ao 澳 | Ch'ing 清 | hsing-fang 刑房 |
| ch'a-kuan 茶館 | Ch'ing-fu-chü 清賦局 | hsing-pu 刑部 |
| ch'a-fan 茶販 | Chou Chung-hsuan 周鍾璜 | hsün-fu 巡撫 |
| ch'a-i 差役 | Chou Hsi 周璽 | hu-chü 戶主 |
| chang-kuei 賬櫃 | ch'u-chieh ch'u-chuang 出街出庄 | hu-fang 戶房 |
| Chang Ping 張丙 | ch'u-tien-che 出典者 | hu-pu 戶部 |
| Ch'en P'ei-kuei 陳培桂 | Chu I-kuei 朱一貴 | i-hsüeh 義學 |
| Ch'en Wen-ta 陳文達 | chu-che 竹蔗 | K'ang-hsi 康熙 |
| chen-piao 鎮標 | chü-jen 舉人 | Kao Ch'i-chuo 高其倬 |
| ch'eng-fa-fang 承發房 | chuang-fu 莊副 | keng-chao 墾照 |
| ch'eng-tien-che 承典者 | chuang-lien 粧蠶 | keng-hu 墾戶 |
| Cheng Ch'eng-kung 鄭成功 | fang 房 | keng-ting 墾丁 |
| ch'i-lao 耆老 | fen-hsün ping-pei tao 分巡兵備道 | k'ou 口 |
| ch'i-tzu-tien 旗仔店 | fu 府 | k'u-fang 庫房 |
| ch'ien-liang 錢糧 | fu-chiang 副將 | ku-jen 股人 |
| ch'ien-tsung 千總 | fu-ju-hsüeh 府儒學 | kuan-t'ien 官田 |
| chien-sheng 監生 | fu-sheng 附生 | kung-chia-pu 公家廊 |
| chia 甲 | hang-chiao 行郊 | kung-fang 工房 |
| chia 家 | ho-ku 合股 | kung-sheng 貢生 |
| chia-chang 家長 | hsiang 鄉 | Lan Lu-chou 藍鹿洲 |
| chiao 郊 | hsiang-yueh 鄉約 | Lan Ting-yuan 藍鼎元 |
| chieh 街 | hsiao-tsu-hu 小租戶 | li 里 |
| chih-chao 執照 | Hsieh Chin-luan 謝金鑾 | Li-fang 吏房 |
| chih-fu 知府 | hsien 縣 | Li-fang 禮房 |

liang-fang 粮房
 liang-kuei 粮櫃
 lien-chuang 聯莊
 li kin 釐金
 Lin Chan-mei 林占梅
 ling-sheng 廩生
 Liu Ming-ch'uan 劉銘傳
 lu-hsiang 陸餉
 lu-lu 陸路
 Meng chia 猛犴
 min-hsüeh 民學
 mow 畝
 mu-yu 幕友
 nan-lu hsieh-piao 南路協標
 pa-tsung 把總
 p'ai 牌
 pao 保
 pao-an tsung-chü 保安總局
 pao-chia 保甲
 pei-lu hsieh-piao 北路協標
 p'i-ch'uan 埤圳
 p'ing-chin 聘金
 ping-fang 兵房
 pu-cheng-shih 布政使
 Shen Mou-yin 沈茂蔭
 shen-shih 紳士

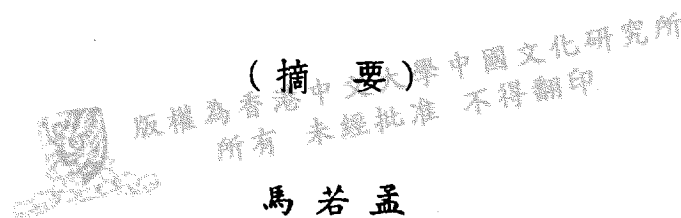
Shen Ying-k'uei 沈應奎
 sheng-yuan 生員
 shih 石
 Shih Lang 施琅
 shou-pei 守備
 shu-yuan 書院
 shui-hsiang 水餉
 ta-li-ssu 大理寺
 Ta tao ch'eng 大稻埕
 ta-tsu-hu 大租戶
 t'ai 胎
 T'ang Ching-sung 唐景崧
 t'ang-hang 糖行
 tao-t'ai 道臺
 tien 典
 tien-tang 典當
 t'i-tu 提督
 t'ing 廳
 ting 丁
 Ting Jih-ch'ang 丁日昌
 ting-k'ou 丁口
 t'o-ku 託孤
 t'ou-chia 頭家
 ts'an-chiang 參將
 tseng-sheng 增生
 tso-ch'a 做茶

tsung-ch'ien-shou 總簽首
 tsung-li 總理
 tsung-ping 總兵
 tsung-p'u 總舖
 tu-ch'a-yuan 都察院
 tu-ssu 都司
 t'uan-lien 團練
 t'un 屯
 t'un-ting 屯丁
 tung-shih 董事
 wai-wei 外委
 Wang Pi-ch'ang 王必昌
 wu-sheng-yuan 武生員
 yai-ting 隘丁
 yai-tsu 隘租
 yang-chi-yuan 養濟院
 yang-hang 洋行
 yang-hsi 養媳
 yang-lien 養廉
 yang-shan-liao 養贖料
 yang-tzu 養子
 yeh-chu 業主
 yin-chu 銀主
 yin-kuei 銀櫃
 yu-chi 遊擊
 yu-ying-tang 育嬰堂



馬若孟

一六八四—一八九五年 清朝統治下之台灣傳統社會



(摘要)

馬若孟

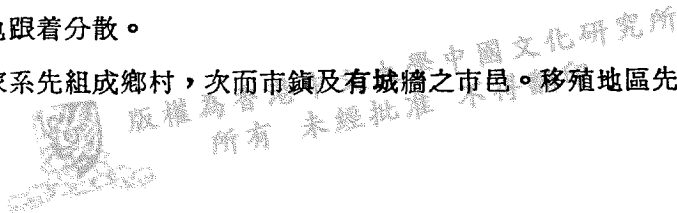
清朝統治時期，台灣鄉村與城市會經過基本社會變更，由不恆久社會團體進而為較穩定的組織。最早時期因男性大量超過女性，家庭組成甚少。但由於移民和自然繁殖，使女性增加，家庭組成較多，鄉村和城市跟着也比較穩定。

大家庭雖為此種社會之文化理想，但據可應用之少量戶口統計材料所指示，核心家庭在城鄉間均佔優勢。逐漸地，大陸家庭習慣和制度為本島家庭所採用；如為未成年者安排婚姻；養子和童養媳之普遍；均分家產使男繼承人得插足農業和鄉村任務；以及父母主婚與收養子女種種交換關係，使家庭與個人得賴以改善其在團體中之社會與經濟地位。

在此邊疆社會中，貧富雖甚懸殊，但有作為者並不難獲得上進。在十九世紀下半期之初期二十餘年間，顯耀而有權勢的家系，在十八世紀時尚落落無聞。軍事、文學、與商業成就次第成為個人並其家庭獲致財富和社會地位之主要途徑。

鄉村與城市領袖來自優裕家庭，由耆老與士人招集之。作為一個團體領袖不但需要一些財富，以便有時間處理大眾事務，還需熟諳習慣法，有解決爭執才幹，具判斷力以增進團體利益，並有能力使居民相安和平。這些領袖特點，不論鄉長、保甲長、以至家長各階層，一律適用。當有權勢家族出現時，其對社會領導人才的供給愈多。若干家族競爭時，領袖來源也跟着分散。

台灣殖民係由家系先組成鄉村，次而市鎮及有城牆之市邑。移殖地區先在西南和西



北，然後逐步向內地擴展開拓。最初期鄉村建圍牆以自衛，及後市邑漸富，亦效法大陸建築城牆。築城及修理經費由官吏向士人集資，向商賈徵收稅捐，並徵收公產租項。此時期台灣城牆、建築物、與廟宇之完善保管，足證全島的一般繁榮。

家庭農場與獨資及合股商號，為農商經濟發展所憑藉，其所產生之衣、食、住生活程度較大陸為優。台灣當時人壽期望或許不及大陸，熱帶疾病所造成之高度死亡率可能為其原因。颶風與地震等災難常使人命和財產損失，但嚴重饑饉則甚罕見。貧民賴中上人家之調濟，一方面組織合力以圖自給。由是觀之，團體生活皆賴家族之形成與維持，以及領導者之能使大眾相安共處。

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