face him with the strings of their crossbows drawn. There are some who live in holes which they have burrowed out, like the people of prehistoric times [t'ai-ku 古氏].

[Returning now to the people of the western plain:] For local officials they have a chief and his deputies, which in a large village may number as many as six or seven persons, or in a small village [only] three or four. They are divided up according to their family branches among the common-houses; when something comes up they all gather in the common-house to hear the matter discussed. The young barbarians all sleep outside, and perform the duties required of them.

There are some who can write the characters of the Redheads [i.e. Dutch]. These are called chiao-ts'e 教冊. All accounting of the incoming and outgoing [goods] passes through their hands. [They use] a sharpened goose quill dipped in ink, and write horizontally, from left to right, not in vertical lines.

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郁永河：裨海紀遊

Yü Yung-ho: Observations on the Aborigines of Taiwan (1697)

The above title is one which I have supplied to cover the extracts translated below. The bulk of these are from P'ei-hai Chi-yu

62) Taiwan-fu Chih adds after “drawn”: “and escape far away amid the green trees.” A point of great interest is this rumor of pigmy people in the mountains of Taiwan. Also one notes with interest that they are said to have crossbows.

63) The following is added to this paragraph, in Taiwan-fu Chih: “By nature they like to kill people. They take their heads, remove the flesh from the bones, ornament them with gold, and hang them in their dwelling in order to show their bravery. There is also one tribe [chung 糧] in which, when [a man] sees that his father is old, he hangs the father up in a tree and goes away to let him be killed. The one who gets him hangs a pig up [in the tree] in exchange.”

64) Taiwan-fu Chih has “five or six.”

65) Apparently a phonetic transliteration of the native term.

66) The following is added at the end, in Taiwan-fu Chih: “Now private teachers are being provided for the Sinicized ones so that the young barbarians may through study gradually absorb the teachings of the canons of Poetry, History, Social Behavior and Ceremonial.”
(Small Sea Travel Journal), while the remainder consists of about one-half of a brief piece by the same author, entitled Fan-ching Pu-yi 番境補遺 (Supplementary Notes on the Barbarian Territory). Both sources are published in volume forty-four of Taiwan Literary Collectanea (Taipei, 1959), under the former title. The editor of this volume, again Professor Fang Hao, has reviewed its background in a preface which deals with the following topics: 1) Concerning the author, Yü Yung-ho; 2) concerning the various editions of the text; 3) concerning the quotations from this work found in T'ai-hai Shih-ch'a Lu 臺海使槎錄 (a work by Huang Shu-ching 黃叔璥, written in 1724 and published in 1736— from which we are preparing further translations of notices on the Taiwan aborigines); 4) the text upon which the present version is based. Professor Fang had already, in 1950, published a collated edition of this work, with explanatory preface (Taiwan Ts'ung-shu, volume one); in the present edition his preface sums up the points made previously, and supplements them by additional information he had obtained in the interim. For our purpose it is not necessary to discuss these textual matters, as Professor Fang’s labors have supplied us with an authoritative version perfectly dependable for translation.

Yü Yung-ho, *tsu* Ts'ang-lang 湘浪, was a native of Wu-lin 武林 (a name for Hangchow in Chekiang province), specifically from Jen-ho hsien 仁和縣. He was a chu-sheng 諸生, or first degree graduate.\(^{57}\) At the beginning of his *P'ai-hai Chi-yu* he himself tells us that he came to Fukien province in 1691 and travelled everywhere throughout “the eight Min,” i.e. the eight mainland prefectures of the province—Taiwan having just been added as a ninth prefecture. He apparently was a businessman of considerable enterprise, and it was the destruction by fire of his warehouse of medicinal drugs in Yung-ch'eng 榮城 (that is to say, Foochow) that led directly to his trip to Taiwan. The fire, according to Yü, completely burned up the “more than 500,000” (units not specified) of saltpeter in the warehouse, and so he turned to the source of sulphur known to exist at Keelung and Tamsui (to use the best-

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\(^{57}\) This information is from the after-word to an edition of the text by Lo I-chih 羅以智, as quoted in Fang Hao’s preface, p. 7.
known romanizations of these names), in order to recoup his loss. It was in any case a welcome pretext to make the trip, for Yü tells us that he was an incurable wanderer (his tsu itself implies that he considered himself "a vagabond"), and that it would be a shame not to see this new island acquisition of Fukien. And so, on the twenty-fourth day of the first month of 1697 (15 February by the Gregorian calendar) he set forth on what was at that date a truly difficult and hazardous adventure. The Small Sea Travel Journal in which this adventure is related is an invaluable first-hand account of the Taiwan that had just fourteen years before been surrendered to the Ch'ing empire by the grandson of Cheng Ch'eng-kung. Its style is chatty but elegant, revealing the author as a man of literary talent as well as insatiable curiosity, dauntless courage, and keen powers of observation. In fact the entire work deserves translation. We have extracted from it those remarks specifically concerning the life of the aborigines.

(By way of finishing the story, we should add that Yü Yung-ho did succeed in getting his sulphur from the Tamsui area—near the present Pei-t'ou, still a region of pungent smells and mineral springs—and that he returned safely to Taiwan City in the middle of the tenth month. Presumably he proceeded home to Yung-ch'eng after that, but this information is not given in the book.)

Translation

A. Small Sea Travel Journal (pp. 17–19)

... I and Mr. Ku [Fu-kung], attended by several personal servants, took to the road riding in carts. We were accompanied by fifty-five men altogether. The date was the seventh day of the fourth month [26 May 1697]. When we passed through a barbarian village we would change carts. These carts were drawn by young yellow oxen which were driven by local [i.e., plains-]barbarians. On this day we crossed the Ta-chou stream 大洲溪 and passed through Hsin-kang village 新港社, Ka-la-wan village 嘉溜灣社 and Ma-tou village 麻豆社. Even though these were all inhabited by barbarians yet they had splendid trees and shady groves, and the houses were spotlessly clean, in no way inferior
to villages on the mainland. I said, "Who says the barbarians are uncouth [lou 閃] ? Can one believe what people say?" Mr. Ku replied, "Hsin-kang, Ka-la-wan, Ou-wang 殲王, and Ma-tou were the four great villages in the time of the Chings [1662–1683]. Those of their young men who were able to go and study in the village schools were exempted from corvée, so that they were gradually civilized. The barbarians of these four villages also know to work hard at their farming and to lay up savings, so every household is prosperous. Also, living close to the prefectural city they are used to seeing the dwellings and the manners of the city, hence their ways are superior to those of other villages. Ou-wang is near the sea, and there is no road to it. It is especially rich and populous. It is a pity you cannot see it. From now on I'm afraid that [the barbarians you will see] will be more and more uncouth every day." But when I saw the men and women of the four villages, with their hair hanging unkempt down their backs, and trouserless, still keeping to their old ways, they really did seem rather crude...

... We passed through Ta-mao village 打鵲社 and crossed the Shan-tieh stream 山頭溪 through T'a-li-wu village 他里務社 and to Ch'ai-li village 柴里社 where we spent the night ... The barbarian carters we saw were all covered with tattoos: on their backs birdwings were outspread; from shoulder to navel fishing nets were wound around in diagonal tapering [strokes]; on both arms were likenesses of human heads, severed at the throat, repulsive and frightening. From wrist to elbow they wore several tens of iron bracelets, and there were some who wore them to make their ears large...

... We reached Ta-wu-chün village 大武郡社 and spent the night. The barbarians we saw this day were still more commonly tattooed, and their earlobes were approaching the size of bowls. Their hair was bound up or done into three braids or a pair of horns, and into it were inserted three chicken feathers forming [a sort of tiny] feather screen which waved in the breeze, and this they think very handsome. We also saw three young women pounding grain together. One of them was rather good looking; despite being naked in the presence of guests she was composed and dignified.
... We arrived at Pan-hsien village 半線社 ... and stayed
the night. From Chu-lo-shan 諸羅山 to this place the barbarian
women we have seen are mostly white-skinned and beautiful.

B. Small Sea Travel Journal (pp. 20–21)
... Since crossing these streams [he has crossed the Ta 大
stream and three others, unnamed] the barbarian carters are still
more uncouth looking. Their chests and backs, instead of being
tattooed in blue [ch'ing 青], are now done in leopard designs. Both
men and women trim their hair so that it covers the forehead, and
they look like begging bonzes. They make a circlet of tree bark
and wear it as a cap. The barbarian women bore five holes in
their ears, into which they set spiral shells and veined shells as
ornaments. They run quicker than the men. Passing through the
barbarian village[s], all of the houses were empty; if one wanted
a spoonful of water he could not get it; on seeing a single person
one felt suddenly glad. From here northwards it is probably all
just about like this ...

C. Small Sea Travel Journal (pp. 32–38)
... Chu-lo and Feng-shan58 have no [Chinese] people; those
who belong to [these two counties] are all native barbarians. There
are the local barbarians [t'u-fan 土番] and the wild barbarians
[yeh-fan 野番]. The wild barbarians are in the mountain fastnesses
which rise, range upon range like screens, peak upon peak jutting
up to the Milky Way, with dense forests and thickets of bamboo;
where looking up one cannot see the sky; where brambles and
creepers obstruct the feet; where never an axe has entered since
primeval times. The wild barbarians who are born there, living
in nests, dwelling in holes, “blood-drinking, hair-eating,”59 are of
numerous kinds. With their nimbleness in climbing, in ascending
to the peaks, getting past the creepers and crossing the wilds, they
can pursue and frighten the apes, chase and terrify the wild
beasts. The barbarians of the plains live in dread of them and do

58) Chu-lo 諸羅, Feng-shan 鳳山, and Taiwan 臺灣 were the three adminis-
trative subdivisions of the prefecture of Taiwan; Chu-lo is the present city of
Chiayi, and Feng-shan is a suburb of the present metropolis of Kaohsiung.
59) Derived from a passage in Li Chi, describing primitive man.
not dare to enter their territory. But the wild barbarians in their ferocity from time to time emerge to plunder, burning their huts and killing people. And then when they have returned to their nests no one can get near them. When they kill a person they immediately take his head back with them. They cook it upon their return, strip the flesh off the skull, daub it with red plaster, and set it at the door. One whose fellows see many skulls at his house is esteemed as brave. As if in a dream, as if drunk, they do not know how to become civilized—they are really no more than beasts. [? So one should treat them as dangerous beasts:] For instance if one encounters a tiger or leopard one gets bitten, and if one runs across a poisonous snake one is [likewise] bitten; but if one does not go near their lairs they will not have any thought of harming one; so then one need only let them alone to live and die in the rain and dew.

Last winter there was a man who was seeking profit and evading taxes. He wanted to contact the local barbarians to the east of the mountains. He took seven men with him, and by lying low during the day and moving at night they succeeded in getting through the wild savages, crossing the countless mountains, and finally reaching the eastern side. The eastern barbarians, knowing he was a Chinese, vied with each other to entertain him, and took him to visit their various villages, where the grain grew abundantly and every household was well off. They said they felt badly that the wild barbarians blocked them from communication with the [people] west of the mountains, and they wished to ally themselves with the western barbarians to make a pincers attack on them. They also said, “Tell your head officials, that if they can aid us with troops, then the multitude of people east of the mountains will bore through the mountains, open up a road, and east and west will join as one in paying tribute as subjects of the sovereign [Ch’ing] dynasty.” Then they conveyed him back in a small boat by way of the sea-route around Sha-ma-chi 沙馬礁 at the southern extremity [of the island]. The seven men were loaded with many presents. They said that the customs of these barbarians were quite similar to those [of the barbarians] to the west of the mountains; the only difference being that the plain extend-
ing to the sea is broader [sic] than the western [plain].\textsuperscript{60} If the authorities were able to act on their proposals—to conclude an agreement with the eastern barbarians to make a pincers attack and carry out a joint extermination [campaign], to burn out [their hiding places in] the marshes and set fire [to their forest refuges in] the mountains, and to level off the obstacles [to communications]—then within a few years the thorny brush would become a smooth road and the savages\textsuperscript{61} would be changed into good subjects.

Now as to the nearby barbarians of the [western] plain:

[Wearing] a single cloth winter and summer, satisfying their hunger with coarse grain, innocent, unambitious, they enjoy themselves in the carefree age of [the legendary emperors] Wu-huai and Ko-t’ien,\textsuperscript{62} keeping to the simple pleasures which have been handed down from the past.\textsuperscript{63} Also they are frequently in and out of the [Chinese] towns, [so that one has the opportunity to see that] their appearance is not very different [from ours]; it is only their eyes, deepset and piercing, which seem a little bit different. Their language is full of sounds like “du-lu gu-lu” 都盧嘔轟: to drink liquor is called “da-la-su” 打剌酥; to smoke is called “du-mu-gu” 符木固,\textsuperscript{64} and in general it is like this. According to the traditional story, Taiwan was [originally] all unoccupied empty mountains. Then from Southern Sung times when the Yuan people [i.e. the Mongols] were liquidating the Chin [dynasty—1234], there were some Chin people [i.e. Jurchen] who took to the sea

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\textsuperscript{60} In actuality of course the western plain is far broader than either of the small plains on the eastern coast.

\textsuperscript{61} \textit{Pan-hu, po-tao} 蒲萄樑作. (See \textit{P’ei-wen Yün-fu}. Po is misprinted 蒲 in text.)

\textsuperscript{62} For Wu-huai and Ko-t’ien, see note 38 above. It is striking that Yü Yung-ho in this passage uses the same words, in somewhat different arrangement, as Ch’en Ti (which was also copied into Mín Shū, where Yü might, of course, have read them):

Ch’en Ti: 其無懷葛之民乎.
Yü Yung-ho: 自遊於葛天無懷之世.

\textsuperscript{63} A rather inadequate translation for \textit{yu chi-jang, ku-fu chih i-feng} 有擊壊殺之遠風. (For \textit{chi-jang} and \textit{ku-fu} see \textit{Tz’u Hai}.)

\textsuperscript{64} Professor Ch’én Shou-yi surmises that this is a phonetic transliteration from the Dutch pronunciation of “tobacco.”
to escape from the Yüan, and were blown here by storms. They each chose a place to dwell, cultivated the soil, and became self-sufficient. Those living far apart perhaps had no communication with each other. After some generations they forgot their own origin, although their language still has not changed.

In the summer the men and women go naked, only wrapping their private parts about with three feet of cloth. In the cold of winter [the men] use as their single item of clothing a barbarian blanket, made of tree bark twisted together and ornamented with dog hair. There are also those who use hemp having the thickness of a coin: two pieces are basted together without an opening for the neck, then when they put it on they push the head through, while the arms are left exposed. There are also those who leave one arm bare and cover the other, and those whose two pieces of cloth are open leaving them bare on both sides. The [winter] clothing of the women is made from a single piece folded double and sewn together under the armpits, which only covers the chest and back. Another piece is sewn together at both ends and hangs down about the shoulders. The upper garments cover the breasts but reveal the belly. A middle garment is wrapped around, but only hangs down far enough to hide the privates, not reaching to the knees. Their feet have never known shoes. They wrap black cloth about their loins. [Thus] there are three pieces [of clothing] for the body, none of which joins on to another. The white-haired old men do not wear a single stitch as they squat on their haunches or go about, nor do the neighborhood women avoid them [for all that].

Their hair is dishevelled. Every day they pluck fragrant artemisia to bind it up. Lice run about in it. Among them there are young women who oil and wash [their hair], dividing it into two coils, looking attractive [in their own way], while the pretty ones reveal charming smiles and glances; but as they use the fat of deer for ointment they stink so that one cannot get close to them. The men compete to have the largest ears. When they

65) Taking the two upper pieces as a single garment, apparently.
pass from childhood to young manhood their earlobes are pierced and splinters of bamboo stuck through the holes. These are daily made larger until there are some [ears] which are as large as plates, so large that they hang down to the shoulders or touch the chest. Around the neck they wear several strands of shells in a profusion of colors which gives an exotic effect. Tattooed on their chests and backs in blue are bird wings, fishing nets, tiger and leopard patterns—one cannot name all the designs. Old or young, the men do not have moustaches; even if one has only five hairs he will pluck them all out.

They know nothing of medicines for sickness. They merely drink the water of a stream and are cured. Winter and summer alike the women bathe daily in a stream. When they have finished bathing they draw some water upstream and then return. Those who are sick bathe all the more frequently. When a pregnant woman has just given birth they immediately take the infant and bathe it. When a child has smallpox they squeeze out all the pus [from the sores] and repeatedly bathe him, saying, “If we don’t do this, then he will not be cured.”

Marriages are not arranged through a go-between. When a girl is grown up her parents have her stay in a separate room. The young fellows looking for a mate all come, playing on the nose-flute and mouth-instrument [k’ou-ch’în—a form of “jaws’ harp”]. When one gets a [musical] response from the girl he enters [her room] and has intercourse with her; when it is over he leaves. After some time the girl selects the one she loves and takes him by the hand. The taking by the hand is to indicate that she gives her consent. The next day the girl informs her parents, the youth to whom she has given her hand is summoned, his two eyeteeth are knocked out and given to the girl and hers are likewise knocked out and given to him. On an agreed-upon day he goes to the woman’s house and marries her, then for the rest of his life he lives in his wife’s home. Because it is the

66) Ch’eng-t’ung 或童 Ts’u Hai quotes from Li Chi a passage whose commentary makes this out to be the age of fifteen (sui), and from the Ku-liang Chuan a passage making it out to be the age of eight (sui).
woman's side of the house\textsuperscript{67} that carries on the family, while the parents cannot keep their sons, therefore after two generations the grandson does not know his paternal grandparents. This is also the reason why the barbarians have no surnames.

The barbarian houses are shaped like a turtle shell, and built on an earthen foundation three to five feet high. They have a ridgepole on top, and are covered with thatch. The thatched eaves extend out very far, everhanging the ground for a hundred square feet beyond the foundation, [so that] neither rain nor sun can enter [the house]. Underneath them one can husk grain, cook meals, sit, or lie down; they are suitable for storing carts and fishing nets and agricultural implements, for chicken roosts and for pigsties. The front and rear [ends] of the house are both windows; one climbs up to them by means of steps under the ridgepole. Inside, the house is empty, except for several beds, depending on the size\textsuperscript{68} of the room. The people just use deerskins and select a convenient spot to lie down; in the summertime they don't even use deerskins, simply lying on the floor. On the walls there hang gourds the size of a peckmeasure \textit{[tou 斗]}, which are used to store their preserved food and blanket-garments. [Also hanging on the wall there are] several bamboo tubes containing newly-made liquor. The way they brew this is to gather everyone—males and females, young and old—to chew uncooked rice; [this pulp] is then placed in the tubes, and turns to liquor after several days. When they drink it they mix pure spring water with it. When guests come the barbarian women first pour out some liquor from the tube and taste it, afterwards toasting the guests. If a guest drinks all of his portion they are pleased; if he does not, they are offended—offended that the guest may dislike it. They also call in the neighbor women, and each dressed in her blanket garment, they dance with sleeves touching to the music of a song for the entertainment [of the guests]. Should the guests take liberties with them they do not get angry. A husband, seeing a guest becoming intimate with his wife, is very pleased, saying that his wife is really charming, and that therefore Chinese \textit{[T'ang-\text{jen 唐人]} like

\textsuperscript{67} Men-mei 門楣 (see Ts'\textmu u Y\text{ü}an).
\textsuperscript{68} Taking ch'\text{ü}an 大 as misprint for ta 大.
her. (People overseas all call China Great T'ang, and the Chinese T'ang people.) [However], should one of their own people fornicate with [a barbarian’s wife], then he will take his bow and arrows, search out the adulterer, and shoot him dead. But he will not hold it against his wife.

The land produces the five grains, but the barbarians eat only rice or millet, and never wheat. They do not prepare the grain and keep it in advance for their meals. They rise at dawn to pound and cook it, and when it is ready the members of the household gather, form it into balls with their hands, and eat it. In the mountains there are many deer; when they shoot one they will without ado drink its blood, and as for the flesh, they are not very particular whether it is raw or cooked—just so long as there is enough to fill their stomachs. When they go out they don’t worry about wind or rain; when they are going they don’t plan where they will stay for the night; when they are happy they laugh, and when they are in pain they grimace. They do not know the seasons of the year, nor do they know how many years have gone by as they grow old and die. Only after it gets cold do they seek [warm] clothing; only after they get hungry do they look for food: they do not plan in advance. In the villages their houses are arranged back to back. They have no marketplaces for the trading of goods. If they have money it is of no use to them, so they know nothing of saving. Even if they have strength left over, they know only to calculate the days for tilling, and then to gather the harvest in the autumn, to reckon the food [needed] for the year; if there is anything left over it is all used for yeast to ferment liquor. The new grain for the coming year having been planted, they likewise use all the leftovers for brewing liquor. The barbarians, men and women alike, are all great drinkers. When the liquor has been prepared, each takes his brew, and the whole gathering of men and women drink heartily, singing and shouting like the tumult of waves for three days and nights without pause. The grain surplus being entirely used up, even if they go hungry they do not regret [having thus used it].

69) Text names two varieties, chi 糅 and shu 稷.
70) Ju fu 如沸 (see P‘ei-wen Yün-fu).

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A house one must build for oneself; clothing one must weave for oneself. One tills the fields and then one can eat; one fetches water from a stream and then one can drink. Hemp is twined to make a net, bamboo is bent to make a bow; one hunts and fishes—thus, the necessities of a lifetime all have to be taken care of by oneself. Whether up and about or lying down, a blade is worn at the waist, and this is what is used to make everything. It is only pottery that they cannot make themselves; so if they obtain some iron they wedge it between two stones taken from a stream, and pound it, so that after a long while it is formed into a vessel, and there is never any which is not usable. [Also] they split gourds and cut off bamboos to use in lieu of pottery, and they can ladle out liquor with these or cook in them. If I have it, I drink or eat it; whether or not in the vicinity or among my relatives there is feast or famine is of no mutual concern. His neighbor may have so much rice and millet on his hands that it is spoiling,71 but one who is starving will not go and borrow from him.

As for the villages, there are small ones and big ones, some with large populations and some with scanty populations. Each [village] chooses one or two persons to be the local headmen.72 These live in the same kind of houses, have the same food and drink, and do the same work as everyone else, without any perquisites whatever—unlike the local headmen of Yunnan and Kwangsi, who collect taxes, wield the power to kill and arrest people, and keep a bodyguard. Originally they knew nothing about rulers. Then when the Redheads [i.e. Dutch] first occupied [the island] the local barbarians of the plains were all brought under their control, and they dared not refuse the corvée or fail to pay taxes, while any who disobeyed the law and killed a person were wiped out, kith and kin. Under the rule of the Chings [1662–1683] the laws were even more severe. Execution of a barbarian extended even to the babes in arms [of his family], and his very fields and houses were destroyed. In actuality the barbarians kill

71) Paraphrase of mi-lan, su-hung 米籃粟紅, for which see P'ei-wen Yün-fu under each compound.
72) T'ü-kuan 壬官 (see Ts'u Hai). Tribesmen officially recognized as headmen by the Chinese Government.
people not because they plot to rebel, but by mistake, under the influence of liquor. When they are all drinking together they boast of their strength, and compete for mastery, none yielding to the others, and without even the cups being set down a naked blade has sunk into a throat. If there have been little grudges [between two men] then after they have been drinking their hatred will come to the surface. The next morning, when a man sobers up, while he is still unaware of what he has done, the officers of the law are already at his door. Thus, to the present day the villages of Ta-tu 大肚, Niu-ma 牛馬, Ta-chia 大甲, and Chu-ch’ien 竹堑 are jungle and wilds where there is not a soul to be seen. The barbarians look on this as a warning, and they say to one another, “The Redheads were strong, and those who broke the law were completely wiped out. When Cheng [Ch’eng-kung] came the Redheads feared him and fled. Now the Chongs have in their turn been exterminated by the Emperor, and [all the people] brought under his sway; truly the Emperor is as awesome as Heaven!” Thus these people, being simple, also greatly fear the law.

The Chongs exacted heavy labor service and taxes from the barbarians, and our dynasty continues this practice. It would seem that it is easy for them to pay grain at the autumn harvest, but difficult to pay taxes. They never understand what money is, so how could they get any to submit as tribute? Hence the system of “contracting out the villages” [pao-she 包社] is still maintained: In each administrative district a wealthy person is made responsible for the village revenues. These men are called “village tax-farmers” [literally, village merchants, she-shang 社商]. The village tax-farmer in turn appoints interpreters and foremen who are sent to live in the villages, and who record and check up on every jot and tittle [grown or brought in by hunting] of all the barbarians. All of the flesh of the deer they shoot [the barbarians] make into dried meat, and they also save the hides. Among the Japanese deer hides are in great demand, and there are trading junks which come to buy them; while the dried meat is sold to Chang-chou people. They make a profit [from the sale of] both of these things after paying their taxes. But these [interpreters and foremen] take advantage of the simple-mindedness of the barbarians
and never tire of fleecing them, looking on whatever they have as no different than their own property. [In connection with] the activities of daily life, great and small, all of the barbarians—men, women, and children—have to serve in their homes without a day of respite. Moreover, they take the barbarian women as their wives and concubines. Whatever is demanded of them they must comply; if they make a mistake they must take a flogging. And yet the barbarians do not hate them greatly.

If they could be civilized by the code of proper social behavior [li-i 禮儀], influenced by literature, taught the way to save against want, regulated by the protocol of clothing, eating, capping at manhood, marriage, mourning, and ancestral sacrifice; if they were caused completely to understand to love their parents, respect their elders, honor their sovereign, and be friendly to their superiors; if their minds were opened up to a happy [view of] life, and their sullen characteristics done away with: then, within from thirty to one hundred years, we would see their customs change. If they were [thus] to follow the code of civilization \(^73\) wherein would they be different from the people of China? We are told of the customs of cutting the hair and tattooing the body [practiced by] the Ching 荊 barbarians in antiquity, that is, in the region near Wu and Yüeh [i.e. the feudal state of Ch’u, centering upon the lower Yangtze valley]; yet now that is a flourishing center of learning. As for the Min region [i.e. Fukien], it has not been continuously submissive; the Chinese have now abandoned it and then again taken it over. But since Mr. Tao-nan\(^74\) was active there have been [many] great scholars of the Sung Rationalist School produced [in that region]. Men of course need not be circumscribed by established customs: it is only a matter of those who are their

\(^73\) Li-chiao 養教. Li offers insuperable difficulties to a simple, direct translation, embodying as it does the whole basic religious, social, legal, and even political Way of traditional China.

\(^74\) 潘南. No surname is given in text. The only man with this tsu, or courtesy name, that can be located in references available to me is Hu Wen-hsiēh 胡文熙, a Ningpo chin-shih or doctor of letters of the Shun-chih period (1644-1661). (See notice of him in Commercial Press Biographical Dictionary, in which there is, however, no indication that Hu was active in Fukien.)
superiors urging them on, and guiding them to change for the better.

At present the Court, in order to compensate for the hardship of serving overseas, transfers and promotes every three years the officials sent to manage affairs in Taiwan. The government's orders [to duty] have hardly been carried out, and a man's mind is not yet adjusted to his [new post], when in the twinkling of an eye they change him. Why should the practice be continued, whereby the successor always keeps to the policies of his predecessor, without change or extension? Still worse, when one "does not sit long enough to warm the mat," regarding an official position as just a place to roost temporarily, who will be willing to carry out long-range policies whose effects will be difficult to evaluate? I say, if we want to civilize the barbarians it must be done [in one of two ways]: either like the Chou parcelling out the land to the royal relatives as their hereditary fiefs, or like Wei Kao of the T'ang dynasty and Chang Yung of the Sung dynasty, governing Shu [i.e. Szechwan] for several decades and not being expected to produce results overnight. Ah, [these two methods] are also hard to discuss!

But there are also those who secretly obstruct [the best efforts of the officials] and create disturbances among [the barbarians], namely, the village bullies. This bunch were all criminals on the mainland. Fleeing from death [at the hands of the law] they hide themselves in distant, out-of-the-way places uninhabited [by Chinese], where they scheme to act as foremen and interpreters. With the passage of time they acquire an intimate knowledge of the barbarians and their language. When the father dies the son succeeds him, thus perpetuating the evil endlessly. The village tax-farmer does nothing but enjoy life in town, demanding revenue and tak-

75) Hsiao kuei Ts'ao sui 蕭梟, 魏魋 (see Ts'u Hai.)
76) Hui pu hsia nuan 席不暇暖 (see Ts'u Hai.)
77) Wei Kao 韋皋 (746-806); Chang Yung 張詠 (946-1015). (See Commercial Press Biographical Dictionary, p. 723 and p. 957 respectively.)
78) She-kun 薛棍. For a good description of this class, see Kung-chuan Hsiao, Rural China: Imperial Control in the nineteenth Century, Seattle (University of Washington), 1960, pp. 455 ff.
ing in taxes. The affairs of the villages are left to the machination
nings [of the bullies]. Therefore [the revenues of the village
tax-farmer] are depleted and deficient, while these people simply
sit and make a profit. The village tax-farmers are changed every
year or so, but these fellows [i.e. the bullies] would not leave till
they die. [The bullies] take advantage of the simplicity of the
barbarians, and also want very much for them to be poor. If they
are simple then they are completely ignorant, and easy prey; if
they are poor then they are easily oppressed, and do not have the
strength to resist. Far from teaching them, [the bullies] continually
get them into trouble. Then, even if there are some who appeal
to justice, the judge cannot get at the facts of the case because
of the language barrier, and he still has to ask the interpreter to
explain. The interpreter turns right into wrong and wrong into
right, and it is the barbarian instead who gets a scolding. The
interpreter furthermore tells him, “The district magistrate is very
angry with you because you have disobeyed the interpreter and
foreman.” Therefore the barbarian dreads the village bully even
more, and serves him like God Himself. They are without re-
dress, and those in charge of them have no way to know about it.
In the whole world there are none more deserving of pity than
these barbarians.

And then moreover because they are of a different race we
hold prejudice against them. Seeing that they are without clothes
we say, “It is because they don’t feel the cold”; seeing that they
go about in the rain and sleep in the dew we say, “They don’t
get sick”; seeing that they carry heavy loads swiftly over long
distances we say, “By nature they can endure hardship.” Ah,
they are also men! Their limbs, bodies, skin, and bones, are they
not those of men? And would we still say what we do, [this
being so]? [Even] horses cannot be galloped all night, or oxen
driven too hard, otherwise they get sick; if it is so with oxen and
horses, how much more so with men? Moreover we know that if
they had enough cotton and thick silk they would be clad in layers
of cloth, and why would they be cold? And if they didn’t have
to work outside they would live comfortably, and why would they
be exposed [to rain and dew]? And if they could avoid having to
render service, and could relax and take it easy, why would they
hurry about, fetching and carrying in the homes of the village bullies? To enjoy being full and warm, and to loathe hunger and cold; to hate labor and to like leisure: this is human nature. How can human nature differ just because people are different? I know that Good Men, true Gentlemen 仁人君子 will not reject what I say.

(The substance of the above section is also made into a long poem of seven-character lines, to be found on pp. 42–45 of our text.)

D. Supplementary Notes on the Barbarian Territory
(pp. 55–57)

The deep mountains are vast and distant, the plains are extensive, and there are many kinds of local barbarians, so that I cannot know all about them, but merely record what I do know.

Yü Shan [Jade Mountain] is in the midst of the ten thousand mountains. This mountain stands high above the others and there is no place, however distant, from which it cannot be seen. With steep cliffs and sheer precipices, white as silver, seen from afar it is like T'ai-pai [Great White], 79 crowned with perpetual snow. Other peaks surround it on the four sides so that it can be seen but not reached. Everyone says this mountain is wholly composed of beautiful jade. But the barbarians do not understand its value, while outsiders [i.e. Chinese] are afraid of the wild barbarians, and none dare to go near. Whenever there is a clear sky and one gazes at it from the prefectural capital, it [seems like] nothing less than a white cloud in the sky.

Yin Shan [Silver Mountain] has mines which produce silver. There are also piles of silver money there, all in the form of large ingots. It is not known when they were stored there. Formerly there were two men who frequently went in and took out [pieces of] it, without exhausting the supply. The former intendant of Taiwan-Amoy, Mr. Wang Hsiao-ch'ung 王效崇, 80 ordered his ser-

79) There are several mountains called by this name in China.
80) Occupied this office 1688–1691 (see Taiwan-fu Chih, 1694 edition, Taiwan Wen-hsien Ts'ung-k'an edition, p. 55).