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‘The camphor question is in reality the savage question:’

The Japanese Empire, Indigenous
Peoples, and the Making of Capitalist Taiwan, 1895-1915

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in History

by

Toulouse-Antonin Roy

2020

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

by

Toulouse-Antonin Roy

Doctor of Philosophy, History

University of California, Los Angeles, 2020

Professor Katsuya Hirano, Chair

This dissertation examines the relationship between Taiwan's camphor industry and Japan's conquest of the island's Indigenous peoples. Between 1895 and 1915, Japanese police and military forces invaded Taiwan's Indigenous highlands for access to and control of camphor-producing forests. At the dawn of the twentieth century, camphor crystals were vital to the production of celluloid, a variety of pharmaceuticals, and multiple industrial chemicals. The consequences of Japan's quest to access and control this lucrative commodity were far-reaching and highly destructive. Japanese armies shelled and burned Indigenous villages to the ground, forcibly relocated tens of thousands of Indigenous people, and killed both resistance fighters and innocent civilians. This dissertation explores the ways in which the productive and consumptive demands of the camphor industry shaped the political, military, and ideological structures of Japanese imperial governance in upland Taiwan. Through the prism of the Taiwan case, it examines the violent forms of colonial occupation that accompany the imposition of capitalist social relations on Native societies.

The dissertation of Toulouse-Antonin Roy is approved.

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William Marotti

Katsuya Hirano, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles, 2020

DEDICATION:

I dedicate this dissertation to the Indigenous peoples of Taiwan. Your stories and your struggles have brought me to this land that is not mine, a land that has given me opportunities, a family, and the inspiration to produce this manuscript. For all this I cannot thank you enough. I owe you a tremendous debt. I hope that the work I do moving forward will somehow repay it. I would also like to dedicate this dissertation to the memory of Averill Dean Perry, a.k.a “Pops.” I wish we could have had more chats about the cruel absurdities of the world we live in, but I guess that we will have to do that some other time.

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Portions of chapter one appear in a publication of mine ("Vanishing Natives and Taiwan's Settler-Colonial Unconsciousness," *Critical Asian Studies*, Volume 50 (2): 196-218), which I co-authored with Katsuya Hirano and Lorenzo Veracini. Portions of chapter two and

three appear in another publication of mine (“‘The Camphor Question is in Reality the Savage Question:’ Indigenous Pacification and the Transition to Capitalism in the Taiwan Borderlands, 1895-1915.” *Critical Historical Studies*, Volume 6 (1): 125-158.). Finally, sections of chapter four will appear in an article accepted for publication, entitled “War in the Camphor Zone: Resistance to Colonial Capitalism in Upland Taiwan, 1895-1915” (forthcoming in the journal *Japan Forum*).

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Toulouse-Antonin Roy holds a B.A in history from Concordia University (2009), an M.A in history (2011), as well as an M.A in East Asian studies (2014), from McGill University. He is the co-author of “Vanishing Natives and Taiwan’s Settler-Colonial Unconsciousness,” *Critical Asian Studies*, Volume 50 (2): 196-218 (co-authored with Katsuya Hirano and Lorenzo Veracini). He is also the author of “‘The Camphor Question is in Reality the Savage Question:’ Indigenous Pacification and the Transition to Capitalism in the Taiwan Borderlands, 1895-1915,” *Critical Historical Studies*, Volume 6 (1): 125-158.

Introduction: Camphor Capitalism in the Age of Empire

Taiwan's Aboriginal inhabitants today comprise some 2.33 percent of the country's total population of 23.87 million people. They consist of sixteen culturally distinct ethnic groups who speak forty-two different Austronesian languages. For centuries, these largely animist semi-sedentary peoples lived within communities spread out across the island's mountainous east, and practiced a self-sufficient form of swidden agriculture.¹ Protected by the natural topography and high elevation of Taiwan's Central Mountain Ranges, which contain more than 200 peaks higher than 9,800 feet, Aborigines lived at the edge of the various imperial regimes (Dutch, Spanish, Chinese) which ruled the island over the course of the early modern and modern periods.

From the 1860s onwards however, during the Qing period (1683-1895), the Aboriginal Territories of Taiwan became a hotbed of commercial rivalry and imperial statecraft, as global demand for camphor - a substance derived from the laurel trees dotting Taiwan's mountainous interior - surged rapidly. Long used as *materia medica* or as an aromatic, camphor in the late nineteenth century became an integral part of many new industrial products such as celluloid, smokeless gunpowder, fireworks, toys, billiard balls, mothballs, topical agents, insect repellants, and other household objects.² While the Qing launched a number of military expeditions to conquer these Indigenous territories in the hopes of satisfying growing demand for camphor, the empire's economic and territorial ambitions in the highlands were cut short when, in 1895, Japan acquired Taiwan as a colonial possession.

¹ Taiwan's sixteen official Indigenous groups are: Amis, Atayal, Paiwan, Bunun, Puyuma, Rukai, Tsou, Saisiyat, Yami, Thao, Kavalan, Truku, Sakizaya, Sediq, Hla'alua and Kanakanavu. Of Taiwan's 546,700 Aborigines, there are 14,500 within the overall Aborigines population who do not recognize themselves as belonging to any of the official sixteen categories. Executive Yuan Republic of China, *Republic of China Yearbook 2016*, (Taipei: Executive Yuan Republic of China, 2016), 45-46.

² For more on the varied uses of camphor during the early modern and modern eras, see R.A Donkin, *Dragon's Brain Perfume: a historical geography of camphor*, (Leiden: Brill, 1999).

Although the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) marked the end of Qing rule in Taiwan, it did not signify the end of camphor production in the highlands. Following the creation of the Japanese Government-General in the spring of 1895, Japanese civilian and military leaders quickly turned their attention to the development of resource-based industries to finance their colonial enterprise on the island. In the opening years of Japanese rule, the Government-General entered into major deficits as the costs of subduing remnants of the defeated Qing army in Taiwan escalated. With thousands of camphor manufactories located at the base of the island's vast mountain chains, the camphor economy offered the Japanese colonial regime a well-established resource industry to keep the occupation afloat and pull its finances out of the red.³ By the turn of the twentieth century, the Government-General's camphor industry accounted for sixty percent of global camphor production and represented a significant portion of the total revenue generated by the colony's different state-run monopolies (66.5 percent of net monopoly revenue in 1900 alone).⁴

The creation of the Japanese camphor industry in Taiwan, and its soaring revenues, came at great human costs. Between 1895 and 1915, the Japanese empire waged hundreds of “pacification” campaigns using police, military, and paramilitary forces to bring the camphor-

³ Initially, the costs of subduing Qing armies and establishing control over Taiwan far outweighed the colony's prospective long-term economic benefits. So burdensome was the colony that many recommended the territory be sold to the British, French, or even back to the Chinese. The monopolization of the camphor however partially helped reverse this trend. According to sociologist Ka Chih-ming, profits from the camphor trade allowed the Government-General achieve its economic independence from external subsidies by 1905-1906. For more on early colonial economic policy and the impact of camphor see Ka Chih-ming, *Japanese Colonialism in Taiwan: Land Tenure, Development, and Dependency, 1895-1945*, (Westview Press, 1995), 50-58. For more on the debates surrounding the potential sale of Taiwan see Oguma Eiji, *'Nihonjin' no kyōkai: Okinawa, ainu, Taiwan, chōsen, shokuminchi shihai kara fukki undō made* [The boundaries of the 'Japanese': Okinawa, Ainu, Taiwan, Korea – From colonial rule to the recovery movement], (Shinyosha: Tokyo, 1998), 75-76.

⁴ The sixty percent figure is from Moriya Monoshirō, “*Taiwan shōnō seizōhōryō no kyūmu*” [The urgency of improving Taiwan's method of camphor production], *Taiwan kyōkai kaihō* 4 (1899), 10. As for the share (in percentage) of the camphor industry vis-a-vis other monopolies, that number shifted from 1899 onwards, but was recording well into the forty to sixty percent for some time (this is for 1900 to 1907). See Ka Chih-ming, *Japanese Colonialism in Taiwan*, 55.

rich lands of Indigenous Taiwanese under government control.⁵ During these two decades of colonial war, Japanese security forces invaded Taiwan's Aboriginal forestlands, shelled or set fire to countless villages, erected miles of barbed wire fencing and other "defensive" implements (collectively known as the "guardline," or *aiyūsen*), forcibly relocated entire communities to government-supervised enclaves, and killed thousands of Indigenous resistance fighters and innocent civilians. In addition to police and military invasion, Aborigines experienced discriminatory policies that limited their movements, deprived them of access to hunting rifles, imposed crippling economic blockades on their communities, and outlawed foundational cultural practices (particularly the ritual taking of heads). The government also placed conquered areas under a special administrative regime managed by colonial police, where Aborigines underwent a program of imperial assimilation and Japanese-language education. As the Japanese colonial police state physically enclosed and occupied the eastern uplands, camphor capitalists and their subcontracted gangs of Taiwanese workers slowly pushed their way into Indigenous territory to secure trees and establish production facilities upon Native lands. Unsurprisingly, Aborigines resisted assaults on their territories and traditional ways of life by organizing guerilla-style attacks on frontier garrisons and camphor logging sites, forcing them at times to halt – albeit momentarily – the progress of colonial industries. Although the total number of casualties remains unknown, estimates suggest that well-over ten thousand Aborigines perished due to Japan's expansionist policies, while the colonial regime relocated an estimated 7,318 families and 43,112 individuals to lower-elevation areas by the end of the colonial period.⁶ For decades,

⁵ The Japanese term for "pacification" is *tōbatsu*. The Government also used a number of other euphemisms to refer to confrontations with Aborigines, which I discuss in chapter four. Battles for example were often referred to as "advancement" (*zenshin*), "punishment" (*chōbatsu*), and even "search mission" (*sōsaku*). See glossary.

⁶ The 10k figure mentioned is from Robert Tierney's book, *Tropics of Savagery*. The figure comes from a U.N working group on Aboriginal Affairs in Taiwan. This figure applies only to the period 1909-1914, during which Governor-General Sakuma Samata conducted the "Five Year Plan to Conquer the Northern Savages." There is no doubt that this figure would be much higher if one factors in the years 1895-1908. See Robert Tierney, *Tropics of*

the brutalities perpetrated by the Japanese state in Taiwan were inextricably tied to the promotion of the island's lucrative camphor industries. To borrow the words of James Wheeler Davidson, who served as U.S Consul in Formosa (Taiwan) between 1897 and 1903: "the camphor question is in reality the savage question, inasmuch as the success or failure of the industry is dependent upon the position occupied by the savages, and as, in a general account of either subject it would be quite difficult to separate them."⁷

This dissertation examines the relations between camphor production and Indigenous dispossession between 1895 and 1915 – the period during which Japanese armies and police forces invaded the remaining expanse of unconquered Aboriginal territory in the highlands of Taiwan. Specifically, it links the production and consumption of camphor products with the uprooting of Taiwan's First Peoples from their ancestral lands. At its core, this dissertation seeks to deepen our understanding of the mechanisms of colonial state violence that underpin the creation of capitalist industries across Indigenous frontiers. More concretely, it aims to investigate *how and why* the introduction of capitalist social relations and market forces within Indigenous lands were accompanied by brutal acts of conquest that not only sought to transform Native resources into export commodities, but also destroy Indigenous socio-political modes of sustenance and reproduction. In upland Taiwan, the development of camphor was supported by a vast state machine comprised of armed government troops, mechanized arsenals, and frontier agencies, all of which coordinated their efforts to raze entire villages to the ground, outlaw the

Savagery: the culture of Japanese empire in comparative frame, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 41. The numbers on force relocations are from Shu-Min Huang & Shao-Hua Liu, The numbers on force relocations are from Shu-Min Huang & Shao-Hua Liu, "Discrimination and incorporation of indigenous Taiwanese Austronesian people," *Asian Ethnicity* 17, no. 2 (2016): 297. The figures are likely derived from Uesugi Mitsuhiro, "'Takasago' no ijū ni tsuite (ichi), Takachihō ronsō 24, 3 (1990): 54-55.

⁷ James W. Davidson, *The island of Formosa, past and present. History, people, resources, and commercial prospects. Tea, camphor, sugar, gold, coal, sulphur, economical plants, and other productions*, (New York: Macmillan and Co, 1903), 398.

methods Natives used to organize their societies and conduct political affairs, and imposed sedentary farming and Japanese education (or what was known as “imperialization”). Why did Japan’s policies extend beyond wealth extraction and attempt to erase Indigene identities and ways as well? And what impact did camphor production *itself* have on the latter mechanisms of dispossession? While state violence played an instrumental role, so too did agents of the camphor industry, which under the Japanese consisted of a large government-run monopoly, with its own labor force, capitalist investors, and consumers abroad. How did these entities contribute to the process of dispossession? And how did the frontier relations of production linked to camphor help direct conquest and occupation? Rather than begin with the premise that capitalist production served as a mere “pretext” for the invasion and occupation of Native lands, this dissertation instead sees these processes as being mutually constitutive of one another. In other words, the modes of commodity production that seek the capitalist transformation of Native lands are inseparable from the modes of destruction colonizers use to remove and brutalize its original occupants. This thesis revisits the related histories of Aborigine pacification and camphor production with this particular framing in mind to draw attention to the specificities of Japan’s regime of expropriation in the highlands and the reasons why it took on the distinctively annihilationist form that it did. As such, this study aims to not only broaden the existing scholarship on Japan’s policies of Native dispossession and capitalist production in Taiwan, but also to provide a better historical understanding what social theorists refer to as “primitive accumulation” – meaning the forms of violence needed to create the capitalist system – and the ways in which this process unfolds in a Native context.

Camphor production and colonial conquest evolved in symbiotic fashion. The Japanese state in upland Taiwan began as a collection of trading posts and evolved over two decades into

an extended perimeter of armed militia guards, long-range guns, barbed wire fencing, frontier administrative offices, and police outposts that virtually cut the island in half. State-builders designed this repressive infrastructure with camphor in mind *from the outset*, as Japanese colonial authorities sought to transform its monopoly over the *cinnamomum camphora* tree into an opportunity to enrich itself and avoid becoming a drain on metropolitan finances. With camphor leading the charge as one of the primary export commodities for colonial Taiwan's economy, the apparatus of Native dispossession was designed accordingly, with assaults aiming not only to facilitate access to forests, but also dismantling all Indigenous socio-political arrangements which hampered the monopolization of collectively-owned resources by the imperial state. During the initial phase of Japanese penetration of the highlands (1895-98), the Government-General established the politico-legal groundwork of Indigene governance, which criminalized ownership of collectively run hunting grounds, swidden agriculture, and the ritual taking of heads. All the while, government policymakers began deploying elaborate schemes to transform Indigenes into docile sedentary agriculturalists (all of which failed). In 1899, with the creation of a state-run camphor monopoly and profit-hungry Japanese capitalists looking to cash in on growing markets for celluloid or plastics, the Japanese pacification project entered its second and more violent phase. During this period (1899-1915) Japanese camphor capital began clustering in regions of the northeast – areas populated primarily by members of the Atayal, Sediq and Truku peoples – leading to violent skirmishes that disrupted productive activities. This led to the injection of men and materials along the frontier, taking militarization of colonizer-Native interactions to new levels. By the early 1900s, the Japanese Government-General had created a distinct type of expropriatory regime, one in which Japanese forces routinely shelled Taiwan Aborigines, occupied their lands, and displaced them in order to clear a path for

extractive enterprises. Camphor production shaped both the strategies and outcomes of Japanese expansionist maneuvers at high elevation, while also influencing the ferocity with which armies, police forces, and irregular auxiliaries descended upon Aboriginal mountain villages. Though camphor would eventually fade in significance as a major export industry for the colony, its role in violently restructuring the lives of Aboriginal Taiwanese people cannot be overstated.

This dissertation also seeks to reevaluate Japanese-Indigene encounters on the Taiwanese frontier. Though the history of Japan's conquest of the highlands is steeped in exterminatory policies that sought to deny Indigenes their polities and their centuries of ownership of the mountains and forests, Native peoples also shaped this history. Camphor production guided both high policy makers and the sub-colonials living on the edges of Japanese rule, but also set the terms for Indigenous responses. A particularly invasive form of resource extraction that required the clearing Native-held forests and garrisoning distilling apparatuses manned by workers, camphor was a source of colonizer-Indigene tension long before the Japanese stepped foot on the island. Under the Qing, Aborigines routinely attacked encroaching lowlanders through raids and sniper fire that discouraged them from pressing further inland. These usually provided a pretext for muscular (and disproportionate) colonial responses, as incursions by armed colonists and paramilitaries, or the deployment of expeditionary armies, typically followed. These militarized frontier relations persisted under the Japanese, who streamlined camphor collection, mechanized arsenals, and implemented an ambitious blueprint for assimilationist "imperialization." At every step though, attacks on camphor distilleries and guardline installations by Aborigines frustrated the advance of the Japanese colonial state machine. Battles and shelling campaigns could last months, and often resulted in the securing of only a few miles of new terrain, or a strategic hill upon which new guns could be mounted. Aboriginal Taiwanese also used diplomacy in their

relations with the invaders. In the politics of many Taiwan Indigenous communities during this period, warring and peace-making existed in symbiotic relation. Disputes over territory were always followed by forms of feasting, negotiation, and apportionment of trade goods. Far from a regular occurrence, ritualized killings and head-taking were actually a *last resort* that only occurred after peaceful solutions had been exhausted (a notion that runs contrary to the practice's depiction by the Japanese colonial archive as irrational homicide directed at unsuspecting colonials). However, the Japanese opportunistically exploited highland diplomatic protocols by cajoling prominent elders with liquor, food, and luxuries in hopes of "pacifying" them by non-military means. As the guardline advanced into remote regions, Indigenous even participated in pacification operations, often to secure embargoed goods not available due to bans mandated by colonial authorities. While Aborigines likely viewed these exchanges, as well as participation in Japanese campaigns, as part of a larger tradition of relations with lowlanders, the colonial state saw these exchanges as the beginnings of implementing top-down imperial bureaucratic control.

Whether through their resistance to pacification campaigns, or their attempts to negotiate with incoming camphor loggers or police forces, Aborigines in Taiwan shaped the contours of highland occupation state as much (if not more than) senior Japanese policymakers and frontline personnel did. As the persistence and presence of Indigenous Taiwanese today attests, Indigenous peoples outlive, and to a degree overcome, the brutal regimes that target their lands and livelihoods for capitalist development. Thus, this study seeks to revisit not only violence perpetrated in the name of the state and capital, but also the ways in which Indigenous actors *navigated* that violence, adapted to it, and pushed back against its deleterious effects. As we shall see, there is a growing emphasis in scholarship on Taiwanese Aborigines addressing their participation in a Japanese-imposed system that sought to circumscribe their activities and

dehumanize them at every step. This study explores new dimensions to the ongoing “Indigenizing” of historical narratives by bringing in discussion of Native resistance to capitalist accumulation.

While it is almost a truism at this point that camphor served as one (if not *the*) primary justification behind Japan’s costly scorched earth assaults in the highlands, the specific interface between the two has yet to be dealt with exhaustively, let alone in an dissertation-length study. Using materials from Taiwan’s Government-General primary source compilations and other colonial-era reports on pacification operations, camphor production, and “Indigene affairs” (*riban*), as well as previous scholarship which addresses the history of Taiwanese Indigenes, this dissertation attempts a new synthesis of existing primary and secondary works to render visible the connections between state violence, camphor production, and Native dispossession. To do so, this dissertation will expand upon, as well as depart from, existing historical literature on colonial Taiwan and its First Peoples during these formative years of brutal conquest in two separate but related ways. The first pertains to the ways in which we historicize the violence perpetrated against Native peoples and understand its intimate connections to processes of capitalist accumulation. The second pertains to how we understand Indigenous agency in a Taiwanese context. These two intersecting problems require not only contextualization of prior works, but also the elaboration of a new interpretive frame - to which this dissertation now turns.

Revisiting “Primitive Accumulation” in Taiwan and Colonial State Formation in Native

Contexts

The violence generated as a result of camphor production is a feature of Japan’s colonization of Taiwan that was not lost on contemporary observers. For example, the Japanese economist Yanaihara Tadao, writing in his 1929 *Teikokushugika no Taiwan* (Taiwan under

Imperialism), identified the importance of violence, or what he called the “state’s monopoly on force” (*seifu kyōken*), in facilitating the process of “primitive accumulation” (*hongenteki chikuseki*) in the Aboriginal highlands. As Yanaihara wrote:

The launching of our policy of opening the savage mountains, as well as the use of the savage border’s forestlands, was made possible through primitive accumulation by the support of the state’s monopoly on force (*seifu kyōken ni shihon no hongenteki chikuseki enjo de aru*). The inevitable demand for the development of capital requires that the government pays sufficient attention to the social and economic foundation of Aboriginal communities, establish reservations to preserve their lifestyle, have them avoid rapid and sudden change, and ensure that they develop gradually. It is said that colonists, through aggressive land occupation, drove [the Aborigines] to the mountains. If they come back once more the peaceful plains region and prosper as agrarian cultivators, this will be a great accomplishment from the standpoint of the history of colonization. Now and in the future, the Aborigines will experience a two-front assault of capital from both the plains and within the mountains. It is imperative that we protect them from enslavement and starvation within their homes in the mountains.⁸

Though writing long after the camphor wars and the violent guardline movements of the turn of the century, Yanaihara identified the instrumental role played by state violence in bringing about the Japanese colonial system’s dispossession and exclusion of its Indigenous Taiwanese subjects. In this passage, Yanaihara framed the introduction of capitalist relations and commodity production within Aboriginal settlements as inherently destructive, so much so that these would bring “enslavement” or “starvation” to its inhabitants. To protect Aborigines from the “two-front assault” of capitalist incursions in the plains and mountains, Yanaihara proposed that the government implement a system of “reservations” (*horyūchidoi*). By then, Aborigines were already living under a type of “reserve-like” system, as decades of fighting and displacement had herded them into heavily policed enclaves where they were supposed to receive extensive

⁸ It is important to note that Yanaihara here is repeating a mistaken hypothesis from the time that Hill Aborigines were scattered remnants of plains Indigenes who fled conquest and assimilation at the hands of the Qing. Yanaihara Tadao, *Teikokushugika no Taiwan* [Taiwan under Imperial Rule], (Taihoku: Nanten shokyoku, 1997), 31-32

“imperialization” via Japanese language and vocational education. Though consistent with colonizers of his time, who supported sequestering Indigenous people on reserves as part of a broader logic of “protecting” them, Yanaihara’s insights provide an important starting point for thinking through the relations between camphor production and state repression.

Yanaihara’s reference to “so-called primitive accumulation” (*hongen chikuseki*) is a concept originally devised by Karl Marx, who in one of the closing chapters of his 1867 *Capital Volume One*, sought to explain the historical emergence of the capitalist mode of production. In *Capital*, Marx described primitive accumulation as the “process which divorces the worker from the ownership of the conditions of his own labour; it is a process which operates two transformations, whereby the social means of subsistence and production are turned into capital, and the immediate producers are turned into wage laborers.”⁹ It is “nothing else than the historical process of divorcing the producer from the means of production.”¹⁰ Primitive accumulation essentially refers to the forms of violence that dismantle the existing social relations of production and bring the capitalist system into existence. For Marx, the classic form of primitive accumulation was the mass expulsion of peasants and independent producers from the English “commons” around the eighteenth century, which in turn created the “free laborers” who helped fuel the emerging capitalist system.¹¹ Contrary to the latter case, Indigenous peoples were subjected to forms of invasion, removal, displacement, mass killing, and assimilation which precluded their integration within a market economy as laborers. Marx did hint at the genocidal

⁹ Karl Marx, *Capital* (1867; New York: Penguin, 1990), 874.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 875.

¹¹ Many have long challenged the notion that Marx was committed to a singular trajectory or account of capitalistic development. Recently, in his latest book, *Marx after Marx*, historian Harry Harootunian has lent his insights to the rethinking of Marx as a non-teleological and non-linear thinker. For more on this topic, see Harry Harootunian, *Marx after Marx: history and time and the expansion of capitalism*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 1-21.

dimensions of capitalism in a colonial context, though only in a fleeting way. In his section on the “Genesis of the Industrial Capitalist” Marx famously described how “the discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the Aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins” served as the “chief momenta” of capitalist accumulation.¹² This of course contrasts with the English example, where Marx described the accumulation process as an original separation of laborers from the means of production, followed by the gradual disciplining and criminalizing of a surplus population languishing on the margins of a new capitalist economy. As Marx wrote: “Thus were the agricultural people, first forcibly expropriated from the soil, driven from their homes, turned into vagabonds, and then whipped, branded, tortured by laws grotesquely terrible, into the discipline necessary for the wage system”¹³ Implicit in Marx’s conception of “so-called primitive accumulation” are relations of force, underwritten through violence and law, which are exogenous to the capitalist system and needed for its steady reproduction. These relations however, as Yanaihara’s observations imply, are also present across Indigenous frontiers, but are ultimately different in their implementation and outcomes.

The distinct mode of violent colonial occupation hinted at in Yanaihara echo the writings of an earlier Marxist theoretician – that of Rosa Luxemburg and her seminal 1913 work *The Accumulation of Capital*. In it, Luxemburg provided a reading of capitalist violence in the colonies and its relations to primitive accumulation that resonate strongly with the Taiwan case. Writing less than two decades in the wake of the nineteenth-century scramble for colonies in

¹² Karl Marx, *Capital*, 915.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 899.

Asia and Africa, Luxemburg was highly aware of the integral role Indigenous land and natural resources had come to play in the development of industrial commodity economies. She wrote: “Capital needs other races to exploit territories where the white man cannot work. It must be able to mobilize world labour power without restriction in order to utilize all productive forces of the globe.”¹⁴ In order to tap into non-capitalistic productive forces, however, capital first required the dismantlement and reconfiguration of social formations “rigidly-bound” to traditional non-capitalist forms of production, or what she called “natural economy.” She wrote: “vast tracts of the globe’s surface are in the possession of social organizations that have no desire for commodity exchange or cannot, because of the entire social structure and the forms of ownership, offer for sale the productive forces in which capital is primarily interested.”¹⁵ This led her to her groundbreaking thesis that “accumulation, with its spasmodic expansion, can no more wait for, and be content with, a natural internal disintegration of non-capitalist formations and their transition to commodity economy...Force is the only solution open to capital; the accumulation of capital, seen as an historical process, employs force as a permanent weapon, *not only at its genesis, but further on down to the present day* [my emphasis].”¹⁶ In the same section, she also gave crucial insight into how colonized peoples experience the violence of imperialism, noting how “permanent occupation by the military, Native risings and punitive expeditions are the order of the day” when Indigenous land and resources become the object of capitalist accumulation.¹⁷ The violent encounter between capitalist commodity economies and their antagonists on the edges of the globe’s “non-capitalized” portions, Luxemburg highlighted, invariably leads to forms of violence whose goals are to expedite the removal of all obstructions

¹⁴ Rosa Luxemburg, *The Accumulation of Capital*, (London: Routledge, 2003), 351.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 350-51.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

which harm profit-seeking imperatives. She wrote: “The method of violence, then, is the immediate consequence of the clash between capitalism and the organizations of a natural economy which would restrict accumulation. This method is the most profitable and gets the quickest results, and so it is also the most expedient for capital.”¹⁸

In Luxemburg, the incompatibility between capitalist production and non-capitalist “natural economy,” cannot be resolved through a type of absorption of the existing labor and social systems within which the latter operates. Rather, invasion, conquest, and the permanent garrisoning of military, police, and other repressive instruments becomes the norm, as do “Native risings.” I have invoked Luxemburg’s insights here to draw attention to the notion that capital requires a distinct “method of violence,” for undermining the “independence” and vitality of “pre-capitalist” social formations.¹⁹ Situated, on the fringes of the capitalist system, yet important for its reproduction, colonies represented spaces where states were unshackled from conventional rules of war or inter-state relations, thereby allowing them to accelerate exploitation of untapped natural resources through brute extra-economic and extra-legal force. The sociologist Onur Ulas Ince, in a recent appraisal of Luxemburg’s theory, made this point, noting that: “Situated ‘beyond the line,’ colonies represented not only the abode of the ‘savage’ or ‘barbarian’ peoples but also spaces where European colonists could confront the indigenous people and each other with a savagery and barbarism unfettered by Europe’s ‘civilized’

¹⁸ Rosa Luxemburg, *The Accumulation of Capital*, (London: Routledge, 2003), 350-51.

¹⁹ Of course, the term “pre-capitalist” here may seem reductive, as Indigenous peoples in Taiwan were firmly embedded in capitalist networks of commodity production and trade by the time the Japanese arrive. Luxemburg’s language of “natural economy,” while at times suggesting a kind of pre-capitalist “idyll” that obscures the complexity of pre-colonial societies, offers an interesting framing which puts into perspective how capitalist states tend to view Native peoples not as sources of surplus labor, but as literal obstructions to their extractive enterprises. Put differently, capitalists must operate under the assumption that non-capitalistic formations are “natural economies,” meaning “primitive” entities devoid of productivity or profit-making potential, and therefore must be replaced by a regime of private property, or in the case of upland Taiwan, a state-run export-driven monopoly industry.

manners.”²⁰ Luxemburg’s formulation, he noted, allows us in turn to understand “why colonial entrepreneurs had a much freer hand in establishing regimes of bonded labor, extirpating indigenous inhabitants, and wreaking havoc on the forms of land tenure they found in place.”²¹

This thesis takes up a Luxemburgian reading of colonial dispossession to better contextualize violence perpetrated against Taiwan Indigenes. Here, I would like to make an important distinction between how I use the term “dispossession” and how it is traditionally understood by other theorists of Indigenous frontiers. In recent years, many working on violence directed at Indigenous peoples by capitalist states have highlighted that the latter tends to generate not a waged proletariat, but a “redundant” type of human being relegated to a marginalized existence and largely shut out from participating in a capitalist market economy.²² This point, as we shall see, is also highlighted by many of those working on the issue of Indigenous Taiwan. One of the early forerunners of this thesis concerning Native populations’ relations with capitalist states was the late Patrick Wolfe, who drew attention to the violence of accumulation within Indigenous societies, though not in a Marxist vein. Coining the term, “logic of elimination,” Wolfe highlighted that capitalist settler states have traditionally chosen to exterminate or sequester Native populations and demographically replace them, rather than mix their labor with the land.²³ Another notable thinker here, though not in the settler-colonial studies

²⁰ Onur Ulas Ince, “Primitive Accumulation, the New Enclosures, and Global Land Grabs: A Theoretical Intervention,” *Rural Sociology* 79:1, 2014, 112. The scholar of racial capitalism, Michael Dowson, invokes Ince’s formulation in a similar manner. See Micheal Dowson, “Hidden in Plain Sight: A Note on Legitimation Crises and the Racial Order,” *Critical Historical Studies* (Spring 2016), page range?.

²¹ Onur Ulas Ince, “Primitive Accumulation, the New Enclosures, and Global Land Grabs,” 112.

²² Of course, this is not to say that Indigenous peoples do not form any part of capitalist industries in the lands they were dispossessed from. The integral role of Indigenous populations under Spanish rule - who utilized their labor in agriculture, mining, and other extractive industries - is one obvious example. American Indians formed the backbone of some colonial economies. In Spanish, Mexican, and Russian California, for example, Indians built up much of the colonial infrastructure and economy between 1769 and 1846. For more on the mobilization of Indigenous labor in California, see Benjamin Madley, *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe, 1846-1873*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).

²³ Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology*, (London: Cassel, 1999), 163.

lineage, is Indigenous scholar Glen Sean Coulthard (Yellowknives Dene), who, in revising Marx's thesis on accumulation, proposed that we see the incorporation of Native peoples in a capitalist order as "dispossession" – a term he used to refer to the ways in which colonial states violently separate Indigenous people from their lands, as well as deny the identities and social relations they derive from them.²⁴ Recently, the historian Katsuya Hirano has taken up these points in his study of settler-colonialism in Hokkaido. Drawing from Wolfe, Hirano proposed a new theorization of capitalist violence by showcasing how Meiji statesmen and American experts configured the Indigenous lands of Ainu Mosir (Hokkaido) as *terra nullius*, as well as its population as a "redundant" and "disposable" people unfit for participation in a modern capitalist society. Looking at the diverse ways in which Japanese authorities "museumized" the Ainu as a "vanishing ethnicity," Hirano detected in the modern nation-form a genocidal logic of elimination which violently targets all social formations that obstruct capitalist accumulation (a point which he makes in conjunction with Luxemburg's theory).²⁵

²⁴ Glen Sean Coulthard, *Red Skin White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), 13.

²⁵ Hirano's conceptualization of the Japanese frontier and the Ainu serves as a point of contrast to my reading of violence in a highland context. While Hirano rightfully points to the eliminationist tendencies of settler-colonizers, the language of "redundancy" or "disposability" was not part of the Taiwan frontier's integration into a capitalist system. More recently Hirano has written about the issue of prison laborers in the making of Hokkaido, which he uses to further theorize the relationship between Japanese capitalism and the Ainu. Though worked to death in many instances, even prison workers were seen as bearing some form of inherent economic "value" during the early phases of "opening" Hokkaido (given they cost little for the state, who kept them in unsanitary and crowded prisons). The Ainu meanwhile were only of "value" insofar as they were physically and culturally erased from the land, or at least circumscribed to the point where they would not impede the development of agriculture. Reading Wolfe in conjunction with Foucault, Hirano concludes that what the Ainu experienced was a form of "Thanatopolitics" - the ultimate expression of sovereign power's decision of "who must live" and "who must die." Such a mechanism of violence in the context of the Ainu though could only be activated through racialization – a process which defined the Ainu in terms that made completely biologically or culturally "unfit" to exist in a Socially Darwinian environment of capitalist competition. This stands in stark contrast to Taiwan, where the operations of sovereign power defined themselves against an insurgent population whose assimilation and conquest was not feasible (nor fiscally desirable, as historians like Paul Barclay have pointed out). While the eliminationist designs of Japanese colonizers are evident in various pronouncements on the perceived "backwardness" of, or revulsion for, Indigenous ways, the specific historical circumstances do not mesh with either a colonial "Thanatopolitics," or anything that is akin to what Wolfe examines in North America and Australia. For more see Katsuya Hirano,

While many have pointed to how the perceived “disposability” of Indigenous people structures their relations with capitalist states, the corresponding mode of dispossession they theorize is not applicable to the Taiwan case. In the Taiwan’s highlands, the project of mass colonial emigration was all but absent, as were the type of large-scale private agricultural enterprises Meiji state-builders sought to erect on Ainu lands in Hokkaido (also those in North America). In Taiwan, Indigenous peoples had also violently resisted the advance of colonizers to protect their sovereignty for centuries (as far back as the Qing period at least) and were still largely autonomous by the start of the Japanese period. Finally, unlike other Indigenous groups like the Ainu, whom the Meiji government pitied as a “vanishing” people requiring legal protection, they racialized Aborigines in Taiwan as violent “raw savages” prone to homicidal impulses, which the government blamed on “barbaric” customs such as ritualized head-taking or the absence of Japanese-style agriculture. Though Yanaihara’s earlier comments on the need for reservations seem to echo a logic of “protection,” realities on the ground were vastly different. Just one year after the publication of his *Teikokushugika*, in October 1930, the Sediq people launched one of the most significant uprising in the Japanese empire - the “Musha Incident” - which resulted in brutal police and military actions. This Sediq resistance was a feat unimaginable in Hokkaido. While Taiwan’s Aborigines after the conquest years languished between half-hearted attempts at “imperialization” in police-run enclaves, these were more reminiscent of “protected villages” amidst a counter-insurgent operation against a guerilla army,

“Thanatopolitics and the Making of Japan’s Hokkaido: Primitive Accumulation and Settler Colonial Theory,” *Critical Historical Studies* (Fall 2015). Hirano also expands upon his idea of “Thanatopolitics” in a more recent piece, entitled “Colonialism as Encounter: On the Question of Racialization and Labor Power in the ‘Opening of Hokkaido’” See Hirano Katsuya, “Sōgu toshite no shokuminchishugi - Hokkaidō kaitaku ni okeru jinshūka to rōdōryōku no mondai wo megutte” [Colonialism as Encounter: On the Question of Racialization and Labor Power in the ‘Opening of Hokkaido’] in Akira Takasuke, Taiko Takeuawa, Narita Ryukyu (eds). *Kantaiheiyō no chiiki imin to jinshū* [Immigration and Race in the Pacific Rim]. Kyoto: Kyoto University Publishing, 2020, 31-68.

rather than a “reserve” in the traditional sense. The crucial point here is that the modes of occupation where capitalist relations assume the “uselessness” of Native peoples, such as the ones seen in Hokkaido or Indigenous North America, tend to manifest themselves *after* significant resistance or push-back against settler-colonizers has been achieved. Capitalist industries in the latter contexts also emerged after suppression of Indigenes was largely complete. The case of Taiwan needs a different type of theorization, as both policies of dispossession and capitalist production were formulated *in tandem with* the ubiquitous threat of Indigenous assaults and disruptions these brought to industrial activities.

This dissertation will argue that Japan’s slow-moving absorption of highland forests through siege warfare, garrisoning security forces, fencing off mountain settlements, disrupting Indigenous commercial networks or supply lines, and accommodating Native demands for those who opted to strike alliances with Japanese authorities, constituted a distinct mode of “permanent occupation” (to follow Luxemburg’s language). This regime involved the coordination of state bureaucratic and police power to suppress the possibility of Indigenous uprisings, all the while creating a perimeter to ensure the viability of camphor production - which itself had its own economic logic that at times promoted or accentuated patterns of colonizer-Native confrontation. This dissertation aims not to merely show that Japan dispossessed Taiwan Aborigines to establish capitalist industries (a fact highlighted by generations of scholars), but that it did so amidst a specific environment that generated its own climate of violence and perceived “solutions” for pacifying the Aboriginal peoples of Taiwan’s highlands. This environment, as this dissertation will make clear, evolved with a number of factors, which include: the preceding legacies of previous colonizers who occupied Taiwan (the object of chapter one), the imperatives of Japanese state-builders and their vision of Indigenous assimilation (the focus of chapter two),

the productive requirements of an expanding camphor industry (chapter three), as well as Aboriginal forms of resistance and responses to pacification operations and camphor production (which I deal with in chapter four).

As highlighted in the opening portions of this dissertation, my revisiting of the histories of Japanese military pacification and development of the camphor industry seeks to understand the shape of violence in a highland context. While violence is an integral feature of the primitive accumulation of capital, its specific institutional contours and localized instances need to be explicated at greater lengths, especially in an historical setting where it was assumed as a guiding principle of statecraft. This study is not the first to address the specific problems of state violence and Indigenous peoples in Taiwan. A rich literature that documents the debate on primitive accumulation in the highlands, Japan's policies of Aborigine pacification and camphor production, as well as the responses of Indigenous peoples to these processes, has unfolded in recent decades. As such this study will now turn to the ways in which it seeks to build and expand upon prior scholarly findings.

Contributions of the Study

Since the end of the colonial period in Taiwan, scholars have examined the issue of violence in the highlands, often with specific and direct reference to Marxian categories like "primitive accumulation." Yanaihara's work was the first among many social scientific works seeking to explicate the transition to capitalist industries in the highlands. Yanaihara's *Teikokushugika no Taiwan* used Marx's original thesis to demonstrate how state power had dissolved small-scale peasant cultivation and replaced it with Japanese monopoly industries. Subsequent theoreticians working on colonial state formation in Taiwan amended both Marx and Yanaihara's formulation, keeping sight of the key role played by the state, but stressed that it did

not destroy pre-existing social forms (small household peasant cultivation, family farms) but rather subsumed them under a larger capitalist structure, allowing them to retain some degree of control over their labor.²⁶ The question of state violence and its ties to Marx’s “primitive accumulation of capital” was eventually extended to Taiwan’s highland frontier by Japanese scholars. In Japan, the first detailed historical treatments of Indigenous Taiwan emerged in the late 1970s as part of research projects headed by Dai Guohui and Haruyama Meitetsu.²⁷ Scholarship on colonial state-formation during this period focused a great deal of its energy on the violent Musha Uprising – the watershed October 1930 rebellion in which Sediq warriors attacked Japanese government complexes in response to a series of abuses.²⁸ Much of the focus was on the policies that led to its outbreak.²⁹ Subsequent Japanese scholarly works examined

²⁶ Perhaps the more representative version of this thesis would be Ka Chih-Ming’s *Japanese Colonialism in Taiwan: Land Tenure, Development, and Dependency, 1895-1945*, which argued that the wealth of the Japanese colonial state was founded on strategic alliances between capitalists, landed elites, and small peasant producers. Ka’s case study revolved around the sugar industry, where large-scale industrialists on the island created contractual arrangements to allow family-owned sugarcane producers to continue supplying large Japanese firms.

²⁷ The major work in question here would be Dai Guohui (ed), *Taiwan Musha hōki jiken kenkyū to shiryō* [The Taiwan Wushe Revolt: Research and Documents], (Tōkyō: Shakai Shisōsha, 1981). This volume was part of a broader series whose coverage of colonial Taiwan and the Musha Incident stretched back to the 1873 punitive expedition against the Qing. The journal *Taiwan Kingendaishi kenkyū* (1978-1988), was also instrumental in promoting the study of the Taiwan frontier.

²⁸ On October 27th of 1930, a group of Sediq warriors, led by elder Mona Rudao, massacred a group of Japanese civilians and government officials at a sports day celebration in Musha, modern-day Ren’ai county, Nantou Province. The rebellion sent shockwaves throughout the empire as Mona Rudao and his accolades had been hailed as some of the most “assimilated” and trustworthy Aborigines in the eyes of the colonial government. The state’s reprisal was especially brutal. Hundreds of Sediq were killed in ground and aerial assaults. Chemical agents were also used for the very first time in East Asia. In the postwar era, Japanese scholars produced important monographs detailing the history of the Musha uprising. These works not only shed light on Japanese policies towards Indigenous Aborigines, but often compiled important records of primary texts. Researchers even traveled to Taiwan, where they interviewed survivors of the uprising for their insights on both the violence itself and life under Japanese rule in general. This kind of scholarship was part of Japanese academia’s general reckoning with their country’s imperial and wartime past. It also coincided with larger conversations about past atrocities like the Nanking Massacre or Comfort Women. For two representative works on the Musha uprising, see Guohui Dai (ed), *Taiwan musha hōki jiken: kenkyū to shiryō*, as well as Nakagawa Kōichi et al., *Musha jiken: Taiwan no takasagoku no hōki* [The Musha Incident: The Revolt of Taiwan’s Aborigines], (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1980). For a more recent work, which includes important oral historical testimony, see Hayashi Eidai, *Hiwa: Musha no hanran, minshū gawa no shōgen* [Secret History: The Musha Rebellion, Testimonies of the People], (Tokyo: Shin hyōron, 2002).

²⁹ A representative work here would be Kojima Rei’itsu’s ‘Nihon teikokushugi no Taiwan sanchi shihai: Musha hōki jiken made [Japanese Imperial Rule in Mountainous Taiwan up to the Musha Revolt], which explores the history of Japanese colonization in the highlands up to the Musha rebellion in light of the debate on primitive accumulation. See Kojima Rei’itsu, “Nihon teikokushugi no Taiwan sanchi shihai: Musha hōki jiken made” [Japanese Imperial Rule in Mountainous Taiwan up to the Musha Revolt] in Dai Guohui (ed), *Taiwan Musha hōki*

how state power and monopoly capital worked in concert to implement forestry laws and bureaucratic mechanisms that deprived Aborigines of rights to theirlands while subjecting them to increased military and police violence. Nakamura Masaru, whose 1998 article on the camphor industry I draw extensively from, is representative of this school of thought. In his, “Japanese capitalism’s camphor policy and the Indigenous peoples of Taiwan’s Highlands,” Nakamura argued that the camphor industry preserved much of the Qing-era productive relations of contractual frontier labor, but reorganized it to concentrate it in the hands of Japanese capitalists. His analysis of violence against Indigenous people followed a similar logic, as he detailed how the Japanese state began massively investing in derelict Qing-era guardline infrastructure at precisely the moment it began reorganizing the camphor industry to ensure a steady stream of profits.³⁰ In many ways, this dissertation takes up a similar problem, chiefly that of the intensification of violence and its structural transformation under a booming camphor industry.

Then there is the work of Antonio Tavares, whose dissertation on the camphor industry forms an important part of this study. Tavares’ “Crystals from the Savage Forest” is arguably the only English-language unpublished work which attempts a new synthesis of camphor and Taiwan Indigenous history through the lens of Marx’s accumulation. As such his argument require extensive overview. For Tavares, Taiwan’s highlands were a contested battleground where merchant capital, late Qing imperial administrators, frontiersmen and their families, as well as Indigenous actors, all participated in the camphor trade to advance or preserve their material interests. Under the Japanese, the contradictions of this “frontier zone” unraveled to

jiken kenkyū to shiryō [The Taiwan Wushe Revolt: Research and Documents], (Tokyo: Shakai Shishosha, 1981), 47-83.

³⁰ For more see, Nakamura Masaru, “Nihon shihonshugi no nōgyō seisaku to Taiwan kōchi genjūmin,” [Japanese Capitalism’s Camphor Policy and Taiwan’s Indigenous Peoples in the Highlands], *Nagoya gakuin daigaku ronshū* 34 (4), 1998.

produce a highly-rationalized extractive machinery, one dominated by large capitalist firms, yet which tolerated the presence of various elements whose existence were not organized around the production of surplus profits. Like Nakamura, Tavares highlighted how small household frontier labor - a staple of the industry since early Qing times - was largely preserved under the Japanese.³¹ Unlike Nakamura and others though, he saw the presence of “pre-capitalist” remnants not as a “failure” of modernization, but as an indispensable part of the frontier’s development. Under the “frontier zone,” even Indigenes and their land tenure modes were respected to a degree, though the state eventually shelved these due to the ways in which they contravened or disrupted the demands of large-scale logging operations needed to sustain Japan’s state-run monopoly.³² In the closing chapter of his dissertation, Tavares described how the camphor industry and the Japanese government ultimately found no “use” for Indigenous subjects and opted for violent removal and assimilation (rather than use their labor power). The passage is worth quoting at length:

The majority of indigenes in the tribal zone, however, were transformed neither into a wage-labor proletariat nor into family producers for the market. As late as the 1930s colonial officials bemoaned the fact that the majority of indigenes still practiced a form of subsistence swidden agriculture and therefore produced very little “value.” Colonial indigene policy during this period became centered around the question of how to allocate a fixed amount of land to each indigene (and their family) and to compel them to engage in agricultural commodity production. The solution adopted was to relocate large number of indigene villages onto reserved lands, to educate indigenes in productive agriculture, to teach them respect for private and public property, and to make them cease swidden agriculture on public lands. The ultimate aim was to remove any obstacles to the intensified exploitation of the forests for the production of camphor, lumber, and mineral resources—all controlled by Japanese capital.³³

³¹ Antonio Tavares, “Crystals from the Savage Forest: Imperialism and Capitalism in the Taiwan Camphor Industry, 1800-1945,” Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 2004, 1-49.

³² *Ibid.*, 184.

³³ *Ibid.*, 239-40.

Tavares here echoed the findings of others working on Indigenous frontiers, who similarly highlight the fact that Indigenous people are seldom given any place in capitalist industries following their subjugation by colonizers. His chapter then went on to examine the 1902 Nanzhuang rebellion: a major uprising in which a “pacified” Indigenous elder from the Saisiyat nation banded together with remnants of anti-Japanese partisans in response to the camphor industry’s refusal to respect Indigenous forms of land tenure. While Nanzhuang was a major turning point (one which this study turns to at different parts of the analysis), its outbreak was preceded by the formation of a state machinery and infrastructure of camphor production which defined Indigenous ways as impediments to capitalist production (and would continue to define them as such well into the 1910s). This study expands upon what Tavares gestures towards in the closing portions of his study by examining both how Indigenes came to be seen as “obstacles” *in the first place*, and how the Japanese colonial officials designed their instruments of violence with this particular premise in mind.

Since Tavares’ study, the issue of state violence and its application has not been lost on Japanese and Taiwanese scholars, who have mined the archives to produce exhaustive analyses on various facets of Japan’s rule over Taiwan’s Indigenous peoples. Recent monographs have examined the vast assortment of ideologies and assimilatory programs that facilitated or extended Japanese control over Taiwan’s Aboriginal communities. Works such as Kitamura Kae’s *Nihon shokumin chika no Taiwan senjūmin kyōikushi* [The history of Taiwan Aboriginal Education under Japanese rule] examined at great length the Aboriginal education system and the impact of the Government-General’s “imperialization” schemes.³⁴ Other path-breaking works

³⁴ Kitamura Kae, *Nihon shokumin chika no Taiwan senjūmin kyōikushi* [The history of Taiwan Aboriginal Education under Japanese rule], (Sapporo: Hokkaido daigaku shuppankai, 2008).

include Matsuda Kyoko's *Teikoku no shikō: Nihon "teikoku" to Taiwan genjūmin* [Imperial Thought: Japan's 'Empire' and Taiwan's Aborigines], which assessed the impact of anthropological and literary fascination with Aborigines in the metropole, and how they shaped colonial policy-making.³⁵ Kondo Masami's *Sōryokusen to Taiwan (Total War and Taiwan)* is another notable work which examined the politics of late wartime mobilization in colonial Taiwan and included exhaustive treatment of the ways in which Aborigines participated in the empire's "holy war" (*seisen*) against Euro-America in Southeast Asia.³⁶ The work of Yamaji Katsuhiko is also significant. Katsuhiko has written extensively on the ways in which Japanese colonial elites and bureaucrats used constructions of "savagery" (*yabanjin*) in different areas of colonial administration, anthropological thinking, education, as well as military mobilization, to highlight how they governed Aborigines as "child-like" human beings incapable of controlling their lands (he bases his thesis on the concept of *mushuchi*, the Japanese term for *terra nullius*).³⁷ Japanese scholarship in recent years has drawn much needed attention to the ways in which cultural and ideational violence, from forced schooling in Japanese to "ethnification" via social science or literature, shaped the trajectory of Indigenous lives – often as much as military pacification did.

In this study, assimilatory policies and dehumanizing racism form an indispensable part of the regime of "permanent occupation," and not merely as a series of "justifications" for the physical act of invasion or conquest. In chapter two for example, I examine how Japanese perceptions of "savagery" and denigration of Aboriginal economic organization where

³⁵ Matsuda Kyoko, *Teikoku no shisō: Nihon "teikoku" to Taiwan genjūmin* [Imperial Thought: Japan's 'Empire' and Taiwan's Aborigines] (Yushisha, 2014).

³⁶ Masami Kondo, *Sōryokusen to Taiwan: Nihon shokuminchi hōkai kenkyū* [Total War and Taiwan: Research in the collapse of Japan's colonies], (Tokyo: Tōsui Shobō, 1996).

³⁷ Yamaji Katsuhiko, *Taiwan no shokuminchi tōji – 'mushuchi no yabanjin' to iu gensetsu no tenkai* [Japan's Colonial Rule in Taiwan – The Development of the Notion of "Ownerless Savages"], (Nihon tosho senta, 2004).

indissociable from the transformation of Native forests as “resources” targeted for monopolization by the state. Similarly, in chapter four, I examine the ways in which the brutality of Japanese forces during the camphor wars were tied to a whole series of cultural assumptions about Aborigines’ lack of adherence to “civilized” rules of conflict or political conventions governing the relations between nations. As such this study aims to add new dimension to the multifaceted forms of state power already elaborated upon by Japanese historians, though with specific reference to the interface linking pacification with camphor production.

Another major work from which this study draws from is Paul Barclay’s, *Outcasts of Empire*, whose core thesis puts the relations between Indigenous sovereignties and capitalism front and center, though not in a Marxian vein. While Indigenous lands and their resources became an indispensable part of what Barclay calls “high velocity capitalism,” Japanese authorities placed Native peoples outside the structures of “citizen-making” that prepared populations for participation in these new modes of life. This, Barclay, argued, was a result of the challenges modern states face when confronting the horizontal, dispersed, and fissured Indigenous political and social formations, which evade and frustrate the state’s centralizing mechanisms of tax collection, accounting, and surveillance. Barclay’s central thesis is worth quoting at length:

Modern state building in the age of high-velocity capitalism entailed heavy governmental outlays to create commensuritized sociopolitical formations for sustaining the timely circulation of information, goods, and people, all under the pressure of international competition. In the emergent international system, at least ideally, one national geobody’s sovereignty ended where another began. The indigenous geobody was distinctive. As an administered territory defined by its exteriority to the full array of citizen-making projects associated with governmental and disciplinary tactics, the indigenous geobody was a “second-order geobody.” It was discrete and bounded, and it took on the formal properties of a geobody. Instead of achieving national sovereignty, however, it remains a

subunit of a first-order geobody, the arena of discipline- and citizen-making projects in the age of global transformation.³⁸

Japanese governance in the Taiwan highlands reflects the ways in which colonizers transform Indigenous spaces into “second-order geobodies,” meaning a territory that falls outside the regular state technologies that convince citizens to surrender revenues through a mixture of coercion or consent. As Barclay highlighted, “Second-order geobodies are found at the extremities of empire, where various combinations of local resistance, rugged terrain, sparse population, and other factors rule out the creation of revenue-neutral regimes of governmentality.”³⁹ The Taiwan highlands were just beyond the grasp of Japanese control, but could not be left alone as territory “beyond the pale,” which the Qing did for most of the time they ruled the island. While Japan committed itself to creating all the trappings of a modern state, ambitious blueprints quickly turned to “fiscal exhaustion,” as Barclay described how guardline advances and attempts at building a frontier state committed to “civilizing” Indigenes failed to create self-sustaining mechanisms needed to finance such an enterprise. By the mid-1910s, the empire had all but abandoned the prospect of integrating the highlands as regularly administered territory and making its inhabitants into disciplined tax-paying subjects, especially as camphor’s importance shrunk relative to other monopoly industries. Instead, Aboriginal lands were cordoned off as over-policed ethnic enclaves. Especially in the closing years of colonial rule, Indigenes were reduced to “exotic” showcases of Japan’s multi-ethnic empire, as cultural tourism and anthropological research became mainstays of those territories (a point also echoed in Tavares’ study). For Barclay, Taiwan’s bifurcated sovereignty and patchy imperial control in the uplands would lay the groundwork for modern Indigeneity, as Japanese rule would create

³⁸ Paul Barclay, *Outcasts of Empire: Japan’s Rule on Taiwan’s ‘Savage Border,’ 1874-1895*, (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017), 33.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 33.

many of the categories of identification around which current Aboriginal struggles on the island are organized.⁴⁰

Both Barclay and others' studies suggest that, over time, Indigenous Taiwan's place in the global imperialist order was reterritorialized from contested frontier to enclave designed to contain "protected" Indigenous subjects (or later "citizens" of the Republic of China) with limited outlets for participation in "regularly-administered" society. This shift has deep links to an overdetermined history of conquest whose unfolding can only be understood through the prism of camphor and the myriad apparatuses implicated in the latter's development. Through my re-framing of existing source materials and scholarship through the conceptual lenses of capitalist accumulation and its articulation within Indigenous frontiers, the dissertation is an attempt at critically re-interpreting the ways in which Indigenous spaces in Taiwan were violently incorporated based on a distinct type of police, bureaucratic and military repression organized around the production of a major commodity, as well as the fierce resistance engendered by the latter.

This leads us to the second contribution of this study - that of understanding Taiwan Indigenous Peoples and their place within these broader processes of pacification and global capitalist production. To the extent that the ethnographic and historical record allows, this dissertation centers its analysis on the rich history of Aboriginal resistance to camphor capitalism in its many guises. As other historians have shown, Native peoples did not merely vanish with the onset of colonization. They adapted to the presence of newcomers, forged treaties, brokered political alliances, developed and participated in elaborate trade networks, and created new

⁴⁰ Paul Barclay, *Outcasts of Empire*, 13 & 35.

identities out of fractured ones.⁴¹ Today, Indigenous peoples remain engaged in struggles to assert land rights, revitalize their traditions and languages, and Indigenize the knowledge that is being produced in the academy. Though we must not lose sight of the historical premise of dispossession, we should not let it define our interpretive frame in its entirety. Existing scholarship on Taiwan's Indigenous peoples has also taken stock of these new orientations, making extensive use in their analyses to showcase how Aborigines charted their own course even amidst the limitations placed upon them by a violent colonialism.

While the Japanese colonial archive provides us with exhaustive lists of military campaigns, extensions to the guardline, and destruction of mountains settlements, sources must often be read “against the grain.” This point has been raised by Kitamura in her *Nihon shokumin chika no Taiwan senjūmin kyōikushi*. In the introductory portions of her book she highlighted how scholars have long taken Japanese colonial sources at face value, forgetting at times that authors intended these texts to be well-manicured and excerpted accounts of Japan's progress and “savage governance” as boosters for the imperial project.⁴² Surface-level readings of colonial edicts, laws, and other schematic blueprints for colonization betray the complexities on the ground, which are dynamically-evolving and constantly modulated by local conditions. Kitamura's insights here highlight not only the limitations of extant records, but also how reliance upon these may lead to flawed interpretations. If we are to take the policy implementation schemes of colonial officials at face value, then we are left with a teleology where violence and

⁴¹ Though just a small sample, the following works, written by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars, have served as inspiration here. See Taiaiake Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); Ned Blackhawk, *Violence over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006).

⁴² Kitamura Kae, *Nihon shokumin chika no Taiwan senjūmin kyōikushi*, 11.

resistance are merely the “inevitable” outgrowth of a rapidly growing state apparatus. If we are to avoid reproducing a state-centric account of Indigene dispossession, more creative readings are necessary. This requires probing into various features of Indigenous social, political, and ritual life. This approach, which Kitamura and many others have pointed to in their work on Taiwan Aborigines, serves as an important starting point for this study’s reading of the materials that pertain to the development of the pacification state and camphor industry. This study does not claim to be superseding the dense and rich analysis of existing Japanese and Taiwanese historians (who have spent decades mining documents). Rather, the goal is to refocus the lens and examine the different gaps, silences, slippages of well-researched documentation to reveal new avenues and modes of analysis.

Indigenous peoples in Taiwan adapted to the presence of colonizers using their own socio-political structures, modes of warring and peace-making, as well as cosmological and metaphysical belief systems. For centuries, Aborigines negotiated with Han Chinese colonists and imperial administrators along a socially porous frontier, where various commercial and political interstitial figures helped manage the flow of trade goods between lowland and highland. Interethnic marriage was common, with bi-cultural Sino-Aboriginal men and women playing crucial parts in these frontier exchanges. Producers often negotiated with Indigenous headmen to secure safe passage into uncleared forests, usually in exchange for food, liquor, and luxuries. As Qing-sponsored land reclamation efforts reached more remote hinterlands and absorbed Native settlements, Qing officials recognized Indigenous land tenure to a degree, with pacified plains-dwelling groups often serving as landlords who exacted tribute from Han farmers in engage for cultivation within their territories. Here the work of John Robert Shepherd’s

Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier, as well as Ka Chi-Ming's *Fantoujia: Qingdai Taiwan ziqun zhengzhi yu shoufan diquan* [The aborigine landlord: ethnic politics and aborigine land rights in Qing Taiwan], have done much to showcase how patterns of violence and adaptation, and not mere assimilation or absorption, defined the Aboriginal experience during the Qing imperial era.⁴³ Tavares' unpublished dissertation also revisits these frontier dynamics with specific reference to the camphor issue, looking at how the growth of the industry provided Indigenous people with more avenues to assert their ancestral rights to forest clearances via payments owed to headmen in exchange for logging. Then, of course, there is the wealth of documentation by historians, ethnographers, and other scholars who have mapped out many of the pre-Japanese (and even pre-Qing/pre-colonial) contours of Aboriginal society, culture, religion, and ritual.⁴⁴ These form an important part of how we understand pre-colonial Aborigine societies and their resilience, even amidst an increasingly invasive colonialism on their doorstep. In chapter one, I revisit much of this important literature and reframe its findings with the development of Japanese regime and its pacification policies in mind, looking for example at how relations between Qing and Indigene social formations primed the pump for capitalist accumulation while also shaping patterns of frontier interactions that would later inform many of Japan's own policies and calculations. Through a critical synthesis of this secondary literature, I assert that Japan had to design its regime of Native occupation on the basis of what I call "the camphor zone" (a reformulation of Tavares' "frontier zone") - a term which refers to the

⁴³ Ka Chih-ming, *Fantoujia: Qingdai Taiwan ziqun zhengzhi yu shoufan diquan* [The aborigine landlord: ethnic politics and aborigine land rights in Qing Taiwan], (Taipei: Institute of Sociology, Academic Sinica, 2001. Robert Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier 1600-1800*, (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1993.

⁴⁴ A comprehensive list can be found in footnote four of chapter one.

complex of socio-political, productive, and military relations that shaped Aborigine responses to expanding maritime empires from the seventeenth century onwards.

In the chapters which examine the Japanese period, I also draw from existing ethnographic and historical research to showcase how the geographically mobile and politically “acephalic” nature of Taiwan Indigenous societies, coupled with their modes of hunting and warring, served as a “check” of sorts on the expansionist designs of Japanese state-builders and camphor capitalists. In chapter two for example, I examine how Japanese authorities were unable to make meaningful advances in their goals of conquest via a policy of “peaceful” acculturation proposed by its first Indigene governance agency – the Pacification-Reclamation Bureau. Looking at trade frontier station reports (with a particular focus on the Yilan region), I demonstrate how Indigenous redistributive economies and their de-centralized sense of political organization ran counter to the colonial state’s vision of top-down imperial domination and heightened Japanese perceptions of Indigenes as primitive “savages” devoid of any productive ties to the land. This in turn paved the way for an aggressive and militarized approach to camphor development, as high-level officialdom and camphor monopolists grew tired of slow-moving “culturalist” absorption. Here, I draw inspiration from recent works that have recovered Indigenous agency amidst the turmoil of Japanese occupation. For example, in her path-breaking study of Yayutz Bleh, an Atayal woman whose high degree of proficiency in the Japanese language put her on the frontline of Japanese expansive maneuvers, Kirsten Ziomek put forth the notion of “liminal subjecthood,” a term she used to describe how colonized peoples often cannot be situated firmly in the camp of either “victim” or “resister.”⁴⁵ Similarly, Barclay’s

⁴⁵ Kirsten Ziomek, “The possibility of liminal colonial subjecthood: Yayutz Bleh and the search for subaltern histories in the Japanese empire,” *Critical Asian Studies* 47:1 (March 2015). See also her recent book *Lost Histories: Recovering the Lives of Japan’s Colonial Peoples*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2019).

Outcasts of Empire, along with his numerous articles, have done much to advance the idea that the “dispersed” or “fissured” sociality of Indigenes allowed Aborigines to accrue political capital, stockpile goods, and gain leverage against colonizers.⁴⁶ In all, this study builds upon this style of analysis, but shifts the emphasis on the specific ways in which Indigenous subjectivity can be gleaned through analysis of the Japanese pacification state and its connections to camphor.

Later, in chapter four, I once again make extensive use of ethnographic and historical findings but with more specific reference to Indigenous warfare and head-taking. Entitled “War in the Camphor Zone,” my final chapter takes up the cultural specificities of ritualized head-taking and other forms of warfare and links them to resistance activities to pacification policies and extractive operations. Pushing back against the colonial archive’s framing of head-taking as irrational homicide or mere “counter-violence,” the chapter injects the socio-cultural specificities of Indigenous ways into analysis of guardline operations and shelling campaigns to provide readers with a sense in which resistance activities went part in parcel with an entire mode of life – one in which severed heads were was part of a larger system of protecting cultivated fields, hunting grounds, as well as regulating disputes and other tensions between groups. Here, I draw extensively from the work of anthropologist Scott Simon, who has worked on Sediq social organization to ritual head-taking. His findings on the political significance of head-taking, particularly its reading of the practice as an assertion of sovereignty in the face of territorial threats, forms an indispensable backdrop in contextualizing numerous practices deployed by

⁴⁶ In addition to his *Outcasts of Empire* see for example Paul Barclay, “Cultural Brokerage and Interethnic Marriage in Colonial Taiwan: Japanese Subalterns and their Aborigine Wives, 1895-1930,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 64, no. 2 (May 2005).

Indigenes to engage colonizers.⁴⁷ I also rely on scholarship by Japanese and Aborigine scholars, who have done exhaustive research on topics like the uses of land, warfare, head-taking, and metaphysics among the Atayal people.⁴⁸

This study also turns to the recent work of historians who have taken Indigenous approaches seriously in their retellings of Japanese-Aborigines clashes on the frontier. Pei Hsi-Lin for example wrote a full-length dissertation on Aborigine uses of firearms from the seventeenth century onwards, showcasing how the influx of firearms did not supplant traditional weaponry and forms of hunting, but rather supplemented them (even to the point where weapons became a part of different facets of ritual life).⁴⁹ Her findings make up an important part in how I contextualize the guerilla-style tactics of Indigenes in the camphor wars. The work of Taiwan-based Japanese scholar Fujii Shizue, who has combined rigorous descriptive analysis of Japan's "savage administration" with oral history interviews that she conducted with Indigenous elders, has also proved very useful here in providing further texture to my reading of military campaigns and the historical actors involved. Again, I draw upon this collection of works with my own

⁴⁷ See Scott Simon, "Politics and Headhunting among the Formosan Sejiqs: Ethnohistorical Perspectives", *Oceania* (82) 2, (July 2012). See also Scott Simon, *Sadyaq Balae! L'autochtonie formosane dans tout ses états* [Sediq Bale! Formosan Indigeneity in all of its forms], (Laval: Les presses de l'université de Laval, 2012).

⁴⁸ One useful resource I rely on for insights on Atayal cosmology and politics is Laysa Akyo, *Taiyaerzu chuantong wenhua: buluo, zhaxue, shenhua, gushi yu xiandai yiyi* [Atayal Traditional Culture: village philosophy, mythology, and present-day significance], (Taipei: Xinrui wen chuang chuban, 2012). On the subject of head-taking among the Atayal see Hitoshi Yamada, *Kubikiri no shukyo minzokugaku* [Religious Ethnology of Headhunting], (Tokyo: Chikumashobo, 2015). I also use Kikuchi Kazutaka's summaries of ethnographic data from his journalistic account of Atayal history. See Kikuchi Kazutaka, *Taiwan hokubu taiyaruzoku mita kara mita kingendaishi: nihon shokumin jidai kara kokuminto jidai no 'haku tero' he* [Modern history seen from the perspective of Taiwan's northern Atayal: from Japanese colonial rule to the Nationalist 'White Terror'], Fukuoka: Shukosha, 2017.

⁴⁹ Pei, Hsi-Lin. "Firearms, Technology, and Culture: Resistance of Taiwanese Indigenes to European, Chinese, and Japanese Encroachment in a Global Context Circa 1860-1914." PhD dissertation, Nottingham Trent University, 2016. See also Fujii Shizue, *Dakekan Shijian, 1900-1910* [The Dakekan Incident, 1900-1910], (Xinbeishi: yuanzhuminzu weiyuanhui 2019). See also her overview of Japanese rule in the highlands *Li fan: riben zhili Taiwan de jice* [Savage Administration: Japan's Policy of Governing Taiwan], (Taipei: Wenying tang chubanshe, 2001).

reading of sources to build a composite description of how Indigenous Taiwanese confronted a debilitating colonialism in a variety of creative and resourceful ways.

Though Japanese colonialism and camphor capitalism sought to eliminate structures that ensured the reproduction of Aboriginal communities, it never fully accomplished this. The persistence of Indigenous socio-political forms, as well as enduring struggles for land and recognition (a topic explored in the conclusion), clearly attests to this. Behind current fights to recapture different aspects of Native sovereignty and self-governance is the long history of Indigene adaptation to colonizers, to which this dissertation adds further depth. As noted earlier, the history of camphor capitalism brings to the fore the issue of primitive accumulation, and the specific forms of state violence that colonizers deploy to subjugate Native peoples and transform their ancestral lands into commodities. But if in many cases state violence never completes the process of erasing Native society from existence, as the Taiwan case suggests, then what do we make of the accumulation process? How do we make sense of the disjuncture between capital's eliminatory pretensions and the lived realities of Native peoples still under the yoke of colonial occupation? We must remember the insights of theorists like Luxemburg, who highlighted how colonization necessitates continuous mobilization of the state's repressive capacities, whether military, cultural, or economic. Yet as she reminds us, this process is ongoing and is still with us to *this present day* (of course her "present" of 1913 Europe is radically different from our current moment, but the violence she described is still very much with us). The history of camphor production and Indigene dispossession in the highlands of Taiwan provides fertile grounds to not only expand upon existing literature of Indigenous Taiwan, but also to address more broadly

how - irrespective of the brutality of state-capitalist violence involved - Native peoples find myriad ways to stay resilient.

Breakdown of this Study

This dissertation is divided into four parts, each of which stress the intersection of camphor production, frontier violence, and Indigenous resistance or adaptation that have shaped the highland's integration into the Japanese imperialist order. The first chapter, "A Violent Frontier: Indigenes, Settlers, Imperial Administrators and Taiwan's 'Camphor Zone,'" examines the history of Indigenous peoples in Taiwan before 1895, as well as the development of the camphor industry during the late Qing period. This chapter introduces the socio-political dynamics of Taiwan's "Camphor Zone" - a region which refers to Taiwan's natural beltway of camphor forests in the northeast. Before the Japanese set up their administration, Taiwan's camphor-rich northeastern forests were sites of violence and accommodation between various actors. Between the early eighteenth and mid-nineteenth century, the camphor trade developed under a Qing-appointed "foreman," who monopolized logging activities in the interior as part of larger naval armaments program. The explosion of camphor as a consumer item and the subsequent "opening" of Taiwan's ports to westerners in the early-to-mid 1860s led to both an uptick in production and violence, leading the Qing to launch multiple campaigns to "pacify the mountains" well into the late 1890s. It was during these two centuries that the Indigenous people of Taiwan's highlands began forging trade networks with lowlanders, as well as engaging in regular warfare with the latter to keep intruders from taking their lands. The combination of "borderlands" style diplomacy and militarized frontier relations both shaped the development of the "camphor zone" and set the stage for early Japanese colonial policies. Using a synthesis of secondary historical and ethnographic materials, this chapter examines the social, productive,

and military relations that influenced how camphor products were made, consumed, and shipped abroad in the Qing period. In presenting this interpretive “digest” of existing materials, I will make clear to readers how preceding legacies of colonization in Taiwan shaped the material and ideological contours of the Japanese pacification state.

The second chapter, “Planning the Aboriginal Pacification State: Early Japanese Rule in the Indigenous Highlands, 1895-1898,” shifts to the opening years of Japanese rule, examining the rise and fall of the Pacification-Reclamation Bureau, the frontier management agency established in the spring of 1896 to facilitate Japanese rule over Indigenous peoples in the highlands. The Pacification-Reclamation Bureau (or *bukonsho* in Japanese), was responsible for governing Aboriginal groups and managing the camphor industry. This chapter provides a broad outline of the Pacification-Reclamation Bureau’s history, showcasing the ways in which it was limited in terms of its financial, repressive, and political capabilities, yet still impactful in terms of its policy-making initiatives. The final portion of the chapter then examines interactions between Bureau agents and Atayal communities from the Mnibu and Nan’ao groups, who today reside in the Yilan County area. Though abolished in 1898, the Bureau set an important foundation for the Japanese regime’s later laws pertaining to Aboriginal administration and camphor production. Between 1897-98, for example, the agency passed important decrees which limited Indigenous access to hunting rifles, imposed sedentary farming, and threatened resistant tribes with trade embargoes. These reverberated well into the later conquest period, as pacification armies used legal precedents set during the late 1890s to disarm and invade Indigenous communities. Meanwhile the Bureau’s attempts at regulating the camphor industry, though half-hearted, built up much of the legal machinery later used to bring Japanese capitalists and their loggers deeper into unconquered lands. In revisiting the history of the Pacification-

Reclamation Bureau and its rudimentary highland governance apparatus and camphor regulatory regime, this chapter draws attention to how state violence in the highland was founded on a delegitimizing of Aboriginal forms and the rendering of these as “primitive” and obstructionist forces which impeded the goal of capitalistic resource development.

The third chapter, “Empire of Camphor: Japanese capital, monopolization, and the making of a global industry” examines the explosive growth of the camphor trade from 1899 to about 1910. The chapter showcases how the growing volume of camphor exports at the turn of the twentieth century coincided with the intensification of violence against Indigenous peoples in the highlands. Beginning around 1899 - the year Japan established its camphor monopoly - the colonial state began garrisoning additional police units and paramilitary guards in Aboriginal areas to defend the growing number of camphor stoves. This also coincided with the streamlining of the camphor industry into fewer hands, as Japanese capitalists began investing into the Taiwan camphor trade, replacing Chinese producers. By the turn of the twentieth century, major players like Suzuki Shōten and other companies formerly involved in the Kobe camphor industry began clustering in Taiwan’s northeast, monopolizing most of the production quotas there. This sparked considerable friction, as increased production caused tensions with local Indigenous, and eventually culminated in major Indigenous raids. Adding to all of this was the exponential increase in global demand for camphor, of which Taiwan satisfied nearly 60 percent by the early 1900s. With global demand pressures weighing on a profit-hungry monopoly, the colonial state began moving away from its slow-moving strategy of acculturation initially proposed by those staffing the Pacification Bureaus. In all, the chapter demonstrates how the structural transformations brought about by monopoly capital created corresponding changes in the machinery of Indigenous repression. Combining analysis of global and regional trends

within the camphor industry with increases in guardline forces and other ground level occupational machinery, the chapter will also make clear how a convergence of markets and localized violence incentivized the acceleration of Indigene dispossession.

The final chapter, “War in the Camphor Zone: Defensive Conquest, Camphor Capitalism and the Decline of Indigenous Sovereignty,” explores violence itself. Its aim is to provide an analysis of the numerous pacification campaigns that took place between Japanese armies and Aborigines in the late 1890s and early 1900s. Between 1896-1909, there were 2,767 military encounters between Japanese and Aborigines.⁵⁰ Though this chapter does not examine every one of these campaigns, it extrapolates from individual case studies patterns of invasion and occupation, examining in the process how camphor production played an integral role in accelerating the pace, as well as violence, with which pacification armies moved into Native lands. All the while, the chapter presents various aspects of Indigenous socio-political and ritual life, and how these shaped responses to Japanese aggression. The first part of the chapter examines Atayalic traditions of war and diplomacy to better familiarize readers with the variety of Indigenous responses to highland warfare. Following this ethno-historical exposition, I examine major turning points in the early history of Japanese-Aborigine warfare. Specifically, I examine the Dakekan and Nanzhuang uprisings (1900 and 1902 respectively), two major instances of Native rebellion which shook the camphor economy to its core and led to colonial security forces experimenting with destructive tactics like the use of long-range shelling and the imposition of trade embargoes.⁵¹ After my analysis of the Dakekan and Nanzhuang case, I turn

⁵⁰ Paul Barclay, *Outcasts of Empire*, 100.

⁵¹ These rebellions involved the Atayal peoples and Saisiyat peoples respectively. The Nanzhuang uprising also had a significant Atayal presence in its ranks. The Dakekan uprising was launched in response to heightened production by Japanese permit holders in the Dakekan region (modern-day Taoyuan County), while the Nanzhuang uprising was launched by Saisiyat leader Ri Aguai, who grew frustrated with local capitalists shirking on payments of customary fees typically given to Indigenes by camphor producers in exchange for logging rights.

to the period of 1903-1909, when the state accelerated its armed incursions into Aboriginal territories. Rather than wage all-out war against the entirety of Taiwan's Indigenous peoples, the empire opted for a policy of "pacification in the north, benevolence in the south." This policy, which concentrated the state's repressive instruments in predominantly camphor-rich northeastern areas, was the brainchild of senior colonial bureaucrat Mochiji Rokusaburō. Though billed as a "cost-efficient" approach to avoid overwhelming the state's finances, the "Mochiji plan" was anything but narrow in scope, as it not only brought destruction to multiple communities, but also finalized the empire's conquest of the camphor heartland, bringing centuries of *de facto* Indigenous autonomy to an end. This chapter explains how the instruments of conquest mirrored a rapidly growing process of monopolization, which sought to dislodge Indigenous peoples from camphor forests as expediently as possible. At the same time, it demonstrates that Indigenous peoples in Taiwan knew how to exploit the vulnerabilities and weaknesses of the Japanese empire to continue carving out a space for their existence at high elevation. From there, the dissertation provides closing remarks on the lasting legacies of camphor capitalism during the post-conquest years, as well as the broader stakes for contemporary Taiwan.

A Note on Names and Naming

Taiwan's indigenous peoples consist of multiple groups, some officially recognized and others seeking official status. Each group has their own sense of identity, language, religious traditions, and socio-political organization. While the term "Aborigines" signifies not only Taiwan's Indigenous Hill populations, but also groups residing in the western plains regions whom the Qing conquered and assimilated between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, throughout this study, "Aborigines" will refer to the populations that historically inhabited the Taiwan Central Mountain Ranges, unless I am referring to instances from the pre-Japanese

period. While the term may seem “essentialist,” reductive, or dismissive of the politico-cultural diversity of the highlands, “Aborigines” is at its core a practical choice. Most of the official terminology used now to refer to specific Indigenous groups are derived from colonial-era ethnographic taxonomies. When not using racist epithets such as “savage” (*banjin*) or “unassimilated savage” (*seiban*), Japanese sources typically referred to Indigenous groups using the larger ethnonym, which usually consists of the group name and the suffix “*zoku*,” a term that roughly translates to “tribe” or “kin group.” So, for example, *Taiyarusoku*, translates to “the Atayal Tribe.” In other instances, Japanese colonizers used the specific village in question by affixing *sha* (village) to a given community’s name. So, *Mareppasha* would mean “Mareppa village.” *Bansha*, or “savage village,” was another commonly used term. Some names appear in the *katakana* script, meaning they are directly derived from Aboriginal languages, while others used traditional Chinese characters to designate them (for example Mawudu = 馬武督). In some instances, we see references to “guards,” “conscripts,” and other occupational groups working along the frontier. Many of these individuals were of mixed Sino-Aboriginal descent and had roots in Qing “Sinicization” policies. Military pacification campaigns and forced relocation under both the colonial Japanese and postwar Guomindang (Chinese Nationalist) regimes have also severely altered the geography of the highlands. As a result, the labels found in imperial archives may have little correspondence with current arrangements in Taiwan.

In the interest of preserving historical accuracy, I have retained all of the above terminology found in Japanese sources and romanized it. When speaking in general terms, or in instances when place or group-specific labels are absent, I use the term “Aborigines,” “Aborigine,” “Aboriginal,” “Indigenous,” “Indigene,” or “Native.” I also routinely quote the dehumanizing language and colonial categories used by the Japanese Government-General. This

is not only to stay true to the sources, but also to better convey the everyday brutality and racism that permeated socio-political intercourse on the Taiwan frontier during these turbulent decades.

Now, a note on my use of the term “Indigenous” or “Indigenous people.” The use of this label also warrants contextualization. Here, “Indigenous” refers to those who lived (and continue to live) on lands and territories lost due to sustained waves of invasion, colonization, and migration (both voluntary and involuntary). This formulation is much closer to the Japanese-language term often used in scholarship on Aborigines: *senjūmin*,⁵² which means “prior inhabitants.”⁵³ The idea of peoples who exist “prior” to the arrival of colonists, is *not* however a temporal marker of “premodernity.” “Indigenous” is at its core a relational term inseparable from that of “colonizer” or “settler.” As such, it requires that we track its multiple meanings across changing sovereignties, economic systems of production, cultural forms, and social relations. Indigenous peoples do not simply vanish with the onslaught of colonization. They resist, adapt, and transform their categories of self-understanding based on interaction with invaders. My goal is not to undermine current claims to land, political rights, and historical redress. Indigenous peoples’ modes of self-identification are not an academic parlor game. They are rooted in real, on-going struggles with significant political stakes.

This dissertation follows the standard romanization format for Japanese. All Japanese terms with an extended vowel appear with a macron on top. The only exceptions here are commonly used Japanese place names such as “Tokyo” or “Kyoto.” Names are given in

⁵² Another term, which some deem problematic is *genjūmin* (Indigenous people), given the character for *gen* may connote both “origin” or “primitive.” In Chinese the term *yuanzhumin* uses similar characters but translates more to “original inhabitant.”

⁵³ Kitamura Kae makes the case for using this term in his study of Aboriginal education policy under Japanese rule. See Kitamura Kae, *Nihon shokumin chika no Taiwan senjūmin kyōikushi* [The History of Taiwan Indigenous Education under Japanese Rule], (Sapporo: Hokkaido daigaku shuppankai, 2008), 18-19.

Japanese order, meaning the family name is followed by the given name. Unless noted, all translations from the original Japanese are my own.

Chapter One – A Violent Frontier: Indigenes, Settlers, Imperial Administrators, and Taiwan’s “Camphor Zone”

The Japanese Government-General’s violent assault on Taiwan’s Indigenous territories and its subsequent promotion of the camphor industry did not begin the moment colonial leaders set up their new administration in Taipei, which they renamed Taihoku, in the spring of 1895. Attempts to conquer Taiwan’s vast and mountainous interior, to bring its natural resources under colonial control, was a project that began when the late Qing state turned to new frontier commodities like camphor in order to strengthen itself against foreign imperial threats. Beyond mid-nineteenth century developments, the Japanese also had to contend with the traces of settler-Indigene relations that harkened back to formative colonizing processes initiated under the Dutch and early Qing regimes. For centuries, Han colonists and Indigenous peoples on the island traded, fought, and intermarried with one another – often well beyond the purview of state supervision. When Japanese Councilor Mochiji Rokusaburō lamented in 1902 that the island’s Indigenous peoples still occupied over half the landmass, and that “[when dealing with the savages] it is as if one is dealing with hundreds of independent nations, and this, from the standpoint of governing Taiwan , constitutes a great misfortune,” he encapsulated the complex legacies Japanese colonizers inherited in Taiwan.¹ At the time of Mochiji’s writings, half the island was still largely in Indigenous control, and the latter mounted disruptive assaults on the colony’s camphor production infrastructure. How did this state of affairs come to be? And where does camphor fit into this broader history?

It was at the interstices of Taiwan’s expanding frontier, the island’s changing population economy, as well as later unsuccessful attempts at modernization by the late Qing to build up its

¹ Mochiji Rokusaburō, *Taiwan shokumin seisaku* [Colonial Policy in Taiwan], (Taipei: Nantien shuchu, 1998), 341-342.

taxation base through exploitation of forest industries, that the camphor industry and Indigenous pacification got its early start. This chapter will examine the conflicted relations that existed between Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups from the mid-seventeenth to the late-nineteenth century, in Taiwan's "camphor zone." The camphor zone refers to not only the natural beltway of camphor trees that spanned the central and northeastern portions of Taiwan (see appendix 1.1), but also a region where settlers, state agents, and Indigenous groups interacted with one another through forms of violence and strategic accommodation.² In the camphor zone, agrarian settlers often operated beyond the reach of imperial control. Whether to seize land or access the myriad resources of the highlands, colonists frequently clashed with the island's Indigenous inhabitants. From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, Qing officials and foreign capitalists became involved in these bloody feuds to cash in on resources like camphor. Private encroachment on Indigenous land was typically followed by the public use of state violence. Pacification expeditions, officially sanctioned assimilation efforts, and other projects to expand the Qing presence in the mountains usually followed on the heels of Indigenous attacks against colonists, camphormen or camphor production sites. At the same time, violent encroachment on Native territory often co-existed with complex forms of frontier diplomacy in which Indigenous people asserted their ancestral rights to their lands. In some cases, Aborigines even became

² Scholars working on the topic of Taiwan Aborigines and colonial industries like camphor have used similar language before. Historian Antonio Tavares, who has written an unpublished dissertation on the camphor industry, uses the term "frontier zone" to refer to "an often-violent expanding zone of contact between state agents, Chinese settlers, and the indigenous peoples of Taiwan's central mountains." In his recently published book, *Outcasts of Empire: Japan's Rule on Taiwan's "Savage Border," 1895-1945*, historian Paul Barclay uses the term "contact zone," though with specific reference to colonial Japan's early penetration of the Indigenous highlands. While this terminology is often used to describe a socially, culturally, and politically porous space at the margins of expanding empires, my term "camphor zone" is slightly different from these two. While I stress its status as a site of "contact," the camphor zone also refers to forms of resource extraction, frontier warfare, and Indigenous dispossession that emerged during the late Qing period, and were later perfected under the Japanese. For more see Antonio Tavares, "Crystals from the Savage Forest," ii. See Also Paul Barclay, *Outcasts of Empire*, 32 & 80.

wealthy landowners or camphor producers themselves.³ Throughout the history of the “camphor zone,” many Indigenous groups also allowed colonists and camphor producers safe passage in their lands, often in exchange for items like food, liquor, roast pig, or monetary compensation.

In providing a broad of outline pre-colonial, Dutch, Qing, and late Qing developments, this chapter aims to historicize many of the core ideas, practices, and institutions that later cross-pollinated with imperial Japan’s own systems of colonial governance and modes of economic extraction. Prior to the Japanese arrival, militarized violence and commercial exchange marked the forestlands that would later become the object of the Japanese pacification state’s capitalistic designs of Indigenous erasure and camphor production. In revisiting secondary scholarship which has addressed highland Taiwan before 1895, this chapter will demonstrate that the approaches, strategies, and repressive instruments of the Japanese, far from being *sui generis*, were the product of a historical *convergence*. Colonizers inherit or absorb more than just the pre-existing regimes of production, their attendant social relations, and state structures. They must also contend with patterns of violence, conflict, as well as organized resistance, endemic to any given social formation. Therefore, this chapter revisits the problem of “pre-capitalist” formations in upland Taiwan, though with an emphasis on how the methods Japan’s colonial predecessors employed to invade and dispossess Indigenous lands, as well as the Native response to these policies, prefigure those of the later Japanese Government-General. Put simply, Japan inherited a violent frontier. Contextualizing what type of violence characterized it, how it operated, and how it informed the actions of state, commercial, and local actors, is crucial.

³ In the southern frontier town of Nanzhuang for example, a prominent Saisiyat elder by the name of Ri Aguai owned multiple camphor stoves before he became the object of a pacification campaign in the summer of 1902. For more on the “Nanzhuang Uprising” see Antonio Tavares, “The Japanese Colonial State and the Dissolution of the Late Imperial Frontier Economy in Taiwan, 1886-1909,” *The Journal of Asian studies*, (64) 2, (May 2005): 361-386. The issue of Indigenous participation in the camphor industry is also addressed in chapters three and four.

Before discussing the camphor zone, it is necessary to examine the societies that inhabited the plains and foothills of Taiwan during the early days of the island's incorporation into the mercantile imperial order. Long before the island was the target of the Dutch or Qing, Indigenous groups in Taiwan had organized themselves in numerous polities which lacked internal cohesion, centralized political authority, or a sense of ethnic identity. As such, the various features of these societies clashed with the trade and agrarian imperatives of Taiwan's early colonial rulers, thereby shaping the founding structures of Native displacement and dispossession. In order to set the stage for the colonial penetration of Taiwanese Native territories by way of an expanding camphor zone, it is important to understand Taiwan's Indigenous ethnography.

Indigenous Political, Social and Rituals: A brief historical and ethnographic overview

For centuries, Aboriginal Taiwan consisted of many independent and self-sufficient kin-ordered polities, tribal confederacies, chieftaincies, federated village leagues, and other decentralized political formations. In addition to the dispersed and fissured nature of these societies was the complex political geography of the island. Long before colonizers set foot in the Aboriginal interior, Native groups warred and traded with each other, competed for hunting territories or forest products, elaborated various political structures to conduct diplomacy, and organized mutual defense arrangements.⁴ These social and political formations only increased in

⁴ Explanation of the myriad socio-cultural, linguistic, and religious particularities of Aboriginal communities is of course well beyond the scope of this dissertation. Though I provide some background in this section, the following are a few works and edited volumes that can serve as a starting point for readers. For ethnography on the Sediq peoples see Scott Simon, *Sadyaq Balae! L'autochtonie formosane dans tout ses états* [Sediq Bale! Formosan Indigeneity in all of its forms], (Laval: Les presses de l'université de Laval, 2012). For a focused case study of the Puyuma, see Josiane Cauquelin, *The Aborigines of Taiwan: The Puyuma, from Headhunting to the Modern World*, (London: Routledge Curzon, 2004). For a good outline of Aboriginal farming techniques, harvest festivals, dwellings, and other aspects of material culture, see Chen Chi-Lu, *Material Culture of the Formosan Aborigines*, (Taipei: Southern Materials Center, 1968). For essays on the history and ethnography of Taiwan's Aborigines see David Blundell (ed.), *Austronesian Taiwan: Linguistics, History, Ethnology, Prehistory*, (Taipei: Shung Ye Museum

complexity over time, as colonial states redrew existing territorial boundaries, displaced many, or introduced new commodities (particularly firearms) that reshaped Indigenous modes of exchange.⁵

Taiwan has long been identified by scholars as the ancestral “birthplace” of the Austronesian family of languages and peoples (or what is referred to as “proto-Austronesian”). These languages span modern-day nations like Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, and also islands across the larger Pacific World. In the 1970s, archaeologist Peter Bellwood posited the groundbreaking thesis that Taiwan was the original homeland of the Austronesians.⁶ Bellwood

of Formosan Aborigines, 2009). For more on the practice of headhunting, see Scott Simon, “Politics and Headhunting among the Formosan Sejiqs: Ethnohistorical Perspectives”, *Oceania* (82) 2, (July 2012). For a broader outline, see Hitoshi Yamada, *Kubikiri no shukyo minzokugaku*. For a good overview of the pre-colonial history and ethnography of southwest plains Aborigines, see also John Robert Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier 1600-1800*, (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1993), 27-46.

⁵ Early twentieth century anthropologist Shinji Ishii described how, in the mid-nineteenth century, British Consul to Taiwan Robert Swinhoe met a group of Atayal and noticed that their rifles were old matchlocks that dated back to the Qianlong era (1736-95). This leads Shinji to speculate that rifles were most likely introduced during this period, though he believes not by trade, but by raids on Han settlements (most likely a combination of both). None of this of course applies to plains-based Aborigines, who probably had earlier exposure due to the Dutch and Chinese being present on the island during the seventeenth century. During the mid-nineteenth century, diplomats and adventurers like U.S consular official Charles LeGendre also traded luxury goods like red cloth, pearls, and mirrors with Indigenous elders in Southern Taiwan to broker agreements in order prevent the killing of shipwrecked sailors, who then were becoming a fixture on the island due to increased maritime traffic. These instances reveal how Aborigines were firmly integrated into larger circuits of trade and commerce long before the Japanese showed up. For a brief discussion on the introduction of firearms in Indigenous communities, see Shinji Ishii, “The Silent War in Formosa,” *Asiatic Quarterly Review* (July, 1913), 7. First-hand accounts by western observers can be found in Robert Eskilden (ed), *Foreign Adventurers and the Aborigines of Taiwan 1867-1874: Western Sources Related to Japan’s 1874 Expedition to Taiwan*, (Taipei: Taiwan Institute of History Academia Sinica, 2005). For in-depth analysis of LeGendre, see Paul Barclay, “Tangled up in Red: Textiles, Trading Posts, and the Emergence of Indigenous Modernity in Japanese Taiwan,” in Andrew D. Morris (ed.), *Japanese Taiwan: Colonial Rule and its Contested Legacy*, (London, Bloomsbury, 2015), 49-75, as well as his *Outcasts of Empire*, 43-114. For an extensive overview of Indigenous uses of firearms under different regimes, see also Pei-Hsi Lin’s “Firearms, Technology, and Culture: Resistance of Taiwan Indigenous to Chinese, European, and Japanese Encroachment in a Global Context Circa 1860-1914,” Unpublished Dissertation, Nottingham Trent University (March 2016).

⁶ In 2010, Scholars Dohohue and Denhem challenged the “outward migration” thesis, calling it “illusory” by claiming that the development of a distinct “Austronesian” region was due to networks of exchange, and not diffusion of culture and language via Taiwan. For more on Bellwood’s original claims, see Peter Bellwood, *First Migrants: Ancient migrations in global perspective*, (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), and also Peter Bellwood, James J. Fox, eds, *The Austronesians: historical and comparative perspectives*, (Canberra: Australia National University Research School of Asian and Pacific Studies, 1995). In a recent piece on the state of Indigenous studies in Taiwan, anthropologist Scott Simon provides a useful overview of these debates. It is worth noting though that these claims have had little impact on present-day Aborigines’ categories of self-understanding. As Simon puts it: “The focus on maritime expansion may appear irrelevant to mountain peoples, like Atayalic groups who have no legendary traditions that mention the sea and instead trace their origins to ancestors who sprung from a rock or tree

argued that through gradual adoption of sedentary agricultural practices and seafaring, different population groups (usually connected to a specific lineage or “founder movement”) migrated from their homes in Taiwan to populate the islands that today span Southeast Asia and Oceania.

Evidence gathered from archeological sites across Taiwan demonstrates that proto-Austronesians most likely practiced cereal-based agriculture (millet, rice, etc.), domesticated animals (chickens, pigs, dogs), built various handicrafts (pottery-making and loom weaving), engaged in hunting and fishing, adorned themselves with beads and jade, and played musical instruments like bamboo nose flutes.⁷ In addition to a diverse agrarian economy and material culture, these groups appear to have shared certain ritual practices. Reconstruction efforts by linguists reveal that headhunting was common among proto-Austronesian groups in Taiwan. Proto-Austronesian words like *kayaw* (headhunting) and *taban* (war trophy) indicate that some of the earliest inhabitants of Taiwan engaged in the ritual taking of heads.⁸

Early-seventeenth-century records also shed light on the island’s pre-colonial population. Ch’en Ti, an aspiring Ming literatus turned military official, went to Taiwan in 1603 as part of an expedition to suppress roving bands of Japanese pirates (*wakō*). Ch’en recorded his visit to Taiwan in his *Account of the Eastern Barbarians*, published that same year.⁹ In this account, Ch’en described Taiwan’s Aboriginal population as living in separate villages, with each numbering on average between five or six hundred to a thousand people. These villages had no

in the center of Formosa... The argument that Austronesians were agriculturalists who pushed out hunter-gatherers resonates little with indigenous people who self-identify as hunters and base political claims on their knowledge of the forests.” See Scott Simon, “Ontologies of Taiwan Studies, Indigenous Studies, and Anthropology,” *International Journal of Taiwan Studies* 1 (2018), 17-18.

⁷ Julian Baldick, *Ancient Religions of the Austronesian Worlds: from Australasia to Taiwan*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013), 2.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ I use an English translation of Ch’en’s account. See Laurence Thompson, “The Earliest Chinese Eyewitness Accounts of the Formosan Aborigines,” *Monumenta Serica*, 23 (3), 1964: 163-204.

clear designated chief.¹⁰ He described them as having no irrigated fields but reported that they cultivated land by setting fire to it.¹¹ Ch'en's account also provides a glimpse into how these communities governed themselves. Elders for example met in a "common-house," where they discussed political and social matters.¹² George Candidius, who served as a missionary and Dutch East India Company official between 1627 and 1637, also described a similarly decentralized political system in which elders gathered in assemblies to deliberate on various affairs. Candidius wrote: "these villages have no general chief who rules over them, but each village is independent. Nor has any village its own headman who governs it; although it may have a nominal council, consisting of twelve men of good repute."¹³ Candidius added that these men also held regular consultative meetings with members of their community. During these occasions, members gathered around the "palaver of the idol house," where elders would use their oratory skills to address the "pros and cons of a particular matter."¹⁴ Both commentators also described how men and women in these societies observed taboos during the tilling season. These included bans on killing, certain types of clothing, and even talking.¹⁵ Cycles of birth and

¹⁰ Laurence Thompson, "The Earliest Chinese Eyewitness Accounts of the Formosan Aborigines," 171.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 173.

¹² The common house also served as a dormitory for unmarried men who had not yet secured a bride. Men courted women by sending over someone to their home to bring agate beads. Once the woman accepted the initial offering, the prospective suitor would continue to visit his future bride only at night. Over the next few months, the man would engage in nocturnal courtship rituals (many of them involving the playing of the bamboo flute and other instruments). Then, the groom would move into his in-law's home, where he would spend the rest of his life. These practices of marrying into the female line overlaps with the social structure of some contemporary Aborigines like the Amis and Puyuma, who share a matrilineal and matrilocal form of family organization. For more see, Laurence Thompson, "The Earliest Chinese Eyewitness Accounts of the Formosan Aborigines," 172. On matrilineal family organization among Aborigines, see Josiane Cauquelin, *The Aborigines of Taiwan*, 84-113.

¹³ The passages I use are from an edited collection of translated Dutch sources, compiled by the Reverend William Campbell. See William Campbell, ed, *Formosa under the Dutch: Described from Contemporary Records with Explanatory Notes and a Bibliography of the Island*, (Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company, 1967), 11.

¹⁴ William Campbell, ed, *Formosa under the Dutch*, 11.

¹⁵ Laurence Thompson, "The Earliest Chinese Eyewitness Accounts of the Formosan Aborigines," 174-75. Candidius also discussed taboos, describing how "they are also times when they may wear a garment, but it may not be made of silk. If by chance the councillors meet anyone wearing a garment made of silk, they force the transgressor to hand it over to them and a fine is inflicted...during the time that the rice is half ripe or not quite yet full grown, they may not become intoxicated, nor touch sugar, *pietang*, or any kind of fat." See William Campbell, ed, *Formosa under the Dutch*, 16.

death were also intimately tied to the home and extended family. According to Ch'en, Aborigines buried their dead inside the home after an extended period of weeping, mourning, and exposure to outside individuals.¹⁶

These communities also fought one another, with headhunting an integral part of such conflicts. Warriors took enemy skulls collected in battle and hung them in the front entrance of their homes. Those with a significant kill count earned higher social status and their community looked upon them as “braves.” Strict diplomatic protocols apparently regulated this form of warfare and it lasted only for short periods of time. Ch'en explained:

If something causes a quarrel between neighboring villages, they mobilize their warriors, and at an agreed-upon date go to war. They kill and wound each other with the utmost of their strength, but the following day they make peace...Having cut off the heads, they strip the flesh from the skulls and hang them at their doors. Those who have many skeletons hanging at their doors are called braves.¹⁷

Candidius also described headhunting as an important status-conferring activity which also determined who was to temporarily lead the men in times of war: “In their wars, they have no captains or chiefs, but any one [sic] who has got possession of many heads, or who is considered to have cut off a head; in short, any one [sic] who feels inclined for fighting, can easily get twenty or ten men to regard him as their nominal chief and to follow him in waging war or pretending to do so.”¹⁸ Candidius also made allusions to the diplomatic nature of warfare, though he claimed once hostilities began, warriors spared no one and decimated entire villages, killing even women and children.¹⁹ Upon the termination of conflicts between Aboriginal polities, the

¹⁶ For more on Aborigines burial and mortuary practices, see Erika Kaneko, “Glimpses at the Other World: Traditional Mortuary Practices of the Atayal,” in David Blundell, *Austronesian Taiwan: Linguistics, History, Ethnology, Prehistory*, (Taipei: Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines, 2009), 246-82, and also, Julian Baldick, *Ancient Religions of the Austronesian World: From Australasia to Taiwan*, 19.

¹⁷ Laurence Thompson, “The Earliest Chinese Eyewitness Accounts of the Formosan Aborigines,” 172.

¹⁸ William Campbell, ed, *Formosa under the Dutch*, 13.

¹⁹ Once a village declared war however, a brutal hunt for war trophies and enemy heads would begin, as warriors would target not only belligerents, but civilians as well: “At the fit moment they stealthily creep into fields, and first

victors would usually bring their cache of enemy heads back to the community, where members would sing songs and hymns of praise: “When they succeed in cutting off an enemy’s head; or, failing that, get some of the hair, or merely seize a spear, and return home, great feasts are held, they sing and shout, in short the whole village becomes jubilant.”²⁰

While the above survey provides a rough outline of pre-colonial Aboriginal groups this account is by no means definitive and is only geared towards providing the necessary contours for explaining the development of frontier relations on the island between indigenes, colonists, and state administrators. A word of caution is in order. “Upstreaming” from contemporary ethnographic accounts back to earlier periods to recover Aboriginal “voices” and motives is rife with potential slippages. Categories of self-understanding specific to Taiwan’s Indigenous groups have shifted dramatically since the seventeenth century. In addition, records left by Dutch or Chinese officials only capture the broad contours of these societies, and are by no means definitive.²¹ Nevertheless, the striking similarities across accounts spanning different centuries indicate that we can assume certain defining features. The societies colonizers encountered on Taiwan’s alluvial plains prior to the Qing, and mountainous hinterland before the Japanese period, were for the most part, de-centralized in nature, engaged in hunting and swidden

find whether any persons are asleep in their huts...Any one they find, young or old, man or woman, they instantly kill, and cut off their heads, hands, and feet. Sometimes they take the whole body with them, cutting it into as many pieces as there are warriors; each being desirous to have a part, so that on returning home he may boast of his prowess to the extent demanded by the occasion or the danger that has been run. With the fighting over, the men returned to the village, bringing with them their war trophies. The head was the most valued body part.” See *Ibid.*, 13-14. Aboriginal Taiwanese communities all appear to have had different structures to shelter the heads of their vanquished enemies. While these Dutch accounts mention an “idol house,” more contemporary sources frequently refer to a “skull rack” or shelf used to place multiple heads on. See Shinji Ishii, *The Island of Formosa and its Primitive Inhabitants*, (London: Eastern Press, 1916), 14-15.

²⁰ William Campbell, ed, *Formosa under the Dutch*, 14.

²¹ My use of the term “upstreaming” comes from historian Pekka Hämäläinen’s path-breaking book on southwest American Indians, *The Comanche empire*. See Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 13.

cultivation, conducted diplomatic affairs among themselves, and privileged head-taking and other martial abilities as a means of self-defense, securing resources or garnering prestige.

Colonial Transformations and Triangular Relations under the Dutch and Early Qing Regimes

The arrival of Chinese colonists from Fujian and Guandong Provinces, followed by Dutch and Qing imperial administrators, brought profound transformations to Indigenous polities that had long-term ramifications for Native populations as well as the Japanese colonizers that would later arrive on Taiwan's shores. For much of the pre-Japanese period, triangular relations between land-hungry colonists, Indigenous peoples, and apprehensive imperial rulers wedged between these two shaped colonial state-building on Taiwan.²² First, land-reclamation and assimilation policies by the Dutch, who encouraged Chinese colonization for rice and sugar

²² The idea of “triangular” relations in contested frontier peripheries is a theme that has recently been taken up by settler-colonial studies, especially in the work of scholar Lorenzo Veracini. Veracini describes settler-based colonization as a distinct type of colonialism that seeks the reproduction of permanent agrarian communities on Indigenous soil. Exogenous imperial rulers are usually involved in facilitating and perpetuating the movement of settlers into new lands, though the latter eventually seek some form of autonomy (or outright independence) from the mother country. This is why, for Veracini, settler-colonial situations require examination of triangular relations (settlers, Indigenes, and imperial administrators), as opposed to the classic binary of colonizer-colonized. My work is not the first to examine Taiwan history through the prism of “triangular relations” though. John Robert Shepherd’s classic account *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier, 1600-1800* does this for the Dutch and Qing periods. Antonio Tavares in his work also puts forth a kind of “classic” settler-colonial triangulation, though without explicitly mentioning the framework. According to his account, the Taiwan frontier was populated by three groups: *min* (settlers), *fan* (Indigenes), and *guan* (officials). In the introduction to his book *Outcasts of Empire*, Barclay also alludes to the settler-state-Native triad and its implications for Taiwan. Drawing from the work of C.A. Bayly, James C. Scott, and Eric Wolfe, Barclay makes the distinction between *settlers*, who are involved in “intensive peasant commodity production,” and *Natives*, who are organized in “lineages, clans, tribes, and chiefdoms,” and don’t surrender surplus wealth to the state. Settlers squat, settle, and farm. The surplus they create is appropriated by the state, which reinvests those resources. “Natives, in contrast, lived under political systems that fissured, subdivided, and recombined within the limits imposed by the politics of redistribution and reciprocity, which could never attain the surplus-extracting capabilities of states.” While early modern states could be found oscillating between the interests of settlers or Natives, the introduction of modern capitalist relations shifted things decisively in favor of settler societies. For more on triangular relation and settler colonialism see Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*, (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). For an in-depth look at “triangulation” in early modern Taiwan frontier history see John Robert Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier 1600-1800*. See also Antonio Tavares, “Crystals from the Savage Forest,” 115, and also Paul Barclay, *Outcasts of Empire*, 16-17.

production, led to the conquest and absorption of the southwestern plains by the mid-1600s. The brief rule of Ming loyalist Zheng Chenggong and his son over the island (1662-1683), followed by the two centuries of Qing rule, brought further territorial enclosures and new forms of cultural-linguistic absorption. By the early 1700s, much of Taiwan's western plains were under Chinese control, though many Indigenous groups retained a degree of autonomy thanks to government protection of Aboriginal land tenure. Hill Aborigines kept the Chinese colonists, soldiers, and administrators of the Qing Empire at bay until at least until the mid-nineteenth century, thanks largely to frontier control policies.

The arrival of the Dutch East India Company in 1624 marked the beginning of Aboriginal Taiwanese's interactions with colonizers. At the dawn of the seventeenth century, the Dutch Empire had turned to Chinese silk and Japanese silver as part of its larger drive to dominate the spice trade.²³ For the Dutch, a secure base of operations near China and Japan was crucial to the stability of this important regional trade. From their headquarters at Fort Zeelandia, Dutch administrators, soldiers, and commercial agents established contact with surrounding Aboriginal villages. The early focus of Dutch activities was the lucrative deer trade. During this period, deer-related products such as venison, deerskin, and deer horns were highly-valued in Tokugawa Japan and along China's southern coast.²⁴ As the Dutch expanded their commercial operations in Taiwan it became increasingly difficult for Aboriginal communities near Fort Zeelandia to maintain an independent economic, political, and cultural existence. Though their administrative and military resources were limited, the Dutch imposed taxes on subjugated villages, limited

²³ Tonio Andrade, "The Rise and Fall of Dutch Taiwan, 1624-1662: Cooperative Colonization and the Statist Model of European Expansion," *Journal of World History*, 17(4), 2006, 430. For a more in-depth account of the Dutch period, see Hsin-Hui, Ch'iu, *The Colonial Civilizing Process in Dutch Formosa, 1624-1662*, (Leiden: Brill, 2008). Another in-depth survey can be found in John Robert Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier*, 47-91.

²⁴ Tonio Andrade, "Rise and Fall of Dutch Taiwan," 431.

movement, and appointed chieftains. Missionary education in community schools was common, and by the end of the Dutch period, a good portion of plains groups like the Siraya had nominally converted to Christianity.²⁵

While Dutch colonial control was limited to a small enclave in Taiwan's southwestern plains, Dutch rulers soon began to import Chinese labor to develop the island's rice and sugar production. In the 1630s, Dutch officials implemented measures to attract Chinese immigrants from southern coastal provinces. As one Dutch official put it, "the Chinese are the only bees on Formosa that give honey."²⁶ By 1650, 25,000 Chinese had settled in Taiwan.²⁷ The Dutch dependence on foreign labor, however, would eventually undermine their rule. By the time the population shifted in favor of Han settlers, the small contingent of Dutch officers stationed at Fort Zeelandia could not defeat the numerically superior Chinese once rebellions broke out in the early 1660s.

As Chinese arrived in large numbers, Aboriginal access to traditional hunting grounds became limited. Disputes over land became frequent. From 1634 to 1660, the Dutch East India Company secured between 20,000 and 150,000 deerskins for export.²⁸ Initially, Dutch merchants acquired hides from Aborigines. Later, to increase exports, Dutch government officials issued licenses to Chinese colonists. This led to fierce competition. The decline of Taiwan's deer population was significant enough that in 1649 one official asked the governor to suspend deer hunting and to only allow Indigenous people to pursue it. The ban on deer hunting for Chinese

²⁵ Wang, I-Shou, "Cultural Contact and the migration of Taiwan's Aborigines: A Historical Perspective," in Ronald G. Knapp (ed.), *China's Island Frontier: Studies in the Historical Geography of Taiwan*, (Honolulu: The University of Hawai'i Press, 1980), 35-36.

²⁶ Cited in Tonio Adrade, "The Rise and Fall of Dutch Taiwan," 431.

²⁷ Laurence M. Hauptman, Ronald G. Knapp, "Dutch-Aboriginal Interaction in New Netherland and Formosa: An Historical Geography of Empire," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 121 (2) 1977, 176.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 177.

colonists was also due to growing violence. Chinese hunters routinely trespassed onto Aboriginal lands. In a report from the same period, Reverend Robert Junius, who served as one of the colony's head missionaries, warned: "if we allow the Chinese to hunt, our influence and reputation will greatly suffer thereby, as the [aboriginal] inhabitants... will be constantly coming out of their villages to chase away, to rob, and to murder the hunters."²⁹ By the close of the Dutch period, Aborigines in the southwestern plains were in an increasingly vulnerable position. With their hunting territories shrinking and Chinese colonists at their doorstep, Aborigines along the southwestern Taiwan coast found it difficult to maintain their traditional economies, political institutions, and headhunting practices.

The influx of settlers intensified under the brief interregnum of Zheng Chengong and his son Zheng Jin, who ruled over island under the short-lived "Kingdom of Tungning" (1662-1683). In 1662 Zheng invaded Fort Zeelandia. Zheng, a Ming loyalist, had fought to repel the Manchu invasions. When China's new Qing dynasty defeated his army, Zheng fled across the straits to Taiwan, where he routed the Dutch and established a base in the southwest. After his death in 1662, his son took over.³⁰ The Zheng family did not follow the Dutch strategy of producing cash crops. During the Zheng period sugar production fell from 17,000 *chia* to 10,000 *chia* (1 *chia* = 0.97 hectare). Instead of sugar for international markets, the state encouraged colonization by taking land from Aborigines and enclosing it for colonists, mostly former soldiers who had participated in the campaign against the Dutch. Military lords paid one fourth of their revenue to the Zheng family. Lands opened to sustain the standing army became tax

²⁹ Cited in Ronald G. Knapp, "Dutch-Aboriginal Interaction in New Netherland and Formosa: An Historical Geography of Empire," 177.

³⁰ Tonio Andrade, "The Rise and Fall of Dutch Taiwan," 446-449.

exempt.³¹ When the Qing Dynasty took Taiwan in 1683, administrators abolished Zheng's landlordism system. All land was now under Qing control, with tenurial rights granted in exchange for taxes. Former tenants under the military-run system received land that they could transfer to their sons. In addition to the break-up of larger estates, the Qing redistributed land into smaller holdings.³² However, large estates were soon reconstituted. Government and military officials amassed large properties but could only serve in the island for a limited tenure. "Absentee" landlordism thus became prevalent on the island under Qing rule.³³

The dissolution or reduction of Indigenous land and hunting territories under the Zheng and early Qing regimes soon gave way to the establishment of permanent Han Chinese agrarian communities. Han Chinese reproduced their southeastern villages and language patterns. Han people from Fujian colonized the most arable land while Hakka-speakers from Guangdong colonized marginal lands.³⁴ Qing administrators divided land ownership into two categories. A reclaimant, or *k'en-hu*, held use-rights, and became the legal landowner (*yeh-hu*) after registering his claim and paying taxes. Below the *k'en-hu* was the *tien-hu*, or tenant, who paid rent for land use rights.³⁵ This type of rights allocation and tenure arrangements reflected Han Chinese agricultural practices, but there was a significant difference: tenants on the island retained more

³¹ Ka Chih-ming, *Japanese Colonialism in Taiwan*, 12-13. For more on the Zheng regime and its fiscal-military administration, see John Robert Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier*, 91-104.

³² Ka Chih-ming, *Japanese Colonialism in Taiwan*, 16.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Taiwan's three non-indigenous ethnic groups (Hoklo, Hakka, and Chinese exiles) constitute a hierarchy of indigenization. Groups of Hoklo and Hakka started to immigrate to Taiwan in large numbers in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Hoklo Chinese tended to settle the more fertile lands, while Hakka populations tended to cluster around frontier areas. The Nationalist Guomindang (KMT) took over the island in 1945 and brought various exiles fleeing communist party rule. On the population economy of a settler society, a dynamic characterized by the tension between indigenizing and metropolitan settlers, see Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*, 16-33. For more on early modern settlement patterns see Ronald G. Knapp, "The Shaping of Taiwan's Landscapes," in Murray Rubinstein (ed.), *Taiwan: A new History*, (M.E Sharpe, 2007), 16-17.

³⁵ *Ken-hu* holders also oversaw many political, security, and taxation functions. They were also invested in irrigation works. See Ka Chih-ming, *Japanese Colonialism in Taiwan*, 17-20.

autonomy than elsewhere in the Qing Empire.³⁶ Under this “one field two owners” system, the state recognized individuals as land owners if they reclaimed the land within a specified period of time. After a period of exemption, the owner was responsible for taxes. Since tracts were not initially defined with precision, land ownership patterns tended to be dispersed (especially in the north).³⁷

The reproduction of continental Chinese forms of land tenure, though vital for expanding the Qing tax base, posed problems for colonial officials in Taiwan. Settlement tended to proceed ahead of the government’s capacity to establish civil and military administration. As a result, exogenous imperial rulers appointed to the island often clashed with colonists on the periphery. Unlike its mainland counterpart, the Chinese community in Taiwan retained a significant degree of autonomy and typically managed its affairs through informal systems of social control.³⁸ Colonists organized local associations, sworn brotherhoods, secret societies, and mutual defense organizations. These entities formed the nuclei of major rebellions and uprisings on the island. According to historian Weng Hsiung Hsu, Taiwan saw sixty-eight different revolts during the 212 years of Qing rule. The most prominent of these were the Chu-I kwei and Lin Shuang-wen rebellions (1721 and 1787-88). In both cases, a prominent colonist-cum-political leader from Fujian capitalized on a weak colonial state to oppose taxes and other attempts at imposing fiscal or bureaucratic controls.³⁹ As a result of this climate, private security organizations and militias

³⁶ Ronald G. Knapp, “The Shaping of Taiwan’s Landscapes,” 17-18.

³⁷ For more on patterns of settlement in Taiwan, which tended to be either “dispersed” or “nucleated,” see Ronald G. Knapp, “Settlement and Frontier Land Tenure,” in *China’s Island Frontier*, 55-69.

³⁸ For an overview of Han settlement of the plains, as well as the relations between settlers and the Qing state, see John Robert Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier*, 137-214.

³⁹ For more on the underlying causes of these rebellions and their social dynamics see John Robert Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier*, 137-214, and also Wen-Hsiung Hsu, “Frontier Social Organization and Social Disorder in Ch’ing Taiwan,” in Ronald G. Knapp (ed.), *China’s Island Frontier: Studies in the Historical Geography of Taiwan*, (Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press, 1980), 35-36. 1980, 87-107.

flourished, becoming the dominant means by which individuals participated in, or defended against, insurgents. As colonization expanded into Indigenous lands, the militarized social relations that governed Chinese communities extended into these areas, adding another layer of violent conflict to an already restive frontier.

A corresponding rise in Sinicization efforts accompanied the expansion of land reclamation activities in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. The colonization zone created by the Dutch and Zheng regimes grew to include much of the island's west coast, and small pockets of its central-northern foothills (see appendix 1.2). Now compelled, or voluntarily deciding to, participate in the Sino-centric order, some Aborigines adopted Chinese customs, ceased all forms of head hunting and ritualized warfare, abandoned their autonomous political structures, paid Qing taxes, and performed military service or forced labor. Scholar-official Huang Shu-Ching's early eighteenth-century ethnography of plains Aborigines in the north reveals this assimilationist drive:

Taiwan is entirely a land of barbarians. Their foreheads tattooed, their locks shorn, [they are as hard to keep in order as] a mess of ants or a swarm of bees. For those in service overseas keeping the barbarians pacified must surely be considered difficult...Lately, in their villages there are some who study the writings of the Four Philosophers (the Four Books of the Confucian canon), and learn one of the scriptures (the Five Classics). With encouragement and guidance can we not convert their uncouth ways to those of civilized men?⁴⁰

While Dutch officials had focused on international trade during their occupation, Qing authorities focused on establishing administrative control over the growing immigrant population. This required curtailing illegal settler incursions into Aboriginal land. This, however, further eroded traditional Aboriginal support structures, and new laws led to Indigenous

⁴⁰ Cited in Laurence Thompson, "The Earliest Chinese Eyewitness Accounts of the Formosan Aborigines," 48-49.

communities having to work within the Qing land ownership system. The first step taken in this direction was in 1704, when the Taiwan Intendant (the highest ranking Qing official on the island) decreed that all colonists seeking a contract with Aboriginal tribes must first seek official approval.⁴¹ This was done ostensibly to ensure that land acquisition took place in accordance with Aboriginal land rights. Indigenous communities agreed, or were forced to, transform their “wilderness” and common deer-hunting fields into lands subject to Qing taxation, thereby allowing Chinese newcomers to open these lands up for cultivation in exchange for respecting Aboriginal land tenure. Still, illegal incursions continued. One official complained in 1717 that the:

New settlers increase daily at ever greater distances from the county yamen [settlers] are violent, resist arrest, and steal. Cleverly they seek to open tribal lands, to occupy aborigine homes, and take aborigine wives. The aborigines fear them and suffer patiently, but before long the enmity between settlers and aborigines will bring disaster.⁴²

With Han colonists pressing further east, Aboriginal insurgencies became common. Plains Aborigines rose up multiple times to protest taxes, *corvée* labor, and portage duties in the early 1700s. Before 1732, there were ten Aboriginal uprisings. Unconquered highland groups carried out six of them. The other four occurred on the plains. The most significant of these was the Taokas (or Ta-chia-hsi) revolt of 1731-32, which ended only after the mobilization of multiple

⁴¹ A full account of Aboriginal land rights is well beyond the scope of this dissertation. Numerous attempts to clarify the legal terms of Aboriginal land tenure were made throughout the eighteenth century. These policies in many ways served as a recognition of the growing permanence of Han settlement, and as such should be seen as another stepping stone in the gradual erosion of indigenous sovereignty. See John Robert Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier*, 16-17 & 239-308. For a recent dissertation on this topic, see Ruiping Ye, “Colonisation and Aboriginal Land Tenure: Taiwan during the Qing Period (1684-1895) and the Japanese Period (1895-1945),” Ph.D. dissertation, Victoria University of Wellington, 2017.

⁴² Cited in John Robert Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier*, 183.

Qing military garrisons, as well as assistance from Aboriginal auxiliaries of the An-li tribe.⁴³

Some Aborigines, who could no longer compete with the growing presence of colonists on their ancestral territories or taxation demands, migrated to hilly territory, and some even moved as far as the island's east coast.⁴⁴

As the Indigenous population on the western plains experienced absorption and displacement, the state devised new mechanisms for those living beyond imperial jurisdiction in the central mountains. Chinese attitudes towards hill Aborigines were markedly different. Unlike lowland Aborigines, Indigenous highlanders were seen as dangerous and bellicose. As the sub-prefect of Ko-ma-lan, Ko Pei Yuan, put it in 1835: “Chinese people fear the mountain tribesmen who are as fierce as tigers, but they mistreat the plains aborigines as worthless earth.”⁴⁵ To keeping both plains and hill peoples in check, Qing officials implemented restrictive new policies. During the eighteenth century, Qing policy-makers gradually shelved their focus on Sinicizing “savages” in the plains and began turning to what the scholar Ka Chih-ming has dubbed “ethnic politics” (*minzu zhengzi*) to preserve the island's demographic status quo.⁴⁶ Especially with the onset of immigrant and Aborigine revolts during the first half of the eighteenth century, Qing policy-makers looked to a system for spatially segregating Han, assimilated Aborigines, and unconquered mountain groups to minimize frontier violence.

⁴³ Hsu Wen-Hsiung, “The Chinese Colonization of Taiwan,” Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago 1975, 217. For an in-depth account see also John Robert Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier*, 125-132.

⁴⁴ For more on migration, see I-Shou Wang, “Cultural Contact and the Migration of Taiwan's Aborigines: A Historical Perspective.”

⁴⁵ Hsu Wen-Hsiung, “The Chinese Colonization of Taiwan,” 216.

⁴⁶ My use of Ka's “ethnic politics” is from Antonio Tavares, who adopts the latter framework in his dissertation, though he believes relations on the ground were not as segregated as the term implied. It is also worth stressing that “ethnic politics” was more about controlling settlers than it was about preventing Indigenous uprisings. See “Crystals from the Savage Forest,” 111-128. For the book which this thesis is based on, see Ka Chih-ming, *Fantoujia: Qingdai Taiwan ziqun zhengzhi yu shoufan diquan* [The aborigine landlord: ethnic politics and aborigine land rights in Qing Taiwan], (Taipei: Institute of Sociology, Academic Sinica, 2001).

Policies that restricted emigration, or limited it to married men and their families, appeared a number of times in the eighteenth century to curb the rising tide of colonists.⁴⁷ In the early 1700s, the Qing government formally established a “savage boundary” (*fanjie*) near the base of the foothills to prevent Han Chinese farmers from trespassing onto Indigenous lands beyond Qing control. This border initially consisted of earth works and other rudimentary physical markers. Through the erection of the “savage boundary,” Qing statesmen also developed a system for classifying Indigenous people. Pacified Aborigines who paid taxes and performed military duties became known as “cooked savages” (*sheng fan*) while those beyond the reach of government authority were dubbed “raw savages” (*shou fan*).⁴⁸ Later, an intermediary category of “savages in the process of transformation” (*hua fan*) appeared. The Japanese language terms “raw savages” (*seiban*) and “cooked savages” (*jukuban*) were later adopted by Japanese colonists to distinguish between plains and hill Aborigines. Qing categories expressed degrees of submission to the central government, and unlike later Japanese taxonomies, were malleable and shifting. As the historian Antonio Tavares has explained: “Although official and non-official writings on Taiwan during the Qing period often depicted *shoufan* and *shengfan* in terms of

⁴⁷ Emigration policy in Taiwan revolved around the notion that the island was a hub for potential rebels (as it had been when Zheng Chenggong ruled Taiwan). Therefore, the Manchu court did not view them as immigrants in any legal or demographic sense. Rather they were viewed as “temporary residents” and registered them according to their ancestral locality. Between 1684-1789, emigration policy was largely prohibitive, while between 1790-1875, emigration was restricted. Initially, only married men with property were allowed to emigrate. Families weren’t allowed to follow though. This not only deterred mass emigration, but also helped the court keep tabs on your relatives should one decide to cause trouble on the island. Hakkas were forbidden to migrate based on their notoriety as pirates. Between 1684-1790, the government allowed women and unmarried men for short periods to make their way to the island (1732-39, 1746-47, 1760). The Chu I-kuei uprising of 1721 was blamed for example on an imbalance of sex ratio. Officials recommended that all prospective farmer-emigrants should be married and bring their families. Memorials calling for the reunion of families to stave off social disorder, supposedly triggered by the abundance of single men, tended to emphasize the stabilizing influence of farmer emigrants, and the long-term benefits of extensive settlement and reproduction of mainlander communities. For more on the different restrictions promulgated by the Qing to curb settler emigration, see Hsu Wen-hsiung, “The Chinese Colonization of Taiwan,” 290-300.

⁴⁸ For a good overview of this system of classification see Emma Teng, *Taiwan’s Imagined Geography: Chinese colonial travel writing and pictures, 1683-1895*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 122-149.

racial or physical features (e.g. hairiness, body size, and skin color) and cultural features...the overriding concern in drawing a distinction between settlers and different kinds of indigenes was to delimit the tax and military obligations to the state.”⁴⁹

During the reign of the Qianlong Emperor (1736-1795), the “savage boundary” became more rigidly demarcated, with a designated Chinese area of settlement and a “buffer zone” that straddled the system of earth works and the foothills where unassimilated “raw savages” resided (see appendix 1.3). Plains-dwelling tribes (or “cooked savages” as they were known) who paid taxes to the Qing government and performed military service populated this zone.⁵⁰ Over time, the buffer zone became an area for government-sanctioned military colonies (*fan t’un*).⁵¹ The late imperial state kept watch over these defensive arrangements through individuals who held official or quasi-official posts. Some were influential individuals among colonists or Indigenes. Others were civil and military officials of Han Chinese or Manchu background who governed counties and districts bordering or including the frontier zone. Deputies, sub-officials, and servants also manned posts in the interior. Some frontiersmen received honorary degrees and ranks, served as deputies or sub-officials, and even recruited small private armies. The state also conferred special ranks upon Indigenes who submitted to the Qing and performed military services in the name of the latter. By the early nineteenth century, the Taiwanese borderlands encompassed three institutions: an office of “Indigene Affairs” (*lifan tongzhi*), an office for

⁴⁹Antonio Tavares, “Crystals from the Savage Forest,” 117

⁵⁰ For a good overview of the evolution of the “savage boundary,” see Paul Barclay, “Cultural Brokerage and Interethnic Marriage in Colonial Taiwan: Japanese Subalterns and their Aborigine Wives, 1895-1930,” *Journal of Asian Studies*, 64 (2) 2005, 326-337.

⁵¹ Following the Lin Shuangwen uprising of 1786, Qing authorities began setting up military colonies to defend against settler uprisings and attacks by *shengfan*. In the 19th century, these colonies were mobilized 18 times. See Antonio Tavares, “Crystals from the Savage Forest,” 118-119. For more on these colonies, see also John Robert Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier*, 308-362.

management of tribal rents (*fanzu*), and the quasi-autonomous tribal military colonies (*t'un fan*) that separated agrarian settlements from the interior.⁵²

Relationships in the eastern borderlands were fluid and shifting for much of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. A provisional frontier diplomacy existed insofar as the Qing state was unable to exert administrative control in areas beyond the officially sanctioned border. Central to this “middle ground”⁵³ was a network of “interpreters” (*t'ung-shih*) who first assisted in tax collection among plains Aborigines during the early Qing period, and later, brokered trade between remote hill communities and agricultural settlements bordering the Qing perimeter.⁵⁴ Han Chinese often exchanged food, liquor, beads, cloth, and other items with hill groups for wild game, forest products, and medicinally-prized animal parts. Typically, the interpreters who facilitated these exchanges were Han men who had married into plains Aborigines' communities, learned the local language, and helped government officials collect taxes, resolve disputes, and ensure the loyalty of a specific village. The Qing regime in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries used these interpreters to maintain a system of cultural brokerage and administrative supervision. Abuses were rampant. Interpreters, unchecked by Qing officials, used their positions for extortion (especially in the plains). An excerpt from a

⁵² Antonio Tavares, “Crystals from the Savage Forest,” 119.

⁵³ My use of the term “middle ground” is from the historian Richard White’s path-breaking book, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*, in which he explored the forms of horizontal commercial, political, and cultural exchange that emerged on the North American continent between colonists and Indigenous peoples. Throughout the period examined in White’s book, imperial states forged strategic alliances with American Indian polities to gain leverage against their rivals. These possibilities shrank considerably with the rise of nation-states. These historical dynamics could also be found in Taiwan. See Richard White, *The Middle Ground*, ix-xvi.

⁵⁴ For more in-depth work on the history of interpreters see Paul Barclay, “Cultural Brokerage and Interethnic Marriage in Colonial Taiwan: Japanese Subalterns and their Aborigine Wives, 1895-1930.” Scholar Matsuzawa Kazuko also has done great work on this topic. See Matsuzawa Kazuko, “Nihonryōtai izen no Taiwan ni okeru kanjin to genjūminzoku no koeki ni tsuite” [On trade relations of Aboriginal Taiwanese with Han-Chinese before the Japanese occupation], *Kokuritsu minzokugaku hakubutsukan* 14, Osaka National Museum of Ethnology.

1697 travelogue written by the writer Yu Yonghe revealed the political functions of interpreters, as well as their corrupt tendencies:

In each administrative district a wealthy village person is made responsible for the village revenues. These men are called “village tax farmers” [literally village merchants, *she-shang*]. 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 bought in by hunting] of all the barbarians...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.⁵⁵

Corruption and exploitation of Aborigines intensified as the post became further bureaucratized.⁵⁶ As late as the 1890s, Japanese accounts described interpreters as corrupt or unreliable intermediaries, men who often put their own greed and self-interest above the parties they represented in commercial transactions.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, cross border trade involving Han, “cooked,” and “raw” Aboriginal communities, implied a *de facto* recognition of Indigenous independence. Eventually, this system of cultural brokerage via interpreters came to include “raw” Aboriginal women as emissaries, who were married off to lowlander families to serve as commercial contacts.⁵⁸ The policies of the Qing state - though mired in corruption, interpreter

⁵⁵ Cited in Paul Barclay, “Cultural Brokerage and Interethnic Marriage in Colonial Taiwan,” 327.

⁵⁶ Hsu Wen-Hsiung, “The Chinese Colonization of Taiwan,” 303-305.

⁵⁷ In 1899, engineer Saitō Kenji visited the camphor-producing districts of Luodong, Yilan County (then Giran sub-prefecture) to observe the industry’s progress. He described his travels in a two-part report published in *Taiwan kyōkai kaihō* [Taiwan Association Report]. In the second part, Saitō advised strongly against the hiring of interpreters, claiming that “they often side with the raw savages, and not so much with camphor producers,” and even smuggled regulated goods like gunpowder into Indigenous communities for their own “selfish” gain. See Saitō Kenji, “Taiwan shōnō no seizō” [The Production of Taiwan Camphor], *Taiwan kyōkai kaihō* 4, 1899, 15-16.

⁵⁸ Mid-nineteenth century accounts written by missionaries and Western observers described how male Aboriginal elders would “sell” their daughters as brides to plains Aborigines men to secure trade relations. These women became important commercial and cultural mediators. American naturalist Joseph Steere described these arrangements in 1874: “The Kale-whan [Paiwan], in times of scarcity, frequently sell their daughters to the Chinese and Pepo-whans [Plains Aborigines], who take them as supplementary wives and make them useful interpreters in thus bartering with the savages...the Kale-whan the chief offered to sell us three girls of the tribe at twenty dollars each.” See Paul Barclay, “Cultural Brokerage and Interethnic Marriage in Colonial Taiwan,” 335.

abuse, and administrative inconsistencies - provided Indigenous with important respite from land and resource-hungry colonists, who by the start of the eighteenth century, had already overtaken and Sinicized much of the island's southwest. While the system of earth works and boundary markers did much to physically keep Chinese and Aborigines apart, porous frontier social relations always stayed ahead of imperial arrangements and official attempts to enforce strict segregation. Intermarriage, commercial exchange, and subsistence needs brought Natives and newcomers into contact with one another. In the long run, however, the Qing could not tolerate the coexistence of multiple sovereignties and overlapping territorial claims, especially as camphor production became important. Before examining this key transformation however, it is imperative that we first examine the emergence of "camphor zone" and the ways in which ethnically and socially-fluid relations on the frontier contributed to its development.

The Formation of the Camphor Zone and the Global Imperialist Conjuncture

The camphor zone's roots lie in eighteenth-century Qing concerns over maritime security, shipbuilding, and piracy prevention in coastal waters. Initially, camphor production was a byproduct of a larger system of naval defense, where lumber collected in Taiwan by a government-contracted merchant, the Danshui "Foreman," was sent for ship repairs in Fujian Province. As part of the procurement of lumber for ship-building, the foreman was allowed to engage in the production of camphor crystals and issue licenses for others to engage in the camphor trade.⁵⁹ The "Office of Foreman for Military Works," as the title was officially known, answered directly to the Taiwan Intendant. So desired were camphor wood planks that records from 1720 indicate that the Kangxi emperor authorized over two hundred beheadings of

⁵⁹ Antonio Tavares, "Crystals from the Savage Forest," 51-55.

individuals who had engaged in the unauthorized felling of trees.⁶⁰ The office of foreman got its start in 1725, when the Yongzheng Emperor approved the Fujian-Zhejiang governor's demands that shipyards be built in Fujian. Following this, the government built shipyards in Fuzhou, Zhangzhou, and Taiwan.

At first it was difficult to create vibrant shipbuilding industries in Taiwan like those on China's southern coast. Skilled labor was in short supply, and many materials had to be imported. Craftsmen and lumberjacks were initially recruited to go and fell trees in central Taiwan, but the endeavor proved too burdensome. Though Qing Taiwan maintained ship-repairing facilities, its function within the Qing infrastructure of maritime security eventually shifted to that of a hub for lumber procurement. Between 1725 and 1758, various foremen secured lumber from Taiwan's interior forests.⁶¹ Foremen were exempt from the ban on exploitation of resources beyond the "savage boundary." They could also exact defensive labor and other work from frontiersmen and Indigenes.⁶² Since camphor trees were first and foremost a strategic resource for shipbuilding, the foreman had exclusive rights over the crystals produced from the trees, and only he could issue licenses for commercial logging. As the procurement system expanded, camphor production became an integral part of its functioning. Given the post of foreman required payment of multiple dues to Qing officials and sub-officials, camphor was needed for meeting these financial obligations. Added to this were the labor costs needed to keep up with lumber demand, as well as fulfilling yearly quotas. Therefore, for much of the eighteenth

⁶⁰ Nakamura Masaru, "Nihon shihonshugi no nōgyō seisaku to Taiwan kōchi genjūmin," 36. See also James Wheeler Davidson, *The Island of Formosa*, 399.

⁶¹ See Antonio Tavares, "Crystals from the Savage Forest," 56-57. See also Nakamura Masaru, "Nihon shihonshugi no nōgyō seisaku to Taiwan kōchi genjūmin," 36-37.

⁶² See Antonio Tavares, "Crystals from the Savage Forest," 56-58.

and early nineteenth centuries, camphor was a lucrative “side business” that allowed foremen to maintain their exclusive commercial relations with the Qing state.⁶³

With the growth of the camphor trade, a new mode of production brought together actors from varying social and ethnic backgrounds on the edges of the Qing “savage boundary.” The camphor zone’s productive and labor relations require brief overview, as these did not change significantly from the era of the foreman to the later Japanese monopoly. For centuries, the camphor tree existed as far as Taiwan’s western coastal plains region. The immigration of Han colonists and subsequent cultivation of the plains area led to the denuding of forests.⁶⁴ The gradual depletion of camphor trees in the west brought Chinese immigrants closer to the margins of Qing jurisdiction. These immigrants, mostly of Hakka and Hoklo background, used the camphor trees and natural resources in the vicinity of the Qing frontier to eke out an existence and reproduce their small household economies.⁶⁵ Though single men were a fixture in the industry, family-based production was more common. Given the harshness of frontier life, as well as the constant supervision and maintenance needed to run a successful camphor distillery, women were an indispensable part of day-to-day operations. Women, for example, could maintain distilling apparatuses while the men were out gathering wood. They also engaged in other activities like childcare, food preparation, and providing for other daily necessities. Even as late as the early 1900s, camphor production was largely done by family-style firms working under the umbrella of big Japanese capital.⁶⁶ Of course, these small organizations were only one

⁶³ Antonio Tavares, “Crystals from the Savage Forest,” 60-61.

⁶⁴ Charles Archibald Mitchell, *Camphor in Japan and Formosa*, (London: Chiswick Press, 1900), 40-41

⁶⁵ A good overview of the composition of the early camphor industry and the role of migration to the frontier see Antonio Tavares, “The Japanese Colonial State and the Dissolution of the Late Imperial Frontier Economy in Taiwan, 1886-1909.”

⁶⁶ Nakamura Masaru argues that the distinct quality of camphor’s relations of production was the persisting role of household-based firms, who even with the introduction of large-scale industrial organization during the Japanese

part of a larger chain of production that spanned multiple elements. Typically, a “headman” provided the tools, stoves, and other equipment needed to distill camphor wood into crystals. The headman recruited work gangs and negotiated with Indigenes (via interpreters). Beyond the headman and workers were the “head camphor merchants,” who typically collected camphor, and then put it into market circulation by selling it to government-run depots, wholesalers, exporters, and other commercial intermediaries. These merchants also advanced the capital needed by headmen to build distilleries. They also dealt with Qing authorities to secure exploitation permits.⁶⁷ Though these arrangements would undergo multiple structural changes during the Japanese period (see Chapter Three), transformations were already underway by the 1860s, when western merchants became involved in the trade by financing their own operations within the interior.

Camphor production required several steps, each traversed by triangular frontier relations. First, a prospective camphor head merchant would approach an interpreter with knowledge of Indigene languages to seek out a good camphor plot. Then, said interpreter would help broker a “peace pact” with an Indigene representative, promising remuneration for the felling of trees. Indigenes typically accepted salt, alcohol, cloth, beef, pork, gunpowder, currency, and other items for access to their forestlands. Contracts between producers and Indigenes were oral. They stipulated that the party had access to a designated site. The contract also promised that Indigenes would not kill camphor workers or destroy stills that they encountered in their territories.⁶⁸ An 1864 article on camphor from *Scientific American* described

period, continued to play a prominent role. See Nakamura Masaru, “Nihon shihonshugi no nōgyō seisaku to Taiwan kōchi gennjūmin,” 38. See also Antonio Tavares, “Crystals from the Savage Forests,” 174-176.

⁶⁷ Antonio Tavares, “Crystals from the Savage Forests,” 165-169. For Japanese colonial-era descriptions of this process, see Matsushita Yoshisaburō (ed.), *Taiwan shōnō sembaishi* [Gazeteer of the Taiwan Camphor Monopoly], (Taipei: Taiwan sōtokufu shiryō hansen iinkai, 1924), 14.

⁶⁸ Antonio Tavares, “Crystals from the Savage Forest,” 165-66.

this practice, noting how after identifying a good cluster of trees, “a present is then made to the chief of the tribe to gain permission to cut down the selected trees.”⁶⁹ An account by the British

Consul John Dodd offered a more detailed account:

Some friendly border tribes are not disinclined to allow squatting on new territory for a consideration, and a verbal agreement is often entered into...the terms are usually something of this kind: That in consideration of the Chinese providing them at certain periods of the year with a few necessities such as rice, salt, and a few domesticated pigs, a quantity of Chinese gunpowder and perhaps a matchlock, etc., etc., with a jar or two of samshu [rice wine] thrown in, permission is granted to squat within certain limits—to fell timber, make charcoal and camphor—and to kill deer and other game in the immediate vicinity.⁷⁰

These arrangements persisted well into the Japanese period. Engineer Saitō Kenji, who visited camphor production sites in Yilan County (then Giran prefecture in the late 1890s), recorded this custom, which he described as “peace agreements.” Saitō wrote: “When camphor production takes place within the savage border of Giran District, the workers must enter into a pact with the raw savages. This so-called ‘pact’ consists of providing [the savages] one pig and two bottles of *chan sake*.”⁷¹ Saitō described how this custom had been in place since Qing times, and was conducted once a year to recognize the Aborigines’ “possession of the mountains.”⁷² Acceptance of Indigenous sovereignty, whether in the Qing or Japanese moment, was provisional, and counted only insofar as workers could fell trees and keep camphor crystals moving downhill to commercial ports. Returning to the Qing context, once an agreement was reached with Indigenes, a petition would be issued to the local authorities or camphor deputies. If all went smoothly, a certificate would be provided allowing the operation to go ahead. After the headman and his

⁶⁹ “Formosa Camphor,” *Scientific American* 10 (6), (February 6th, 1864), 85.

⁷⁰ James Wheeler Davidson, *The Island of Formosa*, 415.

⁷¹ Saitō Kenji, “*Taiwan no shōnō seizō*” [Camphor Production in Taiwan], *Taiwan kyōkai kaihō* 3 (December, 1899), 32.

⁷² *Ibid.*

workers erected camphor stills, officials came to inspect these and then issued a permit. A plaque was then hung at the entrance of the distillery indicating the number of stoves and the amount of tax owed.⁷³

Camphor stoves were rather crude in nature, and invasive from an Aboriginal point of view. The structure usually consisted of a large inverted vase set atop a burner and water pan. As camphor wood chips cooked over fire, vapors from condensation gathered atop the vase, creating camphor crystals in the process. Later Japanese models introduced a separate cooling and distilling apparatus connected through pipes (see appendix 1.4). Location was key, as workers needed not only a good plot of camphor trees, but a nearby water source to keep condensation going.⁷⁴ While under the Japanese system, everything from the trunk down to the branches and leaves were used. Qing-era methods were wasteful. Given that taxation was *per stove*, and not per total output, there was little incentive to improve production methods to increase the yield per tree. Chinese producers tended to focus solely on the trunk, which was the most high-yielding element, neglecting the upper part of the tree, branches, and leaves.⁷⁵

In all, the growth of the camphor industry and its relations of production exacerbated tensions between frontier communities and Indigenes in unconquered areas. In order to have a lucrative camphor business, one needed to garrison workers and their stoves for extended periods of time on, or within the vicinity of, Indigenous lands. Camphor worksites could have anywhere from ten to forty individuals engaging in logging and distilling. As production expanded deeper into the interior, workers were increasingly accompanied by small protective militias (or

⁷³ Antonio Tavares, "Crystals from the Savage Forest," 165-66.

⁷⁴ For an in-depth description of the productive process, see James Wheeler Davidson, *The Island of Formosa*, 419.

⁷⁵ See Antonio Tavares, "Crystals from the Savage Forest," 168-69. See also James Wheeler Davidson, *The Island of Formosa*, 424-25.

“conscripts,” *minso*, as they were known in Japanese).⁷⁶ Since Aboriginal land ownership involved the maintenance of hunting territories that spanned large stretches of densely forested terrain, trespassing by these individuals would have likely been a regular occurrence. Therefore, the presence of Han colonists, militiamen, and encampments filled with distilling apparatuses could convince the Indigenous peoples bordering the edges of Qing rule that an invasion or encroachment was afoot, which was, to some degree, an accurate assessment.

As the camphor zone expanded, its products became a global commodity. In 1856, Alexander Parkes, an inventor and metallurgist, discovered one of the early forerunners to celluloid. This invention would usher in a new era of industrial and household applications for camphor.⁷⁷ Within the span of a few decades, a natural resource once reserved for medical or ritual uses suddenly became central to modern consumer culture.⁷⁸ Coinciding with these scientific advancements was the rise of western imperial gunboat diplomacy. By the mid-nineteenth century western nations had exacted trade concessions from the Qing and Tokugawa Japan, forcing them to open their ports, establish embassies, and exempt Euro-American nationals from local laws in a legal system known as extraterritoriality. By 1863, Taiwan was integrated into this network of western “treaty ports,” as the island’s resource industries were opened to exploitation by foreign firms.

These developments put significant pressure on the foreman, both from within and from without. First, a succession of disputes involving British consuls and Qing officials over access

⁷⁶ Nakamura Masaru, “Nihon shihonshugi no nōgyō seisaku to Taiwan kōchi gennjūmin,” 41.

⁷⁷ Takekoshi Yosaburō, *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, 171.

⁷⁸ For more on the evolution of camphor’s varied usage in world history, especially its longstanding function as *materia medica*, see R.A. Donkin, *Dragon’s Brain Perfume*. For a scientific overview of camphor and its wider applications in modern commodities like plastics or celluloid, see Robert Friedel, *Pioneer Plastics: The Making and Selling of Celluloid*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983).

to camphor producers in the interior undermined the foreman's legitimacy, as commercial agents complained of economically burdensome requirements that hurt their bottom line. British free trade discourse often described the foreman as an unfair "monopolist" institution that kept prices artificially high, imposed unnecessary regulations, and contravened existing treaty port law.⁷⁹ Second, the rise in global demand for camphor increased smuggling. Smuggling increased especially during the reign of the Jiaqing Emperor (1796-1820), as the private production of camphor became an attractive business for those seeking to turn a quick profit.⁸⁰ Illegal trade networks, which foreigners later happily participated in, brought cheap camphor to trading ports in Hong Kong and India, drawing important revenue away from Qing state coffers.⁸¹

Even with western complaints of Qing interference, Taiwanese camphor production grew exponentially throughout the 1860s. For example, before 1869, camphor made up between 30 to 67 percent of all exports on foreign bottoms leaving the port of Danshui.⁸² Tensions with Qing authorities escalated by the mid-1860s, as western firms contacted camphor agents in the interior to avoid dealing with the foreman and Qing camphor deputies. The British Consul at Formosa eventually issued protests to the Taiwan Circuit Intendant, demanding that it dismantle the foreman's exclusive rights over the sale of camphor. Tensions peaked in 1868 when, following the harassment of western merchants and the confiscation of camphor shipments deemed "illicit" on the grounds that they circumvented the foreman's procurement channels, a British gunboat

⁷⁹ Tavares points out that British traders and consuls often misread the mutual imbrication of state and commercial authority that defined Qing institutions. It was not a "state monopoly" or a "merchant-contracted" one – it was part of an evolving bureaucracy traversed by forms of tribute and exclusive rights to lumber. Antonio Tavares, "Crystals from the Savage Forest," 77.

⁸⁰ Nakamura Masaru, "Nihon shihonshugi no nōgyō seisaku to Taiwan kōchi gennjūmin," 42.

⁸¹ Antonio Tavares, "Crystals from the Savage Forest," 64.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 70.

briefly occupied Tainan harbor.⁸³ In 1869, the Qing abandoned their quasi-monopoly on camphor, abolishing the post of Foreman. The new 1869 regulations (or “camphor treaty”), allowed foreign merchants to purchase camphor inland and ship it on Chinese-owned vessels to coastal ports for transshipment to treaty ports. Foreign merchants could also travel inland to purchase camphor from brokers and workers, though the merchant had to pay all *lijin* (local transit taxes) en route to the treaty port. They still could not hire foreign vessels or set up entrepôts or depots however.⁸⁴

As powerful western companies (chiefly British firms like Jardine Matheson and Co. and Dent and Co.) became involved with camphor producers in Taiwan, global demand increased, prices dropped, and the denuding of Aboriginal forests proceeded. U.S Consul at Formosa James Wheeler Davidson described how the annual average of camphor production during this period shot up from 7,102 *piculs* between 1865-67, to about 14,420 *piculs* between 1868-70 (1 *picul* = 133 lbs). The subsequent increase in production resulting from the “free trade” boom led to violent frontier conflicts. Davidson’s described how “the aborigines were driven further and further into the interior, losing not only their lands but oftentimes their lives.”⁸⁵ By 1875, “the export decreased by half, owing to the extraordinary activity of the savages, who were awakening to the fact that their lands on the west were fast falling into the hands of their enemies.”⁸⁶ Increased violence had a lasting effect on the industry. Davidson speculated that much of camphor’s modern applications in industrial or household objects came from this

⁸³ For a brief recap of the events leading up to the Sino-British conflict see Matsushita Yoshisaburō, *Taiwan shōnō sembaishi*, 2-3. See also James Wheeler Davidson, *The Island of Formosa*, 398-408, for a full account. Antonio Tavares also provides a good overview of these late Qing economic policies and conflicts with the British in his work. See Antonio Tavares, “The Japanese Colonial State and the Dissolution of the Late Imperial Frontier Economy in Taiwan, 1886-1909,” 363-64, as well as his “Crystals from the Savage Forest,” 79-84.

⁸⁴ For a reprint of the 1869 “Camphor Treaty,” see Matsushita Yoshisaburou, *Taiwan shounou sembaishi*, 6-8.

⁸⁵ James Wheeler Davidson, *The Island of Formosa*, 405.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

period, when prices were low enough for large quantities to be imported, thereby allowing chemists to study its properties extensively.⁸⁷

Though injections of foreign capital and the dissolution of the Office of Foreman for Military Works put pressure on established arrangements in the borderlands, regional political developments further redrew the balance of power in the camphor zone in favor of the Qing state and western firms. In 1871 a group of Paiwan Aborigines killed Okinawan fishermen whose ship had run aground on Taiwan's southeastern coast. In response, the Japanese demanded an indemnity and mobilized imperial army troops into punish the attackers. In 1874, the Japanese army occupied a portion of southeastern Taiwan and fought with a confederacy of Paiwan villages in what became known as the "Mudan Incident."⁸⁸ After hostilities ended, Japanese forces withdrew, and Japanese envoy Okubo Toshimichi negotiated with Qing official Li Hongzhang. The end result was a Qing payment of 500,000 *taels* to the Meiji government.⁸⁹ With foreign armies, merchants, and local compradors facilitating the spread of what historian Paul Barclay has termed "high-velocity capitalism" across the Taiwan frontier, the Qing government was forced to involve itself in a region it had previously chosen to largely avoid for security reasons.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ James Wheeler Davidson, *The Island of Formosa*, 405.

⁸⁸ I briefly examine this Incident in the opening portions of chapter two.

⁸⁹ For more on the expedition and its effects on both the Qing and Japanese regimes, see Lung-chih Chang, "From Frontier Island to Imperial Colony: Qing and Japanese Sovereignty Debates and Territorial Projects, 1874-1906," Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2003. For a more Japan-centered account, see Robert Eskilden, "Of Civilization and Savages: The Mimetic Imperialism of Japan's 1874 Expedition to Taiwan," *American Historical Review*, 107 (2) 2002: 388-418.

⁹⁰ Barclay argues that "high-velocity capitalism increased the number of disputes arising over shipwrecks in far-flung ports, while it swelled the vehemence with which states weighed in on such affairs. As the Qing and Tokugawa dynasts learned to their peril, foreign governments, representing the interests of the merchants and customers dependent upon oceanic trade, began to demand the right to negotiate with central authorities about incidents arising in the harbors and shores that shoguns and emperors had kept at arm's length since the mid-seventeenth century." Clarification of ownership over territory thus became key during this period. Especially with the global capitalist economy's then growing reliance on long-distance and trans-oceanic trade, the presence of partially

Clarifying Qing ownership of Taiwan's hinterland, as well as its resources, became a priority for the empire in the wake of growing maritime threats to its borders. The year after the 1874 Japanese punitive expedition to Taiwan, the Qing abandoned its "quarantine" policies and adopted an expansionist strategy of frontier development. The most significant of these changes came in early 1875, when Imperial High Commissioner Shen Baoshen launched the *kaishan fufan* policy ("open the mountains, pacify the savages").⁹¹ The aims of this policy were twofold: to establish a network of roads, telegraph lines, and other communications infrastructure to secure eastern Taiwan's maritime defenses, and to buttress Qing claims of sovereignty over the whole island.⁹² The government would achieve this by deploying colonists, border guards, and other paramilitary security groups, Sinicization programs, and government troops. These goals were inseparable from forest industries like camphor, which Shen believed would provide the revenues necessary to keep this costly enterprise afloat. As the High Commissioner put it: "If we open up the mountains but do not first pacify the savages, then we will have no handle to open up the mountains; if we want to pacify the savages but do not first open up the mountains, then savage pacification will be merely empty talk."⁹³ For Shen, resource extraction and Indigenous assimilation were linked projects. Some years later, colonial Taiwan's first Civilian Affairs head, Mizuno Jun, would pick up on this connection by modeling his Aborigine administration policy around similar tenets. Before the Japanese however, it was Taiwan's first provincial governor, Liu Mingchuan, who attempted to bring this vision to fruition.

integrated maritime peripheries within larger dynastic states space became increasingly "anachronistic" in the eyes of modern nation-states. See Paul Barclay, *Outcasts of Empire*, 18.

⁹¹ Lung-chih Chang, "From Frontier Island to Imperial Colony," 95-101. Emma Teng's book on travel writing in Qing Taiwan also dedicates an entire chapter to outlining this policy, its broader politics of cultural representation, as well as racialist undertones. See Emma Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography*, 209-237.

⁹² Lung-chih Chang, "From Frontier Island to Imperial Colony," 95-101.

⁹³ Cited from Antonio Tavares, "Crystals from the Savage Forest," 120.

The Transformation of the Camphor Zone and Governor Liu Mingchuan's "Failed" Aboriginal Pacification Experiment

Liu Mingchuan's tenure as governor is typically hailed as the start of an ambitious, yet failed, modernization project. A decorated military official with victories in the Taiping Rebellion and Qing war against the French, Liu took the reins of power in 1887, the year Taiwan became a province of the Qing Empire. Liu's mandate was the overhaul the existing administrative system, building up the island's industries and military arsenal, and expanding the *kaishan fufan* policy. At the beginning of the 1880s, it seemed as if Shen's *kaishan fufan* policies were going nowhere. In January of 1882, the newly-arrived circuit attendant, Liu Ao lamented that the last decade of frontier activities had taken over ten thousand lives and cost the Qing millions of *taels* in military expenses, producing few results.⁹⁴ Adding insult to injury was the 1885 war with the French, who had launched an unsuccessful invasion of Taiwan's northern port of Jilong. When Liu arrived to address the island's internal troubles, he identified the stabilization of Indigenous areas as a central problem. For Liu, Aborigine-controlled areas were under the influence of "bandit" elements who angered Indigenes and caused the killing of colonists. Since the government usually responded to these raids by deploying troops, the governor believed that such measures only deepened the cycle of violence and revenge killings. Liu thought that Aborigines had no mechanism to which they could turn to articulate their frustrations against expanding land theft or logging projects. Given the larger threats of internal disintegration the Qing faced at the time, Liu believed that a non-violent solution was necessary to avoid any large-scale disruptions. As he outlined in one memorial: "If we do not secure their submission and pacification (*chao-fu*) [of Aborigines]...we will have a problem equaling the

⁹⁴ Antonio Tavares, "Crystals from the Savage Forests," 121.

Moslem [*sic*] rebellion in Shensi and Kansu.”⁹⁵ He further emphasized this view in May of 1886, when he castigated “bad Chinese” for disrupting the frontier, adding “if we do not eradicate this internal problem, how can we resist the foreigners?”⁹⁶ In Liu’s view, solving the problem of Aborigine “pacification” was indispensable to safeguarding Taiwan against external threats to the island’s territorial integrity.

Liu’s solution to the “Aborigine question” emerged in the months that followed his arrival on the island. Liu advocated the “peaceful” incorporation of Indigene lands via “Sinicization.” Liu believed in a “cost-effective” approach, even promising the Qing court that he would pacify the Indigenes without adding “a single soldier, without a single military expenditure.”⁹⁷ Though previous assimilationist policies advocated bringing “raw savages” within the Sino-centric universe, spatial and ethnic segregation were deemed necessary to keep the island’s population in check. Liu’s plan did away with this notion, arguing instead that colonists should take land in unconquered areas and expose Aborigines to traditional Confucian-style education and sedentary agriculture. The Qing state, meanwhile, would also promote similar ideas through its own frontier outposts (discussed below) to convince Aborigines to abandon ancestral practices like hunting and head-taking.⁹⁸ Liu expressed his vision of Indigenous assimilation via Sinicization in an early 1889 report on the advance of ‘pacification’ operations:

Sinicization must rely on land reclamation [by Chinese settlers]; otherwise there will be no way to change their primitive nature. [After] the civilized aborigines

⁹⁵ William Miller Speidel, “Liu Min Chu’an in Taiwan, 1884-1891,” Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1967, 275-76.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 277. Liu also mentioned an annual death count of 1000 Chinese victims by Aborigines.

⁹⁷ Antonio Tavares, “Crystals from the Savage Forests,” 123.

⁹⁸ Emma Teng points out that *kaishan fufan* was also a departure from previous visions of assimilation like that of literati Yu Yonghe, who believed in incremental changes to Aborigine living environments via exposure to Chinese culture. In contrast, both Shen and Liu believed that only sudden change and active intervention on the part of the state would achieve this. See Emma Teng, *Taiwan’s Imagined Geography*, 226-228.

have traded and intermarried with Chinese for a long time, they understand the benefits of [Chinese] clothing, food, and social relationships; their love for killing then subsides naturally. At present virgin land is abundant in central Taiwan on the east coast. It is essential that we find Chinese to develop it.⁹⁹

For Liu, only the exportation of Chinese “social relationships” to Aboriginal areas would guarantee the transformation of Taiwan’s eastern “wastelands” into productive, integrated areas. It was a comprehensive plan. It aimed to extinguish indigenous autonomy as well as cultural distinction. Unsurprisingly, Liu’s policy did not entirely dispense with military force. In one memorial, the governor emphasized that Indigenes needed to be governed through a mixture of “kindness” (*en*) and “force” (*wei*).¹⁰⁰ This statement was echoed some years later by Japanese Civil Affairs director Mizuno, who also advocated for the use of “benevolence” (*buiku*) and “force” (*iryoku*) as a guiding strategy when handling Aborigines.¹⁰¹

To expedite the transformation of the camphor zone and Indigenous territories into a haven for resource extraction and colonization, Liu established the “Pacification-Reclamation Office” (*fukenuju*) in 1886. Though Liu was technically the head of this new government entity, most of its affairs were entrusted to his number two: Liu Wei-yuan, who oversaw its day-to-day management through the agency’s central branch at Dakekan. In total, the Pacification-Reclamation Office consisted of eight stations, each located along the foothills of strategic camphor-producing areas. The locations were spread out on a north-south axis, all within the orbit of the “savage boundary.” The eight main stations were: Dakekan, Dongshijiao, Puli, Balisha, Linyipu, Fanshuliao, Hengchun, and Taidong. There were also substations for all but

⁹⁹ William Miller Speidel, “Liu Min Chu’an in Taiwan, 1884-1891,” 281.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 276.

¹⁰¹ Inō Kanori (ed.), *Riban shikō dai ichi-ni hen* [A Record of Aborigines Administration Volume One-Two], (Taihoku: Taiwan keimukyoku, 1918), 3-4

two of these main offices.¹⁰² This agency, which the Japanese would later copy with a slight change in name (the “Pacification-Reclamation Bureau,” or *bukonsho*) were to provide services to promote “Sinicization” of the interior.¹⁰³ A brief look at some of the activities recorded at various *fukenu* reveals the sweeping manner in which late Qing officialdom sought to transform Indigenes into compliant subjects.

On the surface, the *fukenu* project encouraged nothing less than the total cultural erasure of Indigenous forms. Stations were to provide Confucian style education, inculcate Taiwanese Aborigines with “civilized” Han customs, provide medical care, and teach sedentary farming. In addition, barbers convinced Indigenes to shave their heads in the queue style to show their allegiance to the Qing.¹⁰⁴ Records from station activities towards the south reveal a similar assimilationist drive, though officials there appear to have been more practical and less inclined to train Aborigines as future literati. Rather than focus on elaborate Chinese-style education, personnel in those areas taught matters like calendrics, personal hygiene, and gender-specific clothing. Southern *fukenu* stations also appear to have been more involved in language training for its staff to help reduce reliance on interpreters.¹⁰⁵ The government also built five major educational facilities under the agency’s watch (in addition to two existing schools built in 1875 and 1879). At these schools, young Aboriginal men would study the Confucian “Five Classics” and receive military training for an extended period. Students also received a regular stipend, food rations, and clothing. Officials offered similar items to Indigenous elders as an incentive to send their youth to these schools. At its peak, the Dakekan school supposedly had two hundred

¹⁰² A useful chart detailing the geographic distribution of *fukenu* stations can be found in Fujii Shizue, *Li fan: Riben zhi li Taiwan de ji ce* [Savage Administration: Japan’s Policy of Governing Taiwan], (Taipei: Wen ying tang chu ban she, 2001), 25-27.

¹⁰³ William Miller Speidel, “Liu Min Chu’an in Taiwan, 1884-1891,” 284-285.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 287.

students enrolled. The most “successful” was the Taipei School, which had a more elaborate curriculum that covered poetry, calligraphy, and regular excursions in the city to view the “Chinese way of life.” The degree was three years long. Only one class of twenty students graduated before Governor Shao Yu-lien closed the school in 1892.¹⁰⁶

Beyond education, *fukenu* stations served as governmental nodes, regulating Chinese-Indigene relations and minimizing friction with colonists. Station personnel regulated the private sale of firearms, salt, wild game, and other commodities. Interpreters were also on site at *fukenu* stations to assist in commercial exchanges and translation, though assumedly the agency intended to bring these once loosely supervised intermediaries under administrative oversight. Still, *fukenu* staffing reveals the limited resources with which the agency operated. Each station had a director, two secretaries, two or more accountants and interpreters, a doctor, and instructors to teach reading and farming.¹⁰⁷ For security, *fukenu* stations were to be linked with the existing network of frontier guards (*aiyong*). Powerful frontiersmen like Lin Chaodong, a wealthy camphor merchant who worked for the *fukenu* and assisted the government Camphor Bureau in collecting dues from local producers, commanded these battalions.¹⁰⁸ Liu’s *fukenu* thus combined assimilation programs with quasi-governmental paramilitary units. Memorials written by Liu painted an optimistic picture of Aboriginal pacification. In 1887, he reported 15,000 surrendering and shaving their heads on the east coast, another 35,000 in the south, and 38,000 in the west. Meanwhile, he praised the opening of over a hundred thousand *mou* of “virgin land.”¹⁰⁹ Liu had a reputation for embellishing the results of his Indigene programs to Beijing. So, these

¹⁰⁶ William Miller Speidel, “Liu Min Chu’an in Taiwan, 1884-1891,” 286-87.

¹⁰⁷ The staffing order for the Japanese *bukonsho*, was just as limited as Liu’s. See Inō Kanori, *Riban shikō*, 11. See also William Miller Speidel, “Liu Min Chu’an in Taiwan, 1884-1891,” 284. I discuss staffing and budgetary limitations for the Japanese in chapter two.

¹⁰⁸ Antonio Tavares, “Crystals from the Savage Forest,” 122.

¹⁰⁹ William Miller Speidel, “Liu Min Chu’an in Taiwan, 1884-1891,” 282.

figures could have been severely inflated.¹¹⁰ Another figure, mentioned by Davidson, mentioned a total of 88,000 “pacified” Indigenes.¹¹¹ While the *fukenu* made some slow gains in the realm of assimilation, the growth of the camphor industry far outpaced what frontier state arrangements were able to keep up with.

Like his predecessors, Liu attempted to bring the camphor zone under monopolistic control. First, he limited merchants’ access to the interior. Then he shifted the tax structure away from maritime customs duties (or *lijin*) by levying a defense tax on camphor stoves (meaning a tax on camphor which would help offset the cost of frontier security). Liu also set up a Bureau of Camphor in 1886, with offices in the districts of Taipei, Dakekan, Changhua, Hengchun, and Yilan. Camphor Bureaus and their deputies were responsible for collecting camphor from merchants, ensuring quality control, monitoring illicit production, and issuing licenses to producers. The Bureau overlapped significantly with the *fukenu*, as many sub-branches of the latter also doubled as Camphor Bureau offices.¹¹² For Liu, increased rationalization of the industry was not only synonymous with bigger profits, but also with increasing control of frontier areas. On May 25, 1886, Liu issued the following proclamation about the Camphor Bureau:

The most important natural product of Formosa is camphor and whereas before this time it was found to be so impossible, owing to frequent troubles caused by descents of the wild aborigines, to penetrate into the mountains of the interior, that no camphor could be exported. Now that the wild aborigines of each district are turning to Chinese civilization, the control of the camphor boiling trade by Chinese subjects should again be vested in the officers of the Government in

¹¹⁰ Speidel argues this point.

¹¹¹ James Wheeler Davidson, *The Island of Formosa*, 253.

¹¹² For a chart that compares locations of *fukenu* with those of the Camphor Bureau offices, see Fujii Shizue, *Li fan*, 25-27.

accordance with former regulations in order to prevent the crowding of traders into the business who might carry it out without due regard for the regulations.¹¹³

As with previous Qing attempts at “monopolization,” compromises had to be made, especially as foreign merchant’s frustrations mounted over the new regulations and defense fees. By the early 1890s, camphor producers could sell either directly at market prices (with a defense fee of 18\$ per *picul*) to camphor bureaus, or to government-contracted merchants (with a lower fee of 12\$).¹¹⁴

Reinstating the Qing quasi-monopoly had a beneficial effect on camphor exports which grew exponentially from 1886 onwards. Through his Camphor Bureau and new regulatory apparatus, Liu projected an average of about 400,000 *taels* in state revenue a year for 1886-1894 (about 10.1 percent of yearly provincial revenue), though he never came close to meeting these expectations. Nonetheless, the industry grew by leaps and bounds. In 1885, the Qing Imperial Maritime Customs recorded just 3.14 *piculs* of camphor exports in foreign bottoms – though that number was due in large part to the war with the French. By 1894, the recorded figure was 39,547.12 *piculs*, amounting to a 13,000 percent increase.¹¹⁵ By the mid-1890s, Taiwan’s camphor industry was also beginning to eat into the Japanese camphor industry’s global market share.¹¹⁶ In 1885, Taiwan only exported 188 kg of camphor, while Japan exported 2,382,000 kg.

¹¹³ Antonio Tavares, “Crystals from the Savage Forest,” 131.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 132-33.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 141-42.

¹¹⁶ Japan’s camphor industry has deep roots in the Tokugawa period (1603-1867) and was also organized primarily around small family-based firms. These were located in major cities like Kobe or Osaka. The industry though would shift towards camphor reprocessing and purification later during the Japanese colonial period, as the total output of Taiwan camphor far outpaced what the mainland was able to keep up with. By the early twentieth century, both the Taiwan and Japanese camphor industries were merged under the same monopolistic entity. I discuss the impact of Japan’s camphor industry on Taiwan’s in chapter three. For more on the Japanese camphor industry and its reprocessing activities, see Kōzō Yoshioka, *Seisei shōnō shi* [History of Camphor Purification], (Kobe: Nihon shōnō, 1938).

By 1894, as the Sino-Japanese War was underway, Taiwan was exporting 2,372,000 kg, while Japan exported less than half, with 1,242,600 kg (though a significant rival to the island's industry, Japan's supply could not compete with Taiwan's natural bounty of trees).¹¹⁷

The capitalist transformation of the Taiwanese camphor zone and the funneling of its profits into defensive provisions had the opposite effect of what Liu envisioned when he established the *Fukenju* and Camphor Bureau in 1886. The urgency of maintaining steady government revenue streams to carry out the modernization of Qing Taiwan's military and administrative infrastructure only intensified frontier conflicts to an unprecedented scale. One contemporary observer lamented: "the rampancy of the raw savages is gradually becoming severe, as daily harm is inflicted upon camphor production sites."¹¹⁸ As productive activities expanded, the *fukenju*'s "gradualist" vision of assimilation took a backseat to military operations. Between 1875 and 1895, there were twenty major uprisings on the island. Seventeen involved mountain Aborigines affiliated with the northeastern and central Atayal people inhabiting the camphor heartland.¹¹⁹ Qing policymakers responded with violence. From 1886 onward, Liu's regime launched over forty armed expeditions against Aborigines.¹²⁰

These military campaigns were both costly and bloody.¹²¹ Records indicate that the Chinese incurred substantial losses, and many operations ended in failure. In 1886, Lin

¹¹⁷ The full breakdown of these figures can be found in Matsushita Yoshisaburō, *Taiwan shōnō sembaishi*, Appendix 63-64. See also Antonio Tavares, "Crystals from the Savage Forest," 145.

¹¹⁸ Quoted from Nakamura Masaru, "Nihon shihonshugi no nōgyō seisaku to Taiwan kōchi gennjūmin," 45.

¹¹⁹ I-Shou Wang, "Cultural Contact and the Migration of Taiwan's Aborigines: A Historical Perspective," 43-44.

¹²⁰ Emma Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography*, 235.

¹²¹ Under Liu's reign, military expenditures were also high, racking up costs of 1.13 million taels yearly for Green Standard and Brave Forces. These figures constituted 29 percent of gross revenues. Even worse, these figures don't include the costs of campaigns against Indigenes from 1886 and onwards. This means that regardless of the exact figures, military spending under Liu far outpaced the 400,000 *taels* a year he projected for yearly camphor revenues. See Antonio Tavares, "Crystals from the Savage Forest." 130.

Chaodong marched 1,500 of his *aiyong* men to avenge the destruction of camphor stills in the southeast of Dakekan only to lose 500 of his men and make few gains in territory.¹²² That same year, a disturbance in Chao-lan (northeast Changhua county) took place, in which Aborigines raided Chinese settlements, killed four colonists, destroyed two buildings, and later, killed several camphor workers. Lin's army mobilized to arrest the assailants, though the Chao-lan villages refused to hand over the attackers. A slow-moving counter insurgency war ensued. Over the course of several months, Lin's men, Liu himself, and reinforcements from the regular army engaged in skirmishes to extend supply lines. After penetrating Aboriginal defenses, troops and paramilitaries torched the main Chao-lan villages. Reported casualties were in the "hundreds" for both sides. The campaign ended when a Sinicized headman convinced the Chao-lan to broker a peace with Liu to "submit" to Qing authorities (British officials claimed that Liu "bought off" the rebellious villages to secure peace).¹²³ The following year, the government troops attempted to gain a foothold in the Indigenous borderlands of Yilan in northeastern Taiwan. They suffered some 400 deaths, once more with little advancement in territory.¹²⁴ In 1888, a string of attacks by the Lu-chia-wang tribe on settlements and sub-prefectural offices in the Pilam-Shuiwei area led to a major military campaign between August and October of that year. This uprising stood out in terms of its demographic composition. Local Hakka Chinese colonists, together with "civilized" Indigenes, banded with the insurgents, apparently in resistance to new tax regulations introduced by Liu's regime.¹²⁵ Aborigine flesh and severed human body parts were reportedly

¹²² James Wheeler Davidson, *The Island of Formosa*, 252.

¹²³ William Miller Speidel, "Liu Min Chu'an in Taiwan, 1884-1891," 295-99.

¹²⁴ James Wheeler Davidson, *The Island of Formosa*, 252.

¹²⁵ The campaign unfolded much like the 1886 Changhua rising, with armies breaking Indigenous defenses using incendiary assaults that razed entire villages to the ground. On this occasion, Liu even went as far as requesting support from senior Qing official Li Hongzhan and his Beiyang Fleet, which then served as one of the empire's foremost modernized naval arsenals. William Miller Speidel, "Liu Min Chu'an in Taiwan, 1884-1891," 299-303.

sold brazenly in open-air markets.¹²⁶ Fighting continued in the early 1890s. In 1891, camphor-rich districts like the Dakekan region saw “considerable loss of life,” as Indigenous raids on camphor production sites led to violent reprisals. Finally, in 1892-93, Qing troops attempted to maintain permanent frontier garrisons to keep watch over Aboriginal raiding parties. These largely failed owing to their remote placement.¹²⁷ Though Liu’s campaigns had little stabilizing effect on the frontier and only yielded modest gains in territory, they did introduce enduring patterns of frontier warfare in Taiwan.

As camphor stoves became a permanent fixture in and around Indigenous lands, competition for resources between Aborigines and Han colonists intensified, leading to violent friction. Adding to the powder keg of tense frontier relations were the centralizing imperatives of the late Qing, which needed revenues from extractive industries to achieve both fiscal and territorial integration. What emerged was a dangerous fusion of private capital and state repression that robbed Taiwan’s original inhabitants of autonomy. Attacks against camphormen or colonists became a pretext for Qing armies to assert control over formerly sovereign or semi-autonomous Indigenous groups. Assaults to “avenge” raids in camphor production districts or Han-colonized areas targeted not merely the assailants, but the entire communities from which the latter hailed. Imperial armies and their paramilitary allies employed scorched earth attacks

¹²⁶ In his account, Davidson described how “One horrible feature of the campaign against the savages was the sale by the Chinese in open market of savage flesh. Impossible as it may seem that a race with such high pretensions to civilization and religion should be guilty of such barbarity, yet such is the truth. After killing a savage, the head was commonly severed from the body and exhibited to those who were not on hand to witness the prior display of slaughter and mutilation. The body was then either divided amongst captors and eaten or sold to wealthy Chinese and even to high officials, who disposed of it in a like manner. The kidney, liver, heart, and soles of the feet were considered the most desirable portions, and were ordinarily cut up into very small pieces, boiled, and eaten somewhat in the form of soup...The Chinese profess to believe, in accordance with an old superstition, that the eating of savage flesh will give them strength and courage.” Davidson then brings up anecdotal evidence of “savage flesh” being brought downhill in baskets to “Tokoham” (Dakekan). He even claimed that the sale of Aboriginal body parts made its way as far as Amoy. See James Wheeler Davidson, *The Island of Formosa*, 254-55.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 254.

that made no distinction between civilians and belligerents. A combination of long-distance cannon fire and incendiary attacks by shock troops burnt villages to the ground and depleted support systems. The loss of territory for hunting, as well as access to food stores (usually stockpiled in village granaries), forced survivors to flee or surrender. Put simply, the late Qing state's policy in the highlands was military expansion. Every attack on Chinese camps became an invitation to push further inland – in the name of protecting camphor capital flows. And, the Japanese Empire would borrow many of these tactics in order to achieve the same strategic goal as the Qing: increased camphor production in Taiwan's highlands.

Conclusion

Over the course of nearly three centuries, Taiwan evolved from a small Dutch-held trade outpost to an indispensable Chinese-held part of a booming plastics and celluloid economy spanning the globe. This process was marked at every step by attempts to invade, displace, remove, or culturally eradicate the Indigenous presence on the island. Taiwan's plains and foothills began as a contested frontier where colonists and Natives interacted through a mixture of violent clashes and strategic accommodation through trade, recognition of Indigenous land tenure, and deployment of pacified groups to police areas on the margins of governmental control. The colonial state, whether Dutch or Qing, often stepped in to "mediate," wedging itself between both sides, further consolidating its control over a growing frontier, establishing buffer areas to mediate lowland-highland relations. Colonists and camphormen functioned as an advance guard for state penetration of highland areas – even though official imperial laws and edicts forbade them from trespassing into Indigenous lands. After the suppression of a string of revolts in the early eighteenth century, the Qing held off on further expansion through their "quarantine policy" and emphasis on what scholars have dubbed "ethnic politics." When the late

Qing state's security was threatened, leaders encouraged military expeditions and the invasion of camphor forests. Encouraged by free trade imperialists and their compradors, camphor producers operating in the grey areas or "no man's land" of Qing sovereignty compelled the imperial state to take more muscular actions to monopolize the trade and send its armies to secure a perimeter for extraction. This form of "defensive conquest," to borrow the wording of American Indian historian Philip Deloria, would become a systematized procedure as the Japanese picked up where the Qing left off in the late 1890s.¹²⁸

In revisiting the history of the "camphor zone," I aimed to show that a *distinct* mode of violence took shape over the course of three centuries, giving the Japanese a crucial legacy upon which to build on. If capital is a social relation foisted upon peoples and places by force, especially in frontier situations, then force too is a type of relation, one that is built upon a series of encounters across a succession of shifting political formations. Violence at high elevation in Taiwan had its own specific designs and features, and this chapter has sought to map these out. On the margins of "settled" or "civilized" land, the Qing (and to a slight degree the Dutch) used a mixture of slow-moving cultural absorption, the trepidations of settlers, raiding and head-taking by Indigenes (itself part of a broader system of managing territory and political relations) to justify projection of their authority into "ungoverned" territory. These strategies amplified with breadth and depth following the rise of the camphor economy. This new configuration, supported by ambitious state efforts and world consumer demand, further incentivized settlers to press further into Native lands, for imperial authorities to garrison their forces and place

¹²⁸ The term "defensive conquest" is taken from historian Philip J. Deloria's book *Indians in Unexpected Places*, in which he described how images of violent American Indians helped sustain the myth that whites in the United States were acting in self-defense when invading Native American lands. See Philip J. Deloria, *Indian in Unexpected Places*, (Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 20.

mountain settlements in their crosshairs, and for embattled Indigenes to face off against advancing colonizers.

With the camphor zone and its relations of force firmly in place, models were set for the Japanese to pursue their own primitive accumulation of capital in remote forestlands. Of course, the legacy of different colonizers in Taiwan was a convergence of methods and approaches across multiple empires; not a smooth succession from one regime to another. The end of Qing rule under Japan would be marked off as a clean break from the past, as the new Government-General did everything it could to distance itself from the island's previous imperial occupants, citing the multiple "failures" of the latter's Aborigines pacification experiments. Even whilst drawing inspiration from administrative forms and regulations elaborated under the late Qing, the Japanese for example would routinely invoke the history of violence across the Taiwan frontier as a foil to craft what it saw as a more "benevolent" and effective policy of "savage administration" (*riban*)

Out of the rubble of one defeated empire came a new project of Indigene dispossession and capitalist accumulation, one that would cement the island's place as the world's largest supplier of natural camphor for decades. But first, as the opening quote by Councilor Mochiji highlighted, the new Japanese Government-General had to confront the "hundreds of independent nations" that had honed their abilities at warding off encroaching colonizers in the camphor zone. Therefore, the early Japanese colony set its sights on putting in place a new administrative and security apparatus on the doorstep of unconquered Aboriginal lands. It is these formative years of Japanese colonial state-building following the Qing cession (1895-98) to which this dissertation now turns to.

Chapter Two - Planning the Aboriginal Pacification State: Early Japanese Rule in the Indigenous Highlands, 1895-1898

In the spring of 1895, with the signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki and their acquisition of Taiwan from the Qing Empire, Japanese policymakers inherited an unfinished colonial project of Indigenous conquest and resource extraction. Within months, they set out to complete it. That fall, just as the Japanese were beginning mop-up operations against Han Chinese partisans, the new Taiwan Government-General began contacting Indigenous groups in the borderlands straddling the camphor zone.¹ In his *Outcasts of Empire*, Paul Barclay provides a great account of these encounters, which the following analysis relies on extensively. Flanked by armed guards and local interpreters, senior Japanese colonial officials journeyed into the mountainous forestlands of northeastern Taiwan to notify the Indigenous peoples there that the Qing Empire had ceded the island to the Japanese Empire. These moments of “first contact,” as recounted by official Japanese documents, followed a common pattern. First, colonial emissaries would read a proclamation declaring that Taiwan was now in Japan’s possession, and that Aborigines were henceforth to be governed as subjects of the Japanese Empire. Strongly worded injunctions to obey the new government’s commands or face dire consequences usually followed. Japanese colonizers read these proclamations aloud to small parties of Aboriginal men and women, with one or more prominent elders present. Whether or not Indigenous groups understood these message remains unclear, as the speeches were usually translated from Japanese to Taiwanese,

¹ In May of 1895, remnants of the Qing established the “Republic of Formosa.” Though dismantled that same year, Chinese guerilla resistance continued sporadically across the plains and foothills of the island well into the early 1900s. Though many of these groups rallied around an anti-Japanese nationalism, their social origins date back to the anti-government rebellions and forms of banditry prevalent under Qing rule. For more see Tay-Sheng Wang, *Legal Reform in Taiwan under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1895-1945: The reception of Western law*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000), 107.

and then from the latter to the local Aboriginal language.² After reading their proclamation, Japanese officials would then treat their hosts with ceremonial feasts, where roast pig and liquor was served in generous amounts, and various gifts exchanged.³

Between 1895 and 1898, the Taiwan Government-General sought to control its Indigenous subjects in much of the same way emissaries handled these “first contact” encounters. Combining paternalistic “benevolence” with threats of violence, the early Japanese regime in upland Taiwan, or “Pacification-Reclamation Bureau” as it was known (formed 1896), sought to use a loose network of trade posts and frontier stations to disarm, assimilate, and ultimately subjugate Taiwan’s original inhabitants. Though short-lived and largely incapable of accomplishing much of what it set out to do, the Bureau put in place a necessary epistemological foundation that would guide future administrations tasked with “opening” Taiwan’s camphor forests for commercial exploitation. This chapter will explore the early years of Japanese rule, looking specifically at how primitive accumulation of capital in a highland context began not with violence, but with the devising of what I call the “Aboriginal pacification state.” The “Aboriginal Pacification State” refers to the ensemble of governmental mechanisms and policies which created the guiding consensus that Indigenous people could only be managed through mobilization of state violence, and not through the slow dissolution of their socio-cultural ways. Before armies and police forces targeted Indigenous livelihoods through troops and cannon fire, these were first ideologically delegitimized by a bureaucratic apparatus seeking to assert control over Native territories. This bureaucratic apparatus pumped out scores of reports on Aboriginal villages, their demographic composition, customs, modes of subsistence, trading activities, and

² This is based on descriptions of the translators who were present at a meeting between colonial officials and Jiaobanshan Atayal in September of 1895, which I summarize below. See Paul Barclay, *Outcasts of Empire*, 125.

³ See Paul Barclay, *Outcasts of Empire*, 125, for a prototypical example.

strategies for future assimilation based on these findings (among other subjects). This paper trail cast Taiwan's Indigenes as ignorant "savages" lacking the necessary subjectivity to participate in modern capitalist life. Colonizers neglected the horizontal sociality of Indigenes, choosing to see only the absence of "civilization," and not the complex world of trading, raiding, and diplomacy that allowed Indigenous people to enrich themselves, accrue political capital, and ward off colonizers. To a degree, *bukonsho* staff respected some of the protocols that had governed frontier relations in the Qing camphor zone, though only in an expedient fashion, as they aimed to permanently entrench Japanese control in areas where they established a presence. The Government-General derived from these encounters between Japanese agents and their Native interlocutors the conviction that intimidating displays of force would have to play a preponderant role in Japan's governing of its Indigenous Japanese subjects – even though they sought to assuage them with gifts and other displays of imperial "benevolence." It was on this basis that the colonial state passed foundational punitive laws and codes that criminalized Indigenous ways, even though these hoped to control the highlands using a strategy of slow-moving cultural assimilation.

In the introduction, I outlined how both Marxian and non-Marxian scholars pointed to the distinct quality of state violence in capital's encounter with Native societies. As they have pointed out, the conquest and absorption of Indigenous lands by settlers or colonizers usually unfolds as a coordinated assault on the entirety of the latter's social, political, and metaphysical relations to land, territory, and natural resources. In more concrete terms, this process usually takes the form of colonizers' refusal to take seriously Native people's systems of cultivation (deeming them to be impediments to wealth creation), their demographic occupancy of the territory itself, as well as other perceived social or moral "deficiencies" that make them "unfit" to

manage the resources concealed underneath the lands they stand on. “Resources” are another crucial piece of the puzzle, as these must also undergo discursive transformation by the state entities which seek to appropriate them. Forests, waterways, mountain valleys do not simply exist as “raw materials” that are there for the taking; an effort must be made to depict them in this light.

Before the late Qing and Japanese states saw camphor forests as products subject to taxation and destined for consumption, they were first and foremost bargaining chips in a complex economy of lowland-highland trading, as well as an indispensable part of a geography of hunting, swidening, and ritualized violence. Decoupling Indigenes from this environment in both material *and discursive* fashion was the initial backdrop against which dispossession unfolded. In other words, before being deemed restrictions on capital accumulation and viciously targeted by state violence, “pre-capitalist” forms must be cast as such by the very instruments which seek to dismantle them. In this regard, programs of cultural assimilation or the enshrining of anti-Indigenous attitudes at the level of policymaking are not merely “second-order” justifications that accompany economic motives. Rather they play a central role in the act of conquest, given they portray to arbitrary use of force as the “only solution” available to colonizers when they are faced with social formations whose internal functioning is radically antagonistic to their profit-seeking imperatives. When viewed in this light, primitive accumulation appears not simply as a violent separation of independent producers from their means of sustenance, but also and equally important, an “accumulation of differences and divisions” (to borrow Silvia Federici’s formulation) that relegate Indigenous peoples to the

lowest strata of a fixed hierarchy of “civilization” (with settler-colonizers at the top).⁴ In this chapter I treat the Pacification-Reclamation Bureau’s history with the above premise in mind by looking at the ways in which ideas of “civilizing savages” not only dovetailed with, *but directly shaped*, the modalities of colonial capitalism and the repressive apparatus used to jumpstart the accumulation process.

This dissertation is not the first to stress the important foundation laid by the Pacification-Reclamation Bureau during these early years. In his work, historian Paul Barclay discussed the *bukonsho* in light of what he calls “wet diplomacy,” a term he uses to describe the informal style of rule where Japanese officials ingratiated themselves with Indigenes through feasts, drinking rituals, and intermarriage. Barclay described “wet diplomacy” as a “mode of interaction” that “stressed particularistic, emotionally charged attachments requiring periodic renewal in the absence of administrators, courts, and policemen.”⁵ Wet diplomacy contrasts with the later machinery of governance during the pacification and post-conquest years, in which an impersonal police bureaucracy replaced personal ties between colonial officers and chiefs. Though Barclay’s theorization of a shift from “wet” to “dry” diplomacy encapsulates overarching trends in Japan’s control over the Taiwan highlands, I see the *bukonsho* as having set important legal and ideological precedents that, though couched in horizontal political relations, very much intended to solidify a regime of top-down centralized administration conducive to long-term capitalist development. Meanwhile, in her work on Japanese education policy in Aboriginal Taiwan, Kitamura Kae styled the *bukonsho* as a failed experiment, though

⁴ See Sylvia Federici, *Caliban and the Witch: Women, the body, and primitive accumulation*, (Autonomedia, 2004) 63-64. The full quote is “...accumulation of divisions and differences within the working class, whereby hierarchies built upon gender, as well as ‘race’ and age, became constitutive of class rule and the formation of the modern proletariat.”

⁵ Paul Barclay, *Outcasts of Empire*, 39.

her analysis focused more on the institutional and financial limitations which hindered its capacity to govern Indigenes. The agency she claimed also failed to assuage Aboriginal fears of incoming Japanese colonizers. Kitamura pointed out that the *bukonsho* was caught in a trap where, on the one hand, the central government faulted it for being too soft on its Aboriginal subjects, and on the other, its target audience (Indigenous people) saw its lenient methods as a cover for violent expansion.⁶ While in this chapter I draw extensively from Barclay, Kitamura, and other's analysis of the *bukonsho* years, I reorient the focus towards the problem of violence, revisiting key policies and precedents, as well as case studies, to highlight how state repression was organized around the denigration of Indigenes and systematic denial of their material ties to their mountain forests.

To fully assess the impact of the *bukonsho*, I have broken down this chapter into four parts. First, I examine the general conditions surrounding the creation of the agency, with an emphasis on the core ideological principles of "Aborigine administration" (*riban*) that emerged amidst this crucial period of imperial transfer of power. Parts two and three will examine the myriad policies regarding Indigenous acculturation and camphor production enacted by the agency. The final section shifts gears to a focused case study of the Bureau's style of governance by looking at its activities in the Yilan plains between 1896 and 1898 (appendix 2.1).⁷ Looking specifically at interactions between *bukonsho* staff and members of the Mnibu and Nan'ao Atayal groups, I examine the daily rhythms of frontier reconnaissance work, interactions at trade posts, Aboriginal raids on lowland communities, head-takings, and forms of retaliatory violence

⁶ For more see Kitamura Kae, *Nihon shokumin chika no Taiwan senjūmin kyōikushi*, 41-61. See also Paul Barclay, *Outcasts of Empire*, 39.

⁷ Yilan, or "Giran" in Japanese, was first incorporated as a sub-prefecture of Taihoku Prefecture (Taipei) in 1895. Yilan then became its own prefecture in 1897. It was reincorporated into Taihoku in 1920 and remained that way until 1945. The areas described in the later portion of this chapter now constitute the administrative unit of Yilan County.

that informed early Japanese statecraft in the camphor zone. By focusing on the mundane work of policing Indigenes, readers will get a more concrete sense of discrepancy between the agency's idealized blueprint and the concrete limitations it encountered whilst trying to implement it. In doing so, I showcase how Indigenes encountered the *bukonsho* and its staff within their own terms, and also how their refusal to accept the Japanese presence as permanent political subjection further accentuated the perceived "need" for violence.

Rewriting the Qing Legacy: Mizuno Jun, Kabayama Sukenori, and the Politics of "First Contact"

To understand the core ideological principles behind the Japanese Aboriginal pacification state, it is important to examine its moments of "first contact," as these reveal many of the assumptions Japanese colonizers shared about their Native counterparts in the immediate aftermath of the Qing defeat. As mentioned previously, Barclay has examined these encounters at great lengths. Below I revisit his retellings of these meetings to set the scene for larger analysis of the *bukonsho* regime and its policies. Japanese contact with Taiwan's Aborigines of course predated 1895. During the Taiwan expedition (1873-74), future Civilian Affairs Director Mizuno Jun, then serving as a translator to Admiral Kabayama Sukenori (later the colony's first governor), exchanged goods with Aborigines during his travels to the island.⁸ In May of 1873, Mizuno encountered a party of Atayal at Dakekan, which his contingent of armed guards initially frightened off. Two female members from this Atayal group stayed behind though, explaining that frequent ambushes and hostage-taking by Han colonists in previous years made their people

⁸ Paul Barclay, *Outcasts of Empire*, 172-73. For more see also Paul Barclay, "Tangled up in Red: Textiles, Trading Posts, and the Emergence of Indigenous Modernity in Japanese Taiwan" In Andrew D. Morris, ed., *Japanese Taiwan: Colonial Rule and its Contested Legacy*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 24-31 & 58-59. For more on Mizuno's travel to Taiwan in the mid-1870s see Hideyoshi Yagashiro (ed.), *Dairo mizuno jun sensei*, (Tokyo: Yumani Shobō, 2008), 24-31.

wary of outsiders. Mizuno eventually met the rest of the group, giving them red cloth, mirrors, rifles, and barrels of sake as a goodwill gesture.⁹ Later, in 1891, as part of a commercial survey commissioned by the Japanese Foreign Ministry, Ueno Sen'ichi, visited the Q'chi Atayal, in the mountainous region of Wulai in northeastern Taiwan. There he met chief Watan Yurō, with whom he exchanged gifts and shared a bottle of sweet potato liquor. In a later report on his trip to Q'chi, Ueno stressed that Aborigines viewed the Chinese as mortal enemies, and that Japanese could ingratiate themselves among the Indigenous people through friendship-forging drinking rituals and offers of foodstuffs, hunting supplies, and luxury items.¹⁰

With the experience gained from the Taiwan expedition and subsequent trips, Japanese officials set out from the summer of 1895 onwards to assert their sovereignty over a putatively conquered people. Two examples from the Government-General's frontier diplomacy illustrate the dynamics of early Japanese-Aborigine relations. The first came in September of 1895, when the newly appointed Industrial Section Chief Hashiguchi Bunzō and the Taipei Governor Tanaka Tsunatoku organized a summit with a group of Dakekan Atayal at Jiaobanshan to "make contact" (*sekken*). Dakekan had once been home to the main branch of Liu Mingchuan's Pacification-Reclamation Office and remained a thriving hub for camphor producers. Hoping to consolidate control over this resource-rich strategic periphery, government officials began organizing expeditions to make their presence known. On August 2, a garrison commander named Watanabe led a mission southeast of Taipei into the interior, where he met a small contingent of Aborigines (five men and two women), to whom he supplied tobacco, red cloth, silver coins, and canned mackerel. Agreeing to meet again later, the Government-General

⁹ Paul Barclay, *Outcasts of Empire*, 172-73.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 78-81.

organized another mission to Dakekan. The expedition began on September 4, with Hashiguchi and Tanaka leading the way. Accompanied by a retinue of some sixty armed guards, the two emissaries initially frightened off the Aboriginal party that they were scheduled to meet. After shedding their security detail, they were able to make contact, and on September 8th, Tanaka and Hashiguchi met with twenty-two Atayal tribespeople, representing the villages of Kashipansoan and Shinaji. At this open-air meeting, the Industrial Section head and the Governor gave several gifts to their Indigenous hosts, chief among them a large ox, and a great deal of liquor to honor the occasion. Eventually, Tanaka used interpreters to read aloud a proclamation. It notified the men and women present that the Qing were no longer in control. In addition, it stated that Aborigines were now “subjects” (*sekishi*) of imperial Japan, and that henceforth they should “exert themselves to be loyal to his majesty the emperor.”¹¹

While the summit at Dakekan took place, just across the mountains towards the east coast in Yilan, a similar initiative was under way. This time, the audience were the Mnibu Atayal, a conglomeration of villages that inhabited a large stretch of mountainous territory uphill from the Yilan Plains. A little ways south of the Mnibu were also the Nan’ao Atayal, another Aboriginal group which figured prominently in these early Japanese-Aboriginal encounters. Leading the mission was Captain Kawano Shūichiro, the newly appointed Yilan Sub-Prefectural Chief, whom Industrial Development head Hashiguchi tasked with contacting Atayal peoples. On August 26th 1895, Kawano received official Government-General instructions to practice “care and benevolence” with the Indigenous people under his jurisdiction, ostensibly to assuage whatever fears they may have had about the new Japanese administration. In early September,

¹¹ Inō Kanori (ed), *Riban shikō*, 4-5. For a more detailed summary of this encounter, see Paul Barclay, *Outcasts of Empire*, 82-83.

Kawano and his staff began approaching interpreters from the village of Dingpobuwu. Situated right near the Lanyang river, which served as the natural barrier between plains villages and mountainous hinterland, Dingpobuwu was home to a few interpreters married to Aboriginal women. There, Japanese officials met men like Chen Hao and his wife Awai, Lin He and his wife Chiyuara, as well as Chen Enlu and his wife Gao Mao.¹² By the nineteenth century, the marrying of “savage wives” (*banpu*) into plains families to allow trade across highland and lowland zones was a frequent occurrence. In the case of the Mnibu (as well as that of the Nan’ao), women often married lowland Han men to maintain commercial networks to help funnel vital supplies and luxury goods into their communities. Thanks to the work of these interpreters and their wives, Kawano was able to arrange a meeting. On November 16, at a clearing near the mountains, Kawano and his staff met with Mnibu headman Yawa Ui of Xiyanlaowashe. Also present were with seven men, five boys, and two women. The Japanese goal for the meeting was to let the Mnibu know that the island was now in Japan’s hands. They were also told that with the defeat of the Qing, the Mnibu should cease all attacks against locals. To do anything to the contrary would “invite great calamity,” Kawano warned.¹³ His party then handed over various goods and some Japanese flags. As protocol dictated, a feast followed.¹⁴

Barclay’s analysis and overview of the politics of “first contact” provide a good starting point for examining early Japanese statecraft in the Taiwan highland. His narrative focus on the disjuncture between well-armed Japanese officers and Indigenous guests inviting the latter for feasting purposes reveals the gap in cosmology and political worldview that separated both sides.

¹² Taiwan Government-General Police Bureau, *Taihokushū ribanshi* [The History of Savage Administration in Taihoku Prefecture], (Taihoku: Taiwan sūtōkufu keimukyoku, 1924), 1.

¹³ Taiwan Government-General Police Bureau, *Taihokushū ribanshi*, 1-2. For a full translation of the proclamation, as well as a more in-depth retelling of this episode, see Paul Barclay, *Outcasts of Empire*, 87-88.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

For the Atayal people at the meetings in Dakekan or Yilan, the concept of a far-flung god-emperor coming into the possession of Taiwan would have made little sense, as the exercise of sovereignty in Indigenous lands had little to do with subjection to centralized authority. The world of Taiwanese Indigenous peoples was one of horizontally arranged village confederacies, ritual groups, and martial contests over hunting grounds or head-taking. Nevertheless, the fact that the Qing were no longer in control was a crucial fact that the Japanese wished to convey. With the memory of Liu's wars of conquest fresh in the minds of many north-central Atayal groups, the Japanese regime probably felt the need to distinguish itself from the island's Qing predecessors. Yet, paradoxically, the Japanese were operating within the confines of Qing-era camphor zone structures, and therefore could have easily sounded to Aborigines very much like the previous Qing rulers. The exchange of gifts, the hiring of local interpreters, and the exhortations to be compliant subjects were all hallmarks of late Qing frontier expansion strategies. There was, however, a profound Japanese misperception of Aboriginal motives. Atayal social relations situated the exchange of alcoholic beverages, as well as the distribution of gifts or sharing of food, as part of alliance-making or dispute resolution. Such gestures in the Atayalic tradition imply a mutual recognition of equality. At no point is this act meant to signal "submission" of any sort for either party. While the Japanese viewed their written injunctions and gestures of goodwill as the consecration of new bonds between rulers and subjects, Aborigines likely viewed the Japanese as new trading partners in an existing configuration of commercial transactions with lowlanders and other nearby Indigenous polities.¹⁵

¹⁵ Barclay's *Outcasts of Empire*, as well as Kitamura's *Nihon shokumin chika no Taiwan senjūmin kyōikushi* all gesture towards this point.

Anxieties about Indigenous perceptions of Japanese rulers were not limited to these early encounters. With an active insurgency brewing in the western plains, the prospect of opening a two-front war with the island's Aborigines worried colonial administrators, as this would have stretched the Government-General's already cash-strapped purse beyond what it could handle.¹⁶ Instilling "loyalty" among Aborigines was therefore an urgent matter at the highest echelons of power. Governor-General Kabayama Sukenori recognized the vital importance of effectively communicating Japanese intentions to Indigenes. While on route to Jilong harbor in August of 1895, the month he went to take up his post as governor, Kabayama warned that failure to properly manage early interactions with Taiwan's Indigenous peoples would result in the resuscitation of racial animus on the frontier:

The advance of recent military operations against the rebels of this island have progressed, and I anticipate that suppression of these groups is within our grasp. However with the expansion of our operations to the countryside, we have not been able to guarantee that our sentries don't come into conflict with the raw savages, who of course have a completely ignorant and foolish nature. In their hearts they have a single yearning for malice, which can be restored at any given point. Namely, this [intent] can be said to be exemplified in their two hundred-year bitter animosity towards the Chinese. Perhaps, since we intend to colonize this island, it is imperative that we first teach them how to submit.¹⁷

¹⁶ The years 1896-1902 were marked by a severe uptick in anti-Japanese guerilla armies challenging the central government. A strong indicator of this can be found in records from the number of accused "bandits" in Taiwan district courts during these years. While 1895 only had 89 on trial for acts of banditry, 1896 saw that number more than double to 298. In 1899, there were 1436 individuals being tried for bandit-related actions. This number dropped to 686 in 1902, finally reaching its lowest point in 1906, with only 6 on trial. Of course, not all received guilty sentences, though the high number of such cases in courts do indicate that plains-dwelling anti-Japanese fighters were very much in the crosshairs of the Government-General's security forces at this juncture. Atrocities by the Japanese military was highly prevalent during the initial suppression of anti-Japanese partisans. Troops often razed entire villages to the ground, engaged in public torture of suspected rebels, and engaged in extra-judicial killings. For crime statistics on banditry, see Tay-Sheng Wang, *Legal Reform in Taiwan under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1895-1945*, 109. For more on the Japanese military's suppression tactics, see George Kerr, *Formosa: Licensed Revolution and the Home Rule Movement, 1895-1945*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1974), 28-29.

¹⁷ Inō Kanori (ed), *Riban shikō*, 2.

In this passage, Kabayama provided one of the foundational tropes regularly deployed by Japanese Aboriginal Affairs personnel in Taiwan: that of the resentful “savage” conditioned by centuries of Qing oppression. “Savagery” in the Japanese colonial imagination seldom appeared as a fixed category of backwardness. Rather, it was usually spoken of as a historically derived hostility born of geographic and cultural isolation. Reducing social intercourse between Han colonists and Indigenes to incessant bloody feuding, Kabayama’s statement obscured the centuries of commercial, political, and cultural exchanges that sustained Aborigines’ relations to the mountains and forests. Based on this reductionist interpretation, the new governor claimed that highland administration would require a kind of pedagogic violence; an act of “teaching submission” (*junpuku*) that matched Aborigines’ ignorance of “civilized” modes of interaction.¹⁸ These statements, though merely programmatic declarations at this point, would later materialize as repeated assaults via long-range guns and occupying armies. For now, though, seducing Indigenous elders with lofty promises of imperial subjecthood would have to do in the absence of financing for large-scale military expeditions.

By the early months of 1896, “first contact” procedure had become institutionalized. The feasting, gifting, and admonishments Hashiguchi and Kawano initiated in 1895 now served as the official template for the regime’s strategy toward Aborigines in Taiwan. How Japan was to “teach [Aborigines] to submit” remained unclear, but the rough contours of this process came into view around March of 1896, when Civilian Affairs Director Mizuno Jun drafted the Taiwan Government-General’s first comprehensive Aboriginal policy. If we recall, Mizuno traded spirits and gifts with Atayal elders during his brief stint as Kabayama’s aide in 1873. With the

¹⁸ My use of the term “pedagogic violence” is taken from Benjamin Madley’s recent book on the genocide of California Indians. See Benjamin Madley, *An American Genocide*, 127.

exchanges of the Taiwan expedition in mind, as well as those at Dakekan and Yilan in the rearview, the Civilian Affairs chief recommended the creation of a “Pacification-Reclamation Bureau” like the one Liu established in the 1880s. Mizuno’s policy would combine elements from this abortive late-Qing frontier agency with Japan’s own “civilizing” mission to propose a large-scale of project of camphor capitalist growth. Antonio Tavares provides a good translation of Mizuno’s founding vision for the *bukonsho*, which is used below. Mizuno’s proposal began with the usual calls for government exploitation of Taiwan’s natural wealth followed by dehumanization of Aborigines as violent head-hunters: “Educating the savages is the responsibility of our government. Developing the savage territory is vital for cultivating our wealth. Savages have no understanding of reason; there is no need to mention their lack of worldly knowledge. Sometimes they engage in agriculture, but mainly they roam the mountains and hunt for a living, killing and slaughter is a custom of theirs.”¹⁹ As a result, Mizuno highlighted, the government would have to begin the process of subjugating Indigenes: “The promotion of these enterprises involves making the savages submit to our government, having them acquire proper living conditions, and have them emerge from their barbaric state. *In order to conquer the savages force as well as benevolent care must be practiced at the same time* [my emphasis].”²⁰ To accomplish this, Mizuno proposed an agency modelled along the lines of Liu’s *fukenuju*, as it would promote Native assimilation and open Aboriginal lands for commercial exploitation.

Like the previous government, we must establish offices of pacification and reclamation, assemble the savage chiefs to give them wine, cloth, and other products all while striving to educate them, we will then secure their good

¹⁹ Inō Kanori (ed.), *Riban shikō*, 3-4. This translation is taken from Antoni Tavares, “Crystals from the Savage Forest,” 181.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

intentions. The felling of camphor trees, manufacture of camphor, management of forests, development of land, etc. should then proceed harmoniously.²¹

According to Mizuno's plan, the central government would first supply gifts of liquor and cloth to Aboriginal elders willing to cooperate with Japanese colonial officers. Aboriginal communities would then receive Japanese government assistance in the form of education, better "living conditions," and access to land for farming. Meanwhile, Indigenous compliance with Japanese dictates would allow camphor companies to open more forestlands for exploitation. Central to the identity of the new agency was the concept of "benevolence" (*buiku*), a term which has roots in the Confucian phraseology of the previous Qing government. Here, we see the imprint of Liu's vision of ethical statecraft at the height of the "open the mountains, pacify the savages" policy.²² Mizuno, like his Qing predecessors, believed in the transformative potential of imperial power. Benevolent and virtuous conduct by Pacification-Reclamation staff would change Aborigines' customs and sensibilities, much in the same way that the old *fukenu* imagined a slow-moving cultural transformation via exposure to Sinic ways. This however did not preclude the use of violence. Mizuno believed that benevolence alone could not guarantee successful acculturation. As the Civilian Affairs Chief made clear, "force" (*iryoku*) was also necessary to "make the savages submit to our government."²³ Mizuno's ambitious plan thus made the government's policies of capitalist accumulation co-extensive with the suppression of

²¹ Inō Kanori (ed.), *Riban shikō*, 3-4.

²² My invocation of the term "ethical statecraft" and its attendant notions of transformative imperial power is taken from historian Bradley Camp Davis' seminal book on banditry in the Sino-French borderlands of Indochina, where he examines how older Neo-Confucian discourses of subjugating "uncivilized" peoples (especially in the philosophy of Wang Yangming) cross-pollinated with late Qing and French colonial projects in highland Vietnam. See Bradley Camp Davis, *Imperial Bandits: Outlaws and Rebels in the China-Vietnam Borderlands*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2017), 15-16.

²³ Inō Kanori (ed.), *Riban shikō*, 3.

traditional Aboriginal economies, hunting, land use practices, and culture. More importantly, it intimated that the Japanese imperial government would never shy away from using violence.

In the months following Mizuno's policy proposal, the Government-General clarified the specific functions of the Pacification-Reclamation Bureau, as well as the overarching goals of its *buiku* policy. The agency's initial tasks were limited to establishing a presence along the old Qing "savage boundary" by contacting Aboriginal villages, conducting population surveys, and providing various forms of government assistance. Additional areas of jurisdiction covered by the *bukonsho*'s activities included: regulating the circulation of firearms in Aboriginal communities, restricting access to areas beyond the "savage boundary" to non-government personnel, hiring interpreters, overseeing trade posts, and compiling ethnographic data on Aboriginal languages.²⁴ Camphor was also an integral part of the agency's mandate. The March 1896 outline of its regulatory functions listed "matters pertaining to mountains, forests, and camphor production" alongside its main task of "handling benevolence and the provision of employment for savages," and "matters pertaining to the reclamation of the savage territories."²⁵ By June of 1896, on the eve of the *bukonsho* opening for business, Colonial Development Office officials had ironed out the details of the staff's camphor-related duties. As an extension of the 1895 "Regulations for the Management of Government Forests and the Camphor Industry" (discussed in detail below), station superintendents were responsible for inspecting and porting over Qing-era logging permits, registering new ones, and ensuring that permit holders conducted

²⁴ A full description of the different functions envisioned for the agency can be found in the circular titled "Fundamentals for Pacification-Reclamation Chiefs" (*bukonsho chōshin tokuyōkō*), in the *Riban shikō*. See Inō Kanori (ed.), *Riban shikō*, 13-20.

²⁵ Inō Kanori (ed.), *Riban shikō*, 11. "Providing employment" (*jusan*) appears frequently in early *bukonsho* documents. This term referred to the employing of Aborigines in infrastructural projects. The idea was part of the agency's broader assimilatory goals of instructing Indigenous the basic tenets of "industry" and how to perform work for remuneration in a capitalist economy. It is worth mentioning that during these early years, no steady "employment" of any sort was being supplied to locals by *bukonsho* offices.

their activities within designated areas. *Bukonsho* staff were also expected to assist in stopping the smuggling or production of contraband camphor, improving production methods to avoid over-exploitation, and ensuring the preservation of Indigenous land rights.²⁶

As part of its founding activities, the *bukonsho* also re-wrote the Qing legacy. Japanese frontier administrators often sought legitimacy by portraying their Chinese predecessors as inept and incompetent, blaming them for having fueled Aboriginal suspicion towards outsiders. Even while consciously modeling their policies on those of Liu's regime, the Taiwan Government-General often disavowed the gains of the latter, pointing to the preternatural hatred said to exist among Indigenes due to Chinese abuses. So entrenched was this view that, by the early twentieth century, one could not find any popular Japanese work on Taiwan that did not invoke Sino-Aboriginal violence in the camphor zone as an explanation for the difficulties Japanese colonial administrators faced in the highlands. These accounts parroted stories of Han colonists stealing land, cheating Aborigines, kidnapping and ransoming Aborigines for access to camphor forests, or using spirits to intoxicate and massacre entire Aboriginal villages.²⁷ This view first took root among *bukonsho* officials. For example, in an 1896 communiqué issued to station superintendents, the Civilian Affairs Bureau linked the failure of the previous Pacification-Reclamation Office with abuses perpetrated by the Chinese under Qing rule. The report insisted:

²⁶ Inō Kanori (ed.), *Riban shikō*, 17-19.

²⁷ A representative account can be found in Davidson's *The Island of Formosa*, where he writes of Sino-Aboriginal relations: "The aborigines made a stout resistance, but by force of arms, or by that equally effective weapon, intoxicating spirits, their lands were gradually taken from them, the denuded victims fleeing to the mountains, in whose friendly jungles peace and refuge could be found. Quite naturally, this entailed, not only on the individual but on the whole Chinese race, the undying hatred of an entire savage population... We are thus led to believe that the extreme antipathy with which the savages regarded the Chinese – a condition which has continued until the present day, and will last, we believe, as long as the two races come in contact – was due to the misdeeds of the celestial race, and that little blame should be attached to the savages." Anthropologist Shinji Ishii also puts forth a similar narrative in his 1913 "The Silent War in Formosa." He writes: "The Chinese, whose racial energy as suckers of the soil is famous, denuded the mountainous districts of their homeland. In Formosa, too, whenever they came in touch with arable soil covered with virgin forest, this was entirely cleared... not even a bush or shrub remained." See James Wheeler Davidson, *The Island of Formosa*, 67. See also Shinji Ishii, "The Silent War in Formosa," 2.

“Because Qing officials acted greedily, and handled the raw savages in a deceitful way, abuses were perpetrated, causing the savages to look upon the Chinese as their sworn enemies.”²⁸

How then was the new Japanese agency to distinguish itself from the island’s Qing rulers? Hints appeared in a seven-point program containing directives. The government recommended that Pacification-Reclamation personnel communicate to Aborigines in order to effectively perform their duties and avoid the mistakes of the Qing. The list, issued in the spring of 1896, read:

1. The Qing Empire has been defeated, and this island is now in our possession.
2. Our Majesty the Emperor will bestow his love and affection (*aibu*) to both Aborigines and the Chinese with unquestionable fairness and impartiality (*isshi dōjin*).
3. The new Pacification-Reclamation Bureau, just like the previous Pacification-Reclamation Office, will comport itself in a fair and unbiased way.
4. Our imperial government will reward those who uphold the principle of cultivating the land. Those who oppose this, and engage in killings, will receive severe punishments.
5. When chiefs report harm done by their community members, we will not harm the offenders and handle the matter in an appropriate manner.
6. In order to promote compliance with government officials, we will endeavor to provide rewards, but also enforce punishments.
7. We will promote friendly mutual relations between the savage tribes. By no means is violence and the practice of unprovoked assaults acceptable.²⁹

Here the *bukonsho* revealed its central public relations strategy. First, staff would assure Indigenes that the Qing were no longer in control and that a peaceful transfer of power had taken place. Second, they would admonish Aborigines to embrace Japanese subjecthood and refrain from violence. However, should Aborigines reject imperial protection and “engage in

²⁸ Inō Kanori (ed.), *Riban shikō*, 13.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 14-15.

killings” (a euphemism for ritual head-taking), the Japanese state gave its agents license to use force. In addition to all these injunctions, stations were to discourage Aboriginal land tenure, as evidenced here in the idea that those who “cultivate the land” would be rewarded. Finally, the Taiwan Government-General expected superintendents and their assistants to involve themselves in Aborigines’ internal affairs, with the aim of replacing their acephalic forms of political decision-making with centralized bureaucratic administration.

With this blueprint in mind, from June to August of 1896, the Government-General formally took up Mizuno’s recommendations to “set-up offices of pacification” and established eleven *bukonsho* stations near Aboriginal Territory, right where Liu had set up his agency.³⁰ The eleven locations were: Balisha, Dakekan, Wushizan, Nanzhuang, Linyipu, Dahu, Dongshijiao, Henchung, Puli, Banshōryō, and Taidong (see appendix 2.2).³¹ By 1897, there were seventeen associated sub-stations, along with smaller “dispatch stations” in more remote areas.³² In addition to their proximity to Aboriginal areas, eight of these stations (Dakekan, Wushizan, Balisha, Nanzhuang, Dongshijiao, Dahu, Puli, and Linyipu) were located in the heart of the camphor zone. However, the new Pacification-Reclamation Bureau was not in any shape to bring Taiwan’s mountainous forestlands under Japanese control. The total personnel for all eleven stations consisted of only eight station superintendents (*shuji*), twenty-two engineers (*giju*), twenty-two administrative assistants (*shujiho*), and eleven interpreters (*tsūyakusei*).³³ Each station had one superintendent, two administrative assistants,

³⁰ Inō Kanori (ed.), *Riban shikō*, 21-22.

³¹ This map is adapted from Kitamura Kae, *Nihon shokuminchi chika no Taiwan senjūmin kyōikushi*, 43.

³² Inō Kanori (ed.), *Riban shikō*, 46-47.

³³ *Ibid.*, 11.

two engineers, and one interpreter. Later, this organizational structure was simplified, and all staff besides the superintendent had their titles changed to “administrative assistant.”³⁴

How fifty-five individuals were to govern more than one hundred thousand ethnolinguistically diverse people over half the island of Taiwan was unclear.³⁵ Indeed, the agency received almost no support from police forces. Initial plans for the *bukonsho* envisioned close cooperation with regular police, but budgetary shortfalls made this connection all but impossible. On June 20 1895, just three days after the creation of the Taiwan Government-General, the head of the new Police Section of the Colonial Home Ministry consulted Mizuno Jun on the “urgent matter” of creating an island-wide police force. The initial plan called for one officer per two thousand inhabitants, and one police captain per ten officers. For Indigenous areas, the plan was to allocate two hundred officers and twenty captains across these territories. Government officials hoped that police would “allow for influence over the raw savages,” assisting overall assimilation efforts.³⁶ The plan was slightly modified and approved shortly after on June 23. Citing financial issues, the Government-General reduced the total number of police on the island to 1,700 officers and 170 captains. The government brought police from the Japanese mainland to fulfill the staffing order. In August however, the Finance Ministry stepped in, stating that the Military Office was requesting the creation of army police units (*kempei*) to assist in ongoing anti-insurgent operations in the plains. In October, the colonial government established a police force consisting of only 700 officers and seventy police captains (a far smaller number than initially proposed).³⁷ These reductions

³⁴ For a full year-by-year breakdown of every station, their staff, as well as the official job titles for each member see the Taiwan Government-General Personnel Directory System, <http://who.ith.sinica.edu.tw/mpView.action>, (last accessed September 2nd, 2018).

³⁵ Paul Barclay also makes this point in his “Tangled up in Red.”

³⁶ Kitamura Kae, *Nihon shokuminchi chika no Taiwan senjūmin kyōikushi*, 35.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 35.

starved the Pacification-Reclamation Bureau of the meagre police power already present on the island. While the original plan for the *bukonsho* was to garrison officers at stations, the government did not implement these measures, though frontier personnel did have the ability to request police or military support from prefects.

At the mercy of budget cuts and the situation on the plains, the *bukonsho* failed as a governing body – in much of the same way Liu’s *fukenu* quickly faltered. Nevertheless, even with limited financial and administrative resources, the agency still managed to lay the institutional groundwork needed to initiate the capitalist transformation of the camphor zone. The next section will demonstrate how foundational ideas of “savagery” put forth by the Bureau not only promoted the transformation of Indigenous forests into export commodities, but also how these processes served to incentivize and promote the indiscriminate use of violence against the island’s Native occupants.

Making Imperial Subjects: An overview of Pacification-Reclamation policies

As the *bukonsho* opened its stations in the summer of 1896, Aborigines began making their presence felt at these small government outposts, though not for the reasons colonial planners had hoped. For most of their short-lived existence, Pacification-Reclamation stations largely served as trade hubs where Indigenes could procure gunpowder, salt, firearms, cloth, and a variety of household objects. Aborigines often brought handicrafts, wild game, and other forest products to exchange with merchants from lowland villages, who traded at stations with government authorization. Stations also regularly feasted Indigenous parties with liquor and food as part of their co-option strategy. In the process, *bukonsho* staff hoped to “admonish” Indigenes about the horrors of head-taking and the importance of shedding their dependence on hunting and swidden agriculture. Trade was deemed a vital weapon, as senior officials hoped that

exposure to “peaceful” economic intercourse would break down the social-cultural fabric of Aboriginal peoples and put them on the fast track towards assimilation. Station superintendents and assistants also went on regular expeditions uphill to contact nearby Aboriginal villages, conduct censuses, and disseminate word of Japan’s control of the island. Station engineers even assisted the military or police in conducting surveys for railroad construction and infrastructure-building.³⁸ Indispensable to station life and its activities were interpreters, whose linguistic skills far outclassed those of recently arrived Japanese staff. Though the Colonial Development Office wanted to replace Han and Aboriginal intermediaries with salaried Japanese translators, these efforts largely failed.³⁹ Later, mixed marriages created new avenues for cultural brokerage, as Aboriginal women married to Japanese police officers often helped to negotiate alliances with local chiefs and facilitate communication through translation work.⁴⁰

³⁸ One instance of this type of survey work took place in January of 1897 when *bukonsho* engineer Hosoya Jūtarō accompanied military engineer Captain Kasagawa on an exploratory mission to inquire about the possibility of building a railway from Su’ao to Jilai in Yilan sub-prefecture. The expedition took them deep in Nan’ao territory, where they exchanged gifts with residents of Buta village. Not all surveys of this sort were successful though. In January of the same year, Captain Fukahori Yasuichirō set out on a mission to investigate a possible railway from Puli to Hualian. Fukahori’s team disappeared in March, supposedly killed by local Sediq tribesmen. The incident marked one of the first high-profile Indigenous attacks on Japanese colonial officials and led to an imposition of a trade embargo that would affect local villagers until at least 1903. For more on the Yilan survey, see Taiwan Government-General, *Taihokushū ribanshi*, 31-35. For an overview of the Fukahori expedition see Fujisaki Seinosuke’s *Taiwan no banzoku* [The Savage Tribes of Taiwan], (Tokyo: Kokushi kankōkai, 1930), 679.

³⁹ While the *bukonsho* did try to break the influence of interpreters and other bi-cultural figures, the agency’s staff never came remotely close to the latter’s level of linguistic proficiency. *Bukonsho* stations did have translators on staff, but the title was replaced by the post of administrative assistant (*shujiho*) in the closing years. Though the *bukonsho* did begin compiling dictionaries and phrasebooks as part of its regular duties, these lacked systematicity, and in no way could be used for instructional purposes. Later, the colonial state did provide Indigenous language exams, which police officers could take for a salary increase. Given the preponderance of interpreters on the frontier however, there was never much impetus for colonial personnel to learn Aboriginal languages in a sustained way. See Paul Barclay, *Outcasts of Empire*, 134. For some of the earliest mentions of the agency’s dictionary-compiling directives to station staff see Inō Kanori (ed), *Riban shikō*, 45-46.

⁴⁰ The politics of mixed Aboriginal-Japanese marriages is a subject that is beyond the scope of this dissertation and has also received exhaustive treatment elsewhere. At the height of “wet diplomacy” in the highlands, Aboriginal women became indispensable power brokers between police officers and local chieftains. In return for marrying off their daughters, elders received a generous dowry payment (usually a mixture of food, liquor, and luxury items). Following this, colonial officers gained safe passage into the territories affiliated with their new brides, giving them the ability to expand defensive infrastructure, and even conscript local Aboriginal men into construction efforts. Marriages though often fell apart, as police officers moved on from their frontier assignments, leaving their Indigenous wives behind. This was a source of tension that could sometimes result in outbursts of violence. For more see Kirsten Ziomek (2015), “The Possibility of Liminal Colonial Subjecthood: Yayutz Bleyh and the Search

For Aborigines, contact with Pacification-Reclamation staff probably did not feel like the “civilizing process” Japanese officials imagined. As a continuation of lowland-highland trade, stations would have largely been viewed by Indigenes as commercial junctions where “men of influence” (*seiryokusha*) and “chiefs” (*tōmoku*) from nearby communities could accumulate goods and enhance their prestige. Among northeastern Atayal, Sediq, or Truku groups, leadership status could be determined by shifting factors such as hunting abilities or the number of heads collected. Political power could also be accrued by monopolizing flows of lowland commodities, especially with the practice of out-marrying daughters to lowland men.⁴¹ With these socio-political practices firmly entrenched, it is unlikely that routine trips to stations would have eroded allegiances to ancestral ways. Far from becoming the far-reaching colonial social engineers the leadership envisioned, Pacification-Reclamation superintendents and their administrative personnel merely superimposed themselves on an existing political geography of peoples and trade networks. Still, the *bukonsho* built the institutional rudiments of a pacification state that later Aborigine Affairs departments marshalled with more effective results.

With the slow trickle of Aborigines regularly making the trek to *bukonsho* stations, the agency turned to implementing its long-term goals of transforming Indigenes into compliant imperial subjects. The Bureau’s first order of business was to seal off the “savage boundary” from outsiders, in much of the same way that Qing officials had done. Beginning in March of

for Subaltern Histories in the Japanese Empire.” *Critical Asian Studies*, vol. 47 no. 1, 123-50. See also Paul Barclay, “Cultural Brokerage and Interethnic Marriage in Colonial Taiwan: Japanese Subalterns and their Aborigine Wives, 1895-1930,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 64, no. 2 (May 2005): 323-360,

⁴¹ Marrying off Aboriginal concubines to lowland men also increased with growing demand for cross border trade and interpretation. Anthropologist Mori Ushinosuke recorded that bride prices for Atayal villages often involved red skirts, cattle, pigs, guns, daggers, farming tools, and even land itself. These were public sanctioned unions which enhanced chiefly prestige. By interposing themselves between remote villages and foreign delegates, Atayal elders could monopolize “outflows of mountain products and inflows of imported prestige goods.” See Paul Barclay, *Outcasts of Empire*, 128.

1896, the Civilian Affairs Bureau circulated an order to regional heads highlighting the necessity of monitoring the porous boundary separating upland Native territory from the insurgent-ridden plains. By the fall, these calls received legal weight. Under Ordinance Number Thirty, which the Japanese colonial government passed in September, all persons wishing to enter “savage territory” now required special permission from district authorities or risk a fine and possible imprisonment.⁴² Henceforth, private persons wishing to conduct affairs in Aboriginal areas needed proper documentation. Though at this point a fictive perimeter largely confined to the imagination of map-makers, this measure marked the official cordoning off of Aboriginal districts as a “Special Administrative Zone” (*tokubetsu kōsei kuiki*) not subject to the laws and regulations devised for Han-populated areas of Taiwan.⁴³ By Granting the *bukonsho* control over access to the highlands, the Taiwan-Government General began a slow process of vesting power over Indigenous lives in the hands of frontier technocrats, a move which later crystallized in the complete police takeover of Native administration by the early 1900s. While the government framed this policy as a protective measure to prevent Han-Aboriginal conflict and illicit logging by camphormen, the agency’s border control policy ultimately aimed at containment and isolation, and not “protection” from Han insurgents.

As station staff hoped to keep tabs on the movement of people in and out of Aborigine areas, it also sought to monitor the type of goods being trafficked within these poorly supervised spaces. Chief among these were firearms and gunpowder, which the Government-General feared were being smuggled *en masse* into the highlands. Firearms had always been readily available to Aborigines via trade with lowlanders. This worried Pacification heads. They feared profit-

⁴² Inō Kanori (ed), *Riban shikō*, 6-9. See also Takekoshi, *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, 211.

⁴³ Matsuda Kyōko, *Teikoku no shikō*, 4-5.

seeking interpreters would supply contraband goods and help Indigenes stockpile weapons. In his 1899 report on the Yilan camphor industry, engineer Saitō Kenji warned: “The cooked savages, who trade with raw savages as interpreters, are not a hindrance, but there is a negative aspect. This is the illegal sale of gunpowder and bullets, which yield little profits and, for the raw savages, are purchased and then used for killings.”⁴⁴ Interpreters aside, the expansion of the “savage boundary” both under the late Qing and Japanese regimes also brought new opportunities for Indigenes to secure rifles. Paramilitaries stationed along the frontier were often ambushed and had their rifles taken by Aboriginal warriors. Many Indigenous groups had secured good caches of weapons following the withdrawal of the Qing troops on the eve of the Japanese acquisition of Taiwan. In addition, one report describes how hired paramilitaries often used their rifles to engage in bartering: “the braves stationed at various frontier posts disposed, under stress of circumstances, of their rifles in a most reckless manner, bartering them with the savages.”⁴⁵

Restricting the use of firearms among Aborigines was a top priority for station personnel. The bureau issued its first round of regulations in April of 1897, recommending that the distribution of rifles and gunpowder to Aborigines be limited. Henceforth, all Aborigines wishing to acquire rifles or ammunition would have to visit a *bukonsho* station and deal with approved merchants. Police and other law enforcement could also “supply up to 3 *hyakume* (about 375 grams) of gunpowder or 500 percussion caps/fuses.”⁴⁶ Anything above those levels required approval from the prefect. Meanwhile, station officers were to report on the distribution

⁴⁴ See Saitō Kenji, “Taiwan shōnō no seizō,” 15-16.

⁴⁵ Shinji Ishii, “The Silent War in Formosa,” 7. Pei’s unpublished dissertation elaborates on firearms trade and smuggling at great lengths. I discuss this in detail in light of her findings in chapter four.

⁴⁶ Inō Kanori (ed), *Riban shikō*, 41-42. See also Paul Barclay, *Outcasts of Empire*, 93.

of weapons along the border to regular police and *gendarmes*.⁴⁷ The goal of these regulations was not only to assert control over a porous frontier, but also to slowly move Aborigines from a hunting-based economy and to sedentary farming. Hunting remained an important staple for Aborigines. For centuries, they hunted wild game to supplement their slash-and-burn agriculture. For the Government-General though, continued reliance on hunting was a mark of “savagery,” as well as a sign of Aborigines’ refusal to assimilate. Officials even believed that Indigenes, due to a perceived lack of modern reason, were not even fully aware of the lethality of firearms. As one Pacification-Reclamation Bureau staff member put it:

[Station chiefs] must supply pikes, hoes, sickles and other agricultural implements to teach them [the Aborigines] how to farm. At the same time, they will instruct them that rifles and blades are strictly for hunting and be taught the principle that such objects can harm other human beings. Pacification-Reclamation Chiefs must implant in their minds such ideas all while sweeping away their barbaric customs and destroy that which has been dyed into their minds since the time of their ancestors.⁴⁸

At this juncture however, the Bureau could not go after Aboriginal guns. Later, as the government ratcheted up pacification campaigns, “regulation” turned into “confiscation” (*ōshu*), as attacks against camphor workers or police led to a weapons ban on recalcitrant tribes. There were already hints of this future policy in the immediate aftermath of these early regulations. Nagano Yoshitora, who became Puli Pacification station superintendent in the fall of 1897, suggested that a ban on guns and ammunition be imposed on the Atayal in the northeast on account of their “bloodthirsty” nature.⁴⁹ Such attitudes towards Atayalic and other north central Taiwan Indigenous peoples would eventually lead to large-scale weapons seizures.

⁴⁷ Inō Kanori (ed), *Riban shikō*, 42 & 49. The handling of firearms distribution is increasingly mentioned in various documents outlining the “official duties” of *bukonsho* personnel during this period.

⁴⁸ Inō Kanori (ed), *Riban shikō*, 24.

⁴⁹ Paul Barclay, *Outcasts of Empire*, 94.

A late colonial figure from the *Riban gaikyō* [Outline of Savage Administration], put the total number of confiscated guns at 32,412 between 1895 and 1937. Though it is unclear whether weapons seizures took place during the *bukonsho* years (1896-1898), confiscations increased during the later years of military pacification. For example, in 1912, at the height of Sakuma Samata's Five-Year Plan, 14,637 guns were seized by Japanese forces during clashes with the Truku people.⁵⁰ Pei-Hsi Lin's unpublished dissertation on Indigenous uses of firearms casts doubt on these figures though (both the 1912 figure and the general statistics found in colonial sources), claiming that they were either inflated, or that Indigenes successfully concealed large numbers of weapons. She wrote: "the armaments impact of pacification and confiscation was very low indeed, at the end of the period the mountain indigenes still held an enormous number of firearms, many of these appear to have belonged to an advanced category for that period, (Mauser, Snider) and a disproportionate number were in the hands of these headhunting and hunting groups that were causing most trouble for the Japanese throughout the whole period."⁵¹ Regardless of the overall accuracy of government gun seizure data, the *bukonsho* established a

⁵⁰ The 32,000 figure is based on the years 1895-1937. Taiwan Government General, *Riban gaikyō* [Outline of Savage Administration], Taihoku-shi: Taiwan Sōtokufu Keimukyoku Ribanka, 1939), 70.

⁵¹ Pei goes into more depth here: "Moreover, in Chen Tsung-Jen's research and findings, the number of the male mountain indigenes was 30,129 and the number of firearms that the Taiwan Sotokufu [Government-General] collected and confiscated was 31, 579 in the much later year of 1928, which certainly indicates that if every male indigene is reported having had at least one gun, then the confiscation for the years 1910-1914, during the "Five Year Indigenous Management Scheme" (Sakuma's "Five-Year Plan") was not effected very fully, throwing some doubts on the Japanese confiscation figure and thus on all of the officially-generated figures. Shizue Fuji also suggested that by the year of 1929, most of the mountain indigenes did not possess firearms and only 354 firearms were confiscated. Nevertheless, there lies the central point that the number of firearms that were not seized by the Japanese police prior to 1928 and were clearly hidden by the mountain indigenes might be even larger than the number suggested here, as some mountain indigenous rebellions continued to break out to the 1930s. So very clearly the armaments impact of pacification and confiscation was very low indeed, at the end of the period the mountain indigenes still held an enormous number of firearms, many of these appear to have belonged to an advanced category for that period, (Mauser, Snider) and a disproportionate number were in the hands of these headhunting and hunting groups that were causing most trouble for the Japanese throughout the whole period." See Pei-Hsi Lin, "Firearms, Technology and Culture," 241.

policy of disarming Aborigines which, in the end, allowed future encroachment and occupation of Indigenous lands by weakening Aboriginal abilities to resist with firearms.

As *bukonsho* station employees tried to keep tabs on the guns and people moving across the camphor zone, the agency's staff made more meaningful gains in the realm of trade. Most Indigenous who made the journey downhill to stations did so for purposes of bartering and commerce. Indigenous parties traded yams, taros, deer horns, and skins for commodities like salt, liquor, red cloth, and of course, ammunition and firearms. Among the most prized items sought out at *bukonsho* station was salt, used in game meat preservation. Since stations could be a few days trek from their villages, Aborigines tended to camp on or near station grounds when making the journey.⁵² Overnight stays often resulted in station superintendents feasting Indigenous visitors. During such visits the *bukonsho* tried to do the bulk of its assimilatory work. Adjacent to stations were experimental agricultural plots with farm implements where visitors could learn sedentary cultivation skills. On any given day, Pacification office staff would lecture Native guests, "admonishing" them to abandon their "evil ways," take up "respectable occupations," and eradicate ancestral superstitions. *Bukonsho* staff also focused on Aborigines' dress, eating habits, and general comportment.⁵³ Hoping changes in outward appearance or demeanor would translate into internal transformation, the bureau provided regular lessons on "etiquette." These ranged from teaching Japanese-style courtesies and respect to staff, to learning how to eat with chopsticks or "rising early to wash one's face."⁵⁴ Station personnel believed that, because Indigenous "customs" lent themselves to deference towards chiefly authority, it would not be

⁵² Shinji Ishi's report "The Silent War in Formosa," though published long after the *bukonsho*'s demise, likens trade activities around frontier outposts as a large "village fair" where people would trade, cook their own food, and camp out overnight. It is safe to assume that Aboriginal visits to *bukonsho* stations fit this description in some capacity. See Shinji Ishii, *The Silent War in Formosa*, 11.

⁵³ Inō Kanori (ed), *Riban shikō*, 101.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 102.

difficult to inculcate loyalty towards Japanese officialdom. As one official naively put it: “they have this beautiful custom of paying respect to their chiefs. Because we could use such a disposition, it shouldn’t be difficult to instill a sense of proper etiquette.”⁵⁵

In addition to facilitating trade, *bukonsho* stations supplied “gifts,” food rations, farm implements, household objects, and other “necessities” as part of their mandate of providing “benevolence.” At its core, Bureau leaders believed that Aborigines needed to improve their material circumstances before any substantive change of mentality could take place. One plan pitched at a consultative assembly of *bukonsho* heads in April of 1897 recommended that stations establish vocational training programs where young Aboriginal boys would learn handicraft production, while girls would learn weaving.⁵⁶ Indigenes would learn to produce commodities for exchange at trade outposts, earn currency, and develop reward systems that encouraged behavior “fit” for a market-based economy. *Bukonsho* officials feared though that in providing easy access to modern goods, Aborigines were developing a taste for luxury, not capitalist industry. A report issued by *bukonsho* staff from Linyipu station reveals the elaborate regulations devised to avoid distributing goods in a way that could be inimical to the “civilizing” process. Under the heading “the practice of providing goods to the savages” (*butsuhin kyūyo*), a Linyipu station manager warned his compatriots:

Supplying goods to savages is something that should be done with caution. Having no thought or consideration can lead to aimlessness. When making the decision to bestow gifts to savages, each village must be rewarded, as this can lead to perceptions of unfairness, create laziness, or create grudges that in the long run will be difficult to manage...One should not give luxurious items as well, nor in any way should we respond to solicitations. When we receive demands from the savages, anything outside the strict necessities are not permitted.

⁵⁵ Inō Kanori (ed), *Riban shikō*, 102.

⁵⁶ Taiwan Government-General, *Taihokushū ribanshi*, 48.

In response to these concerns, Linyipu station officials divided trade goods into seven categories, assigning varying degrees of importance, as well as restrictions, on how each could be doled out. Categories one through three revolved around items that encouraged general household or agrarian production. These included seedlings, digging/plowing instruments (axes, hoes, crossed hoe, pickaxe, etc), sire/sow pigs, hatchets, scissors, needles, and other items considered indispensable for household survival. Other items deemed “directly productive” among these three categories included: hand towels, stone slate, chopsticks, Japanese flags, and musical instruments.⁵⁷ Category four pertained to experimental goods (kettles, folding fans, spoons, candlesticks) and anything that would ameliorate Aborigines’ level of “intellect” (*chishiki*) or “sense of aesthetic refinement” (*bijutsuhin*). Then came “vital necessities” like meat, cloth, and salt. Category six included decorative items (colored buttons, floral arrangements, furs). The final category was “restricted goods,” mainly “bullets and rifles and things of the sort” that were “connected to the maintenance of their barbaric customs (*banpū iji*) and can be used to inflict harm.”⁵⁸ The different categories were tiered in terms of their distribution. Goods listed under category one were considered the most suitable for immediate handout, while those under two through four could be given on a gradual basis. The last categories were heavily restricted (especially number seven) and would only be available with the introduction of steady jobs, currency, roads, and other infrastructure to sustain large-scale commerce in the highlands. Guns, however, would be allocated exclusively to “savage auxiliaries” (*banhei*) conscripted along the line.⁵⁹ As this breakdown of goods and their distribution protocols suggest, the *bukonsho*

⁵⁷ Inō Kanori (ed), *Riban shikō*, 103.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 104.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

believed the introduction of modern commodities could reshape not just Aboriginal households or diets, but productive and laboring relations as such.

As an extension of its trade and education policies, the Bureau organized travel tours (*kankō*) to the metropole. Their objective was to showcase the “superiority” of Japanese living conditions, infrastructure, military technologies, and agricultural productivity. Unlike the regular visits Aborigines made to *bukonsho* stations, sightseeing trips targeted Aboriginal leaders, whom officials believed could assist in the “civilizing” process by sharing their impressions of life in Japan with their communities. The first of these major visits took place in August of 1897. Under the guise of “educating the savages,” *bukonsho* staff selected thirteen prominent men from the Atayal, Tsalisen, Tsou, and Bunun tribes to visit military and agricultural sites across Japan. The trip, which lasted for twenty-nine days, included a range of activities. Aborigines visited factories and farming communities, where they learned about agricultural production, machine tools, and capitalist production.⁶⁰ For the organizers, the cultural “shock and awe” of Japan’s industries, gleaming cities, and model farm villages would lay bare the gap in material conditions separating colonizers from the colonized. They hoped that such experiences would convince the thirteen elders to help their communities shed traditional lifeways and pursue the Japanese path. As one official put it during a briefing to the Aboriginal party before departure:

More importantly, you will gaze upon the products of culture in *naichi* and will encounter things that we believe will surprise you and exceed what you can imagine in your mountainous homeland. But as you gaze upon this progress, and this level of prosperity, all of this is because we Japanese people, once upon a time, also observed the custom of taking one’s head in battle as a war trophy but have since then decisively reformed ourselves by submitting to the way of heaven and humanity. This is the result of continual study. You savages, who live in the deep recesses of the mountains, can also submit to the way of heaven and humanity by studying diligently, and can reach the same level of prosperity as

⁶⁰ Inō Kanori (ed), *Riban shikō*, 53.

naichi...What is most important on this occasion is that you observe the conditions in *naichi*, and as you take in these sights you must study greatly all at once. If you strive to not deviate from the way of heaven and humanity, there is no doubt that heaven will assist in prospering.⁶¹

Equating Indigenous head-taking with the martial traditions of samurai, the Government-General invoked Japan's own "feudal" past as a testament to the possibility of cultural transformation. Such a transformation though, as these exhortations highlighted, was contingent on cessation of all ritualized violence. Exposure to Meiji Japan's modernity and wealth was only the tip of the iceberg.

Also prominent during the 1897 trip were visits to multiple army barracks, where the Japanese Empire's arsenal was on full display. Echoing Governor Kabayama and Civilian Director Mizuno's intimations about the use of force when handling Indigenes, the trip organizers clearly hoped that such displays of military power would deter future Indigenous resistance. In his reflections on the purpose of this visit, one official opined: "We can drive them [the Aborigines] into a panic by making them aware of the situation in *naichi* (the Japanese mainland), the vastness of our empire, and our military might. Surely, if we take them sightseeing in the mainland [the home islands], over a period of five to six years, they will not want to fight us. Once we capture their hearts with the might of their empire, all while striving to educate them with the principle of benevolence in mind, there is no doubt that these simple-minded savages can be easily influenced."⁶² Ironically, these military displays appear to have had the opposite effect, as the Aborigines present wondered why the Japanese forbade them from having weapons while the latter enjoyed a seemingly inexhaustible supply. One member of the

⁶¹ Inō Kanori (ed), *Riban shikō*, 54.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 54.

traveling party, a young Atayal man whose Japanese name was Taimo Miseru, complained to an interpreter on the eve of his return to Taiwan: “Why in a time of peace are you so busy making weapons? We were shown cannon taken from the Qing and told about them proudly in detail. I wondered why it was that the Japanese were engaged in producing so many weapons but distributing them only to their own underlings, and not allowing us to trade in them.”⁶³ Whether on station grounds or at the heart of the empire, Aborigines had their own perceptions of Japanese colonizers. Upon their return home, “men of influence” like Taimo likely described in detail their time in *naichi*, though not necessarily with the intention of urging fellow community members to abandon what the elders taught, but perhaps to warn them that the uniformed Japanese in their midst were well-armed invaders who had every intention of seizing their lands.

The *bukonsho* premised much of its work on the mistaken notion that Aboriginal social, economic, and cultural forms would wither away with the introduction of modern ways and exposure to “benevolent” government. Of course, the naïve belief that “savages” would prostrate themselves when faced with consumer goods and advanced technologies was not exclusive to *bukonsho* thinking, but a deeply entrenched stereotype. Just a few years before the colonization of Taiwan, Meiji Japan’s leading intellectual, Fukuzawa Yukichi, wrote disparagingly of “primitive man” as “unable to master his own situation; he cowers before the forces of nature and is dependent on the favor of others, or on the chance vagaries of nature.”⁶⁴ Drawing from

⁶³ Matsuda Kyōko, “‘Naichi’ kankō’ to iu tōchi gihō: 1897 nen no Taiwan genjūmin no ‘naichi’ kankō o megutte,” *Akademia: Jinbun, shizen kagaku hen dai 5 gō* (Nanzan daigaku, January 2013), 87-88. Matsuda’s book *Teikoku no shikō* and Kirsten Ziomek’s *Lost Histories* also devote attention to these travel tours. Another great introduction to these travel tours can be found in Leo Ching, “Savage Construction and Civility Making: Japanese Colonialism and Taiwanese Aboriginal Representation,” *Positions: east asia cultures critique* 8:3 (Winter 2000): 795-818. Translation of this quote is taken from Jordan Sand, “Imperial Tokyo as a Contact Zone: The Metropolitan Tours of Taiwanese Aborigines, 1897-1941,” *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, 12:10, 4 (March 2014), <https://apjff.org/2014/12/10/Jordan-Sand/4089/article.html>. Sand also provides a detailed breakdown of the many imperial tours organized after 1897.

⁶⁴ Fukuzawa Yukichi, David A. Dilworth & G. Cameron Hurst III (trans.), *An Outline of a Theory of Civilization*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 18.

prevailing images of “savages” as materially-deprived beings lacking the cultural foundation and material surpluses to climb the civilizational ladder, government officials clung to hopes that Japanese “civilization” would speak for itself, and that the conquest of the highlands would require no significant military expenditure. This fantasy of a non-violent transformation from “savage to civilized” never materialized. As colonial authorities attempted to bring the camphor trade under control, Indigenous attacks along the frontier increased, shattering hopes that the diplomacy of “benevolence,” feasts, and trade goods would transform Aborigines. As the impatience of camphor capitalists increasingly began weighing on a revenue-hungry colonial state, Pacification-Reclamation superintendents devised repressive strategies for safeguarding forest tracts and punishing Aborigines who attacked camphor stoves.

*Japanese Property, Chinese Labor, Aboriginal Land: the making of an expropriatory regime*⁶⁵

As the Pacification-Reclamation Bureau planned to isolate, disarm, and acculturate Aborigines, the Government-General invested a great deal of energy in developing the camphor economy. At its core, assimilation was both a cultural *and economic* project. Preparing and acclimatizing Indigenous peoples for the introduction of capitalist-style industries and social relations was paramount if camphor was to flow downhill to major ports in large, lucrative quantities. The schemes to open trade posts, provide vocational training, send elders to *naichi*, and teach Japanese “etiquette” were part of a larger structure of invasion meant to minimize, if not completely eradicate, Aborigine resistance to the growing presence of loggers, camphor distillers, and security forces.⁶⁶ While administrators attempted to erase Indigenous modes of

⁶⁵ This sub-heading is a nod to the following passage from Patrick Wolfe’s *Traces of History*: “black people’s labour to red people’s land producing the white man’s property – a primitive accumulation if ever there was one.” See Patrick Wolfe, *Traces of History: Elementary Structures of Race*, (Verso, 2016), 3.

⁶⁶ Here I am loosely borrowing Wolfe’s often quoted insight that invasion in settler-colonial contexts is a structure, and not merely an event.

life, colonial authorities also busied themselves with the commercialization of Native lands and forest resources. Given the “protective” mandate of the *bukonsho*, as well as the lessons inherited from the Qing, the Government-General needed to occupy the highlands in a way commensurate with the existing realities of the camphor zone. State officials settled on the following model: All “undeclared” Aboriginal forestland would become government property, to be worked by Chinese camphor labor, who in turn would generate tax revenues. While Indigenous ownership could be recognized in legal terms, the resources *on the land itself* could be privatized by issuing government permits to camphor producers. Given the exhaustible nature of the tree, as well as the conflict unfettered exploitation could cause, regulatory checks were needed. This amounted to a distinct type of expropriatory regime, one in which dispossession proceeded not from the rapid seizure of territory, but from the slow takeover of dispersed forest tracts. The slow expansion of this regime though antagonized Indigenous groups in the interior, giving government personnel and frontier infrastructure a pretext to expand its operations. With the threat of Native resistance to an encroaching camphor capitalism in the highlands, the Government-General would create an apparatus of “permanent occupation” by police and paramilitaries to “defend” colonial lives and property. Dispossession, therefore, was configured as “necessary” protection of the state’s public ownership of the resources found in Native forests against all disruptions, whether perceived or real.

The first decisive step taken by the government to enact this vision was taken on October 31 1895, when it passed the “Regulations for the Management of Government Forests and the Camphor Industry.” According to these regulations, any forest or “wasteland” lacking a certificate of ownership established under the Qing regime was government property. In addition, no individual could occupy or purchase land from Aborigines, unless granted special

permission from authorities. While it may seem as if these regulations effectively rendered Aboriginal forestlands as *terra nullius*, meaning land that according to international law had no clearly-defined owner and therefore subject to state occupation, the Taiwanese context is slightly different.⁶⁷ Here, a quick return to Japan's other colonial frontier of Hokkaido will serve as a useful point of contrast for further clarification. During the 1870s, the Japanese government sent soldier-farmers to colonize the northern lands of the Ainu in Hokkaido under grounds that these territories were "owner-less land" (*mushuchi*). This term served as the Japanese equivalent to the western concept of *terra nullius*. The term is not entirely applicable to Taiwan though due to pre-existing forms of land tenure there, which revolved around the act of "reclamation," where peasants received usufruct rights from land patent owners. It is also worth mentioning that plains Aborigines under the Qing system had the right to own land and receive "rent" from Han colonists. The land was therefore not deemed *apriori* "empty," but rather in need of transformation by Sinic culture and agrarian social organization. The situation in the highlands was slightly different, as the object of colonization there was the resources on the land (camphor, lumber, etc.), rather than the land itself. This resulted in a logic of dispossession centered not so much on making room for colonists, but on Indigenes' perceived inability to render land "productive" for commodity exports. Since Japanese sought a stable regime of resource extraction (and not mass population transfers), the legal machinery of expropriation reflect this. Even with this overarching political-economic goal, the idea that Indigenous peoples "lacked" the capacity to engage in productive use of land was still implied in Government-General legal categories, and as such matches much of the rhetoric found in other Indigenous/colonizer

⁶⁷ The term *mushuchi* has been deployed by several Japanese scholars to talk about the Taiwan case. See for example Yamaji Katsuhiko, *Taiwan no shokuminchi tōji*. For more on its particular usage in the Hokkaido context, see Katsuya Hirano, "Thanatopolitics and the Making of Japan's Hokkaido."

contexts where *terra nullius* was invoked.⁶⁸ Of course, the perceived absence of “ownership” here was the product of Japanese colonizers’ refusal to recognize Indigenous systems of land management, which in the case of Taiwan’s Aborigines included not just cultivated fields, but large communally-held hunting grounds as well . The Government-General therefore justified dispossession in a more subtle manner: the land Aborigines stood on was “theirs,” but its “unused” natural wealth could be transformed into export products subject to state regulation. As the very name of the Pacification-Reclamation Bureau implied, Native soil needed “reclaiming,” improvement that would render it fit for agriculture, industry, or resource extraction. In the Government-General’s imaginary, the “savage territories” (*banchi*) were pristine forests that had never known any complex economic life, even though the camphor zone had seen centuries of commercial exchanges between highland and lowland. While customary rights could be recognized, the absence of any legal title or permit in lands beyond areas of exploitation effectively made unconquered portions of the island *de jure* possessions of the emperor. Protection of Aboriginal land tenure only existed as an expedient measure to mitigate both wanton exploitation, as well as the violence officials knew was endemic to the frontier. While the state was quick to create procedures for camphor producers to acquire permits for their designated plots, Aborigines were given no such mechanisms to confirm possession of their territory - a sign that Japanese were in no way interested in systematizing Indigenous land tenure. In other words, there was no right to resist or contest Japanese encroachment; only a severely circumscribed “right” to receive compensation from camphor woodcutters. Ultimately, while many workers had negotiated temporary usufruct rights in tribal territories during the Qing years

⁶⁸ For more on the use of *terra nullius* to justify conquest of Indigenous lands see Benjamin Madley, “Patterns of Frontier Genocide 1903-1910: the Aboriginal Tasmanians, the Yuki of California, and the Herero of Namibia,” *Journal of Genocide Research*, 6 (2), June, 2004.

(and could continue to do so), ultimate sovereignty, as well as power to define ownership, rested in Japanese hands under Japanese laws.

Within months of opening its stations, the *bukonsho* sought to clarify procedures for camphor production while maintaining cordial relations with Aborigines. At a December 1896 meeting, Dahu station superintendent Kiyoshi Sayama and an Atayal elder from Xiaonanjiao village forged a “peace agreement” (*wayaku*) to codify the principle of gaining permission for access to the forests.⁶⁹ As seen in chapter one, oral contracts between Aborigines and workers had been a staple of the camphor zone for centuries. Under the Qing and Japanese, peace agreements for access to camphor trees usually involved the ceremonial slaughter of a large pig, followed by extended bouts of drinking from large vats of alcohol. The crowning moment of these ceremonies was marked by an Aboriginal elder and the host drinking with conjoined mouths from the same cup. The ritual signaled to those present that the group and the hosts had become “sworn brothers” (*kyodaibun*) and that no attacks would take place.⁷⁰ While the *bukonsho* held feasts around stations and trade posts as part of its official mandate, camphor production sites kept stores of low-grade Taiwanese rice and sake to encourage “friendship” (*kōsai*) with nearby Indigenes. Even with tribal diplomacy at the forefront, militias posted to camphor work sites remained a fixture on the frontier. In his December 1896 meeting, Dahu superintendent Kiyoshi reiterated the need for both “force and benevolence” through “exchange with the savages who behave properly, and temporary armed guards garrisoned at camphor production sites.”⁷¹

⁶⁹ Kitamura Kae, *Nihon shokumin chika no Taiwan senjūmin kyōikushi*, 48-49.

⁷⁰ Saitō Kenji, “Taiwan shōnō no seizō,” 33.

⁷¹ Kitamura Kae, *Nihon shokumin chika no Taiwan senjūmin kyōikushi*, 49

Evidence from *bukonsho* records indicate that “peace-making” was, at least in the short term, seen as a viable strategy for minimizing colonist-Indigene violence. At their April 1897 assembly, Pacification Bureau heads formalized their support for peace agreements. In a document summarizing the meeting’s key points, Pacification heads agreed that “concerning the disposition of Aborigines when land reclamation or logging takes place: From the beginning, even though Aborigines have disliked when land-reclamation and the felling of trees take place, we offer gifts to show no ill intentions...to act differently would damage relations”⁷² Though a working framework for respecting Aboriginal land tenure and dispensing gifts was agreed upon, private actors were to be kept out of areas beyond the “savage boundary,” unless they had the proper permits. In keeping with the October 1895 forestry regulations, highland resources beyond areas of formal Japanese control were to remain the exclusive purview of the Government-General. In the same section detailing requirements for camphor production, the *bukonsho* reiterated that “the mistaken notion of private possession must be driven out, and state ownership must be known.”⁷³

However, feasting and drinking quickly encountered its limits as an economic expansion strategy. With the *bukonsho*’s largely fictive control over the interior, agreements could not be backed by the weight of institutional force or law. Adding to the complexity was the fundamental misrecognition of the act itself, which Japanese officials took as the beginning of an assimilation process, and which Aborigines understood as the continuation of alliance-making practices. Even worse, according to Saitō, some of the more “crafty” (*kōkatsu*) locals took advantage of this practice, telling *bukonsho* staff “we are of such and such group,” and then requesting a pig and sake, though they had already done so on numerous occasions. Being unable to see through this

⁷² Taiwan Government-General Police Bureau, *Taihokushū ribanshi*, 46.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 47.

“forgery,” officials typically fulfilled such Aboriginal requests.⁷⁴ As for camphor headmen and their workers, navigating these exchanges could be both difficult and costly. Based on testimony gathered by Saitō, Aboriginal visitors to camphor production sites typically stayed overnight to receive their expected share of sake and rice. One visitor alone could “devour” about one *shō*’s worth of rice (approx. 1.8 litres). Word usually spread to nearby villages, and parties of upwards to twenty people would show up expecting to receive food and drink. Camphor workers and guards came to resent the handout of such supplies, claiming that they were not receiving the same amount as their Aboriginal guests.⁷⁵

While the Japanese state sought to assert control over Indigenous lands through peace pacts and other informal methods, a parallel takeover of pre-existing camphor production was underway. In March of 1896, the Government-General revamped the tax structure of the camphor industry. Unlike the Liu era, during which the state collected a flat defense tax, Japanese officials now taxed the total output of each stove at a rate of ten *sen* per 100 *kin*.⁷⁶ In addition, producers also paid a fifty-six *sen* per 100 *kin* tax on exports. Producers thus paid more on average than under the Qing regime.⁷⁷ Switching to an output-based taxation system required a more complex bureaucratic machinery of supervision. Permit holders were now subject to new provisions that demanded camphor merchants register the number of stoves under their control, the number of workers for each, and the names of the headmen responsible for the latter. The *bukonsho* was initially lax about enforcement, giving producers time to register new paperwork

⁷⁴ Saitō Kenji, “Taiwan shōnō no seizō,” 33.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*,” 34.

⁷⁶ One hundred *sen* is equivalent to one *yen*. One *kin* is about 600 grams

⁷⁷ Antonio Tavares, “Crystals from the Savage Forest,” 189.

with local district offices. The initial deadline was set for December 1895, but extended multiple times, even as late as March 1897.⁷⁸

Seizures did begin occurring though, even with official promises of leniency. An 1896 British consular report complained that during that summer, new regulations brought the Tainan camphor trade to a “standstill” due to arrests, confiscation of camphor shipments, and desertions by still workers.⁷⁹ An 1897 British Foreign Office report complained that disturbances in the hinterland, frequent robberies by brigands, as well as Japanese official meddling, had made the financing of stoves in the camphor zone undesirable. By then perhaps one third of western-owned camphor stoves had been abandoned in South Taiwan (Tainan region).⁸⁰ While foreigners could have been an easier target, pursuing unlicensed camphormen deep in the interior was another issue.

Illicit camphor production remained a huge problem for Japanese colonial administrators during much of the early colonial period. In the spring of 1897, the *bukonsho* devised regulations to go after “illicit manufacturers.” Citing the harm that they inflicted on the public purse, the agency recommended police actions and other “lenient” measures to keep smugglers out. These appeared to have yielded few results. In a *Taiwan nichichi shinpō* article dated February 1898, a group of camphor producers in Nanzhuang issued complaints about the hollow Pacification-

⁷⁸ Antonio Tavares, “Crystals from the Savage Forest,” 188.

⁷⁹ Robert L. Jarman (ed), *Taiwan: Political and Economic Reports 1861-1960, Volume 5: 1894-1899*, (Slough: Archive Editions, 1997), 516.

⁸⁰ “Camphor. (Cinnamomum Camphora, Nees.)” Bulletin of Miscellaneous Information (Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew), Vol. 1899, No. 149/150 (1899), 65-66.

Reclamation ordinances regarding smuggling, going as far as comparing the agency's enforcement efforts to "wrapping horse shit in a brocade of silk."⁸¹

In the interim, the new regulatory regime, as well as the chaotic transitional situation in the island's foothills, disincentivized foreign involvement in Taiwan's camphor industry. Here, state power and colonial law restructured an industry that had been dominated by Chinese and foreign capital, local compradors, and other middlemen. Taking advantage of an increasingly complex bureaucratic process alien to outsiders, Japanese capitalists began buying up stoves and concentrating control in the hands of a few Japanese firms.⁸² Under the aegis of companies like Suzuki Shōten, camphor capitalists from the Kobe-Osaka region set up shop in Taiwan.⁸³ In 1897, there were 108 registered Taiwanese producers operating 11,834 stoves and eight Japanese producers responsible for 2,986 stoves. By 1899, the number of Taiwanese producers dropped to twenty-six, with 5,785 stoves, while a mere seven Japanese producers owned 3,057 stoves - a significant and rapid consolidation given the brevity of Japanese colonial rule at that point.⁸⁴

Though the Government-General achieved a great deal of success in appropriating the Qing-era infrastructure of camphor to ensure the continuation of production, the incorporation of Aboriginal forestlands beyond the "savage boundary" proved far more difficult than anticipated. Contrary to Pacification heads' expectations, "peace pacts" were not enough to contain attacks against camphor workers or government personnel. Between 1897 and 1898, attacks by Aborigines became increasingly common. While Aboriginal attacks in 1896 killed sixty-three

⁸¹ Tavares provides a great breakdown of the reason why the *bukonsho* was unsuccessful. For the quote, see Antonio Tavares, "Crystals from the savage forests," 255.

⁸² Nakamura Masaru, *Nihon shihonshugi no nōgyō seisaku to Taiwan kōchi gennjūmin*, 48-49.

⁸³ For more on the entry of Suzuki Shōten into the camphor trade, see Saitō Naofumi, *Suzuki Shōten to Taiwan*. The role of Suzuki Shōten and mainland Japanese capitalists is discussed at greater lengths in chapter three.

⁸⁴ Nakamura, *Nihon shihonshugi no nōgyō seisaku to Taiwan kōchi gennjūmin*, 55.

and injured sixteen, the following year Aborigines killed 151 and injured fifteen. In 1898, those numbers rose sharply to 557 killed and 134 injured, in some 303 individual assaults.⁸⁵ Defense against these attacks fell largely to paramilitaries, hired guards, and sentries stationed along the border. Poorly armed and often lacking the organization or discipline of Aboriginal hunting parties, many of these guards were effectively sitting ducks during these raids.⁸⁶

In response, the Government-General initiated a slow process of criminalizing Aboriginal resistance to logging. While the *bukonsho* lacked effective policing powers, the agency did put in place legal measures that would later prove beneficial to Japanese security forces.

Recommendations issued by the colonial Home Ministry in 1897 gave *bukonsho* officers, with assistance from regular police or military police, the right to pursue and arrest Aborigines suspected of attacking government personnel or camphor workers, though the extent to which actual arrests were made is unclear.⁸⁷ In addition, authorities were encouraged to apply forms of collective punishment following an attack. In an 1897 set of guidelines issued following complaints by camphor producers in Shinchiku Province (now modern-day Xinzhu County), the Pacification-Reclamation Bureau were told to instruct “local chiefs” (*dōmoku*) that it was their responsibility to let their village know that killing was a “severely immoral” act that would be punished accordingly. Furthermore, should a community fail to abide by these standards, or even worse, conceal any Aborigines “criminal” responsible for an act of violence, the “entire tribe” would be “punished” (*chōbatsu*) for this individual transgression.⁸⁸ “Punishment” at this stage

⁸⁵ Fujii Shizue, *Li fan*, 97. Davidson mentions 635 casualties for 1898, with 303 individually reported assaults. See Davidson, *The Island of Formosa*, 428.

⁸⁶ In his report, Saitō described how paramilitary guards (*minsō*) hired by camphor companies were completely useless when confronted with Aboriginal raiding parties. Often, these private troops could not fire a single successful shot, and even ran away, leaving camphor workers to fend for themselves. In addition, Saitō accused them of being opium addicts and smoking on the job. See Saitō Kenji, “*Taiwan no shōnō seizō*,” 18.

⁸⁷ Inō Kanori (ed.), *Riban shikō*, 62-63.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

rarely entailed full-scale military or police actions, but rather cessation of trade and the termination of gifts to Indigenes.⁸⁹ This legal doctrine of collective responsibility though would become one of the core principles behind later Japanese military strategy, as pacification troops would use the actions of a single tribe member as a justification to invade, shell, or set fire to an entire village.

With failing assimilation programs and growing Aboriginal attacks in its jurisdiction, how did the *bukonsho* manage what seemed like a deteriorating situation? Thus far, the agency's handling of Indigenes has appeared largely as a schematic outlay of policy ordinances, recommended guidelines for staff conduct, and ambitious blueprints drafted by colonial development heads. The reality, however, was different. At the mercy of a sparsely explored territory and its complex tribal geography, the most the *bukonsho* could do was watch as the ebb and flow of violence in the camphor zone unfolded. In this final section, I turn to the agency's brief two-year history in Yilan sub-prefecture. Focusing on interactions between station staff and nearby Atayal groups there, I examine the Aboriginal Pacification state's brand of "fictive sovereignty" in action. In doing so, it will become clear to readers how the clash between Pacification heads and Indigenous groups on the ground laid bare the limits of the agency's assimilationist strategy.

Fictive Sovereignty: Governing Mnibu-Nan'ao Atayal and the limits of bukonsho power in the Yilan Plain

In the fall of 1895, as the summit between headman Yawa Ui and Captain Kawano unfolded, the Government-General turned to general security matters in the Yilan area by

⁸⁹ Inō Kanori (ed.), *Riban shikō*, 56-57,

establishing a police presence. In October of 1895, Yilan Central Police Headquarters was open for business. The government quickly set up branches in the nearby towns of Touwei, Luodong, and Lize, with a total staff of ten captains and ninety officers.⁹⁰ The Government-General built a series of outposts in outlying Aborigine areas shortly thereafter. On December 14 1895, a report from the Yilan sub-prefectural chief issued to the Civilian Affairs Bureau described how officials there had identified thirty-six “raw savage” villages in surveying work. Of these villages, two were reported to have received monthly stipends, one of ten yen and the other seven.⁹¹ Thus, on the eve of the Japanese takeover in Yilan some the Atayal communities had established relations with Qing authorities, who as part of their own “pacification” work provided regular stipends to elders at *fukenu* stations.

At the time of its incorporation into the new Japanese administration, Yilan sub-prefecture was also a hotbed of insurgent activity. Chinese guerilla partisans sheltered in the densely forested foothills adjacent to lowland villages. Conflicts between them and Japanese police forces spilled over into Indigenous lands, souring relations between Aborigines and newcomers. On February 19, 1896, five officers and a guard unit set out from Su’ao bay, heading toward Dong Zhao mountain. While doing reconnaissance work, Japanese spotted remnants of burnt down dwellings. There, they stumbled upon two individuals and pursued them, thinking they were bandits. A scuffle ensued, and the Japanese police killed the two men. Upon inspecting the bodies, they noticed that the deceased had tattoos and did not look Chinese. It soon became apparent that they had shot two local Mnibu Atayal. On February 27, in the wake of this accidental killing, an Aboriginal party of over 100 descended and attacked, killing five adults

⁹⁰ Taiwan Government-General Police Bureau, *Taihokushū ribanshi*, 3.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

and three children. Two days later, an Atayal warrior killed one Japanese and a Taiwanese at a Dahu mountain camphor distillery.⁹²

The violence of early 1896 soon gave way to the formal opening of the subprefecture's *bukonsho* station. On July 9, the Balisha Pacification-Reclamation station opened near the town of Luodong, under the direction of superintendent Konō Saburō (See appendix 2.3).⁹³ The staff consisted of Konō, two administrative assistants, two secretaries, and an interpreter. However, the opening of Balisha station had little effect on the rising violence. July saw a high instance of Han-Aborigine clashes. One notable incident took place just days before the opening of Balisha station. On July 3, some twenty Aborigines attacked the village of Shitou (now Dongshan area, Yilan), a protected village surrounded by a ditch in Hongshui (*Hongshuikanggou*), wounding one and destroying ten homes. The following day, some thirty Aboriginal warriors descended from the mountains to revisit the wreckage, collecting a number of heads and wounding two in the process.⁹⁴ Reports of these attacks are culled from Japanese sources, so any explanation of Atayal motives is likely to appear as de-contextualized killings. It is safe to say though that the diplomatic meeting between Captain Kawano and headman Yawa Ui from the fall months of the previous year had done little to stave off the raiding and intra-ethnic strife on the outer edges of the camphor zone. While Japanese imperial sovereignty premised itself on its capacity to intercede between warring communities of lowlanders and highlanders, this assumed prerogative was wishful thinking at best.

The Yilan plain did see some stability towards the end of 1896 following the *bukonsho*'s arrival, with the exception of an Aboriginal headhunting raid that took the lives of four bandits

⁹² Taiwan Government-General Police Bureau, *Taihokushū ribanshi*, 4-5.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 24. Included in figure 2.3 is a map of Balisha, Luodong and surrounding townships.

⁹⁴ Taiwan Government-General Police Bureau, *Taihokushū ribanshi*, 29.

on December 29. Balisha station staff also began seeing small gains in their outreach efforts, as some Mnibu Atayal began coming to Luodong to trade in the fall. In September, a police captain and nine of his men at Su'ao bay held an audience with thirty-nine Nan'ao Atayal – a sign that the Japanese were making their presence felt in the area.⁹⁵

However, in 1897, there was renewed conflict between Aborigines and their Sino-Japanese neighbors. As noted earlier, that year marked the beginning of a sharp rise in camphor-related or anti-government attacks along the “savage boundary.” On April 30, at Dahutong mountain, an Aborigine injured a camphor worker. On May 15, an Indigenous raid resulted in the death of a camphor worker nearby. On May 18, seven fell prey to headhunters in an unspecified nearby region.⁹⁶ On September 7, an individual was shot in the foothills of Zhentou around Yuanshan Fort (*Yuanshan zhentou shanlu*) by a Mnibu Atayal. On September 19, a woman had her head taken in cultivated fields just downhill from Mnibu territory. That same day, an Aboriginal raiding party also descended on Longmujing village, within Hongshuikanggou (*Hongshui kanggoubao longmujingzhang*), killing three men and leaving with two heads. On September 22, another individual was beheaded around the same area, while two others suffered the same fate in Su'ao.⁹⁷

Bukonsho activities continued, despite the surge in lowland raids. In October, the Government-General authorized the opening of a new Pacification-Reclamation sub-station at Tiansongpi, a small frontier town just west of Balisha (see appendix 2.4). Situated close to Dingpobuwu, where Captain Kawano had grabbed interpreters for his mission in November of 1895, Tiansongpi served as a gateway to Mnibu mountain villages. Tiansongpi was also just

⁹⁵ Taiwan Government-General Police Bureau, *Taihokushū ribanshi*, 29.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 51.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 74.

north of Nan'ao territory, and therefore could cater to the other major group representing the region's Atayal population.⁹⁸ Within months, Tiangsonpi became a crucial node for Japanese-Indigenous commercial and political contact. In January of 1898, the sub-station experienced a record number of visits by Mnibu and Nan'ao parties looking to trade. Balisha station chief Kawakami, who replaced Konō the previous year, held regular audiences and feasts for Aboriginal guests there. Travelers typically camped overnight near the station, as many made the journey miles from the interior. From January 6 to January 31, a total of 132 Atayal had come to Tiangsonpi to trade, feast, and forge political relations with Pacification-Reclamation staff.⁹⁹ These groups came from the Yilan area's vast constellation of Atayal villages like the Mnibu and Nan'ao, as well as more remote groups like the Kinai and Saramao, located further west towards Dakekan. The diversity of groups represented in Tiangsonpi station's trading logs reveals the degree to which word of the *bukonsho*'s presence had spread well beyond Balisha and its orbit by that point. A new would-be sovereign for Atayal villages meant sources of lowland goods and access to prestige gifts that could bolster the status of headmen within their communities. Of course, commerce did not mean the end of raiding and warring. Even with a record number of visits to Tiansongpi substation in January, nearby townships saw a total of twenty-two dead, four injured, and seven homes destroyed that month.¹⁰⁰

Beyond hosting Aboriginal guests and currying favors with local headmen, how did the Balisha superintendent and his subordinates exercise their putative power over the highlands? A series of events in January and February of 1898, which culminated in an alleged plot to attack Tiansongpi and its surroundings, revealed their deep sense of powerlessness during these early

⁹⁸ Taiwan Government-General Police Bureau, *Taihokushū ribanshi*, 78.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 97-98.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 98-99.

stages. With only three officials to manage a conglomeration of independent Indigenous polities, all Balisha station could do was hope to stabilize a volatile frontier. As part of its intelligence-gathering work, Pacification-Reclamation agents often reconnoitered their jurisdiction, conducted population counts, and disarmed Aboriginal suspicions of Japanese occupiers. Preventing violence by ingratiating themselves with Atayal elders had clear limits. When lowland villages fell prey to attacks, all the agency could do was warn locals to take precautions and request police assistance. For a colonial state already racked with insurgencies, the inability to bring Indigenes to heel was an embarrassment. Under these conditions, the *bukonsho* slid into irrelevancy and gave way to more militarized structures that catered directly to the needs of frontier administrators and camphor capitalists.

On January 29, 1898, Balisha *bukonsho* superintendent Kawakami, together with administrative assistants Takeyumi Suegorō and Umenō Toeda, organized an expedition into Mnibu territory. The team first arrived at Tiansongpi to cross the Lanyang river, though their efforts were quickly dashed as water levels rose too high. Adding further difficulties was their interpreter, a Sinicized Aborigine named Pan Datou (潘大頭), who fell ill before the start of the mission and could not accompany them. As water levels receded, the expedition began. On January 31, they met four Atayal, to whom they gave gifts of food and liquor. That morning, another interpreter and his Aboriginal wife joined them. Heading west towards Xinzhu, the chief and his crew made their way through mountain paths and eventually reached Kinai and Saramao Atayal territory. There, they met with Kinai chief, Taanahahoumin, and Saramao chief Haayonyuwa.¹⁰¹ The following is assistant inspector Umenō's journal account of this face-to-

¹⁰¹ Taiwan Government-General Police Bureau, *Taihokushū ribanshi*, 99.

face encounter: “we moved forward to meet the Kinai *tōmoku* Taanahahoumin and the Saramao *tōmoku* Haayonyuwan. There were forty people facing us, we then proceeded to outline the purpose of our visit. We reported that Japan, via the offices of *bukonsho* and its Tiansongpi branch, had been established to treat every savage with benevolence and affection, and we had come from very far to let them know of this situation bearing gifts.”¹⁰² At this meeting, the Kawakami requested assistance on their return trip to Tiansongpi. Agreeing to follow Kawakami and his party back to the sub-station, Taanahahoumin and Haayonyuwan returned with them, accompanied by some of their men.

At sunset, Kawakami feasted his Kinai and Saramao guests. On February 1, the entire group packed themselves into a district office amidst what reports described as a “noisy and exceedingly boisterous atmosphere.” Kawakami called over both *tōmoku*, requesting to speak with them. Discussing various matters, the three eventually got on the topic of recent headhunting attacks. The Saramao confided in the chief that the region, as of late, had seen attacks perpetrated by an Atayal group known as the Mairitsupa. On January 23, Mairitsupa warriors allegedly descended from the mountains to collect heads on one or two occasions as part of a winter festival said to be common among the Mnibu. Reports also claimed that they engaged in attacks in Xinzhu Prefecture, just over on the other side of the Yilan mountains. After receiving this intelligence from Taanahahoumin, in typical *bukonsho* fare, Kawakami admonished his guests, telling them that headhunting was unacceptable, and that this should be conveyed to all surrounding villages.¹⁰³ The meeting ended on a sour note, as the Saramao and Kinai elders left angrily when the chief intimated that gift distribution would be contingent on

¹⁰² Taiwan Government-General Police Bureau, *Taihokushū ribanshi*, 100.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

the cessation of head-taking assaults. Both chiefs also appeared to fear the Mairitsupa, demanding protection for the way home, which Kawakami could not provide.¹⁰⁴

Following the meeting at Tiansongpi, Kawakami and Takeyumi went to the township of Alishi to inquire whether any attacks by the Mairitsupa had taken place.¹⁰⁵ Then, on the fourth at about three o'clock in the afternoon, the head of the Nan'ao village of Baiyao, a man by the name of Uerantaiya, came to Tiansongpi station accompanied with four of his men with information of a plot supposedly hatched by the Mairitsupa and its allies to invade the surrounding villages. During a recent hunt, Uerantaiya had spotted a large gathering of over 200 Aborigines, consisting mainly of Mairitsupa and representatives of other Mnibu communities. Uerantaiya and his men were invited to stay at this assembly. There, the men gathered allegedly concocted a plan to invade Tiansongpi and the surrounding villages of Dingpobuwu and Hongwacuo.¹⁰⁶ Whether this plot had any serious legs to it at this point is unclear, but the ensuing panic was very real. In the coming days, multiple provisions were made to fortify the areas around Tiansongpi. Stations staff also made regular patrols in the hopes of gathering intelligence. By February 12, "calm had been restored" to the general surroundings.¹⁰⁷ Ultimately the Mairitsupa "invasion" never took place.

What these journal logs and government reports on the situation at Tiansongpi reveal is the truly fictive brand of state power the Pacification-Reclamation Bureau wielded over its "subjects." Japanese colonial legitimacy—however thinly constructed and fundamentally illegal— was predicated on not only its promise of benevolent government, but its threats of

¹⁰⁴ Taiwan Government-General Police Bureau, *Taihokushū ribanshi*, 100

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 111.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 106.

armed force. Failure to uphold relations between ruler and ruled, in the long term, could easily undermine the colonial project's credibility. Over two years had elapsed since proclamations announcing a new type of political regime were read aloud to gatherings of Indigenes in the highlands, yet little had changed. Indigenous sovereignty and its horizontal relations of raiding, feasting, trading, and alliance-making remained firmly in place. The Government-General now slowly began ratcheting up repressive measures.

This was the case around Balisha station and Tiansongpi sub-station for the remaining months of the agency's short-lived existence. In March, as anxieties from the Mairitsupa invasion scare subsided, Aborigines reverted to small-scale attacks on camphor stoves or lowland villages. This became a convenient pretext for increasing the police presence there. Between March 1 and March 15, headhunting attacks took four lives and destroyed several homes.¹⁰⁸ On March 15, a *bukonsho* building under construction at Dijunmiao also burned down in an apparent arson attack.¹⁰⁹ Two days later, at Dahutong mountain, an individual gathering firewood was beheaded. On the March 18, a Japanese and a Taiwanese were killed at a nearby camphor refinery. In response to these assaults, five police officers and ten guards were dispatched to camphor production sites around the foothills of Dahutong and Yuemeishan (Yuemei mountain).¹¹⁰ In April, officials erected a new police station at Hongchaili, along with additional dispatch stations at Tiangsongpi, Dahu mountain, Yuemei mountain, Fenji, and Baimi. With a police presence now on the doorstep of Atayal territory, skirmishes between Indigenes and law enforcement officials became frequent, with one report claiming that the presence of security forces had contributed to an "insurrectionary mood" among local Aborigines.¹¹¹ From

¹⁰⁸ Taiwan Government-General Police Bureau, *Taihokushū ribanshi*, 123.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 120.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 123.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 128.

May onwards, raids to secure livestock or heads continued, though police or militiamen garrisoned among the townships near Balisha repelled many.¹¹²

Though merely one case study among hundreds, the *bukonsho*'s "rule" over Mnibu-Nan'ao Atayal brings into sharp relief not only the gradual police takeover of Indigenous affairs, but also the failure of imagination on the part Pacification-Reclamation Bureau staff, who underestimated the durability of Aboriginal socio-political forms. Adding to this was the profound vulnerability of lowland townships, which by the start of 1898 were clearly ill-equipped to preempt or defend themselves against large-scale Indigenous attacks. With these limitations in mind, both frontier technocrats and camphor producers would join forces in the coming years to establish a more robust Aboriginal Pacification State.

Conclusion

In the summer of 1898, with no practical gains to show, the Government-General abolished the *bukonsho* and replaced it with a series of offices under the control of local provincial administrators (or *benmusho*). Signs of the agency's replacement were already afoot before then. In the lead-up to its disappearance, Legal Bureau Councilor Ishizuka Keiso estimated that the government could save about two hundred thousand yen by eliminating the agency altogether. Mizuno's successor Gotō Shimpei followed suit with harsh criticism of the agency, calling it a "blight" (*gaidoku*) on Taiwan's colonial administration.¹¹³ As the *bukonsho* offices were undergoing bureaucratic re-structuring, many were doing similar retrospectives, assessing the relative achievements and failures of this short-lived experiment. Davidson wrote along these lines in his own thoughts of the Pacification-Reclamation experiment, describing

¹¹² Taiwan Government-General Police Bureau, *Taihoku ribanshi*, 124.

¹¹³ Kitamura Kae, *Nihon shokumin chika no Taiwan senjūmin kyōikushi*, 49-50.

how the absence of real police power undermined the agency from its inception: “The officers in Formosa were also under great disadvantage in not having the police under their command, the result being that, when occasion arose for police assistance, a second authority entered the district clashing with bu-kon-kok [*sic*] and causing confusion and dissatisfaction.”¹¹⁴

When Luxemburg wrote that “accumulation, with its spasmodic expansion, can no more wait for, and be content with, a natural internal disintegration of non-capitalist formations and their transition to commodity economy,” she was writing not merely about the impatience of capitalist investors hoping to cash in on colonial commodities, but more crucially the state apparatus’ realization that Native social forms will not simply wither away, nor will they voluntarily concede lands to invaders and profit-seeking companies for exploitation. Colonial formations, as her writings indicate, must find ways to expeditiously bring Indigenous territories under their control. They must “hasten, as in a hot-house,” to borrow Marx’s words, the transition to a capitalist order. In the metropole, this process typically has a longer historical duration. In Marx’s prototypical example of capitalist transformation of England, independent producers were thrown off the land and then criminalized as vagrants, paupers, and other “undesirables” through “poor laws,” which terrorized them into accepting wage discipline over a succession of different regimes.¹¹⁵ For Marx, this process culminates in a “mature” form of capital, one in which proletarians are compelled to accept their waged existence through a kind of “silent compulsion,” and not constant recourse to state violence (though he never excluded the necessity of the latter). In the colony, there is nothing “silent” about how these economic

¹¹⁴ James Wheeler Davidson, *The Island of Formosa*, 429.

¹¹⁵ See for example Karl Marx, *Capital*, 915.

principles are upheld, nor is there time to wait for them to take hold. This is precisely what the brief history of the *bukonsho* demonstrates.

In this chapter, I have sought to re-frame the brief two-year history of the *bukonsho* as the creation of the “Aboriginal Pacification state” – a regime whose overarching goals sought the rapid dissolution of Indigenous forms to smoothen the transition to development of an economy centered on the commercialization of forest products. More than simply having put in place the founding structures of Native expropriation (as many scholars have already rightfully pointed out), the *bukonsho* made the crucial conceptual link between dismantlement of Native people’s diversified ties to mountains, forests, and other support systems with the creation of capitalist industries. In this regard, violence under the Pacification-Reclamation Bureaus was not the outgrowth of failed “peaceful” strategies of acculturation, but a deeply internalized bureaucratic “common sense” - one in which the inevitability of “force” as an instrument of Indigenous governance was written in *at every step*. Through the instrument of the *bukonsho* and its regulatory apparatus, the Government-General recast Native lands and resources as commodifiable space whose profits would balance colonial budgets and secure Taiwan’s place as a leading export colony. More importantly, *bukonsho* laws and ordinances, however symbolic, chipped away at the legitimacy of Aboriginal lifeways, marking them as obstacles unfit for modern existence. Beneath programs such as those encouraging production of handicraft goods to instill a capitalist work ethic, or guided tours of the metropole meant to impress upon elders Japan’s imperial might, was an implied assumption that Indigenous ways of organizing the world were of no inherent value and destined to be erased. Beyond their denigration of Indigenous forms, the Bureau also enacted concrete measures to expedite the takeover of camphor forests by colonial monopolists. Pacification-Reclamation staff also attempted to undermine hunting and

swidden-based modes of subsistence by placing restrictions on Aboriginal movement and access to firearms. The *bukonsho* also introduced principles of obedience to imperial authority that made access to lowland goods contingent on the cessation of foundational cultural practices - a logic that ran counter to how goods were circulated and reapportioned in a highland context. Though largely toothless at this moment, such ideas resurfaced with a vengeance, as Japanese pacification armies later used embargoes to isolate and starve Aboriginal villages. Meanwhile, the discourse of “savagery” would slowly morph into open racist hostility in the coming years, as Japanese colonizers increasingly came to assume the collective guilt of Indigenous villages in the event of attacks against civilians.

While largely a hollow state lacking the repressive capacities needed to bring the highlands under Japanese control, the *bukonsho* served as a prefiguration of the destructive forms of colonial occupation to come. With Aboriginal communities unwilling to relinquish their lands, traditional economies, and social modes of reproduction to Japanese officers and camphor capitalists, the Taiwan Government-General would shift to a more aggressive posture. This however did not come without the expansion of camphor’s productive relations, as well as the larger market forces which sustained these. Camphor capitalism and its mechanisms of frontier extraction was a driving force for conquest just as much as the Aboriginal pacification state itself. Especially with the creation of the Government-General’s camphor monopoly in June of 1899, new alliances between state and capital meant increased pressure on already-vulnerable Indigenous groups. By making camphor production co-extensive with “civilizing savages,” the Aboriginal Pacification state set in motion processes that would have far-reaching consequences for Indigenous sovereignty and livelihoods.

Chapter Three – Empire of Camphor: Japanese capital, monopolization, and the making of a global industry

At the 1904 St. Louis World Exposition, the Japanese Empire dedicated an entire exhibit to the agrarian and industrial developments of its Taiwanese colony. According to the handbook of Japanese exhibitions, the “Formosan Government” pavilion featured a number of displays highlighting its newly formed monopolies. Chief among these was the camphor industry, which the organizers consecrated by building a “great tower of camphor” at one end of the pavilion’s enclosure. The tower caught the eye of the exhibition’s judges, so much so that it was awarded the jury’s grand prize.¹ Little did visitors know that this crystalline substance, which the organizers had erected as a monument to colonial development, concealed a complex productive infrastructure of loggers, stoves, camphor depots, refineries, reprocessing facilities – all aided by the repressive power of police, paramilitaries, and their arsenal of mountain guns, barbed wire fencing, and other defensive implements. As a totemic dedication to Taiwan’s growing importance in the global capitalist system, the exhibition tower emblemized what Marx, just some decades earlier in his 1867 *Capital*, had referred to as “commodity fetish.” In his *Capital*, Marx described how under capitalism, commodities no longer appear as the product of human labor power and the social systems which enlist it, but as finished goods ready for sale and purchase, divorced from the site of violence from which they are derived. Passing through the

¹ The *Handbook of Japan and Japanese Exhibits at World's Fair St-Louis* describes this “Great tower of camphor” in the following terms: “Directly opposite the main section is the Formosan exhibit, which in many respects contains as much of interest as the exhibit of Japan proper. The Island of Formosa, which covers about 13,419 square miles, possesses great agricultural resources...At one end of the enclosure is the great tower of solid camphor, while at the opposite end is the display of oolong tea. The annual product of tea is 20,000,000 pounds, and of camphor 3,200,000 pounds. Over two-thirds of all the camphor used in the world is produced in Formosa.” For more see Hajime Hoshi, *Handbook of Japan and Japanese Exhibits at World's Fair St-Louis*, (Self-published, 1904). For the mention of the exhibition being awarded the jury’s grand prize, see “The Camphor Industry of Japan,” *Scientific American*, Vol. 92, No. 13 (April 1st, 1905), p. 263.

Formosan pavilion, visitors would have likely been drawn by camphor's bright snowy-like appearance, as well as its pungent aromas. Invisible to their gaze though would have been the scores of felled trees, advancing armies, "pacified" Natives, state regulations, frontier labor, technical apparatuses, and capital flows that allowed the product to make its way to St. Louis, Missouri.²

This chapter examines the articulations of state and capital concealed beneath camphor's mystified appearance. The relations of force which allowed camphor products to exist and circulate across global markets were not entirely hidden from public view. Rather, what is meant by "mystification" here is the process whereby violence and commodity production came together at this moment as a seemingly "rational" and desirable process, one in which the increased felling of camphor trees, combined with growing awareness of camphor's strategic applications to various industries (both in Japan, Taiwan, and elsewhere), contributed to the expansion of the Japanese state's repressive capacities. This chapter will examine the productive organizations, laboring practices, commercial networks, and state policies which made the camphor industry's monopolization and expanded growth a reality. I refer to this ensemble of forces as Japan's "empire of camphor."³

If the Aboriginal Pacification state had largely been an idealized blueprint up to that point, then the creation of the camphor monopoly in June of 1899 provided the impetus to make its vision into a series of actionable mechanisms. As camphor monopolists and wealthy capitalists from mainland Japan set their sights on reorganizing the industry's infrastructure of

² Karl Marx, *Capital: Volume One*, (Penguin, 1990), 165.

³ The term "empire of camphor" is a nod to historian Sven Beckert's ground-breaking book "empire of cotton," in which he explored the forms of production and violence that allowed for the global circulation of cotton and its various products. See Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History*, (New York: Knopf, 2015).

commercialization and export to boost profits, the methods of Indigene governance underwent a series of structural shifts that resulted in the colonial state's hard turn towards aggressive policies. New extractive procedures, larger volumes of manufacturing, along with a global race to develop synthetics to compete with Japan's natural monopoly, would alter the forms (and speed) with which the violence of primitive accumulation exerted itself on Indigenes.

This chapter brings a discussion of capitalist production to what thus far has largely been a story about colonial state formation. As noted in the introduction, the history of camphor production highlights how state violence alone cannot account for the brutality of Native dispossession in Taiwan. Commodities *themselves* also played a starring role, as they brought to the frontier specific productive regimes that shaped and modulated how the conquest of Indigenous lands unfolded. In the case of camphor, a slow-moving perimeter of workers, backed by security forces, clustered their logging activities in densely-forested pockets of Taiwan's northeast, prompting Indigenes to launch bloody reprisals against these incursions, which the state responded to with siege warfare and armed police or paramilitaries. The Japanese project of capitalist accumulation now expanded its destructive capabilities with new breadth and depth. As camphor flowed downhill at an increasing rate, pacification armies and the newly revamped "savage boundary" moved inland with greater ferocity. Violence matched the rhythms of camphor production, as the explosive growth of the trade highlighted the "necessity" of increased assaults on Aboriginal collectives. Such an intensification of violence is inseparable from a discussion of the core transformations that affected the Japanese camphor monopoly over the course of the 1900s. This process of intensification was a direct continuation of project initiated under the *bukonsho*, which as we saw, sought to expeditiously bring camphor forests

under capitalist development. Now, with capitalist investors and global consumers adding further pressure, a new robust “method of violence” for bringing about this transformation was needed.

Though much has been written on the evolution and growth of the camphor industry under Japanese colonial rule, as well as its close ties to Indigene pacification, this chapter refocuses the lens on how capital performed the crucial task of concentrating the state’s instruments of violence. This chapter, while drawing extensively from the findings of scholars like Antonio Tavares and Nakamura Masaru, moves beyond the latter two’s focus on primitive accumulation’s preservation and dissolution of “pre-capitalist” formations. In his work, Tavares stressed the development of a camphor “frontier exchange economy,” which involved both the late Qing and Japanese preservation of small-household firms to facilitate the transition to a centralized monopolistic system. In Tavares’ account, the colonial state chose to absorb the existing frontier labor force but dispensed with payment of customary fees and other diplomatic arrangements reserved for Indigenous groups. This marginalization of Indigenes from the camphor economy resulted in the decision to pacify them via military means, a process Tavares analyzed via the 1902 Nanzhuang rebellion (covered later in this chapter). This chapter takes up similar themes but, using a different vantage point, highlights how monopoly’s accumulative drive for profits and competitive global advantage against rivals was achieved through a public-private partnership that helped amplify state bureaucratic violence in the form of punitive frontier installations, revamped security organizations, and new structures which incentivized further appropriations of Indigenous lands. Far from mere “security” tasked with protecting the industry, the state’s injecting of police and auxiliaries was part of a larger notion of “defense against savages” (*bōban*), which should be seen as an extension of the productive process itself. The increased militarization and paramilitarization, coupled with Japanese capitalists aiming to

extract larger volumes in strategic areas, initially destabilized the trade due to large scale resistance by Indigenes. These short-term disruptions created new rationales to press ahead and pacify Aborigines, which helped increase the monopoly's share of resources. The process of capitalist accumulation, therefore, must be thought of in light of the regime of "permanent occupation," where the use of force is a *permanent feature* of productive relations. Violence was central to the evolution the "empire of camphor." This chapter sets out to demonstrate this.

This chapter is divided into three parts. First, it analyzes of the Japanese camphor industry in the home islands, briefly alluded to in the opening chapter on the history of the camphor zone. Focusing on the close-knit circle of Kobe-ites who helped to reshape Taiwan's camphor industry, this chapter examines the crucial foundation Japanese capitalists laid as they shifted their operations to Taiwan, ingratiated themselves with colonial elites, and pushed for a regulatory regime that would drive out outside competitors and "nativize" the industry. Following this brief contextualization, the chapter then shifts to the creation of the Camphor Monopoly in June of 1899: its institutional functioning, its methods of camphor and tax collection, its influence on the productive and laboring process, as well as its global impact in terms of scientific innovation and the development of plastics. Finally, the chapter explores the impact of global consumption, mapping out the myriad ways in which the Aboriginal pacification state grew in response to the strategic importance of the industry for the colony's balance sheets and shaped the machinery of expropriation. Using records of permit quotas and other information from the Camphor Monopoly Bureau, this chapter shows how the Japanese state began clustering its perimeter of Indigene pacification in largely the northeast of the island, thereby setting the stage for confrontations that would reorganize the state's instruments of violence. From increases in security personnel, to new arsenals that placed Aboriginal villages in

the crosshairs of armed sentries and long-range mountain guns, the Government-General devised a new architecture of violence that marked Aborigines as belligerent “savages” and targeted them for invasion and repetitive assaults. In doing so, I will make clear precisely why, and how, camphor production at the turn of the twentieth century helped promote a more systematized and centralized machinery of Indigenous dispossession.

Kobe Capitalists and the Emergence of the Camphor Monopoly

In a 1900 issue of the Taiwan Association Bulletin (*Taiwan kyōkai kaihō*), engineer Morinoya Monoshirō boldly claimed that “camphor now occupies the place as of our nation’s most important export commodity.”⁴ Indeed, there was no denying the prominence of camphor in Taiwan’s export industries by the time Morinoya put out his piece. From 1899 to 1900, camphor exports shot up from 1,819,227 *kin* to 3,479,179 *kin* – nearly a twofold increase (1 *kin* = 1.33 lbs).⁵ This sharp increase in Taiwanese camphor production and sales, though linked to increasing global demand for plastics and celluloid, also grew out of a larger process of monopolization and corporate consolidation that originated first on the Japanese mainland.

The camphor industry has deep roots in the Tokugawa period (1603-1867). During the eighteenth century, many domains in southwestern Japan began petitioning the shogun to allow diversification of their economies. Camphor grew out of this “mercantilist” turn in Tokugawa economic life, as specialized trade goods allowed local economies to lower debt and stave off financial crisis.⁶ The Japanese archipelago was then well-endowed with camphor trees, though

⁴ Moriya Monoshirō, “Taiwan shōnō seizōhōryō no kyūmu” [The urgency of improving Taiwan’s method of camphor production], *Taiwan kyōkai kaihō* 4 (1899), 10.

⁵ Taiwan Government-General, *Taiwan tōkei yōran* [Handbook of Taiwan Statistics], (Taipei: Taiwan Government-General, 1916), 474-76.

⁶ For more on the rise of merchant discourses on mercantilism in Tokugawa Japan, see Luke Roberts, *Mercantilism in a Japanese Domain: the merchant origins of economic nationalism in 18th-century Tosa*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

not to the degree that Taiwan was. Camphor production could be found as far north as central Honshū in areas like Kazusa, Awa, and Suruga (modern day Chiba and Shizuoka prefectures). The heart of the Japanese domestic industry were southern islands like Shikoku and Kyushu, where the tree was far more endemic due to the prominence of mountain valleys, hillsides, and sub-tropical conditions. It was in Tosa (Shikoku) that camphormen pioneered the type of stove Japanese capitalists would bring to Taiwan.⁷ Unlike the Taiwanese “inverted vase,” the Japanese model consisted of a fire place, pan (for boiling water), and a metal cylindrical tube connected to a separate distilling apparatus (see chapter one, appendix 1.1). According to scholar Nakamura Masaru, a small Chinese-style stove on average could yield 2.4 kg of camphor for 120 kg of camphorwood, while the larger Japanese Tosa model yielded 3.9 kg using 180 kg.⁸ A key innovation of the Japanese model was its ability to easily separate camphor oil from crude camphor. Camphor oil in Taiwan was a largely neglected commodity until Japanese firms arrived and transformed it into a highly profitable extension of crude camphor manufacturing. Like their counterparts in Taiwan, camphormen in Japan lived next to their stoves with their families in small bamboo and thatch huts. Workers brought wood chips to these stoves throughout the day to keep the fires burning and the condensation process going. Stills were usually in wooded areas, near water. Once the camphor was drained and packed, it was shipped

⁷ Charles Archibald Mitchell, *Camphor in Japan and Formosa*, 6-7. Incidentally, Tosa Domain was also the site of the *kokueki* movement (national prosperity), which militated for economic diversification of domainal economies to solve the growing debt crisis of the Tokugawa regime. During the Tokugawa period, domainal lords fell increasingly into debt towards merchants, who helped them convert their rice payments to the government into cash, which they needed to survive in the growing commercial economy of the capital Edo, where they were forced to spend half their time as part of the “alternate attendance” system (*sankin kōtai*). Merchants in various domains therefore started calling for intra-domainal trade to allow production of specialized goods, which in turn would help fight indebtedness. For more see Luke Roberts, *Mercantilism in a Japanese Domain*.

⁸ Nakamura Masaru, “Nihon shihonshugi no nōgyō seisaku to Taiwan kōchi genjūmin,” 56-57.

to major cities like Hyogo, Kobe, or Osaka, where wholesalers and refiners packaged and sold it.⁹

By the start of the Meiji period (1868), Japan's southwest formed a thriving hub of camphor production rivaled only by its booming counterpart in Qing-occupied Taiwan. While western merchants and Qing officials set up and financed stills in the camphor zone, Japanese producers began involving themselves in new subsidiary industries linked to the trade. Chief among these were camphor refining (*seisei*) and reprocessing (*saisei*). Refiners usually took lower grade crude camphor, removed impurities, and transformed it into a higher quality product that could then be used in the making of finished goods like plastics or celluloid. Camphor reprocessing on the other hand involved taking camphor oil and transforming it into raw camphor. These trades grew out of the innovations of the Tosa-style method, which allowed for efficient separation of camphor oils from crystals. From the late Tokugawa period onwards, a group of camphor producers and businessmen hailing from Tosa Province (later Kōchi Prefecture) eventually converged on Kobe. Kobe was an ideal site to establish business operations, as the port city would become home to numerous western companies specializing in shipping and export, giving camphor refiners and reprocessors a medium to get their products out to international markets.¹⁰

In a few decades, with the assistance of Kōchi-ites who had experience in the industry, trading companies based out of Kobe began extending their control over camphor production in Taiwan. Chief among these was the Japanese trading company Suzuki Shōten. Founded in 1877

⁹ Charles Archibald Mitchell, *Camphor in Japan and Formosa*, 10-12.

¹⁰ Saitō provides a good overview of the leading figures behind these networks of southwestern camphor producers, refiners, or reprocessors. See Saitō Naofumi, *Suzuki Shōten to Taiwan*, 9-27. A useful resource detailing the evolution of the Japanese industry in its entirety can also be found in Sakai Shigeo's official history of the Japan camphor monopoly. See Sakai Shigeo, *Shōnō sembaishi* [A History of the Camphor Monopoly], (Tokyo: Nihon Senbai Kōsha, 1956).

by Iwajirō Suzuki, the company began in the sugar trade. Suzuki took an interest in camphor distribution during the 1880s as part of its push to diversify the company's holdings. After his death in 1895, Suzuki's founder entrusted the company's camphor operation to Kaneko Naokichi, who advocated an "advance into Taiwan" (*Taiwan shinshutsu*) strategy. With a massive supply of natural camphor and no Japanese competitors, Kaneko believed that Taiwan could allow the firm to grow in ways that the already crowded *naichi* market would not allow. Together with fellow reprocessor Komatsu Kusuya, these two Tosa men helped to establish a facility in Taipei, which Suzuki subsequently took over and used to assert its dominance over the Taiwan market. By 1900, Suzuki held a large share of the island's camphor licenses.¹¹ As Suzuki expanded in Taiwan, other corporate players like Ikeda Shōten and the Japanese financial conglomerate (*zaibatsu*) Mitsui also began to cash in on the reprocessing of camphor oil into camphor crystals. Ikeda Shōten would secure several jointly held contracts together with Suzuki for reprocessing and refining activities in Taiwan. Mitsui would later penetrate the Taiwan market to overtake Suzuki in the late 1910s, though at this juncture it focused primarily on securing its control over reprocessing industries in Japan.¹²

The rise of large industrial conglomerates in the Taiwan camphor industry was preceded a pattern of oligopolistic consolidation that first emerged in Japan. Concentrations of corporate and banking capital in major Japanese cities, aided by close-knit networks of experienced

¹¹ Komatsu for example already held large production quotas in the immediate aftermath of the monopoly's founding. Records from 1900 demonstrate that Komatsu already had a permit for 500 stoves and projected outputs of 650,000 *kin* of camphor. This is out of a total forecast of 1,268,000 *kin* for the Taipei area. Though these numbers were severely affected by Aborigine attacks, they do indicate just how quickly Suzuki was able to ingratiate itself with the new monopolistic system. See Taiwan Camphor Monopoly Bureau, *Moto Taiwan shōnō senbai kyoku jigyo daini nenpō* [Original Second-Year Report of the Taiwan Camphor Monopoly], (Taipei: Taiwan Government-General Monopoly Bureau, 1906), 4. Please note that this series of reports does not begin with the opening year of the monopoly (1899). Instead, the first-year report is 1901. Then affixed to it is the "Original Second-Year Report" (1900) and continues with "Second-Year Report" (1902), and then goes on in chronological order from there.

¹² Saitō Naofumi, *Suzuki Shōten to Taiwan*, 9-15.

camphor makers from Kyushu and Shikoku, allowed a handful of major *shōten* or *zaibatsu* to corner the camphor, reprocessing, refining, and celluloid industries in Kobe, Osaka, and soon thereafter Taiwan. However, the profit-making potential of *naichi* soon began showing its limits. Camphor exports from Japan remained steady during the 1880s and early 1890s, with two to three million kilograms of raw camphor on average leaving Japanese ports each year. The Japanese camphor trade peaked in 1891.¹³ Taiwan would give Japanese capitalists a lifeline to keep profits from dwindling, as the island not only represented a new store of trees for camphor producers, but new opportunities for reprocessing activities, as the camphor oil business was virtually non-existent on the eve of the Japanese takeover. Japanese camphor capitalists had been eyeing Taiwan for some time. Between 1891 and 1892, Kagoshima-born Haeno Kichirō, who managed a Kyushu camphor reprocessing facility run by Komatsu, produced a comprehensive report on the state of the industry in Taiwan. Some topics covered in his report included the island's bounty of camphor trees, the high frequency of attacks by Aborigines along the Qing "savage boundary," the methods of Chinese camphor makers, as well as their complete neglect of camphor oil.¹⁴

Japan's entry into Taiwan's camphor markets was met with hostility by existing Chinese and western producers, so much so that the empire's acquisition of the island spurred a brief speculation craze between 1895 and 1896. Fearing that the Japanese invasion would trigger rampant conflicts with Aborigines, a speculator named Colonel North established a short-lived London-based syndicate that aimed to buy up Taiwan's existing camphor supply. News of the syndicate leaked, and when the Japanese takeover did not yield the anticipated industry stoppage, members of the syndicate threatened to pull out, causing a near total collapse of the camphor

¹³ Saitō Naofumi, *Suzuki Shōten to Taiwan*, 14-15.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

industry. American refiners at one point were bidding as high as \$50 (gold) per caddy weight of camphor. Prices reached a high of 65 cents a pound in 1895, dropping to 59 in November, and 46 in May of 1896. Colonel North's death helped bring down the speculation craze, and with it the price of camphor. This marked one of the final attempts by westerners to assert control over the camphor industry in Taiwan, as the Japanese licensing system would force many foreigners to abandon their stoves.¹⁵

Amidst this chaos, Kobe capitalists shifted their focus to Taiwan. In 1895, the Komatsu group opened a wholesale facility at Dadaocheng in Taipei. Komatsu himself ran the Taiwan branch, while Kaneko remained in charge of Suzuki's flagship camphor operation in Kobe.¹⁶ The Komatsu group then opened smaller offices in Hsinchu, Miaoli, Dakekan, Dongshijiao, buying up camphor stoves in the process. These branches bought camphor and camphor oil, and then shipped these commodities to the company's flagship store in Sakaechō, Kobe.¹⁷ By October of 1898, the major Japanese colonial daily newspaper in Taiwan, *Taiwan nichichi shinpō* (Taiwan Daily News), was reporting: "the Komatsu group appears to be Taiwan's foremost camphor purchaser."¹⁸ Japanese *shōten* used their capital from Japan to quickly open wholesale businesses in Taiwan. As the decision to enforce the camphor monopoly loomed large, companies would shift their operations from sales to production, buying up and building camphor stoves.

As Kobe's camphor capitalists established themselves in Taiwan, Japanese producers looked to insulate Taiwan from foreign competition and drive out "Native" Taiwanese producers. To guarantee their bottom line, Japanese camphormen forged connections with state

¹⁵ James Wheeler Davidson, *The Island of Formosa*, 408-409.

¹⁶ Saitō Naofumi, *Suzuki Shōten to Taiwan*, 18.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 51-53.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 51.

officials to push for regulations that would benefit them. For Japanese businessmen, Taiwan's camphor industry suffered from a number of problems. Chief among these were poor production methods, over-exploitation, and weak security in the highlands. These concerns dovetailed with the Aboriginal pacification state, which justified its regime along similar lines when it promulgated its forestry laws in October of 1895. With their more efficient Tosa-style production methods and ability to cash in on by-products like camphor oil, Japanese producers could call for an overhaul of the industry.

Developments from the late 1890s further convinced Japanese producers to push for a monopolistic system. With the volatility of camphor prices at the height of Colonel North syndicate incident, Kobe capitalists realized monopolization of the trade by their own could not only stabilize prices but also displace existing producers to promote further "rationalization." As early as September 1898, Matsuda Shigetarō, the head of a Kobe-based camphor refinery, presented an opinion piece to newly appointed Governor-General Kodama Gentarō and his Civilian Affairs chief Gōtō Shimpei.¹⁹ Like Komatsu and Kaneko, Matsuda came from the close-knit world of southwestern Japanese camphor producers. Initially the head of a camphor distillery at Miyazaki, Matsuda became involved in the export of crude camphor overseas, where he grew conscious of the increasing importance of camphor reprocessing and refining. For a time, he worked in the mountain and forestry division of the Agriculture Ministry. There, he developed a passion for the technical aspects of camphor refinement. He subsequently moved to Kobe and worked at a refinery.²⁰ In his piece, "Opinions on the Taiwan camphor monopoly," Matsuda advocated putting crude camphor production in Government-General hands. His

¹⁹ Tavares offers a pretty exhaustive account of the role played by mainland capitalists in ingratiating themselves with the colonial bureaucracy, as well as the importance of Matsuda's proposal. See Antonio Tavares, "Crystals from the Savage Forest," 195-213.

²⁰ More on Matsuda's trajectory can be found in Saitō Naofumi, *Suzuki Shōten to Taiwan*, 33-34.

reasoning was based on current production levels and the potential revenues these could bring the state coffers (Matsuda estimated about 6,000,000 *yen* yearly). In 1898, Taiwan produced some seven million *kin* of camphor, while Japan produced about two million, with 1.5 of that figure derived by extracting camphor from camphor oil in the mainland. World camphor demand at the time was approximately 5 million *kin*. This caused oversupply and low prices. By controlling permits and production, the government general could limit output, stabilize prices, and ensure a higher-grade product. State control of sales and commercialization would also help wrest control from foreigners, who at the time still dominated exports.²¹ In 1899, Matsuda's proposal saw the light of day, as Kodama and Gōtō created the Taiwan Camphor Monopoly.

By the century's end, an alliance between the Japanese state and Japanese capital had emerged on the island. Large Japanese camphor companies primed the pump, as their financial resources allowed them to build stoves, increase output, and incentivize further appropriation of camphor forests in Aboriginal lands and outside of Japanese jurisdiction. Far from discouraging investment, the new monopoly system helped to reorganize camphor production infrastructure of production to "Japanize" the industry, allowing select Japanese firms to overtake competitors using both their wealth and privileged relations with colonial bureaucrats.

The monopoly allowed Japanese camphormen to gain near total control of the Taiwanese camphor trade. In 1899, Japanese capital already represented 51.84 percent of camphor production. Though that number fluctuated, Japanese representation in camphor production hit 90 percent in 1912, and stayed within the 80 percent range in ensuing years. Then, in 1919, all

²¹ Nakamura Masaru, "Nihon shihonshugi no nōgyō seisaku to Taiwan kōchi gennjūmin," 51.

producers were amalgamated into the quasi-state run “Taiwan Camphor Corporation.”²² With seemingly inexhaustible camphor supplies and untapped camphor oil markets in Taiwan, it was in the interest of Japanese and their saturated markets to expand their presence on the island. Kobe capitalists cooperated closely with imperial officials to ensure steady business growth, as the camphor zone had yet to be pacified. Kobe entrepreneurs therefore were only one part of a much larger equation. Outside the purview of Japanese camphor interests, a new state-administrated monopolization was taking shape. Over the next few years, the accumulative drives of both these forces began to intersect.

The Creation of the Camphor Monopoly and its Global Ramifications

On June 22, 1899, the Taiwan Government-General formally established its camphor monopoly. The monopoly was the brainchild of Governor Kodama Gentarō and his civil administration chief, Gōtō Shimpei. Lauded by contemporaries and later historians as colonial Taiwan’s leading “modernizers,” the Kodama-Gōtō regime (1898-1906) oversaw administrative reform, infrastructure development, and economic growth. The regime made major improvements to bureaucracy, transportation, banking, industry, and agriculture. One of its main achievements was the development of Jilong harbor, Taiwan’s northernmost port. Also important was the construction of the main trunk railway line linking Jilong with Taipei, and later Taipei with the southern port city of Kaohsiung (completed in 1908). The government made major expansions to roads and pushcart lines, in addition to the telegraph and postal systems. With new forms of commercial integration linking Taiwan’s ports and cities also came export industries to get commodities out into *naichi* and western markets. The colonial state also introduced

²² Japanese representation in the industry dropped to 41.39 percent the following year and hovered in the 30-40% range in until 1906, when it climbed to 59.28 percent. It went up in the 70-90 percent range following that. These figures are from Naofumi Saitō, *Suzuki shōten to Taiwan*, 56.

monopolies on opium (1897), salt (1899), tobacco (1905), and alcohol (1922). Attempts to increase tax revenues culminated in a massive land-surveying project spearheaded by Gōtō and former Agrarian Ministry bureaucrat Nitobe Inazō, then an advisor to Taiwan's budding sugar industry. The goal was to bring unregistered lands under taxation, rationalize land ownership, and promote the development of commercial agriculture.²³ The initiative was a success, as the amount of taxable land increased from 361,000 *chia* under the Qing, to 777,000 under the Japanese. Land tax revenues also increased substantially, going from 920,000 to 2.9 million *yen* – a nearly threefold increase.²⁴ By 1905, Taiwan was a financially self-supporting colony no longer in need of subsidies from Tokyo. While the revamped land tax played a large part, that source of revenue represented only 25 percent in 1905, and subsequently dropped to 20 percent thereafter.²⁵ In the opening years of the twentieth century, it was the revenue generated from monopoly industries, chief among them camphor, which helped the colony to wean itself off of the Japanese National Diet's purse. In 1900, camphor accounted for 66.9 percent of total revenues from combined monopoly industries. That was up from 3.4 percent in 1899, and much higher than the preceding years (14.7 percent in 1896, 6.6 percent in 1897, and 5.5 percent in 1898). Except for 1903 (a low of 14.7 percent), camphor's share of monopoly revenues stayed consistently in the 30-50 percent range until 1907, and never dropped below 30 percent until at least 1915.²⁶ Camphor production thus became crucial to the financial independence of colonial Taiwan under Japanese rule.

²³ Harry J. Lamley, "Taiwan under Japanese Rule, 1895-1945: The Vicissitudes of Colonialism," in Murray Rubinstein(ed.), *Taiwan: A new history* (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 2007), 209. See also Antonio Tavares, "Crystals from the Savage Forest," 195-96.

²⁴ Tai Chun-kuo and Ramon H. Myers, *Taiwan's economic transformation: leadership, property rights, and institutional change, 1949-1965*, (Routledge, 2012), 23.

²⁵ Antonio Tavares, "Crystals from the Savage Forest," 196.

²⁶ See Ka Chih-Ming *Japanese Colonialism in Taiwan*. See also Paul Barclay, *Outcasts of Empire*, 101; Antonio Tavares, "Crystals from the Savage Forest," 199.

It was amidst Kodama and Gōtō's project to transform Taiwan into a showcase of colonial development that the camphor monopoly surfaced. The monopoly could not have come at a better time for the colonial government on the island. The 1895 regulatory regime had failed to curb illegal camphor production or strengthen government controls over permits, taxation, and other matters. Under the *bukonsho*, police powers to go after unlicensed camphor producers, adulterators, and others acting in contravention of forestry laws existed only in name. Therefore, upon Gōtō and Kodama's arrival in 1898, support for a monopoly described in the likes of Matsuda's proposal had garnered the support of the colonial bureaucracy. In January of 1899, Gōtō petitioned the Interior Ministry for creation of a camphor monopoly. The ministry accepted the plan two months later. With that decision, the legal regime of Indigenous dispossession devised by the government in October of 1895 reached its logical culmination. While the Government-General's pre-existing framework for highlands management recognized Aboriginal lands in ambiguous terms, the nationalizing of "unreclaimed" forestlands as state property made the full commodification of all Indigenous resources a central goal. Having set up a governmental apparatus now committed to taxing and increasing camphor production, the colonial state now had economic incentives seize Aboriginal lands.

Following the creation of the new government monopoly in June, producers faced a complex web of regulations and inspections needed to transport and ship camphor from its point of origin to its place of export. According to the "Regulations Concerning the Monopoly of Camphor and Camphor Oil," all producers henceforth needed permits from district authorities to engage in camphor production.²⁷ In addition, camphor now had to be sold to government "Camphor Bureaus" (*shōnō kyoku*) at a fixed rate. In addition, new measures demanded detailed

²⁷ A translation of these official regulations can be found in James W. Davidson, *The Island of Formosa*, 440-41.

production plans from producers that indicated the start date of operations, as well as forecasts for anticipated output. Failure to conform to this new system could be grounds for the revocation of a permit and the imposition of fines. Moreover, the police now had rights to inspect licenses, stoves, and check for adulterations.²⁸

The effects of these regulations on licensing were striking. On the eve of the monopoly's creation, there were 116 licensed camphor producers on the island. By August of 1899, that number fell to forty-three. It then dropped to fifteen in 1903 and reached an all-time low of one with the 1919 formation of the Taiwan Camphor Corporation.²⁹ The new government requirements accelerated monopolization. Smaller producers without significant organizational capacities or connections with state bureaucrats faced difficulties keeping their licenses. Production methods were also subject to scrutiny, as government officials attempted to cut down on waste and overexploitation. There were also significant decreases in illicit production and adulteration. In the past, purchasers complained of “crafty” camphor producers mixing camphor crystals with additives like snow, banana pulp, or alcohol to increase the weight. Davidson's *Island of Formosa* recounted an apocryphal tale of a “wily camphor worker,” who in the winter of 1892-93, seeing snow fall on the hills of Dakekan, sought to use “this gift from heaven” to enrich himself. The worker gathered a few baskets and quickly returned, mixing the snow with enough camphor to give this substance an odor. He then sold it to a hapless merchant, who within an hour, was left with nothing but a few traces of crude camphor and “a general appearance of moisture on the sides of the vessel.”³⁰ With the gradual phasing out of older production methods and better refining techniques, removing impurities became a more

²⁸ Nakamura, “Nihon shihonshugi no nōgyō seisaku to Taiwan kōchi gennjūmin,” 79-80.

²⁹ Matsushita Yosaburō, *Taiwan shōnō senbaishi*, 920.

³⁰ James Wheeler Davidson, *The Island of Formosa*, 434.

straightforward process, as was the detection of adulterants. That, coupled with the monopoly's new regulatory regime, severely curbed the circulation of poor-quality camphor and camphor smuggling activities. Records from the Camphor Monopoly Bureau attest to these changes. In 1900, authorities apprehended only twenty-two individuals for camphor-related charges: two for adulteration, six on smuggling charges, and fourteen for unlicensed production.³¹ The total confiscated shipments amounted to only 1,458 *kin* of crude camphor and 489 *kin* of camphor oil – a drop in the ocean compared to the 3,479,179 *kin* of camphor collected by the monopoly.³²

Following the creation of its monopoly in June of 1899, the government established six major Camphor Bureau offices. These were in core production areas like Taipei, Xinzhu, Miaoli, Taizhong, Zhushan (Nantou County), Luodong (Yilan County), and later Kobe. Each had additional offices and collection points in their jurisdiction. Taipei, Xinzhu, and Shenkeng were later amalgamated into a “Central Bureau” office, while the Luodong, Miaoli, and Taizhong jurisdictions remained.³³ A portion of camphor forests was also set aside for government-run experimental camphor stations. The goal with these state-run facilities was originally to employ “pacified” bandits and Aborigines, with the hopes that eventually these groups could be transformed into productive colonial subjects. This was the case with the Fort Wenshan experimental station, for a time overseen by the former anti-Japanese guerilla leader Chen Qiuju and six others.³⁴ The government built additional stations at Balisha (Luodong sub-office),

³¹ Taiwan Camphor Monopoly Bureau, *Moto Taiwan shōnō senbai kyoku jigyō daini nenpō*, 9.

³² *Ibid.*, 9. See also Taiwan Government-General, *Taiwan tōkei yōran*, 474-76.

³³ Nakamura, “Nihon shihonshugi no nōgyō seisaku to Taiwan kōchi gennjūmin,” 55. For the list of Camphor Bureau stations, see Zhijinshi, *Li fan*, 101. Camphor Bureau administrative units underwent multiple changes, though the overarching trend seems to have been increasing centralization of the monopoly apparatus into the hands of the Taipei jurisdiction office.

³⁴ Taiwan Camphor Monopoly Bureau, *Moto Taiwan shōnō senbai kyoku jigyō daini nenpō*, 17-18. Nakamura also provides a good account of these experimental state-run facilities.

Pingshang (a Xinzhu sub-office), Banshōryō, Chiayi, and Kobe.³⁵ Publicly-owned camphor stations only produced a small fraction of what private permit holders produced. In 1899, government-contracted camphor totaled only 155,477 *kin* out of a total figure of 1,819,227 *kin* of camphor.³⁶ The following year, that figure jumped to 490,568 *kin*, though most of that was due to the Fort Wenshan facility. Nineteen hundred and one marked a high point with 759,995 *kin*. Production figures declined from there, with no numbers on record for 1903 and 1904, and a measly 37,720 *kin* for 1905. Government-run stations slowly fell in obsolescence thereafter, as the government concentrated stoves into the hands of the Taiwan Camphor Corporation.³⁷ Beyond state-run production facilities, the government also refined and reprocessed with its Nanmen Park entrepot in Taipei. There, camphor underwent purification into separate “grades,” while camphor oil was also reprocessed into camphor crystals. At Nanmen, workers also packaged and prepared camphor for export.

Another important facet of the monopoly was its strict enforcement of production permits. The new permit system forced camphor producers to report anticipated production figures for the year, their number of stoves, their specific locale, and their total staff. Though the length of permits varied, they usually had to be renewed each year. While officials portrayed these changes as a much-needed overhaul of failed Qing regulations, their design facilitated Japanese capitalist penetration of the highlands. A close look at ownership of stoves in 1900 reveals the impact of these new enforcement mechanisms in the immediate aftermath of the monopoly’s creation. In the Taipei region, there were 3,000 registered stoves expected to produce 1,268,000 *kin* of camphor and 563,000 *kin* of camphor oil. Eight of the nine registered

³⁵ Taiwan Camphor Monopoly Bureau, *Moto Taiwan shōnō senbai kyoku jigyo daini nenpō*, 13.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 13. See also Taiwan Government-General, *Taiwan tōkei yōran*, 474-76.

³⁷ Taiwan Government-General, *Taiwan tōkei yōran*, 474.

permit holders in Taipei were Japanese. The other producer was a Taiwanese by the name of Chen Guozhi. Of those 3,000 stoves, only 200 belonged to Chen. In the neighboring Xinzhu district, the two biggest permits belonged to Matsuda Tokiba and Hirai Yūsuke. Matsuda's permit forecasted 380,000 *kin* of camphor and 305,000 *kin* of camphor oil, with a total of 500 stoves. He also owned another permitted (co-operated with six others) with 500 stoves, with expected outputs of 90,000 *kin* of camphor and 45,000 *kin* of camphor oil. Hirai meanwhile had two permits, with projections of 62,400 *kin* of camphor and 31,200 *kin* of camphor oil for one, and 12,600 *kin* and 6,300 *kin* respectively for the other. Though far less than Matsuda, Hirai's holdings were higher than the remaining producers in Hsinchu.³⁸

As Japanese stove ownership outpaced that of Taiwanese producers, the rate of profit over time became differentially allocated, thanks largely to subsidies and support Japanese producers received from the colonial state. By the 1910s, Japanese producers had profits in the double digits, while Taiwanese producers struggled to stay in the single digits.³⁹ However, the *naichi* takeover of Taiwan's camphor forests was neither a smooth nor a unidirectional process where bigger production quota shares translated into easy profits. As we shall see, Aboriginal attacks on camphor stoves often cut into ambitious production forecasts, forcing costly work stoppages and stove withdrawals.

The stabilization of the Taiwan camphor market following the monopoly's creation and the corresponding hike in price led to a brief challenge from camphor capitalists in Japan. As one official history of the camphor monopoly put it, the growth of the *naichi* industries during this

³⁸ Taiwan Camphor Monopoly Bureau, *Moto Taiwan shōnō senbai kyoku jigyō daini nenpō*, 4-6.

³⁹ See Antonio Tavares, "Crystals from the Savage Forest," 210. This is based on the findings of Hirai Hiroichi, "Nichisei nichirō sengo no Taiwan shokuminchi zaisei to senbai jigyō: ahen to shōnō wo chusshin ni," *Tochi seido shigaku* (1), 24.

formative period cast a “dark shadow” (*anei*) over profits in Taiwan.⁴⁰ Around 1900, *naichi* industries produced an average of about 300,000 kg of camphor per year. With global demand at around 3,000,000 kg, there was more than enough to go around for *naichi* industries to fill in the gap. Also, the supply of Japanese camphor trees were still plentiful, as the trees in southwest Japan were more accessible than those at the heart of Aborigine territory in Taiwan. Long-term competition with producers in Japan therefore seemed inevitable. In order to prevent any disruption of the “national interest,” in September of 1900 the Government-General Ministry of Finance put forth a motion to implement a monopoly in Japan, though it was struck down. Two years later, the Taiwan-Mainland Camphor monopoly unification law was passed.⁴¹ Once the Taiwan Monopoly absorbed the *naichi* industries, all crude, refined, and reprocessed camphor and camphor oil was to be sold directly to the Kobe branch of the Camphor Monopoly Bureau for producers operating out of Japan. The home islands monopoly was never as successful as its counterpart in Taiwan. Yearly profits for the *naichi* monopoly office between 1903 and 1915, floated around the 100,000 *yen* mark and subsequently decreased. Revenues aside, the absorption of the industries in Japan ultimately proved to be a net positive for the Taiwan Government-General’s bottom line. As Tavares explained, the *naichi* monopoly “brought about a stabilization of the Taiwan camphor monopoly’s revenues and precluded home island camphor exports from undermining the colonial product on the world market while protecting the interests of Japanese business.”⁴²

⁴⁰ Shimizu Shichirō, “Hontō shōnō senbai yonjū shūnen no gyōseki” [Achievements of the 40th Anniversary of this Island’s Camphor Monopoly], in Tamatei Yoichi (ed.), *Shōnō senbai yonjū shūnen no kinen* [Commemoration of the 40th Anniversary of the Taiwan Camphor Monopoly], (Taipei, 1939), 11.

⁴¹ Shimizu Shichirō, “Hontō shōnō senbai yonjū shūnen no gyōseki,” 11.

⁴² Antonio Tavares, “Crystals from the Savage Forest,” 218.

The administrative infrastructure and collection processes of the Camphor Bureau underwent several changes in the years that followed the monopoly's creation. Initially, camphor producers were to report to any one of the six major stations, where they were paid the monopoly's rate. The six Camphor Bureau offices were responsible for collections of camphor and payment in their respective jurisdictions. In 1900, the monopoly centralized its affairs by making the Taipei office its main branch. In May of the following year, the Government-General's newly created Monopoly Office (*sembai kyoku*), which controlled not only camphor, but also the monopolies for salt and opium, absorbed the camphor monopoly. In 1906, the government abolished regional bureaus and local administrators took over collection duties (regional bureaus were partially reinstated in 1917).⁴³ Existing market prices and trends determined the monopoly's payment rate to producers, which factored in costs for production, shipping, and other expenses. Camphor oil's price was set at about half of the cost of crude camphor.⁴⁴ Prices were initially high, causing the *naichi* industries to undersell their Taiwan counterparts, thereby eating into the monopoly's profits. Prices stabilized with the absorption of the industries in Japan.⁴⁵

Under the monopoly, the production process remained relatively unchanged, though the government added new layers to transportation and commercialization, which mainland firms also controlled. After collection and storage by Bureau officials, who gave a grade of purity, the camphor was shipped to Taipei for export abroad or to Kobe. After leaving regional collection depots, camphor usually switched hands to a "transporter" (*unpan*), who carried the precious commodity downhill in large sacks that could hold 50 to 100 *kin* at a time. Those transporting

⁴³ Saitō Naofumi, *Suzuki Shōten to Taiwan*, 36.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁴⁵ Antonio Tavares, "Crystals from the Savage Forest," 216.

camphor to the Taipei main office needed a license. Once again, the Government-General sub-contracted these operations to corporate allies from Japan. Except for a local Taiwanese who ran the transport lines from Taizhong and Linyipu to Taipei, the Japanese firm Gotō Kaisōten virtually ran camphor transportation operations across the island.⁴⁶ Gotō was a Kobe-based sea shipping company which established land and sea shipping networks on the island after the Qing cession. Its founder, Gotō Kato, was very close to Gotō Shimpei, and had gained favors with the colonial bureaucracy and branches of the monopoly bureau. In 1901, Gotō partnered with Suzuki Shōten and the Komatsu group to form a joint management entity (with Komatsu as the leading representative). After receiving a camphor transport license, transporters received a fixed amount of *yen* per 100 *kin*. As of September 1899, rates between Xinzhu and Taipei were 0.85 *yen*, while longer distances like Luodong to Taipei were set at 2 *yen*, and Linyipu to Taizhong, 3 *yen*. The Taizhong-Taipei road was the most difficult due to weather, damaged infrastructure, and the ongoing anti-Japanese insurgency. Though the transporter bore the cost of any potential hazard or contingency while on the road, insurance fees could be paid for to minimize losses.⁴⁷

After collecting crude camphor or camphor oil from district offices and transporting it to Taipei, the raw substance could travel one of multiple routes. First, it could be directly acquired from the government by purchasers, who then sold it to foreign and domestic markets. Second, it could undergo reprocessing or purification before returning to government hands. Though reprocessing and refining did take place in Taiwan, those activities usually occurred in Kobe, where the drop in the crude camphor production business led to a shift towards other camphor-related subsidiary industries. It was only after crude or refined camphor left government storage

⁴⁶ In 1901, the Linyipu-Taizhong road was abolished, replacing it with a Linyipu-Taipei route.

⁴⁷ For more on the evolution of camphor transportation networks, see Saitō Naofumi, *Suzuki Shōten to Taiwan*, 46-50.

facilities and trading companies purchased it that it could be sold to firms in Japan, Europe, or the Americas, and there transformed into various products.⁴⁸

Historian Saitō Naofumi divided the camphor sales system into three phases. Between 1899 to 1908, crude camphor was sold primarily to western companies involved in the refining business. During this period, the English firm Samuel & Samuel Co. (*Samiyuru*) had exclusive rights to export and sell Taiwanese camphor abroad. Then, from 1908 to 1918, the growth of refining industries in Japan led to increased sales volume to the home islands. Meanwhile foreign firms shifted towards subsidiary industries like celluloid and the production of camphor by-products. Sales were taken over by the joint Taiwan-*naichi* monopoly, while Mitsui was entrusted with foreign sales. Finally, from 1918 to 1927, the increasing prominence of both refiners and celluloid makers in Japanese prompted another shift, as more Japan-based companies began supplying purified camphor to those making by-products. By then, the rise in synthetics also began eating into the monopoly's global market share. Sales during this period belonged largely to the quasi-governmental Taiwan Camphor Corporation, as well as Mitsui.⁴⁹ From production to sales, the fusion of monopoly capital and Japanese mainland business acumen created a transcolonial camphor machine that linked stoves on the frontier with refiners, celluloid makers, and other industries in cities like Taipei, Kobe, as well as multiple European and American cities.

As the 1899 monopoly consolidated and Taiwan camphor extend its already global reach, a discourse of urgency took root among industry specialists and government bureaucrats. Fears of competition from synthetics, combined with the ecological limits of Taiwan's forest resources,

⁴⁸ Saitō Naofumi, *Suzuki Shōten to Taiwan*, 27.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 70-71.

led many to urge careful management of this strategic export commodity in order not to quickly exhaust it. In articles written for the *Taiwan kyōkai kaihō*, Morinoya called for further improvements to production methods and labor organization, as well as state reforestation programs to replenish forests as loggers felled trees.⁵⁰ With advances in industrial chemistry, by the early 1900s camphor found itself in more than just celluloid, medicine, or aromatics. Everyday objects like billiard balls, pocket knife handles, umbrella handles, pen holders, picture frames, tobacco pouches, and business card holders were some of the items now produced using Taiwanese camphor.⁵¹ Chemists also produced different oils and by-products using camphor. These included white, red, and black oil used in varnishes, medicine, perfumery, soaps, and insecticides. Celluloid remained the most common product made from raw camphor, as estimates from 1932 put world camphor usage at 80 percent in celluloid and film, 10 percent in medicine, 6 percent in incense or religious ceremonies, 2 percent in gunpowder and smokeless fireworks, and 2 percent in perfumes.⁵² For Morinoya, new demand from celluloid, plastics, and industrial chemicals represented a “promising and beneficial” opportunity, as Taiwan could monopolize the world supply of the raw material used to produce multitude products. This would require careful changes to production methods and labor organization. As Morinoya wrote:

Given the competition between man-made and synthetic products, it is of utmost importance that we improve the quality of camphor and keep prices low. Should we want to implement this, the methods of production first have to be improved and the amount of camphor produced from felled trees maximized. Use labor in an orderly manner and increase the scale of production so as to reduce manufacturing costs.⁵³

⁵⁰ Moriya Monoshirō, “Taiwan shōnō no genzai shōrai” [The present and future of Taiwan Camphor], *Taiwan kyōkai kaihō* 3 (1898), 59-60.

⁵¹ Moriya Monoshirō, “Taiwan shōnō seizōhōryō no kyūmu,” 10.

⁵² Walter A. Durham, Jr. “The Japanese Camphor Monopoly: Its History and Relation to the Future of Japan,” *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 5, No. 9 (Sep., 1932), 797.

⁵³ Moriya Monoshirō, “Taiwan shōnō seizōhōryō no kyūmu,” 12.

To keep up with global demand, Morinoya stressed that adoption of larger Japanese stoves and improving the efficiency of the productive process as absolutely necessary for the Taiwanese camphor industry's long-term viability.⁵⁴

In addition to changes in the production process, there were also changes in labor relations. Camphor producers attempted to introduce Japanese workers to promote improvements to production techniques. These attempts yielded limited success, as Han Chinese laborers and their families remained the primary labor force in the camphor zone well into the later colonial period. Saitō mentioned an 1899 pilot project in Yilan where hired Japanese workers “taught Japanese-style production methods” to Taiwanese. For the greater part of their trip though, the Japanese workers were stricken with disease. Out of ten, only two to three were capable of work. The others fell prey to tropical diseases like malaria and beriberi. One died from “acute gastrointestinal issues,” another from a heart-related problem, and Aborigines killed a third worker at a camphor site.⁵⁵ Wages were also racially segmented, with *naichi* workers earning slightly more than their Taiwanese counterparts. Daily wages for Japanese workers for one day were about 55 *zeni*, while non-Japanese could be paid as little as five to six *zeni* for similar work. Yet even the higher pay though could not entice Japanese, as frequent weather-related issues caused work stoppages that forced them to miss many days of work out of the month. With many workers wanting to return home, their monthly wages were increased to sixteen yen and fifty *zeni*. Still, as workers endured the rain and weather, most became ill. Those afflicted with disease were sent down from the mountains to recover, adding further costs to this venture. Comparing *naichi* to Taiwanese workers, Saitō remarked that camphor producers were getting “fed up” (*akiru*) with

⁵⁴ Moriya Monoshirō, “Taiwan shōnō no genzai shōrai,” 58-59.

⁵⁵ Saitō Kenji, “Taiwan shōnō no seizō,” 18.

local labor.⁵⁶ In his writings, Saitō painted Taiwanese laborers in a highly unfavorable light, portraying them as “lazy” and “indolent” types who squandered their pay on drugs and leisure.⁵⁷ Still, Japanese producers could never overcome their reliance on the Taiwanese. However, Japanese workers from the home islands did continue to make the voyage to Taiwan, as Japanese camphor companies often imported skilled labor from the Shikoku and Kyushu regions to staff their operations. In 1903, there were 7,274 *naichi* males in Taiwan’s camphor industry, and 29,389 Taiwanese. Thus, Japanese workers still accounted for 24 percent of the camphor industry’s labor force that year. Women were also a big part of the industry, with 3,281 Japanese women and 6,614 Taiwanese women listed that year.⁵⁸ The pay scale for each group was divided along racial lines, with *naichi* men and women earning 0.844.63 and 0.299.39 *yen* per hour, and Taiwanese men earning 0.359.74, and women 0.160.97.⁵⁹ As Tavares has shown, Japanese companies preferred working with household-based producers, as these were by and large more reliable than single males. Single men from Japan often grew lonely in the mountains. Given the dispersed and time-intensive nature of production there, household-based firms were also able to provide support systems for frontier life, thereby increasing overall output.⁶⁰

Calls to expand the labor force and improve production methods were accompanied by anxieties about the industry’s capabilities for meeting world demand. There were genuine concerns that the Japanese Empire would burn through its supply of trees. In many of the early scientific writings on camphor, reforestation figured prominently. Estimates from the turn of the twentieth century put the total supply of Taiwan’s three major camphor-producing districts at

⁵⁶ Saitō Kenji, “Taiwan shōnō no seizō,” 20.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁵⁸ Taiwan Camphor Monopoly Bureau, *Moto Taiwan shōnō senbai kyoku jigyo daini nenpō*, 15.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Antonio Tavares, “Crystals from the Savage Forest,” 212-13.

about thirty years' worth of trees for each region.⁶¹ Though the rate of growth in Taiwan for trees was about three times that of trees in Japan, it still took on average about sixty years for a tree to reach full maturity. Examiners of the industry therefore warned that steady replenishment of camphor forests was imperative if Japan's monopoly on the world's camphor supply was to endure. In an earlier piece from 1898, Morinoya advocated for aggressive reforestation due to steadily increasing production volumes. Though Taiwan was blessed with an abundance of large, high-yielding *cinnamomum camphora* trees, he described a serious deficiency of the younger saplings needed to reforest depleted areas.⁶² He recommended that once workers had exhausted their plot of camphor trees, new trees should be planted immediately. Given that "[Japan] intends to produce camphor in perpetuity," Morinoya advocated the creation of camphor "nurseries" to safeguard the island's supply.⁶³ While the government built one camphor nursery as early as 1896, it began building eight more in 1899: two in Taipei, four in Taizhong, one in Tainan, and one in Yilan. In addition, a million young trees were ready for transplantation by 1900.⁶⁴ British consular reports from 1905 also addressed reforestation. According to these reports, trees being harvested at the turn of the century in Taiwan were mainly old ones that did not produce seeds, while those that did were to be found mainly in "remote savage districts." Hinting at future conquests of Aboriginal forests, the report reassured readers that "there is still an extensive supply of Native forest growth and many huge trees are to be found in regions still unexplored. The supply, therefore, is assumed for years to come."⁶⁵ Yet Japanese authorities were less complacent. Beginning in 1913, the Taiwan Government-General devised a new program to

⁶¹ "Taiwan seibankai ni tsuite" [On the Raw Savage Boundary], *Taiwan kyōkai kaihō* 14 (1900), 12-13.

⁶² Moriya Monoshirō, "Taiwan shōnō no genzai shōrai," 59-60.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 60.

⁶⁴ Robert L. Jarman (ed), *Taiwan: Political and Economic Reports 1860-1960 Volume 6: 1900-1923*, (Slough: Archive Editions, 1997), 8-9.

⁶⁵ Robert L. Jarman (ed), *Taiwan: Political and Economic Reports 1860-1960 Volume 6: 1900-1923*, 211.

plant 3,000 acres of trees annually, though it is unclear if this program had any substantive impact.⁶⁶

Concerns surrounding the availability of the camphor tree in Taiwan even spurred attempts by other nations to plant camphor forests of their own. Scientific journals from the period discussed at length the variability of potential for camphor tree growth across different climate zones. In places like Italy, Madagascar, Egypt, California, and Florida, some planted camphor trees on an experimental basis.⁶⁷ One notable pilot project was in the state of Florida, where the local government encouraged farmers to add camphor trees to their existing crops. In 1914, an experimental station in Satsuma, Florida alone produced 10,000 pounds of crude camphor from its 2,000 acres of planted trees. Smaller plantations in different parts of Florida also gained some traction, as small farmers and truck growers were encouraged to plant camphor trees around their fields. As the industry would make headway in the United States, the author envisioned a thriving private camphor market that could supply the needs of U.S. companies.⁶⁸ So optimistic was his projection that the author enthusiastically proclaimed: “the outlook now is that within another dozen years or less the camphor trade of the United States will be revolutionized. The monopoly of Formosa will be a thing of the careless past.”⁶⁹ That vision never came to fruition. And, Taiwan’s global near-monopoly continued.

Another by-product of Taiwan’s dominance in global camphor production was the race to develop synthetics, which began as early as 1900. As nation-states were in the throes of rapid industrialization, access to raw materials to fuel factories, produce consumer goods, and boost

⁶⁶ Robert L. Jarman (ed), *Taiwan: Political and Economic Reports 1860-1960 Volume 6: 1900-1923*, 257-511.

⁶⁷ “Camphor. (Cinnamomum Camphora, Nees.)” *Bulletin of Miscellaneous Information* (Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew), Vol. 1899, No. 149/150 (1899), 58-59.

⁶⁸ “Our Beginnings in Camphor,” *Scientific American*, Vol. 112, No. 3 (January 16, 1915), 71.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

military arsenals became a vital concern. Camphor had new military significance with the invention of smokeless gunpowder. Discovered in 1884 by the French chemist Paul Marie Eugene Vieille, smokeless gunpowder combined nitrocellulose, alcohol, ether, and camphor as a stabilizer. The end-product was a propellant for bullets and shells. While specific figures on the total amount of camphor imported to produce smokeless gunpowder are unavailable, some nine to ten million kilograms of this important military resource made its way to Europe and the United States between 1910 and 1916, as international tensions rose and war then began to engulf the European continent.⁷⁰ The reliance on Japan for such a strategic commodity was not lost on western observers. As one U.S. commentator warned in 1915: “the realization had come home to our nation, about that time, with especial force and significance, that Japan had a monopoly of the camphor trade; hence, a monopoly of one of the most important sinews of war.”⁷¹ To have a resource like camphor concentrated in the hands of a major regional imperialist competitor could severely disadvantage European and American powers in the event of future conflict. This, coupled with camphor’s increasing profitability due to its diverse chemical applications, put pressure on western nations to seek out alternatives that could allow them to break free of their dependency on Taiwan Government-General camphor. In his 1907 *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, the author Takekoshi Yosaburō reported that Germany had developed a new synthetic method of camphor fabrication, though the cost of production (90 yen) was close to the sale price of camphor itself (100 yen) at the time, so it was not economically viable yet.⁷²

⁷⁰ This information can be found at the camphor exhibit of the Nanmen Park Museum in Taipei.

⁷¹ “Our Beginnings in Camphor,” *Scientific American*, 71.

⁷² Takekoshi Yosaburō, *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, 179.

By the 1920s, the German method of synthetic camphor production began eating into monopoly profits.⁷³ Thanks to a process pioneered by the pharmaceutical firm Schering, camphor could now be produced using turpentine, a substance which - ironically enough - was also derived from a tree. Acquiring turpentine though was nowhere near as difficult as camphor, and its abundance could assure large quantities of artificial camphor. Over time, synthetic camphor began changing the ways European and American nations traded with Japan. In 1923, the United States imported 489,000 pounds of synthetic camphor, compared to 6,881,000 pounds of crude and refined camphor. In 1929, thanks to synthetics, the U.S. imported 3.957 million pounds of crude synthetics versus 5.635 million pounds of crude camphor. By 1937, the U.S. imported 2,928,000 and 1,828,000 pounds respectively. By the late 1930s, synthetic and natural camphor imports were reaching similar levels in the United States. Still, natural camphor remained a global powerhouse.⁷⁴ As one analyst writing in the *Far Eastern Survey* put it in 1939: “There is disagreement concerning the possibility of synthetic camphor upsetting the Japanese position.”⁷⁵ Though synthetic camphor production became more widespread with each year, only Germany had a significant share of that global market. Most nations failed to build viable synthetic camphor industries that could compete with the behemoth that was the Japanese camphor monopoly.⁷⁶

Meanwhile, things were changing at the site of production along the Taiwanese frontier. The Government-General’s ambitious blueprints of a global Taiwan-led world camphor market required more than just taxation, collection procedures, or the confidence of *naichi* investors.

⁷³ Takekoshi Yosaburō, *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, 179.

⁷⁴ Walter Grunge, “Japanese Camphor and the American Market,” *Far Eastern Survey*, Vol. 8, No. 19 (Sep. 27, 1939), 229-30.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

More crucially, new repressive state capacities were needed to assure the integrity of an industry which, from the late 1890s onwards, had become the target of regular Aboriginal attacks. The camphor zone during the monopoly's formative years underwent a process of militarization. By 1900, "defense against savages" (*bōban*) had become a watchword for both government officials and camphor producers, as the colonial state and camphor producers took measures to enhance the security of distilleries. Thanks to both new centralized command structures, as well as the deployment of police officers and armed paramilitaries along the "savage boundary," Aboriginal lands were now in the crosshair of a colonial invasion force with authorization to advance should any attack befall camphor workers or the security forces tasked with protecting them. While the early Aboriginal Pacification State had only formulated guidelines for how to handle threats to colonial development in the highlands, during the monopoly years it concretized these principles into mechanisms that placed police stations, armed sentries, mountain guns, militiamen, and other "protective" units closer to Indigenous communities.

"Defense against Savages:" Pacification as an extension of production

Most Japanese government primers or retrospectives on the Taiwanese camphor monopoly stress the indispensable role played by the Government-General's security apparatus in the opening decade of the twentieth century. The *Gazetteer of the Taiwan Camphor Monopoly* (1924) made this abundantly clear in its coverage of "officially-instituted mechanisms for defense against the savages." Reflecting on the state of Aborigine administration, its compiler Matsushita Yosaburō highlighted how monopolization provided a vital opportunity to overhaul the patchwork of *bukonsho* stations and dispersed guards monitoring Indigenous areas. With greater attention being placed on the "savage boundary" and its potential impact on productive activities, the Pacification-Reclamation Bureau and the *benmusho* district offices were

transferred from the responsibility of the civilian “Colonial Development Office” (*minseikyoku*) to Central Police Headquarters in 1901.⁷⁷ Power would be henceforth concentrated in the hands of policemen. Patrolling duties along the line were would be largely outsourced to paramilitaries and auxiliaries drawn from the ranks of the old *aiyong* system of the late Qing era. This militarized police cordon, now renamed *aiyūsen*, or “guardline,” became the central instrument for state expansion into untapped camphor forests. Compared to the late 1890s, camphor producers in the early 1900s could count on increased firepower, regular government financing of border security, and the rapid deployment of resources to so-called “problem” areas. With a revamped infrastructure of Aborigine administration committed to protecting downhill flows of camphor, profits displaced “benevolence” as the Aboriginal pacification state’s central mandate. Indigenous lands, and lives, were now part of the balance sheet. “Defense against savages” had become an integral part of camphor production and extended into unfelled forests. This process of commodification incentivized the creation of a more robust machinery of Indigenous pacification, while helping to entrench attitudes about the “necessity” of military expeditions and police actions beyond the line. Just as James Wheeler Davidson announced that the “camphor question is in reality the savage question” in his 1903 *Island of Formosa*, Indigene governance and camphor capitalism began intersecting in new ways that placed increased pressures on Aboriginal autonomy while imperiling Indigenous lives.

Beginning with the administration of Kodama Gentarō and Gōtō Shinpei, the “savage boundary” began seeing massive injections of state spending. Like the land surveys and infrastructural projects of this period, “savage administration” was one of the many areas targeted for administrative overhaul. However, it would take some time before their vision of

⁷⁷ Matsushita Yosaburō, *Taiwan shōnō senbaishi*, 162-63.

“scientific” management made its way to the mountains. Complaints about the state of highlands security were common. Commentators decried the lack of systematicity in the government’s handling of attacks against camphor producers. Compared to the government’s suppression of the “bandit” problem in the plains, one author noted that the threat of “raw savages” up to that point had been addressed only in piecemeal fashion.⁷⁸

Indeed, there was no denying that conditions on the frontier had not improved following the dismantlement of the *bukonsho*. In 1899, the number of victims due to attacks by Aborigines was 531. The lion’s share of that number (510) were local Taiwanese either employed as camphor workers or frontier guards. That number only dipped slightly in 1900, to 510 total casualties. Military encounters with Japanese security forces also continued, with 293 in 1899, 314 in 1900, 342 in 1901, and 273 in 1902. A turning point came in 1903. That year, the number of Japanese-Aborigine skirmishes dropped below 200 and stayed there. The number of deaths also began decreasing that year, to 310.⁷⁹ By 1910, there were only forty-two deaths on record as a result of “damage inflicted by savages” (civilian deaths only).⁸⁰ The physical extension of the guardline also steadily advanced during this crucial decade. In the areas around Taipei, the line expanded by a total of 133 *ri*. In camphor-rich Yilan, security forces extended the Japanese presence by 307 *ri*, while in Hsinchu, it expanded by 166. In northeastern Taiwan alone, colonial authorities forcibly incorporated some 606 *ri* of Indigenous land into the government’s police cordon by 1910.⁸¹

⁷⁸ “Taiwan seibankai ni tsuite,” 14-15.

⁷⁹ Paul Barclay, *Outcasts of Empire*, 100.

⁸⁰ Taiwan Government-General, *Taiwan tōkei yōran*, 186.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 188.

What shape did this decade-long expansion of the guardline and its instruments of coercion take? And, how did it affect camphor producers and monopoly profits? In June of 1898, the government replaced the Pacification-Reclamation Bureau with the *benmusho* offices, which were a sort of “Local Administration Office.” That fall, colonial development heads proposed a separate “Aboriginal Affairs” bureau (*bansei kyoku*) as part of an attempt to create a new *bukonsho*-style organization dedicated to Indigene affairs.⁸² Though the idea never came to fruition, its proposed changes suggest shifting attitudes among policy planners on the eve of the monopoly’s founding. According to this agency’s schematic outlay, its activities would have been divided along three major branches: “benevolence” (providing employment, education, fines, and punishments), “production” (land seizure, the felling of trees, and camphor production), and force (use of police, guards, and military troops). Here we see the benevolent state paternalism and promotion of capitalist industry that were staples of the earlier Pacification-Reclamation Bureau. However, the inclusion of a specific mechanism for deploying armed troops suggested that violence would be very much a part Government-General interactions with Indigenes.⁸³ According to an outline of the proposed *banseikyoku*, the security arm of this entity would have overseen the “supervision of strategic areas,” “the implementation of mechanisms to search for criminals,” and security operations across the guardline.⁸⁴ The army was also part of this border policing vision: “when a situation arises where the vicious attacks of the savages grow too powerful, measures meant to put down [the Aborigines], such as those used by the armed forces, will be implemented.”⁸⁵ Though the *banseikyoku* never materialized, its conception of an active police and paramilitary presence, ready to launch coordinated attacks on

⁸² Inō Kanori (ed.), *Riban shikō*, 134.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 133.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 134.

Aborigines (with occasional help from colonial military troops), surfaced in subsequent bureaucratic reshufflings.

With each passing year, Aboriginal affairs became more institutionally entrenched within the larger police bureaucracy. Personnel deployment records of the “security staff along the savage boundary” (*bankai keibiin*) from the 1900s reveal a clear chain of command with police lieutenants (*keibu*), inspectors (*junsaho*), and officers (*junsa*) at the top, and paramilitaries (*aiyu* and *aichō*) at the bottom.⁸⁶ By the mid-1900s, the militarization of Japanese-Indigene relations proceeded with the creation, in 1906, of the “Taiwan Central Police Headquarters Savage Section,” and the 1909 creation of the “Savage Affairs Central Headquarters.” Aborigine administration found a permanent home in the “Savage Administration” (*ribanka*) section of the “Taiwan Police Bureau” in 1915. It would remain there until the end of Japanese rule thirty years later in 1945.⁸⁷ The more police took the reins of colonial administration in the highlands, the more governing Indigenes became a law enforcement operation aimed at preventing “crimes” against the state and its camphor forests. With the line gaining more real estate each year, repressive structures grew in size and scope, rationalizing larger deployments of officers and auxiliaries to unconquered Aboriginal lands. The policy was nothing less than a slow invasion of Taiwan’s Aboriginal highlands.

What then of the line itself? What were its features and overall composition? The guardline at its peak was a frontier perimeter that cut Taiwan roughly in half (see appendix 3.1).

⁸⁶ Taiwan Government-General, *Taiwan tōkei yōran*, 187.

⁸⁷ After the abolishment of the *bukonsho*, Aborigine Affairs briefly fell under the control of the *benmusho*, only to be then reshuffled a number of times as a sub-department of Police Central Headquarters (*Keisatsu honsho*). In 1909, Aboriginal Affairs became its own standalone agency, the *Banmu honsho*, or “Savage Central Headquarters.” Finally, in 1915, Indigenous policy would find a permanent home as the “Savage Administration Section” (*Ribanka*) of the Taiwan Government-General Police Bureau (*Taiwan sōtokufu keimukyoku*), which would govern the highlands until 1945. See Fujii Shizue, *Li fan*, 119-120, 211, 230, 268.

Its staff consisted primarily of thousands of paramilitary forces under police control. The *aiyūsen* was a direct inheritance of the Qing *aiyong* system. As we saw in chapter one, the late Qing state frequently deployed irregular troops, commandeered by local gentry or wealthy frontiersmen to suppress Aboriginal attacks. By 1895, that system had largely fallen into obsolescence. From the late 1890s onwards, the Government-General began regular funding for the rebuilding of the largely defunct Qing-era *aiyong* system in the hopes of revitalizing it. Beginning in September of 1896, prefectural governments began receiving monthly funds to improve security implements and personnel along the line. The initial sum dispensed was two thousand yen.⁸⁸ While local governments were initially responsible for oversight of these guards and their stipends, corruption and inefficiencies prompted the government to reform the system, centralizing it under police control, making all auxiliaries state employees. These state-financed guards, known as “*aiyu* patrolmen” (*aichō*), numbered in the thousands. In 1899, there were 774 of these guards.⁸⁹ In 1904, that number jumped to 3,355. By 1910, there were 4,502 along the line.⁹⁰ Linked by telegraph lines, fencing, and barbed wire, facilities housed the line’s police and paramilitary irregulars. High-ranked police officials could be usually found in the dozens of district offices (*shichō*) and “savage affairs police sub-stations” spread along the line. Below these were *aiyu* superintendent stations, dispatch stations, and guard houses (*airyō*), which provided shelter to those on the front lines of “defense against savages.” While superintendent stations numbered in the double digits on average, there were many more dispatch stations (432 in 1910) and guardhouses (1,250 in 1910) spread out in small intervals.

⁸⁸ Inō Kanori (ed.), *Riban shikō*, 28-29.

⁸⁹ These paramilitary forces were concentrated in the Taizhong area. The Taipei jurisdiction had 195 police at its disposal, while Yilan had 150. Taiwan Camphor Monopoly Bureau, *Taiwan shōnō kyōku jigyō dai ippō* [The Taiwan Camphor Bureau’s First Year Report on Production], (Taipei: Taiwan Camphor Monopoly Bureau, 1903), 18. See also Matsushita Yosaburō, *Taiwan shōnō senbaishi*, 162.

⁹⁰ Taiwan Government-General, *Taiwan tōkei yōran*, 185.

As the primary instrument of invasion, the *aiyūsen* and its guards became a core part of the official mythos of “savage administration.”⁹¹ Taiwanese guardline troops often received cash awards, medals, and other accolades for their participation in government wars of conquest.⁹² Embellished tales (*bidan*) of guardline bravery against Indigenous attackers were compiled in government histories like the 1910 work “The Meritorious Deeds of Savage Governance” (*chiban kikō*). However, reality on the ground contradicted these heroic narratives of sacrifice in the name of bringing “industry” to the highlands. In addition to being paid less than their Japanese police counterparts, guardline patrolmen bore the overwhelming brunt of the casualties from Indigenous raids. Between 1898 and 1909, 3,710 Taiwanese employed along the line were killed and 1,321 wounded, while Japanese suffered 417 deaths and 224 wounded.⁹³

In the span of almost five years, the loose network of private guards from the Qing era morphed into a fully-fledged fighting force, complete with uniforms, regular salaries, and legal sanction to use indiscriminate violence against Indigenous people in the highlands.⁹⁴ The more the *aiyu* became the first line of contact, the more this organization acted with impunity and heavy-handedness. Consider the following account of Takekoshi, who in his *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, documented the line’s powers to shoot on sight any threat, real or perceived: “Guns are mounted at important points along the line, and sentinels patrol the space between guard-houses with rifles, and challenge all savages who come anywhere near the line...The sentinels have full permission to use their rifles whenever their challenge is disregarded.”⁹⁵ Over the years, the line

⁹¹ Taiwan Government-General, *Taiwan tōkei yōran*, 185.

⁹² Taiwan Government-General Savage Affairs Central Headquarters (ed.), *Chiban kikō* [Meritorious Deeds of Savage Governance], (Taipei: Banmu honsho, 1911). See also Paul Barclay, *Outcasts of Empire*, 106.

⁹³ Paul Barclay, *Outcasts of Empire*, 100.

⁹⁴ For more see Bureau of Aboriginal Affairs, *Report on the Control of the Aborigines in Formosa*, (Taipei: Banmu honsho, 1910), 10-14.

⁹⁵ Takekoshi Yosaburō, *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, 215.

added a host of technical implements, augmenting its lethal capabilities. The celebratory 1916 *Report on the Control of the Aborigines in Formosa* described in detail the line's growing arsenal of equipment: "Where it becomes necessary to perfect the defensive arrangements, wire-entanglements, charged with electricity, are used, or mines are sunk. These have a great effect...in certain important places mountain and field guns are placed. One gun is sufficient to withstand the attack of several tribes."⁹⁶

The relationship between the *aiyūsen* and camphor producers however needs further clarification. In 1900, 51 percent of guardline forces were officially listed as engaging in protective duties for camphor forests.⁹⁷ "Protection of camphor production" (*seinō hogo*) was one of the officially prescribed roles of the guardline, though camphor capitalists initially had to shoulder the fiscal burden. As part of the new regulatory apparatus, camphor producers had the right to assemble their own security forces for "self-defense." On camphor sites, one could hire private guards (*minsō* in Japanese) or *aiyu* patrolmen to protect stoves. The monopoly made hiring these units mandatory for all activities crossing the "savage boundary," granting permits only when adequate defensive provisions had been made.⁹⁸ These guards did not have the right to pursue attackers and could only be garrisoned for defense. The monthly cost of these militias was about 1,200 *yen* in 1898.⁹⁹

A brief comparison of security expenses for "defense against savages" (*bōban*) in the northern (Taipei) and southern-central (Taizhong/Miaoli) regions sheds additional light on these arrangements. In 1903, *naichi* permit holders Arai Yasuharu and Komatsu Kusuya, who served

⁹⁶ Taiwan Government-General, *Report on the Control of the Aborigines in Formosa*, 16.

⁹⁷ In 1900, there was a total of 1,593 guardline troops. Of that number, 825 were listed as participating in *shōnō seizō hogo*, meaning "protection of camphor production." See Inō Kanori (ed.), *Riban shikō*, 237-38.

⁹⁸ Matsushita Yosaburō, *Taiwan shōnō senbaishi*, 165.

⁹⁹ Nakamura Masaru, "Nihon shihonshugi no nōgyō seisaku to Taiwan kōchi genjūmin," 67.

as Suzuki's main agent in Taiwan, spent 35,541 *yen* on security for a permit encompassing 1,290,000 *kin* of camphor forest in the Taipei area. These costs represented both that of the paramilitaries themselves, as well as their rifles. In contrast, thirteen Taiwanese permit holders overseeing camphor operations in Taizhong and Miaoli spent a total of 30,246 *yen* on 1,935,000 *kin*.¹⁰⁰ The gap in security costs was due to a number of factors. For one, Taizhong and Miaoli did not have the same degree of anti-colonial resistance by Aborigines when compared to north-central areas. Taiwanese producers also benefitted from their own networks of militiamen.¹⁰¹ Japanese producers, put simply, were more dependent on the Aboriginal pacification state, though the total production volume they stood to profit from in more restive areas was much higher due to the presence of uncleared forests and the larger production quotas typically distributed to a handful of permit holders. Over time, security costs were increasingly taken on by the Government-General, who not only injected more men, money, and materials into the line, but also redistributed its costs through taxes producers owed to the Camphor Bureau.¹⁰² Following this, private *minsō* guards steadily declined as increased numbers of police and *aiyu* garrisoned problem spots.¹⁰³

The expansion of the *aiyūsen* did not always entail an increase in production or profits. At every turn, producers faced setbacks, chief among these an increasingly hostile Indigenous population intent on defending their lands from invasion and exploitation. As a result of "damage inflicted by savages," camphor producers often had to withdraw or relocate stoves. The ability to finance large holdings of stoves in camphor-rich areas and offer ambitious production quotas to

¹⁰⁰ Nakamura Masaru, "Nihon shihonshugi no nōgyō seisaku to Taiwan kōchi genjūmin," 65.

¹⁰¹ I am referring here to the militias headed by the Lin clan, which as we saw in chapter one, assisted Liu Mingchuan in his pacification operations of the late 1880s and early 1890s.

¹⁰² Nakamura Masaru, "Nihon shihonshugi no nōgyō seisaku to Taiwan kōchi genjūmin," 66-67.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

the Government-General were no guarantors of financial return. It did, however, make the repressive turn in highland governance seem more “self-evident” in the eyes of government officials. As the colonial state faced concerns over revenues to keep itself afloat, the accommodation and feasting that the *bukonsho* had hoped would usher in a “peaceful” transition to commodity production in the highlands began taking a backseat. What began as a project to gain the loyalty of newly minted imperial subjects morphed into an island-wide police and military operation aimed at facilitating naked conquest and commodity extraction.

The opening years of twentieth century saw a series of wars that affected camphor makers’ bottom line, especially mainland Japanese producers seeking to cash in on unexploited portions of Taiwan’s northeast. The first major flashpoint was the Dakekan region (Daikokan in Japanese) which then served as the most significant camphor production zone. Traversed by the Dahan river, the Dakekan area was one of the main processing and shipping points for moving camphor to important commercial ports like Tamsui at the far north of the island.¹⁰⁴ The area had been the site of Hashiguchi’s diplomacy of feasts and moralizing injunctions to “submit” to the new government in 1895. In August of 1900, following a string of attacks on camphor production sites, the colonial government launched a major reprisal against the region’s Atayal groups, which involved both police units and a colonial army battalion. The summer Dakekan conflict caused several deaths and forced hundreds of workers to flee from the area. In response, government policymakers imposed an embargo on the region’s Aboriginal inhabitants that lasted for months. Additional irregular troops and facilities to house them were added to reinforce the Dakekan segment of line that year as well.¹⁰⁵ Deployment charts from 1900 show that the region

¹⁰⁴ Charles Archibald Mitchell, *Camphor Trade in Japan and Formosa*, 43.

¹⁰⁵ I examine the Dakekan conflict at greater lengths in chapter four. For the official government account, see Inō Kanori (ed.), *Riban shikō*, 160.

boasted 262 *aiyu* patrolmen, fourteen superintendent stations, and seventy-four guards houses. In addition, government authorities added two long-range mountain guns to its arsenal there. The summer Dakekan war was significant enough to prompt the Camphor Bureau to seek out new areas of exploitation nearby in areas like Neiwan and Sanxia. There were also plans to increase production at its Wenshan experimental facility to make up for losses.¹⁰⁶

Out of 5,443 active camphor stoves operating that year in Taiwan, about 1,000 were inoperative due to “unrest along the savage boundary.”¹⁰⁷ The bulk of these belonged to *naichi* permit holders, who for the most part had their stoves clustered in the Taipei region. Major producers affected by the Dakekan conflict included Suzuki’s Komatsu, who had to suspend 500 of his stoves, and Oonosuke Konishi, whose license encompassed 200 units. Taiwanese permit holder Chen Guozhi also ceased operation of his license near White Leopard village (Atayal) due to unrest there starting in February.¹⁰⁸ Disruptions in camphor production also took place in Yilan Prefecture, where the successors of the *bukonsho* continued to struggle to assert their rule over the Mnibu and Nan’ao Atayal. There, within the Camphor Bureau’s Luodong sub-office district, Aborigines attacked police outposts, farmers, and camphor workers in fifty-five separate assaults. These attacks resulted in forty dead or injured. The government-run experimental camphor station at Balisha also endured “damage inflicted by savages” that year.¹⁰⁹

Though camphor capitalists set their sights on northeastern Taiwan’s vast stores of camphor through large permits or generous contracts with government-run experimental stations, their plans were not unfolding smoothly. Figures detailing total output from *naichi* permit

¹⁰⁶ Taiwan Camphor Monopoly Bureau, *Moto Taiwan shōnō senbai kyoku jigyō daini nenpō*, 1-2 & 13.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

holders in the Taipei Camphor Bureau show a steep drop in projected figures for some, or no production at all between September of 1900 and March of 1901 for others. Big players like Komatsu, whose 1,900 permits indicated forecasts of 650,000 *kin* of camphor and 218,000 *kin* of camphor oil, managed to produce only about half of those projections: 380,252 *kin* of camphor and 139,553 *kin* of camphor oil. Others did not lose out on much, but still saw reductions in anticipated production. Oonosuke predicted 120,000 *kin* of camphor and 54,000 *kin* of camphor oil, but only generated 98,054 *kin* and 41,478 *kin* respectively. In total, *naichi* camphor producers in the Taipei area produced 603,896 *kin*.¹¹⁰ The situation was better in central and southern areas, where insurgent activities by Aborigines were not as impactful. Taizhong and Miaoli jurisdictions produced 788,548 and 719,567 *kin* of camphor respectively in those years. Some of the top players in the Taizhong region were permit holders belonging to the Lin family, who had supplied Liu Mingchuan with paramilitaries in central Taiwan at the height of the *kaishan fufan* policy.¹¹¹ In Hsinchu, a license operated by Japanese Matsuda Tokiba and six others produced 382,089 *kin* without any interruptions. Another prominent *naichijin* in Hsinchu was Hirai Yuusuke, whose figure for that year registered at 111,302 *kin*.¹¹²

While 1900 saw a severe increase in Indigenous assaults, this trend persisted. In the summer of 1902, Ri Aguai, a Saisiyat elder and owner of multiple camphor stoves, banded together with remnants of anti-Japanese partisans and surrounding Atayal groups to launch a general uprising against the Government-General and camphor industry in Nanzhuang (then Nanshō, Miaoli province).¹¹³ The uprising sent ripples across camphor-producing regions, as attacks by joint “Aborigine-bandit” (*banhi*) caused disruptions as far north as Taoyuan and

¹¹⁰ Taiwan Camphor Monopoly Bureau, *Moto Taiwan shōnō senbai kyoku jigyo daini nenpō*, 31

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 4-6 & 30.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 32-33.

¹¹³ The specifics of this rebellion are treated at length in chapter 4.

Taipei. The government opportunistically framed many of the assaults as the product of bandits and *agent provocateurs* “inciting” Aborigines to revolt.¹¹⁴ While it is unclear how scattered remnants of plains insurgents helped foment or plan unrest across the line, the effects of heightened anti-colonial resistance were very much felt by permit holders.

That year, in Taoyuan, near the Atayal village of Ma Wudu, Komatsu and Taiwanese permit holder Zhou Yuanbao experienced regular attacks by “savages and bandits” (*banhi*). Komatsu had a permit that projected 189,000 *kin* of camphor and 99,000 *kin* of camphor oil for that year. He was only able to crank out 27,532 *kin* of camphor and 20,498 *kin* of camphor oil. As for Zhou, he produced only 9,983 *kin* of camphor and 9,643 *kin* of camphor oil out of anticipated figures of 75,000 *kin* of camphor and 37,500 *kin* of camphor oil. At Sanxia, near the villages of Big Leopard and Lumutan, Chen Guozhi experienced “joint savage-bandit rioting” (*banhi sōjō*), though he did not experience any stoppages and met his production estimates in full.¹¹⁵

Another major problem spot was Neiwan, selected as an alterNative area of exploitation following the Dakekan war of 1900. Stoves near the Atayal villages of Yabakan and Kanaban in Neiwan operated by Hirai Yuusuke had to completely cease production, which had been anticipated to yield 235,000 *kin* of camphor and 178,250 *kin* of camphor oil. Active close by was another Japanese producer, Matsuda Tokiba, whose stoves projected figures of 180,000 *kin* of camphor and 150,000 *kin* of camphor oil. Due to a string of Aboriginal attacks, Matsuda

¹¹⁴ The monopoly bureau’s second-year report describes the outbreak of the rebellion in these terms in its “Impediments to camphor production” for that year. Later reports also peddle this narrative. The 1910 *Report on the Control of the Aborigines in Formosa* for example describes how the rebellion leader Ri “called together a number of the savages of the same [Saisiyat] tribe, and the Taiyals [Atayal], and a certain number of the fugitive Formosan insurgents” and then “led an attack against the Nanshō district office on July 6th 1902.” See Taiwan Camphor Monopoly Bureau, *Taiwan shōnō senbai kyoku jigyō daini nenpō* [Second-Year Report of the Taiwan Camphor Monopoly], (Taipei: Taiwan Government-General Monopoly Bureau, 1907), 42; Taiwan Government-General, *Report on the Control of the Aborigines in Formosa*, 36-37.

¹¹⁵ Taiwan Camphor Monopoly Bureau, *Taiwan shōnō senbai kyoku jigyō daini nenpō*, 34-35 & 42.

only recorded 20,483 *kin* of camphor and 26,071 *kin* of camphor oil that year.¹¹⁶ In all, the Camphor Bureau's "Central Office" jurisdiction (the office which encompassed Taipei, Hsinchu, and Taoyuan) lost 691,448 *kin* of camphor and 456,699 *kin* of camphor oil in 1902 alone.¹¹⁷

The Nanzhuang rebellion also affected the Miaoli region, which up to that point had not seen camphor production disruptions of this magnitude. After the army suppressed Ri's rebellion in July of 1902, mop-up operations continued in surrounding areas, affecting camphor production. In the Xishuikeng mountain area (*Xishuikengshan*), the Taiwanese producer Liu Xiaoming stopped production on his stoves in September due to attacks by what were possibly some of the remnants of Ri's forces. Out of projected figures of 75,000 *kin* of camphor and 52,500 *kin* of camphor oil, Liu only recorded a total of 4,300 *kin* for both.¹¹⁸ Similar disturbances occurred just south of Xishuikeng at Mount Sulu and Mount Manabang. The effects of the rebellion were even felt as far south as Dongshijiao, on the outskirts of Tainan, where disturbances were also recorded.¹¹⁹ In Yilan, attacks by local Indigenes against camphor installations also took place. In 1902, near the mountains adjacent to Luodong, the government built new garrisons to beef up security following attacks on camphor stoves. The government built a police substation in Nan'ao territory, while on the outskirts of Dahutong mountain, they built two dispatch stations in two separate locations. Manning these new fortifications were one police inspector, ten officers, and 170 *aiyu* patrolmen.¹²⁰

While 1900 and 1902 marked some of the highpoints of Indigenous disruption of Taiwan's camphor trade, attacks along the line would not abate. Nevertheless, the decade would

¹¹⁶ Taiwan Camphor Monopoly Bureau, *Taiwan shōnō senbai kyoku jigyō daini nenpō*, 35.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 42-43.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 71.

see the industry's production levels and profits stabilize. Though the extension of the line over time did not necessarily lead to sharp increases in production or profits, Aboriginal attacks on camphor stoves and government installations continued to serve as pretexts to dispatch armies deeper in unconquered terrain. Thus, the policy of "defensive conquest" continued.

Campaigns involving larger police or paramilitary squadrons were increasingly common in the years that followed, especially after the high-profile Nanzhuang uprising. These targeted mainly northeastern Atayalic groups like the Mnibu, Nan'ao, Gaogan, Marikowan, as well as the Truku and Sediq peoples. These campaigns resulted in the incineration of villages structures, the mass confiscation of weapons, and forced relocation. Between 1909 and 1914, fighting reached a crescendo with Governor-General Sakuma Samata's "Five-Year Plan to Pacify the Northern Savages." This five-year campaign, which aimed to conquer the last unincorporated Aborigines, saw the use of more destructive military tactics. Japanese Navy warships off the eastern Taiwanese coast and long-distance, land-based artillery shelled Aboriginal villages for months at a time, while an unprecedented number of police and imperial army troops isolated, encircled, and subjugated restive groups. Ironically, the last strongholds of resistance to Japanese forces were devoid of proper camphor forests, as the tree does not grow at over 4,000 feet of elevation.¹²¹

By 1915, the Government-General had amassed 72,548,000 *yen* since the creation of the camphor monopoly. After expenditures, that number represented profits of 26,650,000 *yen*.¹²² Throughout the 1900s and early 1910s, total camphor production averaged between three to four million *kin* per year, while profits remained steady at between one to three million *yen*. As *aiyu*

¹²¹ Robert L. Jarman (ed.), *British Economic and Cultural Reports Volume 6*, 538.

¹²² Matsushita Yosaburō, *Taiwan shōnō senbaishi* 780-81. See also Antonio Tavares, "Crystals from the Savage Forest," 199.

paramilitaries began numbering in the thousands, deaths due to “damage inflicted by savages” dropped considerably, from over 500 per year at the turn of the century to below fifty by the end of the conquest period (1909-1914). Meanwhile, the monopoly managed to hit record production numbers. In 1912, at the height of Sakuma’s plan, the Government-General’s total camphor output increased from 5,613,718 pounds the previous year to 8,649,319 pounds.¹²³ Japan’s natural camphor monopoly in Taiwan continued to yield good surpluses until the colony’s demise in 1945, even with challenges from synthetics throughout the years. For example, in 1909, 50 percent of Japanese and Taiwan crude camphor sales overseas were destined for celluloid production. That number jumped to 60 percent by 1937 – a strong indicator that the monopoly still played a vital role in meeting the worldwide camphor demand.¹²⁴

Conclusion

Remarking on the growing hostility the Japanese state faced with their expansion into Aboriginal lands, Japanese Diet Member Takekoshi Yosaburō had the following to say about the state of frontier relations and their future development:

If there were a prospect of their becoming more manageable in ten or twenty years, the present policy might possibly be continued for that length of time, but if the process should require a century or so, it is quite out of the question, as we have not that length of time to spare. This does not mean that we have no sympathy at all for the savages. It simply means that we have to think more about our 45,000,000 sons and daughters than about the 104,000 savages. We cannot afford to wait patiently until they throw off barbarism and spontaneously and truly entertain towards us feelings of friendship and goodwill. It is far better and very necessary for us to force our way into the midst of their territories and bring all the waste land under cultivation.¹²⁵

In many ways, colonial leaders would heed Takekoshi’s call to “think more about [Japan’s] 45,000,000 sons and daughters” by replacing the modest *bukonsho* stations with the militarized

¹²³ Robert L. Jarman (ed.), *British Economic and Cultural Reports Volume 6*, 510.

¹²⁴ Antonio Tavares, “Crystals from the Savage Forest,” 142.

¹²⁵ Takekoshi Yosaburō, *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, 230.

guardline. Increases in security personnel and technical improvements to the line increased the Government-General's abilities to project force with greater speed and ferocity. As a result, Japan's "Empire of Camphor" stood on solid ground by the beginning of the Taisho era. Attacks against camphor workers had reached an all-time low, profits remained steady, and Japanese ownership of production quotas was nearing all-time highs. The preceding decades had witnessed changes in productive organizations, state regulatory regimes, global consumer demand, and technological processes which opened up new revenue streams, especially in the field of camphor oil and derivative products. The domestic Japanese camphor industry had also transformed dramatically, from a potential rival to the Taiwan monopoly at the start of the century to a leading celluloid maker and hub for camphor refining and reprocessing. In the end, all of these factors ensured Japan's global preeminence in natural camphor production until the empire collapsed at the end of World War II in 1945.

This chapter has demonstrated how Japan's "empire of camphor" was the product of not only dramatic shifts in how the state collected, commercialized, and exported camphor products, but also how state and capitalist forces coordinated with each other to respond to Aboriginal resistance in densely-forested hinterlands. The making of camphor as a global industry was built on new militarized (and paramilitarized) frontier relations introduced as a result of monopolization. These relations were largely invisible to the average consumer, who merely saw camphor products as they existed in their finished packaged form. Those seeking to develop synthetic alternatives and frantically researching ways to rapidly grow the tree in other climates of course were well aware of the logistics behind Japan's monopoly, but they did not carry out their efforts with the sufferings of Taiwan's highland Aborigines in mind. There were more astute observers who picked up on the industry's violent underpinnings, such as consul James W.

Davidson. In his *Island of Formosa*, he suggested that it would be an “inviting” subject for a statistician to “to study problems such as how many drops of human blood are represented in the few ounces of camphor which the humane young lady purchases to keep her dainty garments free of moths, or how many lives are lost that some decrepid [sic] old gentleman may be cured of his rheumatic pains.”¹²⁶ This of course was hardly an indictment, but a mere rehashing of the facts on the ground. Davidson for example wrote those lines amidst a four-hundred-page-long tome on the history of Taiwan’s colonization, to which he allocated the most favorable coverage to the Japanese. The “empire of camphor” was not about concealing violence. Rather, it was built on the widely accepted notion that Japanese state-builders and camphor capitalists could not wait patiently for Aborigines to “throw off barbarism,” to borrow Takekoshi’s wording.

Here, I would like to return briefly to Marx’s notion of “fetish,” which I alluded to with respect to St-Louis’ “Giant Tower of Camphor” at the beginning of this chapter. It is imperative that we understand this concept not as the mere “mystification” of violence by capitalist commodities. Rather, Marx was referring to this concept as the warped sense in which objects begin to stand in for social relations, violently erasing in the process the preconditions that allow for their existence. Camphor by the turn of the twentieth century had become the central means by which Japanese colonizers managed virtually all intercourse with Indigenous people on the frontier. Calculations of how to bring camphor from remote forests on the edges of Japanese rule in the highlands to everything from industrial exhibitions to celluloid makers created a generalized sense among the larger colonial system that Indigenous resistance would have to be dealt with as expeditiously as possible. “Fetishization” of camphor took the form of the Government-General’s growing perception that Indigenous forests were first and foremost future

¹²⁶ James W. Davidson, *The Island of Formosa*, 398.

“tax revenues,” and not Native lands that had been occupied by Aboriginal people for many generations. Similarly, Japanese capitalists, who used the cover of state bureaucracy to set up shop on the island, saw these forests as untapped “markets” to invest in. This capitalistic “common sense,” where state and private entities linked their trajectories together, redrew the local terrain in ways that made the armed policeman or *aiyuu* paramilitary the central intermediaries of frontier politics. Incendiary shells and rifles took precedence over *bukonsho* sermons on the evils of headhunting and virtues of farming. Violence had formed a core part of the “common sense” of managing the highlands, a fact evidenced by the myriad punitive prescriptions of the *bukonsho*, as well as the preceding Qing-era, which had seen its own waves of military expeditions to secure a monopoly during the Liu years. It gained newfound relevance and traction under the Japanese-led monopoly. As such, this chapter has sought to draw attention to that process.

The Aboriginal pacification state has only been discussed thus far in terms of either its politico-legal infrastructure or the economic and productive structures which incentivized it. How did the “Empire of Camphor” and the pacification armies which helped to prop it up affect Indigenous communities? What methods and strategies were used to target, invade, and occupy Aboriginal villages? What role did camphor workers play in aiding and abetting these modalities of conquest and dispossession? And how did Aborigines adapt to the slow shrinking of their lands, hunting grounds, and other socio-economic support systems? It is with these broader questions in mind that I now turn to the wars in the camphor zone that ravaged Aboriginal communities and brought an end to centuries of Indigenous independence from successive waves of European, Chinese, and Japanese colonization.

Chapter Four - War in the Camphor Zone: Defensive Conquest, Camphor Capitalism, and the Decline of Indigenous Sovereignty, 1898-1914

At daybreak, on August 5, 1898, Japanese pacification troops initiated a general assault on the Aboriginal settlement of Maibarai at Wuzhi Mountain (*Wuzhishan*).¹ The group, which belonged to the Karappai Atayal, had supposedly attacked government outposts in the lead-up to the campaign, killing an officer, as well as a member of the *bukonsho*. In late July of that year, the Government-General formally authorized the assembling of a pacification force, citing “frequent incursions resulting in the harm of good people” (*shutsubotsu shibashiba ryōmin wo gai shite*) to justify reprisals.² Four defensive infantry companies and two military engineer platoons set out. On July 31, they left Taipei via train towards the mountain forests of Wuzhi, about thirty kilometers north of the city. Though hostilities between the two sides began the following month on the third, it was on the fifth that Japanese forces initiated their general assault and “repelled enemy forces and completely incinerated their village” (*kare wo okuyama ni gekitai shi buraku no zenbu wo yakiharai*).³ The presence of military engineers suggest that the method of destruction was most likely long-range shelling. Other accounts of this campaign culled from government sources are vague, though they do confirm that an incendiary attack of some sort resulted in the complete destruction of Maibarai village. The *Riban shikō* for example described how, in early August 1898, “the Maibarai were pacified (*tōbatsu shi*). Their savage huts were set ablaze (*banya wo shōhi*), and they were made to submit (*kijun seshimuru*).”⁴ The total number of Aborigines dead, if any, is unknown, as is the scale of devastation, which likely

¹ This chapter’s title is a play on Neil A. Whitehead (ed.), *War in the Tribal Zone: Expanding States and Indigenous Warfare*, (School for Advanced Research Press, 2000).

² Taiwan sōtokufu rikugun bakuryō, Taiwan sōtokufu bakuryō *rekishi sōan*, meiji 29-38 (Draft History of the Taiwan Government-General Army Central Command, 1895-1905), (Taipei: Jieyou chubanshe, 1991), 740.

³ *Ibid.*, 745.

⁴ Inō Kanori (ed.), *Riban shikō*, 129.

caused destruction of material and spiritual support systems. Atayal villages typically included granaries, cultivated fields, and homes that also served as burial grounds for deceased relatives. To burn these structures to the ground meant that the Maibarai lost not only vital food stores, but the very grounds upon which they learned to hunt, weave, preserve the ritual life of the community, and honor ancestral spirits (*utux*) in yearly millet harvest festivals. In sum, pacification at Wuzhi represented nothing less than the attempt to completely expunge Aborigines from the land and the forces which bound them to it through physical destruction of their dwellings.

As one of the earlier entries in official Japanese documents recounting the wars against Aborigines at the turn of the twentieth century, the destruction of Maibarai village and the pacification of its inhabitants is paradigmatic of most confrontations between Japanese and Aborigines. Conflicts between Japanese security forces and Indigenous people varied from small skirmishes involving a handful of individuals, to large-scale battles fought using heavy artillery pieces and mixed fighting units including police, regular soldiers, paramilitaries, and others. Battles were referred to using different terms. Campaigns labelled as “pacification campaigns” (*tōbatsu*), or “chastisement” (*yōchō*), typically aimed to occupy Indigenous villages and force their inhabitants to pledge allegiance to the Government-General. These could involve small platoons of soldiers and police detachments, or much larger forces numbering in the hundreds. Smaller-scale operations that involved sending forces beyond the line to respond to attacks on police stations or camphor sites were referred to as “search missions” (*sōsaku*). Operations that aimed to pave the way for the construction of roads, new guardline facilities, barbed-wire fencing, and other defensive implements were known as “advance” (*zenshin*) maneuvers. These operations could also be large in scale, as hundreds of porters, laborers, and protective units like

police or *aiyū* auxiliaries were needed to build new guardhouses and erect fencing. Beyond these labels one could also include the countless instances in which armed guards fought with Indigenes whilst on protective duty around camphor distilleries. While these terms suggest distinct types of interventions, their functions overlapped in ways that defy any attempt at classification.⁵ Whether through extension of the line or sending security forces to occupy or raze Aboriginal dwellings, all of these campaigns worked towards bringing additional stretches of Indigenous lands into Japanese hands. In some cases, the government integrated Aborigines into its colonial armies to assist security forces in subduing restive groups. The shifting political geography of the highlands, which involved feuds over hunting territories and limited resources, was a fault line security forces exploited on a regular basis to gain strategic advantages. This policy, known as “using savages to control savages,” rewarded Aboriginal allies with access to embargoed goods like guns and salt, which they could acquire from vanquished Indigenous rivals.

This final chapter is an attempt at delineating the overarching patterns of confrontation that characterized the nearly two decades of war between Japanese and Aborigines, along with the ways in which camphor capitalism shaped its modalities and outcomes. If, as previously theorized, Japan’s regime of colonial dispossession relied on the permanent fixture of armed

⁵ This terminology appears throughout the *Riban shikō* and likely reflected the administration’s decision to separate large-scale operations involving the targeting of a specific Indigenous group for conquest from those revolving around guardline construction or smaller-scale missions responding to headhunting attacks or raids on frontier outposts. In a large chart detailing major confrontations between Japanese and Indigenes, their troop composition, objectives, and number of casualties, government historian uses different labels like “pacification,” “guardline advance,” “incident,” “chastisement,” “construction of new guardline facility,” and “search mission.” It is difficult to discern a clear pattern. Pacification campaigns could have both mixed police and military forces, though some only employed police units. Search missions, chastisements, and guardline advances involved police, militia, and pacified Aborigines, sometimes all at once. Perhaps what may set “pacification” aside from other labels may simply be both scale and logistics, meaning more troops were likely involved on average and there was usage of more sophisticated military hardware (long-range guns, mountain cannons, etc). For more see Fujisaki Seinosuke, *Taiwan no banzoku* [The Savage Tribes of Taiwan], (Tokyo: Kokushi Kankokai, 1930), 670-694.

police, guards, and other repressive elements straddling mountain valleys and narrow passes, what shape did encounters on the ground take? If “Native risings” are a regular occurrence when colonists force their way into Indigenous lands, how do the inhabitants resist and mount their counter-offensive? How do Native attempts to protect their lands shape the strategies and tactics of colonizers? What role do extractive industries play in aiding and abetting these conflicts? In his “Patterns of Frontier Genocide,” the historian Benjamin Madley described how colonizers sometimes confront the guerilla-style tactics of Indigenous peoples with unrestrained brutality. Frustrated by persistent attacks on frontier encampments and settlements, colonial regimes, he wrote, may resort to exterminatory attacks to suppress Indigenous peoples, whom they claim are refusing to adhere to “civilized” norms of combat which distinguish between civilians and belligerents. Usually, this heavy-handed response is justified as “necessary” to counter what is perceived as Indigenous acts of “savagery.” Madley described how:

The frustration and stress of strategic and tactical difficulties, coupled with the perceived barbarity of indigenous guerilla warfare, contribute to the settler forces’ abandonment of conventional warfare’s methods and ethics...The vacuum created by this abandonment is then filled by a code of war that colonial armed forces perceive as mirroring indigenous tactics’ failure to distinguish between combatants and civilians.⁶

Madley’s characterization properly captures the ruthless abandon with which Japanese troops and paramilitaries comported themselves, as well as the ways in which the terrain and mounting Aboriginal resistance accentuated violence inflicted on Indigenous peoples.

For nearly twenty years, the Japanese colonial state in Taiwan waged a series of brutal asymmetric wars in the highlands. These wars were the product of the camphor zone, which as

⁶ Benjamin Madley, “Patterns of Frontier Genocide 1903-1910: the Aboriginal Tasmanians, the Yuki of California, and the Herero of Namibia,” 189.

we have seen throughout this study, had created its own distinct climate of violence and assumptions about the role of force when governing “savages.” With armed police and paramilitaries becoming the most visible figures on the frontier following the growth of the monopoly, firefights and other skirmishes became the central means by which colonizer and colonized interacted with one another. There was a fundamental mismatch though in terms of how both sides understood violence.

While the colonial state saw it as invitation to expand its perimeter to expand its sovereignty, Aborigines saw it as a routine and controlled exercise needed to manage relations between village polities and smaller confederations. Camphor was often the catalyst between these violent encounters, as government troops conducted assaults following Indigenous raids on workers and stoves, or any infrastructure built to uphold frontier industries, such as guardline facilities or police stations. Operations to expand the guardline, whether through exploratory surveys or the movement of laborers and construction materials, also sparked regular conflicts, all of which served as additional pretexts to permanently occupy unincorporated Indigenes. Often, an attack on a single officer, or camphor worker, was enough to trigger violent reprisals that led to the destruction of entire village hamlets. The Japanese imperial record emphasized Aboriginal culpability in its description of these confrontations. Narration of pacification campaigns typically begin with vague references to “bellicose savages” (*kyōban*) tormenting a given area by murdering unsuspecting locals, security personnel, or simply attacking frontier outposts. These decontextualized accounts provide little to no explanation of the underlying motivations as to why a village or government installation was targeted in the first place. Aborigines appear as a mass of faceless killers and vandals keen on collecting heads or destroying any infrastructure they stumble upon. Settlers and colonizers were seldom depicted as

responsible for drawing the ire of the island's original inhabitants. In reducing all Aborigines attacks to acts of killing and murder, the Government-General effectively provided its assaults with a false sense of proportionality, giving one the impression that Japanese anti-guerilla operations were legitimate acts of "defensive conquest," meaning assaults deemed necessary for prevention of future attacks.⁷

A focus on highland warfare and its embeddedness in camphor production forms an indispensable part of this study's historical analysis and theorization of Japan's regime of colonial dispossession. Camphor provided more than useful rationales from moving security forces deeper inland; it created the necessary conceptual as well as politico-legal grounds to imagine acts of violence as ultimately "necessary" or desirable to resolve the impasse of a slow-moving frontier. When police and militiamen fired with impunity at Indigenous people approaching the line, or launched incendiary shells knowing full well that they would harm more than those responsible for attacks against colonials, they were merely enacting - in the most naked form - the colonial "common sense" of senior policy makers or camphor capitalists, who believed that that unshackled force was the only way to unlock Taiwan's natural wealth. While coverage of pacification operations is not lacking in existing secondary works, these have yet to point to the ways in which violence in the highlands had its own specific political and economic dimensions linked to the productive and logistical requirements of camphor production, along with Indigenous guerilla-style resistance engendered by the latter. This chapter marks a first attempt at bringing these different elements to light.

⁷ I allude to this concept in chapter one. For more see Philip J. Deloria, *Indian in Unexpected Places*, 20.

In order to map out the history of upland warfare in colonial Taiwan, this chapter is divided into three parts. First, it begins with an overview of northeastern Aborigines on the eve of conquest, examining their forms of warfare, ritual life, diplomatic protocols, and socio-political organizations. This will allow readers to get a sense of how war in the camphor zone was shaped not only by the actions of Japanese colonizers and camphor monopolists, but also by those of Indigenous actors. Following this brief overview, the chapter examines two major confrontations which altered the historical course of Japanese-Indigene relations, as well as the contours of the pacification state: the Dakekan War of August-September 1900 and the Nanzhuang uprising of July 1902. This chapter's analysis of the Nanzhuang rebellion relies largely on Antonio Tavares' coverage of this watershed moment, specifically his emphasis on the political economy of camphor, which is used to further elucidate pacification strategies. It was in the crucible of these large-scale rebellions that colonial armies honed their destructive capabilities in the form of long-range cannon fire, blockades that starved villages of vital supplies, and other methods to strip away Native defenses. The chapter then examines the 1903 to 1909 period. Nineteen-hundred and three marked a crucial turning point. It was that year that Mochiji Rokusaburō published and circulated his *Bansei mondai ni kan suru torishimarisho* [Investigative Report into the Savage Governance Problem]. This document, which advocated for “pacification in the north benevolence in the south,” urged the Government-General to apply its heavy-handed approach only to insurgent populations who posed a direct threat to camphor production areas in the northeast. This strategy set the tone for the remainder of the decade and spurred the growth of a more robust machinery of pacification that would engulf unconquered Indigenes. I have incorporated throughout this chapter ethnographic insights to provide a sense of how Indigenous societies would have responded to the advance of the Japanese imperial state

machine.⁸ Given the Atayal population are disproportionately represented in these wars, I have chosen them as a reference point, though their experiences do not define those of all Taiwan Indigenes.⁹

Indigenous Society on the Eve of Conquest and the limits of colonial power at high elevation

In the lead-up to the camphor wars, the Atayal people were organized into small village communities called *qalang*.¹⁰ *Qalang* were typically scattered along mountain and river valleys, near areas suitable for hunting and fishing.¹¹ *Qalang* had acephalic political structures and lacked any notion of permanent subjection to centralized authority. Elders did accrue political power by displaying prowess in hunting, warfare, and oratory abilities. The closest thing to a “chief” or leader was the *tōmoku*, or “man of influence.” The *tōmoku* was often a designated village figure who represented his community in diplomatic affairs, especially when meeting with Japanese colonizers. Scholars have often likened Atayal and other northeastern Indigenes to the “society against the state” as theorized by the anthropologist Pierre Clastres, who rejected state

⁸ My analysis is based almost exclusively on understandings of the Atayal nation, who bore the brunt of military and police violence during this period. Given some of the shared characteristics found among the Atayal, Sediq, and Truku nations (and the sub-groups that make up these larger ethnonyms), some of the forms of warfare, social organization, and ritual practice described in this chapter overlap.

⁹ Though it is hard to map out exactly how many times the Atayal appear in the history of the camphor wars and other campaigns in the highlands, Government historian Fujisaki Seinosuke’s *Taiwan no banzoku* offers a useful starting point. In two sections, one titled “Advance of the Guardline and Chastisement of Savage Villages, the other “Table of Guardline Advances and other Savage Chastisements,” there are a total of 60 entries, each dedicated to summarizing a given campaign, guardline advance operation, search mission, or a high-profile confrontation involving Indigenes. Of these entries, 28 out of 60 (nearly half) directly involve the Atayal people, or take place in provinces where Atayal were prominent. I have omitted here Fujisaki’s additional section on the five-year plan, which by and large affected the Truku people, and a later portion which deals with weapons confiscations and related police actions. See Fujisaki, *Taiwan no banzoku*, 670-95.

¹⁰ Atayal villages could range from 20-30 households in the case of smaller communities. Medium-sized ones ranged from 40-50, while larger federated village leagues could have between 80-100. See Kikuchi Kazutaka, *Taiwan hokubu taiyaruzoku kara mita kingendaishi*, 30.

¹¹ *Qalang* (lit. “village/community”) is a term also found among the Sediq and Truku people, though it is spelled *alang*.

domination as a “natural feature” of organized human societies.¹² Japanese officials often mistakenly assumed that a chain of command linked the *tōmoku* to his constituents, hoping that orders transmitted to the *tōmoku* would naturally flow to other villagers. This “top-down” model, which echoed Japan’s own vision of imperial bureaucracy in the highlands, failed to recognize the multiple centers of power that existed within any given *qalang*. Especially in the event of a surrender or negotiation, this placed unrealistic expectations on “chiefs,” who often had to deliberate the terms of these conditions with other elders before reaching a final agreement.

Tōmokus who represented different villages first had to reach consensus before any major decision could be made, be it agreeing to specific peace terms with Japanese officials or whether relocation was at issue. For example, in November of 1900, in order to try and curb attacks on camphor installations in Yilan, district head Saigō conducted a stone burial ceremony - a traditional Atayal form of peace-making - with a group of Nan’ao villages, who had each sent a handful of men, women, and their *tōmoku* to Alishi substation to discuss trade, relocation, and head-taking. Pressed on whether the Nan’ao would consider ceasing all head-taking activities in the region, those present promised to uphold the headhunting ban in order to enjoy trade privileges, promising that “gradually we will get the word out. Among those remaining are seven villages. We will call for the *tōmokus* of these seven villages and let them know that we wish for them to follow this pact.”¹³ The *tōmokus* also promised to follow the example of six nearby Mnibu Atayal settlements, who had recently agreed to relocate their homes to places within the orbit of Japanese control, but again reiterated that “we must consult with each one of their villages [the Nan’ao], as well as the families. Provided that there are no obstacles, we will give it

¹² See Pierre Clastres, *Society against the State: Essays in Political Anthropology*, (New York: Zone Books, 1987). Scott Simon has likened Sediq and other northeastern Aborigines to the “society against the state” described in Clastres.

¹³ Taiwan Government-General Police Bureau, *Taihokushū ribanshi*, 270.

some thought.”¹⁴ Japanese colonial administrators expected Indigenes to adhere to these pacts in uniform fashion, not understanding the politics of peace-making and the ways in which decision making was reached through deliberation and debate, not through “chiefs” enforcing orders in a top-down way.

Atayal practiced swidden agriculture, and grew a variety of crops including millet, chestnuts, sweet potatoes, and various mountain vegetables. Wild game was also a staple. Each *qalang* maintained and shared hunting territories with nearby villages. Hunters asserted their ownership rights by setting traps or brokering agreements with neighbors. Permission for another *qalang* to hunt on these grounds could be granted, so long as a member of the community was present during the expedition.¹⁵ Trade with interpreters and lowlanders had long been important, so the influx of guns, salt, ammunition, and other outside provisions for hunting and food preservation were crucial in the maintenance of these living arrangements by the time the Japanese arrived. Atayal villages also kept extensive supplies in storehouses. In a March 1900 survey of Mnibu communities in Yilan, *benmusho* officer Ueno recorded how the villages he visited kept one storehouse per household. These villages also boasted cultivated fields that ranged from four to seven *chō* in length (one *chō* = one hectare), and kept domesticated animals like pigs and chicken.¹⁶ Ueno remarked how one of these had such a large supply of chestnuts that it was “fat with provisions.”¹⁷ Colonizers often had extensive knowledge of the material conditions of these villages, as they conducted regular surveys of Native inventories and material capacities. Far from living in the wretched state of “savagery” colonial administrators often played up in their accounts, Atayal people maintained elaborate systems of food security that

¹⁴ Taiwan Government-General Police Bureau, *Taihokushū ribanshi*, 271.

¹⁵ Kikuchi Kazutaka, *Taiwan hokubu taiyaruzoku kara mita kingendaishi*, 43.

¹⁶ Taiwan Government-General Police Bureau, *Taihokushū ribanshi*, 204-05.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 204.

drew from a combination of hunting, agriculture, fishing, and trade. Over time, colonizers became acutely aware of how vital these activities were. Given that Japanese forces seldom achieved quick military victories in the highlands, they often targeted food stores and cultivated fields using incendiary attacks to starve their opponents into surrender or retreat.

Atayal peoples are bound to the land not just in material terms, but also in cosmological ones as well. The identity and memory of a *qalang* is tied to the *utux* (spirits) of ancestors, which the community honors in yearly millet harvest festivals. Each *qalang* has its own set of socio-political norms, taboos, and proscriptions about everything from divination and justice, to sex and gender roles. All of these traditions are collected in different ritual groups known to Atayalic peoples as *gaga*. Atayal cosmologies tend to place human communities at the center of broader material, ecological, and spiritual systems linked to reverence for ancestors. The *gaga* function as a set of regulative mechanisms which sustain ritual life, and along with it, the integrity (both material and spiritual) of the *qalang*. Atayal elder Laysa Akyo described the *gaga* as a series of communal rituals carried out by a prominent elder, or *mrhu* (priest). These are broken into three groups: one for ancestor worship and harvest rites, one of hunting, and one for food preparation and distribution. To reduce these groups as ‘rituals’ used to appease ancestral spirits however is misleading. Reverence for ancestors is the basis for governance and political affairs in the Atayalic tradition, as the *gaga* represents the wisdom of previous elders who have transmitted over multiple generations instructions on how to build a functioning society.¹⁸ To put it simply, the *qalang* could be said to represent the physical village community itself, while the *gaga* encompasses its metaphysical, legal, political, and spiritual worldview.¹⁹ *Gaga* rules could

¹⁸ Laysa Akyo, *Taiyaerzu chuantong wenhua*, 44. Laysa explains that this definition is imperfect and only serves as a rough sketch.

¹⁹ Many thanks to Scott Simon for pointing this out.

include - among others - bans on activities like sexual relations or alcohol consumption during times of warfare or hunts, as these were believed to ensure successful outcomes.²⁰ Though the *qalang* and its multiple *gaga* served as the building blocks of Atayal life, there were also village leagues or alliances that allowed settlements to pool together resources and manpower and form larger units. These pan-village leagues were bound by assemblies that deliberated on issues such as potential conflict with a rival settlement or dealing with colonial invaders like Qing and Japanese forces.²¹

Central to the socio-cultural life of Indigenous Taiwan was the practice of ritual head-taking (or headhunting to use the more common term). Headhunting has numerous functions tied to observance of *gaga*. For example, the word used in the Atayal language to refer to ritual head-taking - *m'gaga* - translates directly to “make *gaga*” or “make the law.” The collection of a head is a vital part of passage into manhood; without it, one cannot secure the traditional facial tattoo which signals a male’s suitability for marriage. The practice also played a vital role in balancing spiritual forces said to exist within each community. Should a *qalang*’s crops fail, an epidemic break out, or taboos be broken, a hunt had to be performed and heads collected to restore order.²² In his historical anthropology of the Sediq, Scott Simon observed that one of the longer periods of acute head taking took place during the mid-1910s, coinciding with the outbreak of an influenza epidemic.²³ Beyond its stabilizing role within the *qalang*, headhunting also served as a

²⁰ Kikuchi Kazutaka, *Taiwan hokubu taiyaruzoku kara mita kingendaishi*, 30-32. The Sediq people, who possess a similar metaphysical and political system called “Gaya,” have many practices and observe various taboos that overlap with those of the Atayal. For an extensive discussion of “Gaya” as it relates to Sediq cosmology, politics, and land ownership, see Scott Simon, *Sadyaq Balae!*, 57-62 & 91-119.

²¹ Kikuchi Kazutaka, *Taiwan hokubu taiyaruzoku kara mita kingendaishi*, 34-37.

²² Scott Simon’s overview of headhunting among the Sediq, whose version of the practice is virtually identical with that of the Atayal, can serve as a useful starting point for an in-depth look at this practice. See Scott Simon, “Politics and Headhunting among the Formosan Sejiqs: Ethnohistorical Perspectives”, *Oceania* (82) 2, (July 2012). See also Kikuchi Kazutaka, *Taiwan hokubu taiyaruzoku kara mita kingendaishi*, 36-42.

²³ *Ibid.*

mechanism for dispute resolution. Head-taking could happen between different *qalang*. When a conflict arose and no peaceful solution could be had, the elders would ask the ancestors to be the judges, and both parties would perform a headhunt against one another. Thus, headhunting often represented a last resort to conflict adjudication.²⁴

Japanese colonizers looked upon Aboriginal Taiwanese head taking with a mixture of social scientific fascination and horror. Much of our modern-day understanding of the practice and its social or ritual functions come from colonial-era Japanese anthropologists and ethnographers, who published on this subject at great length in government-funded publications and academic journals. Japanese routinely compared the practice to the collection of heads by samurai, which also had a prestige-garnering function in the Japanese context. In his primer on Taiwanese Aborigines, the anthropologist Shinji Ishii, discussing headhunting, remarked: “The same state of things is revealed in war stories of sixteenth-century Japan. In the Genki and Tenshō periods (1570-1591) the brave warrior is described as one who can offer an enemy’s head to the General on horseback.”²⁵ While the colonial state would eventually outlaw head taking, controlled headhunts by Indigenes conscripted into Japanese pacification units did take place well into the late colonial period (more on this later).

Clashes in the camphor zone reflected not only the dynamics of frontier society, but those of Indigenous non-state polities, whose socio-political structures were primed for resistance against encroachment. Throughout the Qing period, Indigenes fought colonists, Chinese troops, and conquered Indigenes serving as paramilitaries. Limited state involvement in socio-

²⁴ Kikuchi Kazutaka mentions that headhunting activities were collectively decided upon matters discussed by elders. In addition to deciding upon the target and start date, omens and divination could be used to determine whether the hunt should go ahead or not. See Kikuchi Kazutaka, *Taiwan hokubu taiyarusoku kara mita kingendaishi*, 34-35.

²⁵ Shinji Ishii, *The Island of Formosa and its Primitive Inhabitants*, 15.

economically porous areas gave highland groups the upper hand. The growth of lowland-highland commerce helped Indigenous people to diversify their arsenal, allowing them to secure weapons that put them on par with colonizers. Typically, during the Qing and Japanese eras, Atayal and other Indigenes carried different kinds of rifles and pouches of gunpowder alongside other weapons like traditional knives, spears, and bows. In an 1898 report from the Dahu Pacification station, one *bukonsho* official observed: “most of the male Indigenes [Atayal from Dahu group] must carry firearms, there are three types of firearms: Mauser, Spencer rifle and old typed matchlocks.”²⁶ The Dakekan station was also reporting the presence of Mauser five shots and older models from the late Qing period. In one report, the Tiangsongpi sub-station also described how members of the Baiku group from the Mnibu Atayal sent their broken Mausers there for repairs.²⁷ Aborigines were stocked with weapons by the start of Japanese rule. It is important to note that firearms were not only a necessity for hunting and combat, but also took on various social and ritual dimensions as well. Rather than displace existing ways, guns and ammunition enhanced them by serving functions in purification rites while decorating the homes of Aborigines, who often displayed them prominently alongside war trophies.²⁸ Ammunition and firearms also had an important role in peace-making ceremonies and reconciliation between warring Aboriginal groups. A report from Miaoli noted that “...within the Bunun communities, if someone injured another person, which injury caused the death of that other person, he had to unload his clothes, firearms, knives, spears and put them next to the dead body of that person and return to his home naked.”²⁹

²⁶ Pei-Hsi Lin’s “Firearms, Technology, and Culture,” 243.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 242-43.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 280-81.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 286.

Atayal and other northeastern Aborigines kept unwanted travelers, loggers, and other invaders at bay with their effective use of technologies adapted from colonizers. Taking advantage of local terrain, Indigenous people used sniper fire and ambush to take enemies by surprise, attacking in small groups. The marksmanship of guardline and other militia forces paled in comparison to that of northeastern Indigenes, who learned how to use a weapon from a young age. Glimpses of Indigenous combat methods can be gleaned as early as the late Qing period. In the illustrated ethnography *Wan Qing Taiwan fan tu su* (Late Qing Images of Savages), an image titled “Illustration of indigenes prostrating on precipice and getting ready to kill” (*Shenfan fuyai zhensha tushuo*), showcases two Aboriginal warriors atop a cliff firing at unsuspecting Chinese passers-by (appendix 4.1). The description reads: “It is usually the case that the Indigenes hide in the bushes of the side cliffs, await lonely Han Chinese traveler descending into the mountain, and then attack the Han Chinese with firearms, behead and take the head away with them.”³⁰ Modern sources corroborate this, frequently showing Indigenous warriors encircling and firing upon Japanese and guardline troops from a concealed position from atop a cliff. In the *Meritorious Deeds of Savage Governance* (*Chiban kikō*), a collection of recorded “braveries” performed by frontier guards and police officers, most entries begin with individuals finding themselves encircled, caught in a surprise assault, or simply trying to fend off a hail of bullets. The *aiyū* corporal Li Ashi experienced this firsthand. In 1900, he was at Dakekan assisting Japanese forces trying to establish a battery atop a mountain. On November 21, after receiving word that a bandit leader had joined forces with local Atayal and planned to attack the nearby Longtongmai *aiyū* station, Li and his units conducted a search mission at Whitestone Mountain

³⁰ Chen Zongren, *Wan Qing Taiwan Fan Tu Su* [Illustrations of Aborigines in Late Qing Taiwan], (Taipei: Academia Sinica Institute of Taiwan History, 2013), 102. Thanks to Pei-Hsi Lin’s “Firearms, Technology, and Culture” for the translation and alerting me to this source.

(Baishishan, modern-day Taoyuan).³¹ Whilst en route to Baishishan, “the herd of bandits and savages made a sudden appearance. From the top of the mountain the unit was shot at. In the middle of enemy fire, Li took gunshot wounds from both the left and right.”³² Tales of outgunned Japanese and Taiwanese troops mounting desperate last stands against scores of Indigenous warriors may have served to ennoble the cause of “savage governance” in the eyes of the colonial readers, but reality painted a different picture.

As Li’s case demonstrates, colonizers were often ill-equipped for high elevation combat against skilled Aboriginal adversaries. Housed in frontier stations scattered across uncharted mountain valleys and narrow passes, guardline personnel were often easy targets for Aboriginal fighting units who knew the terrain far better than colonial occupiers ever could. What Indigenous lacked in heavy artillery, they made up for in superior geographic knowledge, internal lines of communication, rapid movement, marksmanship, and guerilla fighting tactics. Northeastern groups like the Atayal were adept at reconnaissance, gathering intelligence to assess whether an attack on a given target would be wise. Aboriginal settlements typically had watchtowers four to nine meters high, allowing the *qalang* to keep an eye out for rivals or anyone encroaching on their territory.³³ Ethnographic work on the Jiaobanshan Atayal revealed that attack parties - whether on a headhunt or defending hunting grounds - were segmented into three groups: an advance guard for scouting (*Pataxakui*), another to initiate hostilities and attack the designated target (*Paspangung*), and one for defending the rear (*Samalu*).³⁴ This image of the Atayal as a disciplined and cautious fighting force, who engaged in forms of risk assessment like any

³¹ Taiwan Government-General Savage Affairs Central Headquarters (ed.), *Chiban kikō* [Meritorious Deeds of Savage Governance], (Taipei: Banmu honsho, 1911), 1.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Kikuchi Kazutaka, *Taiwan hokubu taiyaruzoku kara mita kingendaishi*, 28.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 38-39.

modern army, runs completely counter to the colonial stereotype of impulsive and bloodthirsty headhunters featured prominently in Japanese documents.

Raids on guard stations or camphor worksites involved both large attack parties and small groups of only a handful of warriors. Indigenous groups approached targets by concealing themselves using the local flora and fauna and catching guards or camphor workers by surprise. During his travels to Yilan, Saitō provided details of an attack in March of 1899, in which members of Rōkau village (Mnibu Atayal) attacked two camphor workers. Saitō described how panic-stricken Taiwanese sentries posted at the site fired aimlessly at the attackers. Based on this incident, Saitō noted that warriors typically hid in tall grasses and bushes, moved in groups of four or five, and attacked camphor installations, often in the early morning. Destruction of productive facilities via arson was common, as the engineer recommended the construction of more “robust” structures.³⁵ Attacks did not end with raids. Indigenes often pursued their targets as they pulled back. Aborigines typically followed and fired upon retreating security forces – a practice which typically required downhill forces to organize rescue missions or deploy additional units for relief. This was the case for Iraha Yutaka, whose unit was caught in a series of Indigene attacks during the 1902 Nanzhuang uprising. Iraha and a group of *aiyū* guards had been posted at Akakabe station. A combination of Indigenous and Han rebel forces attacked, forcing them to retreat along nearby river valleys. As they marched back to the Nanzhuang lowlands, they “fell into the grips of rampant savages and bandits,” taking fire continuously. They held their ground until a Nanzhuang guard unit eventually came to their rescue.³⁶

³⁵ Saitō Kenji, “Taiwan shōnō no seizō,” 36.

³⁶ Taiwan Government-General Savage Affairs Central Headquarters (ed.), *Chiban kikō*, 12-14.

The early *aiyu* troops garrisoned along the line were in no shape to fight small, disciplined Aboriginal units trained in hunting and warfare. In a 1902 report on the state of the guardline, the Taizhong prefect pointed to the number of issues plaguing the recently formed frontier security force. With the absence of proper roads and transportation infrastructure, the government lacked the appropriate mechanisms for supervising their activities on the frontlines of battle. The prefect complained that guardline patrolmen were often indistinguishable from private militia guards hired to defend camphor sites. The health and fitness of guards was also a major sore point, with opium addiction and weak physique being some of the major issues the prefect cited. Adherence to mobilization regulations also lacked uniformity. *Aiyū* troops were known to not follow their superiors' orders properly. When Aborigines raided guardline stations, *aichō* were slow to respond, giving their enemies opportunities to break through their defenses. Regular training with firearms was severely lacking and no match for the superior marksmanship of Native warriors. Weapon stockpiles also lacked regular maintenance, leading to rust and other technical issues. Camphor producers frequently hired out *aiyū* troops for logging activities beyond the line, though these too complained that the guards they employed were either cowards or useless.³⁷

War of course was not the only approach Atayal and other northeastern Aborigines used to confront outsiders. Diplomacy and various peace-making traditions were an important part of traditional conflict resolution. Typically, when hostilities ceased, a neutral village would be chosen as the mediator. From there, land reapportionment, offerings of pig and sake, as well as adjudication of punishments, were all decided. A banquet was then held for the warring parties to

³⁷ Inō Kanori (ed.), *Riban shikō*, 242-43.

officially recognize the outcome.³⁸ As mentioned in chapter two, traditional political relations among the Atayal do not recognize subjection to outside conquerors. Cycles of warring and peace-making were part of the regular functioning of highland society. References to Aborigines “submitting” (*kijun*) to Japanese officers in government accounts can therefore be misleading, as Indigenes likely believed that, during post-pacification settlements, that they were discussing with colonizers in horizontal terms. Again, the intricacies of these exchanges were not lost on all Japanese commentators. As the anthropologist Shinji Ishii recounted in his 1913 overview of conflict along the guardline and surrender protocols: “We call this act on the part of the savages a ‘surrender,’ but they rather seem to consider it as peace making on an equal footing.”³⁹ Shinji also lauded Aboriginal “chiefs” as great diplomats with sharp negotiation skills who did their best to find the most advantageous terms for their “surrender” and eventual migration inside the guardline.⁴⁰ Men alone were not at the center of these exchanges. Atayal society boasted numerous polyglot women, married either to Japanese officers or Chinese civilians, who served as translators and cultural brokers during crucial talks. While their deeds go largely unrecorded, they were a vital part of the political exchanges that routinely took place among highland groups and colonizing lowlanders.⁴¹

Japanese colonizers and their sub-colonials sought to transform hundreds of *qalang*, each governed by their own codes emphasizing protection of forest resources, hunting, the honoring of ancestors, and ritualized forms of violence. Camphor capitalism, with its insistence that the land Aborigines drew sustenance from serve only a single purpose - that of the production of

³⁸ Kikuchi Kazutaka, *Taiwan hokubu taiyaruzoku kara mita kingendaishi*, 38-39.

³⁹ Shinji Ishii, “The Silent War in Formosa,” *Asiatic Quarterly Review* (July 1913), 14.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁴¹ For a comprehensive piece that examines this history of these female cultural intermediaries, see Kirsten Ziomek, “The Possibility of Liminal Colonial Subjecthood.” See also her recent book *Lost Histories: Recovering the Lives of Japan’s Colonial Peoples*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2019).

commodities - negated the very basic material and epistemological foundations of Indigenous life, and as such put the two on a collision course. As concentrations of Japanese camphor producers began clustering in Atayal and other northeast Indigenous strongholds, conflict intensified and altered the war. By the turn of the twentieth century, the scales were tipped decidedly in favor of the Japanese, as pacification methods evolved in size and scope.

Turning Points: the Dakekan and Nanzhuang Rebellions, 1900-1902

Throughout the late 1890s, the Japanese response to attacks on its budding highland infrastructure was piecemeal at best, responding only to high-profile attacks on its personnel. With the Government-General allocating greater resources towards the suppression of plains militias, large-scale expeditions into Indigenous lands were inadvisable. In January of 1897, the Japanese army launched a military offensive against the Truku people in Hualien on Taiwan's east coast. The offensive began after Indigenous warriors killed thirteen Japanese patrolmen stationed near Truku territory. According to official accounts, the patrolmen had ventured into the Truku people's lands and had "failed to respect their customs."⁴² Following the killings, Japanese Navy warships off the eastern Taiwanese coast began shelling villages, while a combined force of imperial army troops, colonial police, and six hundred "assimilated" Aboriginal paramilitaries invaded Truku territory.⁴³ Tropical diseases like Malaria devastated Japanese troops and Truku defenses proved to be too much for the colonial forces. Thus, the fighting reached a stalemate and ceased some two months later. The campaign was such a failure from a military standpoint that the Truku People were said to have begun mockingly calling Japanese soldiers "Murata rifles" (*murataju*) due to their use of single-charge "Murata-type"

⁴² Inō Kanori (ed.), *Riban shikō*, 34.

⁴³ These "assimilated" Aborigines belonged to the Amis Group, which inhabit the central eastern coast of Taiwan.

guns, which failed against the Truku's superior guerilla tactics.⁴⁴ The government did score some victories, most notably the Wushizan assault in the summer of 1898, and made some gains in territory. Beyond that however, the Government-General struggled to defend and uphold camphor production. As noted in previous chapters, 1898 and 1899 were peak years for Indigenous-related attacks, with 557 and 531 respectively on record for combined Japanese-Taiwanese casualties on the frontier. The targets were a combination of camphor production sites, government outposts, and villages straddling the edges of Japanese-held areas. At this stage, camphor producers relied largely on private militias and a limited police presence to protect their workers, though these were largely ineffective in curbing assaults. The monopoly quickly changed this. As we saw in chapter three, the reorganizing of the camphor industry led to an injection of money, men, and materials into the line. This intensified tensions to an unprecedented level and sparked two large-scale insurrections: the 1900 Dakekan war and the 1902 Nanzhuang rebellion. The tactics used by pacification armies throughout the conquest years were forged in the crucible of these violent Indigenous uprisings, leaving a permanent mark on Japanese-Indigene relations and setting a new template for violence.

During the summer of 1900, attacks by Atayal on camphor stoves at Dakekan led to the organizing of a major pacification operation there. As examined in chapter three, Dakekan had rich camphor forests linked to waterways which made it an ideal zone in which to produce large quantities of raw camphor and have these shipped to the port of Danshui, where trade companies and wholesalers exported it to the rest of the globe.⁴⁵ Shortly after the creation of the camphor monopoly, the licensing of camphor stoves in the area had been largely given out to Japanese

⁴⁴ Inō Kanori (ed.), *Riban shikō*, 34-35.

⁴⁵ Charles Archibald Mitchell, *Camphor in Japan and Formosa*, (London: Chiswick Press, 1900), 43.

producers like Komatsu Kusuya.⁴⁶ Dakekan was home to a variety of Atayal groups, the most significant being the Dabao and the Mawudu according to Japanese sources from the time.⁴⁷ A rough demographic survey of the Dakekan area published in the *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* listed nine villages, 261 households, and 1,763 individuals at the time of the campaign.⁴⁸ Most of the affected settlements involved in this campaign straddled the Dakekan River (appendix 4.2). In June of 1900, a string of attacks by Atayal warriors resulting in the cessation of production and the withdrawal of workers, prompting the government to assemble a pacification force and attempt an invasion of the lands surrounding the Dabao and Mawudu. In the lead up to the uprising, two of the more prominent groups from this region, the Dabao and the Mawudu, had also forged an alliance (*qutux phaban*) in response to the presence of camphor workers.⁴⁹ Village leagues for mutual defense were a staple among Atayal peoples, who often formed close military and economic relations with one another to ward off threats from rival groups. However, the official government account takes none of these arrangements into consideration, treating the attack as ‘rebellion’ against Japanese authorities, and not an attempt at mounting a defense of traditional territories:

In August of 1900, a pacification campaign was launched against the Atayal of Dakekan...after the island was transferred to the Japanese, the line began extending there and villages began opening themselves up, all the while camphor development suddenly boomed...in June of 1900, a rebellion was hatched up by the local Atayal. They burned and plundered camphor sites and government outposts, resulting in the deaths of several dozens, while the remaining men were expelled.”⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Taiwan Camphor Monopoly Bureau, *Moto Taiwan shōnō senbai kyoku jigyo daini nenpō*, 4-6.

⁴⁷ Ibid. These are the major groups mentioned in charts detailing emplacement of Japanese-owned stoves.

⁴⁸ *Taiwan nichi nichi shinpō*, September 1st, 1900. See also Fujii Shizue, *Dakekan shijian*, 92-93.

⁴⁹ Fujii Shizue, *Dakekan shijian*, 92.

⁵⁰ Inō Kanori (ed.), *Riban shikō*, 160.

Predictably, the government blamed the Dakekan conflagration on insurgent Aborigines, whom it accused of hatching up a plot to destroy the region's camphor distilleries. Yet the region actually witnessed a surge in production on the eve of the conflict. Production quotas from the Taipei region indicate that the year 1900 had projected 1,268,000 *kin* of total output for camphor. This was in contrast to other regions, that only had projected outputs in the six figures, the closest being Taizhong with 962,012 *kin*.⁵¹ With a great deal of the Taipei quotas given to licenses clustered in Japanese-held enclaves populated by Dakekan Atayal, one may conjecture that the "sudden increase" in production would have meant a more noticeable, and perhaps more invasive, presence of camphor workers and armed guards in the region. Whether the June incidents were as premeditated and organized as the governmental account suggested is also uncertain, but the Dakekan Atayal were well equipped to raid government facilities and cause disruptions. A July report issued by Civilian Affairs Chief Gōtō Shimpei noted how firearms and munitions were being illegally smuggled from Dakekan into neighboring Yilan – a sign that weapons may have been more abundant in that part of Aboriginal Taiwan.⁵²

Japanese combat operations at Dakekan officially began on August 30, 1900. The Japanese force consisted of two platoons from the Dakekan garrison led by Captain Fujioka Shinzō, with 133 and 254 men respectively. A police captain also led a separate force of fifty police officers, 100 *aiyū*, and 150 laborers.⁵³ Aboriginal warriors quickly repelled Captain Fujioka's forces as they approached Kaujiyo village (*Gaoraoshe* in Chinese). His men were then caught in a pincer counterattack. Fujioka suffered a major injury and pulled back his troops. The colonial state knew it was now facing a foe whose tactics defied the conventional methods it had

⁵¹ Taiwan Camphor Monopoly Bureau, *Moto Taiwan shōnō senbai kyoku jigyo daini nenpō*, 4-6.

⁵² Taiwan Government-General Police Bureau, *Taihokushū ribanshi*, 226-27.

⁵³ Fujii Shizue, *Dakekan shijian*, 92.

honed in previous wars like those against the Qing.⁵⁴ Taiwan's then major colonial daily, the *Taiwan nichichi shinpō*, took stock of this, giving a grim preview of how security forces would later approach Indigenous pacification in Taiwan, both for Dakekan and the wars to come:

Essentially, if one wants to control the savages one cannot do so by conventional rules. But at the same time, one cannot formally engage in conventional warfare...when we catch sight of a savage, we must fire upon him, burn his dwellings, confiscate his provisions. Suppose goods cannot be confiscated, then this property must be doused with oil and set on fire. The savages can no longer inhabit in the area which we wish to control.⁵⁵

In the days after Captain Fujioka's failed expedition, the Governor dispatched an additional garrison unit of 150 men with artillery units, led by Colonel Teramoto Ryūji. This group soon engaged in a major firefight with 200 members of the Dabao group.⁵⁶ Pressure to attack was mounting, as raids against remaining camphor stoves in the region forced an exodus of some 300 workers, most of whom belonged to the Komatsu group. Located near the Aboriginal settlement of Habun, just 8 *ri* away from Dakekan, Komatsu's operations there had come under assault in the days following the army's failed pacification maneuvers in early September. On the night of September 8, the workers began to flee. A rescue operation was initiated, though only ten workers belonging to Komatsu, and another four belonging to a different group, were retrieved. Another 140 were unaccounted for and had likely fled to the neighboring Sanxia area. On September 14, shelling commenced using high-explosive shells. Multiple rounds were fired throughout the coming days. With 3,000 meters between the mountain guns and the Aboriginal dwellings, it is hard to get a sense of the scale of destruction, though one chilling passage from

⁵⁴ *Taiwan nichichi shinpō*, September 1st, 1900 in Yumani shobo (ed.), *Taiwan nichichi shinpō* Volume 8 (9.1-12.29, 1900), (Tokyo:Yumani shobo, 2016).

⁵⁵ *Taiwan nichichi shinpō*, August 29th, 1900 in in Yumani shobo (ed.), *Taiwan nichichi shinpō* Volume 7 (5.1-8.30, 1900), (Tokyo:Yumani shobo, 2016).

⁵⁶ Fujii Shizue, *Dakekan shijian*, 92.

the *Taiwan nichichi shinpō* revealed glimpses of how Japanese firepower brought indiscriminate destruction to Indigenous communities. According to an article dated September 18: “on three occasions from the start of shelling, you could hear piercing screams from the direction of Kaujiyo village.”⁵⁷ Additional details from Taiwan’s major colonial daily reported that long-range assaults created a fire visible from Kaujiyo to Shinaji village, and then going in the direction of Hapun. With high-explosive shells raining down, fires could spread quickly to these mountain settlements.⁵⁸ Troops eventually pulled back on September 17, ending the Dakekan war in a stalemate.⁵⁹

The Dakekan campaign, though brief, showcased several things. For one, it demonstrated the limitations of a modern army inexperienced with guerilla-style conflict at high elevation. Even with large contingents of military, police, and irregular troops, Japanese forces had to pull back within days, as numerically inferior bands of Dakekan Atayal ambushed them. Setbacks aside, it did highlight the brutality of the colonial war machine, as Japanese long-range mortars effectively assailed and incinerated Aboriginal dwellings. Perhaps the most important precedent set was the blockade (*fūsa*) imposed on the region following the Government-General’s retreat. Issued by the Taipei Prefect, the embargo set important guidelines on the ban of weapons, trade goods, salt, and foodstuffs for all “wicked savages” (*kyōban*) caught perpetrating attacks along the line. As the Prefect put it in his guidelines to frontier personnel: “there will be strict enforcement of a complete shutdown, meaning savages are forbidden from moving about, as well as receiving armaments, munitions, food, salt, and naturally everything else. This will result in the destruction of their vitality, to the point of life or death...” (*karera no katsuryoku wo*

⁵⁷ *Taiwan nichichi shinpō*, September 18th, 1900 in Yumani shobo (ed.), *Taiwan nichichi shinpō* Volume 8.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Fujii Shizue, *Dakekan shijian*, 92.

metsuji sono shimei wo sei beshi).⁶⁰ Once reduced to desperation by material privations, Aborigines would be given the option to “come down to appeal to authorities and supplicate that trade be resumed.”⁶¹ Officials would then survey the intentions of the subjugated population, to ensure that their submission was sincere and that no “falsehoods” were at play. The Prefect did foresee issues with this policy, realizing that some groups in embargoed zones were “good savages” who had not assaulted Japanese outposts. Villages he also added should not receive more than their allotted share of supplies, as any stockpiles of goods could be redirected to villages subject to the blockade. The Prefect insisted that the blockade be uniformly enforced to avoid the formation of smuggling networks that would funnel food and weapons into the hands of Dakekan Atayal.⁶² For the Atayal at Dakekan though, there is evidence that the blockade did not cause much distress. According to the work of Fujii Shizue, at the time of the Dakekan uprising, the groups there had experienced a good harvest in recent years and were busier with hunting and cultivation. There were also fewer disputes among different village settlements. Finally, inner mountain roads were unobstructed for Atayal, so they could continue walking to Hualien and Yilan to trade. In all, the prefect’s blockade may have not had the intended effects, as the region managed to find ways to circumvent the ban on lowland goods.⁶³

Reports from the Yilan region indicate that the aftershocks of the Dakekan war and blockade did yield limited success. Up to that point, the Yilan region Atayal had caused a number of troubles, attacking lowland settlements, police stations, and camphor stoves.

⁶⁰ Inō Kanori (ed.), *Riban shikō*, 163.

⁶¹ Inō Kanori (ed.), *Riban shikō*, 164.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 170.

⁶³ Fujii Shizue, *Dakekan shijian*, 92.

Following an attack on a police captain and officer, the local Yilan government instituted a Dakekan-style blockade:

Following the example of the Dakekan Incident, a blockade was instituted using police power, and the affected groups fell into a state of distress. They eventually appealed to *huafan* women who had relocated to Tiansongpi. These interpreter women were asked that trade resume as they had done previously. Then the *tōmoku* of the nearby villages were instructed to come to Tiansongpi and Alishi to have an assembly. On October 8th, the *tōmoku* of six Mnibu villages came to Tiansongpi, were told of their misdeeds and urged to return to the “ways of heaven and humanity” (*tenrijindō*)...A stone burial ceremony was held to consecrate the occasion, and the *tōmoku* present pledged to relocate downhill.⁶⁴

The blockade was significant enough to catalyze a round of talks between Mnibu elders and the district head. Shortly after the October assembly, Nan’ao villages followed suit. On November 6, eight villages of the Nan’ao represented by their *tōmoku*, engaged in a similar conciliation ceremony at Alishi. The Nan’ao who attended this meeting first requested that they consult with other members of their community. After these consultations, they agreed, and on November 3, the *tōmoku* of the other eight Nan’ao villages also pledged themselves to do the same. Relocation was on a trial basis. A group of fifty initially engaged in this process. As part of their assimilation into lowland society, district authorities set up a pilot program to hire pacified Indigenes as guards to monitor the foothills of the Yilan plain. According to Japanese accounts, the program was a complete failure, as the candidates allegedly gorged themselves on food and drink, making no efforts to cultivate the land.⁶⁵ “Failure” to assimilate and obey Japanese dictates may indicate that Indigenes had strategies of their own to deal with embargoes. Feeling the pressure of blockades, elders may have chosen to temporarily opt for diplomacy in order to reopen the flow of supplies.

⁶⁴ Inō Kanori (ed.), *Riban shikō*, 173.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 173-74.

Other sources reveal that blockades may have very real consequences, putting the health and survival of Indigenous people in jeopardy. In his celebratory account of Japanese colonial policy in Taiwan, the Japanese Diet member Takekoshi Yosaburō described an episode in which a group of embargoed Aborigines requested a surrender in order to resume trade: “recently a body of savages in Toshien and Shinko Districts came to our officials and requested to be allowed to surrender, pledging themselves never more to inflict injury upon the peaceful inhabitants of the district. This they did, because their supply of fire-arms, ammunition and salt was so reduced *as to endanger their very existence* [my emphasis].”⁶⁶ There are also visual indicators that blockades left a physical mark on targeted populations. In the 1913 “Pictorial Record of Savage Pacification,” an image featuring a group of pacified Yilan Atayal joining a Japanese unit shows an individual with severely inflamed thyroid glands, a symptom likely due to salt deprivation (figure 4.3).⁶⁷

While the Dakekan campaign resulted in no clear gains, the colonial state had honed its destructive capabilities and sent a signal to unincorporated Indigenous people in the highlands. Any major disruption of camphor production or other assaults on frontier infrastructure would be met with swift reprisals that could result in the incineration of villages, or, in the event of a stalemate, the imposition of a long-term ban on cross border trade. Still, this would not deter Indigenous people from resisting an expanding pacification state and resource-hungry monopoly. With Dakekan and surrounding areas experiencing stoppages and work disruptions, central areas south of Taipei like Taizhong and Miaoli picked up the slack. Those regions were still dominated by Taiwanese camphor producers, who owned many of the stoves there.⁶⁸ The year of the

⁶⁶ Takekoshi Yosaburō, George Braithwaite (trans), *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, 161.

⁶⁷ Image taken from Yingjie Liao (ed.), *Ska yulung: Taiya zu bai nian ying xiang* [The Fogs and Clouds are Thick: The Yilan Atayal, 100 Years of Photography], (Yilan xian shi guan, 2014), 26.

⁶⁸ I discuss these dynamics briefly in chapter three.

Dakekan rising, the combined figures for Taizhong and Miaoli cumulated in about 1.5 million *kin* of camphor.⁶⁹ Here the dynamics of local frontier society inherited from the late Qing years played a stabilizing role. Taiwanese producers in the central regions had long brokered peace-pacts with local Aborigines and continued to do so under the Japanese. Also, Taizhong and Miaoli had long had their own mechanisms for policing the border. One of the key permit owners in the Taizhong borderlands was the Lin family, who during the late Qing period helped guard their portion of the “savage boundary” and assisted in suppression campaigns by supplying private militia troops.⁷⁰ Still, as Japanese began to take control of the industry there, they upset existing arrangements. Soon, patterns of frontier violence from the northeastern camphor zone migrated south.

As Tavares as made clear in his work, the streamlining of camphor licensing, collection, marketing, and export led to the payment of customary fees to Indigenous people falling into obsolescence. The state’s simultaneous takeover of both production and circulation was a primary driver of this change. Prior to the monopoly, numerous middlemen often provided cash advances to capitalists in the interior to help pay Native chiefs for logging rights on Aboriginal lands. With these agents gone, producers became dependent entirely on revenue from limited government-set prices, thereby reducing their cashflow. This put a serious dent in their abilities to pay customary fees to Indigenous leaders, which was usually done thanks to advances from middlemen.⁷¹ The collapse of borderland arrangements reached a crescendo, particularly in central areas.

⁶⁹ Taiwan Camphor Monopoly Bureau, *Moto Taiwan shōnō senbai kyoku jigyo daini nenpō*, 4-6.

⁷⁰ Lin Chaodong for example provided 1500 *aiyong* (*aiyū*) forces for a pacification expedition in Dakekan for example in 1886. See James Wheeler Davidson, *The Island of Formosa*, 252.

⁷¹ Antonio Tavares, “Crystals from the Savage Forest,” 260-261.

In the summer of 1902, within the Nanshō region (central Taiwan, now Nanzhuang, Miaoli County), the Saisiyat peoples launched an uprising against Japanese rule. Historically, the Saisiyat were a pacified Indigenous group who allowed camphor loggers and Han farmers on their lands in exchange for payment. Tavares provides useful context to this rebellion, which he highlights erupted over the Japanese takeover of the camphor industry in the region. As he notes, the leader of this uprising, an elder named Ri Aguai, had a long history of cooperating with local camphor capitalists. In 1887, during the Liu Mingchuan years, Ri and his village had “come down from the mountains,” to submit to the Qing. Ri received an honorary rank of “chief” in return, and allowed Han farmers to cultivate paddy fields around his area.⁷² Ri himself owned a number of camphor stoves and amassed a great deal of wealth through regular payment of the “mountain fee” by camphor producers to his tribe.⁷³ In the lead-up to the rebellion, Japanese producer Matsuda Tokiba had begun establishing his presence within Ri’s territory. Soon after, Matsuda began shirking on payments owed to Ri and his group. Adding insult to injury, Matsuda had also begun surveying camphor forests for future logging operations without Ri’s consent. With resentment brewing, Ri gathered Saisiyat allies and local Atayal groups to attack district offices. Ri was also able to recruit refugee anti-Japanese partisans from ongoing suppression campaigns in the plains, as well as disgruntled camphor workers.⁷⁴

Contemporary Japanese accounts of this watershed uprising tend to emphasize the role of “bandits” in fomenting insurrection among Aborigines. The Camphor Bureau’s yearly report for 1902 described the Nanzhuang uprising as the product of “bandits who fled into savage territory

⁷² Antonio Tavares, “Crystals from the Savage Forest,” 246.

⁷³ For a more comprehensive overview of Ri’s activities in the lead-up to the Nanzhuang rebellion, see Antonio Tavares, “The Japanese Colonial State and the Dissolution of the Late Imperial Frontier Economy in Taiwan, 1886-1909.” See also his, “Crystals from the Savage Forest,” 231-275.

⁷⁴ Antonio Tavares, “Crystals from the Savage Forest,” 261-64.

and riled up the savages regarding problems of land reclamation and compensation for camphor production (*dochi kaihatsu oyobi shōnō sankōkin mondai ni kan shi*).⁷⁵ Other accounts personalized the rebellion, blaming Ri and his resentment towards producers' refusal to pay customary logging fees. The 1910 *Report on the Control of the Aborigines of Formosa* summarized the incident as followings: "Ji-ka-ah [Ri Aguai], chief of the Nanshiriko village of the Saisett [*sic*] Tribes in the district of Nanshō in the Shinchiku Prefecture, once had predominating influence in that district. He amassed great wealth out of the Shan-kung money – a compensation paid to the savage chief by the camphor workers according to the number of the stills they use for camphor manufacture."⁷⁶ With tensions growing between Ri and local producers, Ri is said to have "called together a number of the savages of the same [Saisiyat] tribe, and the Taiyals [Atayal], and a certain number of the fugitive Formosan insurgents" and then "led an attack against the Nanshō district office on July 6th 1902."⁷⁷ By emphasizing instigation by outsiders or Ri's charismatic leadership, the colonial state ignored Indigenous traditions of forging political partnerships with frontier actors. Whether as a means of collective self-defense in times of war, or as a strategy to expand one's resource base, alliance-making had long been a feature of the camphor zone. Now, the combination of camphor production, monopoly capital, as well as anti-Japanese partisans fleeing repression in the plains, allowed for a broad coalition of highland groups and subaltern elements to band together.

The suppression of the Nanzhuang uprising took fifty days and required both the military and police. Artillery were also called in to shell Ri and his allies' positions. Saisiyat armies were routed thanks to superior Japanese firepower, as security forces once demonstrated again their

⁷⁵ Taiwan Camphor Monopoly Bureau, *Taiwan shōnō senbai kyoku jigyo daini nenpō*, 43.

⁷⁶ Taiwan Government-General, *Report on the Control of the Aborigines in Formosa*, 36.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 36-37.

inefficacy at fighting close quarters with Indigenous bands, as well as their Han allies. “Heroic tales” pulled from the pages of the *chiban kikō*, provide a glimpse into how Ri’s forces operated with swiftness and precision. In July of 1902, during the lead-up to the assault on Nanzhuang itself, Ri and his army attacked guardline fortifications, setting fire to them and driving out the Japanese and Taiwanese troops garrisoned there. An officer named Morimoto Junsuke fought briefly with Ri’s three hundred-strong force whilst protecting Danan guardline supervision station. Ri and his troops encircled the station, set it ablaze, and wiped out fourteen of the sixteen *aiyū* guards there. Morimoto and his two remaining *aiyū* managed to flee, being pursued and shot at along the way.⁷⁸ As in the Dakekan war, artillery shelling became a favored tactic. Mountain guns obliterated Ri’s support structures. While Dakekan saw fighting result in a stalemate, this time incendiary assaults proved decisive, as pacification armies invaded on the heels of canon fire, overwhelming Ri’s troops. Within a brief span of time, the combined force closed in on Ri and his group. Ri died of disease while fleeing, and several of his supporters were “put to death.”⁷⁹ The portion of the Saisiyat peoples under Ri’s leadership then “surrendered their guns to the authorities and migrated inside the guard-line.”⁸⁰

Though Ri and his allies had been routed, fighting spilled over into areas in and around Miaoli, where other Atayal groups continued to attack camphor stoves and government installations. In the uprising’s aftermath, refugees from Ri’s movement reportedly sought shelter in surrounding Indigenous areas, giving policymakers the convenient pretext to go in and continue “mop-up” operations. These smaller campaigns resulted in the occupation and

⁷⁸ Taiwan Government-General Savage Affairs Central Headquarters (ed.), *Chiban kikō*, 12-13.

⁷⁹ Taiwan Government-General, *Report on the Control of the Aborigines in Formosa*, 37.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

destruction of a few Aboriginal settlements.⁸¹ The economic fallout from Nanzhuang and its aftershocks were felt, especially for leading regional camphor producers. For 1902, in its Taipei “Main Bureau” jurisdiction, the Camphor Monopoly reported dismal northeastern production figures. Japanese like Komatsu Kusuya produced only 27,532 *kin* of camphor and 20,498 of camphor oil out of a permit projecting 189,000 *kin* of camphor and 99,000 *kin* of camphor oil. Matsuda Tokiba, who antagonized the Saisiyat and contributed to the rebellion, had permits forecasting 180,000 and 150,000 *kin* of camphor and camphor oil. He only produced 20,483 and 26,071 *kin* respectively.⁸²

While Dakekan showed Indigenous capacities for organized disruption of monopoly activities, Nanzhuang demonstrated the threat of large-scale insurrections. It also showed that subaltern elements on the fringes of the Japanese colonial system – be they escaped insurgents or frontiersmen – could unite with disgruntled Indigenous people to make common cause against Japanese colonialism. With such multi-ethnic coalitions in mind, the Government-General moved to suppress any future Nanzhuang-style uprising. With northeastern camphor production slumping, colonial leaders turned to the senior-ranking bureaucrat Councilor Mochiji Rokusaburō for a comprehensive new pacification strategy. Following a late 1902 tour of the guardline, Mochiji drafted a policy paper, “Regarding the handling of the savage question” (*banjin mondai torishimari ni kan suru*), which he published in December. This document set the tone for the remainder of the pacification era. It also enshrined at the level of policy-making the

⁸¹ One notable example of a group suppressed due to the presence of runaway Nanzhuang forces within their midst are the Manada, an Atayal settlement from the Miaoli area. The Manada tribe, who are listed in the official report as belonging to the Atayal group, lived within Bioritsu Prefecture (Miaoli). Official accounts state that following the July uprising “a number of criminal tribes (*yohidō bansha*) who had taken part in the Nansho Incident moved into Bioritsu Prefecture and married local savage women (*banjin banpu wo meteri*).” See Inō Kanori (ed.), *Riban shikō*, 178.

⁸² Government-General Camphor Monopoly Bureau, *Taiwan shōnō senbai kyoku jigyō daini nenpō* [Second-year report of the Taiwan Camphor Monopoly], (Taipei: Taiwan Government-General Monopoly Bureau, 1907), 33-34.

assumed sub-humanity of Aborigines, and the perceived necessity of systematic guidelines for the continued pummeling of Indigenous settlements using long-range shelling and troops invasions.

“Pacification in the North, Benevolence in the South” and the Mochiji Plan, 1903-1909

At its core, the “Mochiji plan” called for “benevolence in the south, pacification in the north” (*nanbu beitō*).⁸³ This strategy advocated targeted raids on Aboriginal groups situated in the camphor beltway, while beefing up assimilatory programs for Indigenous groups roughly south of Nantou. The “Mochiji plan” provided the blueprint for Japanese military strategy in the highlands, as colonial leaders concentrated the bulk of their security forces and frontier defenses on the Atayal, Sediq, and Truku for much of the 1900s and early 1910s.

In the opening pages of his report, Mochiji warned that Japanese armies on the frontier faced an enemy whose ambiguous legal status placed them beyond the reach of the prevailing norms pertaining to warfare: “the pacification of raw savages from the standpoint of international law cannot be called a war. As a result, when we look at the raw savages’ level of intellect and social development, even though they are human, they are much closer to animals.”⁸⁴ Mochiji believed the absence of anything resembling a modern nation-state form or system of law among Aborigines not only lowered them to the status of “animals,” but also exempted them from the regular modes of conduct that belligerents were expected to adhere to when military hostilities are exchanged.⁸⁵ Here, Mochiji parroted the theories of legal expert Okamatsu Santarō, a Tokyo

⁸³ Barclay in his *Outcasts of Empire* uses the term “Mochiji plan.”

⁸⁴ Mochiji Rokusaburō, *Bansei mondai ni kan suru torishirabesho* [Investigative Report on the Savage Governance Problem], (December, 1902), Academia Sinica Library, 5.

⁸⁵ This is not an unusual situation for colonial warfare involving confrontations with Indigenous peoples. For a comparative piece which highlights these dynamics in different contexts, see Benjamin Madley, “Tactics of Nineteenth Century Massacre: Tasmania, California, and Beyond” in Philp Dwyer and Lyndall Ryan, eds., *Theatres of Violence: Massacre, Mass Killing, and Atrocity in History* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012), 110-123.

Imperial University graduate who worked for Gotō's "Investigative Committee for the Study of Old Customs," a research body tasked with compiling Taiwan's pre-Japanese customary laws to facilitate governance over the island's Han population. Okamatsu based his interpretation of Indigenes' ambiguous status upon the Treaty of Shimonoseki, which gave clear guidelines for handling the island's Qing subjects, but little in terms of what to do with unincorporated Indigenes. The treaty gave Chinese subjects of the Qing a two-year window to abandon their property and holdings should they wish to return to the mainland and remain a part of the Qing empire. Those who would not move to the mainland would automatically become subjects of imperial Japan after this grace period. Of course, Aborigines did not have this option, given they were never subject to the Qing, and were considered "beyond the pale" (*kegai*) of its civilizational reach.⁸⁶ Japan therefore could not use its own national laws to clarify the legal status of peoples who had no rights under preceding imperial formation. Conquest therefore was the only option that would allow Japan to bring a "non-national" people into its orbit, and eventually assimilate them into the Japanese imperial order.

Mochiji's plan sought to confront the central politico-legal question of the highlands: how to deal with a population outside the existing framework of "nation" and "colony" whose land and resources policy-makers considered integral to the survival of both? Given that formal Japanese imperial legal structures did not apply, Mochiji believed that other universal norms should guide policy makers.⁸⁷ Affirming the view that all colonization is a violent struggle for supremacy, Mochiji appealed to the "laws" of history and its logic of "might makes right":

⁸⁶ Barclay also offers similar insights in his *Outcasts of Empire*. See Paul Barclay, *Outcasts of Empire*, 28.

⁸⁷ Unlike the situation in colonial Hokkaido, where the government could fall back on historical precedents from the Tokugawa era, during which the Matsumae clan had exclusive trade relations with the Ainu, the Japanese in Taiwan could only draw from the Qing example.

Because they are on par with beasts, it is imperative that we spread imperialization and proclaim to these savages our national might. But given we are seeking to advance the national interest; it is desirable that the question of colonial management be resolved as a national one. This resolution in practical terms is also a difficult one. From the standpoint of law, resolving the question of savages and their territories is no easy task because from the perspective of national law, there is nothing encompassing savages or their territories. But this resolution is easier from social standpoint. When an inferior race encounters a superior one, a struggle for survival ensues, and history has demonstrated that the result is the superior overtaking or eradicating the inferior.⁸⁸

Here Mochiji recycled Meiji era notions of an imagined civilizational hierarchy seen in the writings of Japanese thinkers like Fukuzawa Yukichi and colonial leaders like Kabayama Sukenori. “Savages” knew only intense competition in a state of nature and therefore lacked the ability to build complex societies fit for existence in a modern industrialized setting. All they know, Mochiji insisted, is violence, so colonizers should respond accordingly.⁸⁹ Mochiji’s plan cut to the heart of who gets to define the political and legal capacities that undergird the exercise of sovereign power. Invoking international norms governing relations between “sovereign” nations, Mochiji stressed that “to be considered and recognized as a nation, you must have a fixed governing body, meaning a society that possesses political organizations. Given each of the *seiban* villages possesses no such things, we cannot recognize such entities as nations from the standpoint of international law.”⁹⁰ With the geopolitical mapping of the globe by nation-states and their colonies, there was little room for the fissured and dispersed mechanisms used by Aboriginal Taiwanese highlanders to assert control over their lands. Taiwan’s northeastern mountain valleys and hillsides were traversed by scores of *qalang*, all of whom asserted control over hunting grounds and cultivated fields using ritualized violence, oral traditions of peace-

⁸⁸ Mochiji Rokusaburō, *Bansei mondai ni kan suru torishirabesho*, 2.

⁸⁹ See chapter two.

⁹⁰ Mochiji Rokusaburō, *Bansei mondai ni kan suru torishirabesho*, 2.

making, the organizing of village confederacies, and other fluctuating alliances. In his *bansei mondai*, Mochiji not only deprived the Indigene of all legal protections from violence, but imposed the bounded form of territorial nation upon them, thereby denying them the ability to define within their own terms what constitutes a viable system of politics, law, and inter-state relations.⁹¹

Mochiji envisioned a future in which all highlanders would be covered by the laws and statutes that regulated Han and other groups residing in Japanese-controlled portions of the island. According to Mochiji, “assimilated” plains Indigenes were already *shinmin* (imperial subjects), as they had been incorporated as tax-paying and status-bearing subjects under the Qing. *Seiban* (“raw savages”) and *kaban* (*huafan* in Chinese, or “transforming savages”) had not submitted, or fully committed themselves, to assimilation into Sinic ways.⁹² Mochiji envisioned a similar progression from “raw” to “cooked,” whereby proximity to the Japanese imperial state and its administrative structures would bring full rights to those once living beyond the

⁹¹ My interpretation of Mochiji here borrows heavily from the insights of scholar Mark Rifkin, who discusses the exclusion of Native peoples by the system of U.S law via Agamben in his piece “Indigenizing Agamben: Rethinking Sovereignty in Light of the ‘Peculiar’ Status of Native Peoples.” Drawing on Giorgio Agamben’s theories of modern sovereignty, which examines the exercise of sovereign power in light of its abilities to define exception to the law (and therefore its suspension in favor of arbitrary violence), Rifkin seeks to expand the scope of the latter’s philosophy to include the case of Indigenous populations. For Rifkin, the struggle for sovereignty among Native peoples is then less about particular policy domains, and more about *metapolitical authority* – the ability to define the scope of ‘law’ and ‘politics.’ Rather than focus on specific rhetoric that justifies state control of Native polities, the focus here is on the “overriding” decision to render them void in the first place. He writes “While arguments about Euroamerican racism and the disjunctions between Native traditions and imposed structures of governance can be quite powerful in challenging aspects of settler-state policy, they cannot account for the structuring violence performed by the figure of sovereignty.” Sovereignty has no specific content, and the battle over it is really about legitimacy, and the right to define what is a viable legal or political formation. Rifkin here also criticizes the over-emphasis on Euro-American ideas of “savagery” and racism. While these are helpful, they imply a fundamental cultural distinction between these and Indigenous modes of governance. This strategy leads to a reading of sovereignty that is linked to a particular political content; a move which in turn leads to a contrastive exercise where we pit “settler” political forms against “Native-friendly” ones. A focus on racial difference and equality though can lead to a reaffirming of settler sovereignty’s geopolitical claims about which issues, processes, statuses count as meaningful ones within the political system. In sum, given Native peoples are *apriori* excluded from sovereign power’s categories of what counts as a recognizable entity (what is to be included), then the means by which they are excluded must be approached differently. See Mark Rifkin, “Indigenizing Agamben: Rethinking Sovereignty in Light of the ‘Peculiar’ Status of Native Peoples.” *Cultural Critique*, 73, no. 1 (2009), 90-91

⁹² Mochiji Rokusaburō, *Bansei mondai ni kan suru torishirabesho*, 6-10.

guardline. In the interim, Indigenous people were in a legal *terra incognita*. Not yet afforded the full protections of imperial subjecthood, and not recognizable by existing international norms, Aborigines could only experience the state in its most brutal and unmitigated form. Especially with the threat Indigenous raids posed to the commodification of highland resources, which legally fell within the purview of monopoly regulations, the state was within its “rights” to use punitive violence against all seditious acts against its “property” and “nationals” on the frontier. Mochiji recognized that the state’s monopoly on homicidal force needed to factor in the fiscal and logistical implications of waging an all-out assault on hundreds of scattered village settlements which, up to this point, had cost the Government-General a great deal. In a lengthy explication of the rationalization behind his plan, Mochiji wrote:

The *seiban* are insurgents, and only the state has the capacity to determine life and death, and even though there is no denying that they are rebels, the expectation that we will wipe out the remaining excess elements, as a guiding policy, remains to be agreed upon. Now, it is said that the raw savages are hundreds of thousands throughout the island. This number however is somewhat of an exaggeration, and though they currently number at about 70 to 80,000...the lands they hold are like a mountain fortress, making pacification and eradication a difficult task. More than just the anticipated difficulties of pacification and eradication are the economic dimensions of this endeavor, which would not be profitable, causes losses and no rewards, nor would we be able to endure from a public finances standpoint...But the lands of savages are a storehouse of natural resources, and this should be the starting point of our efforts. Therefore, in order to develop these resources and bring forth [raise] these industries, we can do so by means of shocking and pressuring them through pacification and chastisement. Though on the surface we have adhered to this first principle, we have seen on the other hand a weakening of the savages by way of benevolence. This has led to a degree of progress in having them shed their bad customs, leading to the adoption of imperial subject status. This can be seen in the *jukuban*, who are recognized as fully-fledged subjects. I believe that to strive towards treating savages as imperial subjects, as a national policy, is necessary.⁹³

⁹³ Mochiji Rokusaburō, *Bansei mondai ni kan suru torishirabesho*, 13.

Here Mochiji reaffirmed the old *bukonsho* doctrine of using benevolence and force *concurrently*, emphasizing that softer measures could work in the long-term for Japanizing Indigenes. Though superficially a rehashing of Kabayama and Mizuno's earlier pacification policy, Mochiji's premise was different. He explicitly made the exploitation of Taiwan's natural "storehouse" of mountain resources the "starting point" for all Indigenous policy. In Mochiji's plan, the state's capacities for violence were to be used sparingly so as to not exhaust itself needlessly, especially in an area where it did not have command of the terrain. The production of camphor and the development of infrastructure would guide police and military actions in a cost-efficient way, concentrating forces in needed areas, all while continuing long-term assimilation programs where armed resistance was not an issue. Though Mochiji envisioned a future where highland Aborigines could be acculturated like their lowlander counterparts, he believed that process would require that their lands first be physically invaded and occupied. The passage from "raw" to "cooked," or "insurgent" to "subject," was premised on conquest, which, paradoxically, writes Indigenous humanity into "law."

Mochiji's plan also revealed the future direction of war in the camphor zone. At its core, Mochiji referred to his plan as "protect the south advance in the north."⁹⁴ Using "limited financial and military means" (*heiryoku kagiri ari zairyoku kagiri ari*), the Government-General would expand guardline operations in northeastern strongholds while pursuing assimilatory efforts in the areas roughly south of Miaoli. Once pacified using military force, the Government-General would subject conquered Indigenous people to an educational curriculum included farming, basic arithmetic, and Japanese language instruction.⁹⁵ In terms of its progression,

⁹⁴ Mochiji Rokusaburō, *Bansei mondai ni kan suru torishirabesho*, 49.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 49-50.

Mochiji's plan envisioned a sweep of Atayal populations in the foothills and mountains of Dakekan, and adjacent areas like Sanxia, Neiwan - all of which were camphor-rich regions affected by the June 1900 rising and ensuing blockade. With those areas cleared, the guardline would then be advanced eastward, eventually connecting roads and passes in Yilan.⁹⁶ Yilan's camphor forests, which were the regular target of local Mnibu and Nan'ao Atayal, was also a focal point of the Mochiji plan, and remained largely unconquered at the beginning of 1903.

In terms of pacification procedures, Mochiji reaffirmed many existing practices. Though police and guardline troops would serve as the vanguard for pacification operations, Mochiji stressed that the military could be called in for additional support and cover, but only after sustaining "great injury or loss."⁹⁷ All *aiyū* troops and other auxiliaries were to fall under police command and supervision.⁹⁸ The Councilor also proposed "using the savages to control the savages" (*ban wo motte ban wo sei suru mo*) which meant recruiting Indigenous "friendlies" to assist in battle.⁹⁹ Mochiji and military planners knew that they could exploit longstanding feuds between Aboriginal groups to pit them against one another. Especially with the flow of trade goods constricted due to embargoed areas, northeastern Indigenous people saw participation in Japanese expeditions as opportunities to procure rifles, munitions, and other vital supplies. Mochiji even tolerated controlled headhunts as rewards for those Aborigines who showed loyalty to the Japanese and participated in Indigenous suppression campaigns.¹⁰⁰

As much as Mochiji made camphor the focal point of his suppression plan, the Councilor did not support unfettered exploitation in the highlands. Aware of the unrest camphor companies

⁹⁶ Mochiji Rokusaburō, *Bansei mondai ni kan suru torishirabesho*, 51.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 49.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 44.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 48-49.

brought with their loggers and distilling apparatuses, he criticized both the Monopoly and licensed producers for being largely profit driven enterprises who benefitted heavily from state expenditures in frontier security. Mochiji estimated that the current costs of expenses along the *bankai* totaled 300,000 *yen*, with a little under half of that representing forestry management (120,000 *yen*). To protect extractive industries, Mochiji stressed that those engaging in business activities would have to share the fiscal burden. Mochiji recommended further centralization and reshuffling of existing administrative mechanisms. Moving forward, he hoped to create a unified agency of Aboriginal Affairs, or “Savage Territories Bureau” (*banchijimukyoku*). Mochiji reasoned that the monopoly’s profit-driven goals were destabilizing both security and other projects. Roads, waterways, mining, and farming were all part of unlocking the highlands “storehouse” of natural wealth. Insofar as camphor continued to devour the lion’s share of the government’s focus, Indigenous people would continue to launch costly raids on productive facilities.¹⁰¹ Mochiji even took a page from Liu’s playbook, proposing that the government support groups of armed colonists to cultivate fertile patches of land. These groups would form their own protective militias, and would receive assistance from guards and police stationed along the line.¹⁰² Under the terms of this new institutional body, the camphor monopoly would no longer have licensing rights and would only engage in camphor collection as part of a new “Forestry Department” (*rinmuka*). Permits would be handled by a separate entity, known as the “Colonization Department” (*takushokuka*), which would oversee land reclamation. All security, including management of the guardline, would be handled by the “Police Department” (*keisatsuka*).¹⁰³ As was the case with the previously proposed *banseikyoku* of 1898, a great deal

¹⁰¹ Mochiji Rokusaburō, *Bansei mondai ni kan suru torishirabesho*, 66-71.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 62-63.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 73.

of what Mochiji proposed never materialized. Certain elements did transpire, though not in the way he envisioned. Over the coming decade, Aboriginal administration would fall under greater police control, first with the creation of the “Savage Affair Central HQ” (Savage Affairs Central HQ) and then with the “Savage Control Section” (*ribanka*) of the Police Bureau. As for the attempt at limiting permits, that would occur with the streamlining of production quotas - a process that later culminated with the creation of the quasi-state run 1919 Taiwan Camphor Corporation.

Mochiji’s military plan would unfold over the next decade, producing fifty-two major campaigns against a broad range of Indigenous groups, from the mountains of Dakekan and Yilan, to the southern portion of the island where groups like the Paiwan and Amis reside.¹⁰⁴ Japanese accounts often provide only a handful of lines for each of these confrontations. Most of them fell under the state’s rubric of “advancement of the guardline” (*zenshin*) as if to show the absorption of Indigenous lands into the Japanese fold was a mere inevitability.¹⁰⁵ The colonial archive, with its decontextualized narration blaming Indigenous actors, provides little explanation of Aboriginal motives beyond their refusal to submit to Japanese rule. Campaigns involving larger police or paramilitary squadrons were increasingly common during these later years. These targeted mainly northeastern Atayalic tribes like the Mnibu, Nan’ao, Gaogan, Marikowan, as well as the Truku and Sediq peoples. Out of forty nine listed entries for major pacification raids and guardline advances after 1903 listed, thirty three involved northeastern

¹⁰⁴ These numbers are based on a chart found in government historian Fujisaki Seinosuke’s comprehensive overview of pacification campaigns and guardline advancements in his *Taiwan no banzoku* [The Savage Tribes of Taiwan]. See See Fujisaki Seinosuke, *Taiwan no banzoku* [The Aborigines of Taiwan], (Tokyo: Kokushi Kankokai, 1930), 670-694. These do not count the thousands of other smaller skirmishes which Barclay lists out in his *Outcasts of Empire*.

¹⁰⁵ In addition to “guardline advancement” (*aiyūsen no zenshin*), other euphemisms like *yōchō* (chastisement) are often used.

Aborigines, or took place in camphor-rich areas like Taipei, Taoyuan, Xinzhu or Yilan.¹⁰⁶ In most of these cases, mixed police and paramilitary units advanced on Aboriginal villages using support from long-range guns placed atop strategic mountain passes. Many of these campaigns ended with the incineration of villages, the mass confiscation of weapons, and formal declarations of “submission” by Indigenous survivors to the Japanese government.¹⁰⁷

Still, Aborigines continued to disrupt camphor production and attack frontier outposts in the years that followed the publication of Mochiji’s report. Though the official body count linked to “damage inflicted by savages” steadily declined, civilian deaths, meaning non-frontier personnel, remained in the triple digits until at least the early 1910s. In 1903, the year of Mochiji’s report, Indigenous attacks killed 229 civilians. That number dropped to 152 in 1904, rose to 188 in 1905, stayed in the triple digits until a sharp decline during the years 1908-1910 (forty five, seventy four, and forty two respectively), and rose again to 155 in 1910. The bulk of these deaths were Taiwanese, with some years registering extreme disparities between *naichijin* and *hontōjin*. In 1907 for example, there were 145 deaths. One was Japanese, the rest Taiwanese.¹⁰⁸ Deaths from frontier-related personnel paint a similar picture. Between 1904 and 1912, there were 1,815 deaths on the *bankai*. This figure includes police, guardline troops, and those classified as “other” (likely porters, laborers, and other support staff). With the exception of 1912, which registered a spike in the number of deaths (661), most years had between 100-200 deaths on record.¹⁰⁹ Total “civilian,” (meaning non guardline personnel or law enforcement) deaths were 1,091 for the years 1904-1912. It is hard to estimate exactly what percentage of

¹⁰⁶ Fujisaki Seinosuke, *Taiwan no banzoku*, 690-95.

¹⁰⁷ Fujisaki Seinosuke provides an overview of many of these campaigns (culled from official accounts) in his book. See Fujisaki Seinosuke, *Taiwan no banzoku*, 670-94.

¹⁰⁸ Taiwan Government-General, *Taiwan tōkei yōran*, 186.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 187.

these were camphor workers or engaged in camphor-related activities. The above statistics refer to civilian victims as “individuals killed as a result of savages” (*banjin no tame ni sassho seraretaru hito*). Given how vague this label is, this term might have encompassed everything from raids on lowland settlements to attacks on camphor stoves, or encounters resulting from Japanese or Taiwanese trespassing on Native land. Data pulled from other statistical tables shed some additional light on deaths within the camphor trade. Monopoly Bureau records for May 1903 to March 1904, recorded 127 individuals (116 men and 11 women) “headhunted” near Camphor Bureau stations.¹¹⁰ From April 1904 to March 1905, headhunting attacks in camphor bureau jurisdictions decreased to fifty-five (forty-seven men and eight women), with an additional five dead due to other causes. Camphor-related deaths appear to have declined sharply in the coming years.¹¹¹ Between 1908 and 1909 there were only seven out of a total of 106 Taiwanese deaths (security and non-security personnel included here) who were camphor workers.¹¹² With guardline operations in full gear, new territorial gains brought an expanded Japanese presence to once contested regions, leading to reductions in camphor-related deaths.

While attacks on the Government-General or Monopoly continued throughout the conquest years, Aborigines fighting under the Japanese banner became a more frequent occurrence. The year the Mochiji report was published, there were two notable instances of Indigenous groups acting under Japanese orders. In October of 1903, under orders from Japanese authorities in Puli (Nantou County), members of the Gantaban Bunun lured men from the Sediq villages of Hogo and Paalan on October 5 with a peace offering to settle longstanding

¹¹⁰ Taiwan Camphor Monopoly Bureau, *Taiwan shōnō senbai kyoku jigyō daisan nenpō* [Third-year Report of the Taiwan Camphor Monopoly Bureau] (Taipei: Taiwan shōnō senbai kyoku, 1907), 50-51.

¹¹¹ Taiwan Camphor Monopoly Bureau, *Taiwan shōnō senbai kyoku jigyō daiyon nenpō* [Fourth-year Report of the Taiwan Camphor Monopoly Bureau] (Taipei: Taiwan shōnō senbai kyoku, 1908), 44.

¹¹² Taiwan Camphor Monopoly Bureau, *Taiwan shōnō senbai kyoku jigyō dai hachi nenpō* [Eight-year Report of the Taiwan Camphor Monopoly Bureau] (Taipei: Taiwan shōnō senbai kyoku, 1911), 40.

animosities. The meeting was held at Shimaigahara, a plain just south of the Musha area (modern-day Nantou, central Taiwan).¹¹³ During this meeting, Bunun warriors surprised and cornered their Sediq guests. The incident led to the massacre of one hundred men. The plot was orchestrated in response to the continued “bellicosity” of Musha Sediq in Nantou who, since 1897, had been under a blockade due to the disappearance of a survey team in January of that year, which officials blamed on local Sediq. The loss of close to 100 adult men left a mark on this community, whose foundation for social reproduction relied on hunting and labor-intensive slash-and-burn cultivation.¹¹⁴ Following this mass killing, they formally requested “surrender” to the government. Following the surrender, construction of new defensive infrastructure was completed without incident approximately three years later.¹¹⁵

Shortly after the “Gantaban Incident” in December of 1903, the government once more used Indigenous proxies to expand its presence in unincorporated areas. In response to continued raids by Nan’ao on camphor sites in Yilan, the government authorized the assembling of a Truku auxiliary force. According to Japanese accounts, the Nan’ao held longstanding grudges against the Truku, who lived just south of their territory near Hualien. With government backing, the Truku militia descended upon Nan’ao villages, destroying two hundred homes, taking numerous heads, and seizing a cache of weapons.¹¹⁶ In the years that followed, integration of Indigenous people into Japanese units became a more systematized policy. In December of 1909, the Taoyuan prefectural government put out regulations on the issuing of uniforms to pacified

¹¹³ For a summary of this particular incident see Paul Barclay, *Outcasts of Empire*, 96-97.

¹¹⁴ Nakagawa Kōichi et al., *Musha jiken: Taiwan no takasagoku no hōki* [The Musha Incident: The Revolt of Taiwan’s Aborigines], (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1980), 97-98.

¹¹⁵ This overview is taken from Fujisaki Seinosuke, *Taiwan no banzoku*, 679. See also Nakagawa Kōichi et al., *Musha jiken: Taiwan no takasagoku no hōki* [The Musha Incident: The Revolt of Taiwan’s Aborigines], (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1980), 97-98

¹¹⁶ Fujisaki Seinosuke, *Taiwan no banzoku*, 677-78.

groups participating in all guardline missions as well as reporting guidelines for any instance in which Aborigines participated in official governmental functions.¹¹⁷ Meanwhile, some Aborigines continued to fight alongside Taiwanese partisans. In 1907, the Han rebel leader Cai Qingrin joined forces with Saisiyat and Hakka frontiersmen, initiating another major multi-ethnic Nanzhuang-style uprising in the town of Beipu (modern-day Xinzhu County). The revolt led to the massacre of Beipu's fifty-seven Japanese residents. The counterassault was swift, and led to the deaths of ninety rebels, as well as the arrests of over 100 – nine of whom received the death penalty from the Government-General.¹¹⁸

Over the next few years, the Japanese state slowly pushed deeper into Dakekan, capturing additional territories through guardline advances. One of these major confrontations was the battle at Zhentou Mountain ('Pillow Mountain'), which ended the independence of the local Atayal there and their *qutux phaban* league, which had already been eroded in previous years due to additional expansion maneuvers that cut off movement between villages. Between May and June of 1907, Japanese forces fought violent close-quarter battles with Atayal warriors on the hillsides of this mountain. Once more, the Atayal showed how their guerilla warfare frustrated Japanese siege tactics, which relied on extended supply lines, porters, long-range guns, and fencing or trenches. At the peak of the fighting, Taiwanese locals working for the Japanese even abandoned their posts and laboring duties, leaving troops surrounded and bereft of vital supplies. The Japanese finally captured Zhentou after repetitive shelling exhausted the anti-Japanese fighters. A negotiated settlement that involved village assemblies and the input of multiple headmen led to an eventual surrender in early July – a sign that even amidst uneven conditions,

¹¹⁷ Inō Kanori (ed.), *Riban shikō dainiken* [A Record of Savage Administration Volume Two], (Tōkyō: Seishisha Hatsubaimoto Gōdō Shuppan, 1989), 41.

¹¹⁸ Paul Barclay, *Outcasts of Empire*, 156.

diplomacy and conciliation endured.¹¹⁹ Multiple battles also took place with the Gaogan people over the course of 1908-1909. Many instances of “surrender” are listed in official government sources for these groups.¹²⁰ Fighting around the Dakekan continued well into 1911, when the government launched a major military campaign against the Gaogan to finalize the takeover of that region.

In all, the Mochiji plan and the ensuing campaigns redrew the balance of power in the highlands, considerably shrinking Indigenous’ land and resource base. However, the expansion of Japanese occupation did not signify the smooth implementation of Japanese colonial rule in all areas of Taiwan. Aborigines continued resistance activities, accumulated trade goods and weapons, participated in Japanese pacification operations, and sought to negotiate favorable conditions when “surrendering” to the Japanese. Still, by 1914, the scales had decisively shifted in favor of the Government-General, whose repressive structures had grown by leaps and bounds since the days of the poorly staffed *bukonsho* (1896-98). As guardline stations and frontier troops engulfed Indigenous lands, the ability to preserve hunting grounds, cultivate fields, and maintain other traditional lifeways central for the retention of foundational practices diminished considerably.

Conclusion

While camphor’s strategic importance faded with the rise of synthetics and the diversification of colonial Taiwan’s export industries, its legacy shaped the trajectories of Japanese colonizers and Indigenous people in the highlands of Taiwan. Placing scores of armed

¹¹⁹ Fujii Shizue, *Dakekan shijian*, 95-100.

¹²⁰ For these entries see Inō Kanori (ed.), *Riban shikō*, 513-19, 630, 652, 658, 662, 666, 677. This is not an exhaustive list, but just a sampling of entries from official records that showcase how “submissions” occurred numerous times and in different phases.

colonial personnel on the doorstep of Indigenous lands, the camphor monopoly accentuated conflict on an already tense frontier, giving the state the necessary conditions through which it could justify adding new stretches of barbed wire fencing, guard houses, and other protective implements needed to take control of resource-rich Aboriginal areas. Violence matched the rhythms of camphor production, as struggles for dispersed forest tracts dictated the pace of conquest, placing paramilitaries and police in contested areas, which in turn generated Indigenous responses, to which government forces responded with increasing levels of punitive violence. By 1903, the Mochiji doctrine codified Japan's own brand of indiscriminate warfare in the highlands as official policy, citing the absence of any semblance of "civilized" nationhood among the Aborigines as a reason to fight them using unconventional means. From there, guardline operations grew in frequency and scope, cutting off lines of communication and resources, making the possibilities of another Dakekan or Nanzhuang more fleeting. The regime of permanent occupation not only mobilized the instruments of state coercion; it concentrated them in ways that overwhelmed Indigenous capacities in the long run, giving them little option but to acquiesce to the Japanese invasion. Force, however, was never shelved. Violence was merely reserved for the next outbreak of Native resistance, which would occur as late as October of 1930, when the Musha Sediq launched their uprising against the Japanese Empire.

Permanent occupation signified not the end Native adaptation but its persistence in a new guise. As outlined in this chapter, Indigenous actors shaped outcomes in the camphor zone as much as scores of colonial troops and stockpiles of mechanized arsenals did. Indigenes under the Japanese continued to accumulate goods and weapons even amidst embargoes and frontier closures that aimed to starve them of vital supplies. Participation in pacification operations alongside Japanese forces was also a staple and reflected the way in which the internal politics of

the highlands continued even with colonial invaders seeking to assert themselves as the dominant authority. Colonizers in upland Taiwan faced limits that circumscribed their eliminatory designs and policies. Those limits, and the ways in which subject peoples exploit them, are often the starting point for rethinking Indigenous trajectories. Analysis of Taiwan's Aborigines, or any other first peoples, should not lose sight of this fact. To the extent that the ethnographic and historical record allows, this chapter has centered its analysis on the rich history of Aboriginal resistance to camphor capitalism. This is in keeping with recent trends in Indigenous history, and also that of Aboriginal Taiwan, which have examined the multiplicity of historical pathways that have defined Native peoples' encounters with colonizers. As historians have shown, Native peoples did not merely vanish with the onset of colonization; they adapted to the presence of newcomers, forged treaties, brokered political alliances, developed and participated in elaborate trade networks, and created new identities out of fractured ones.¹²¹ Though we must not lose sight of dispossession, we should not let it define our interpretive frame in its entirety.

¹²¹ I mention these works in the introduction (footnotes 46 and 49).

Conclusion

This study has placed a single commodity – camphor – at the heart of an expanding system of imperialism and capitalism. In just two decades, a violent machine of state repression dedicated to the transformation of forest resources into export commodities ended centuries of Indigenous independence. Of course, Taiwanese Aborigines were not the sole recipients of this pattern of state predation and plunder. Across the globe, other colonizers set their sights on the lands, rivers, waterways, forests, and other support systems that had nurtured Indigenous lives and economies long before nation-states redrew the globe in accordance with their distinct sense of bounded territoriality. This is not to say that expanding capitalist states encountered “pristine” wilderness and they forced their way into new “frontiers.” Rather, Indigenous peoples populated the lands they stood on with polities (both state and non-state), modes of collective land tenure, and agrarian methods that defied Euro-American (as well as Japanese) ideas of possessive individualism, or “public” ownership of resources for state-building projects. Such was the case with Taiwan well into the early Japanese period, which had mountain settlements and village confederacies that maintained relations with lowlanders, whose trade goods, guns, and other luxury items became a core part of how Aborigines redistributed power and prestige within their acephalic societies. Colonizers had to deny these complex modes of social and political life, even though in the initial phases they did participate in them. Using racist notions of *terra nullius*, colonists often discursively “empty” Indigenous lands prior to violently subjugating them. As outlined in the introduction, this “prototypical” colonizer-Native encounter could be seen in the likes of places like Hokkaido or North American Indian country, where capitalist states combined genocidal assimilatory policies with strategies of economic isolation. There, the reservation emerged as the primary form of dispossession. As the brutality and violent history of

conquest receded, a paternalistic mandate to “protect” these new “wards” of the state emerged.¹ As Patrick Wolfe put it, invasion is a “structure,” and not an event. The exterminatory phases of frontier expansion persist long after hostilities have ceased, taking the form of institutions that are organized around goals of cultural or biological erasure. The case of upland Taiwan, though sharing similarities with other capitalist frontiers, requires a different approach – one to which this study hopes will serve as a starting point.

In Taiwan, the regime of dispossession was forged in the crucible of sustained and active resistance against the invasive presence of colonial property and lives. This is not to say that resistance was absent in other contexts, but it played a formative role in the shaping of Japan’s pacification state. The distinct quality of colonial expropriation at high elevation lay in the permanent readiness on the part of the Government-General to deploy its repressive instruments (police, paramilitaries). These forces acted with impunity, especially when operating under the guise of defending itself against “damage inflicted by savages.” With the pressures of the monopoly and its capitalist investors behind it, the Japanese pacification state would slowly engulf the island’s camphor forests - often just a few *ri* at a time - to ensure its long-term dominance of global markets. Commercial forces rarely stabilized the frontier, but accentuated patterns of violence, as forms of Indigenous raiding and warfare sparked all manners of disruptions – from attacks targeting a handful of workers, to large-scale insurrections. Especially after Nanzhuang, when Indigenous participation in a growing camphor economy was completely shut down, counter-insurgent violence became standard operating procedure. The Mochiji doctrine further codified and sanctioned forms of asymmetrical warfare already in the Japanese

¹ Of course, systematic genocide did continue to occur alongside reservation policies. The point here is that the absence of significant resistance tends to affect the mode of occupation and assimilation employed.

playbook (and also in the late Qing one as well) by legally rendering Indigenes as a type of “unlawful combatant” not subject to existing nation-state rules governing conduct between belligerents. This prompted the state to take up increased levels of brutality, as the perceived “savagery” against the colonial government and its economic enterprises generated a “need” for indiscriminate attacks that burned villages to the ground, starved communities of vital supplies, and placed villages under a humiliating occupation by police. Japanese institutions and cultural ways however had a difficult time taking root in this environment, as fierce Aboriginal resistance convinced policymakers that there little to be done to truly “remake” their opponents into their own image. Piecemeal attempts at assimilation were therefore contrasted with large bursts of violence, where subjugation was carried out by way of costly police and military interventions that required the movement of cannons, weapons, and other implements uphill and across a punishing terrain. Even after “pacification,” resistance and the possibility of armed uprising continued - a fact evidenced by the 1930 Musha uprising, as well as the later Indigenous participation in the postwar settler-led 228 uprising (discussed briefly below). This approach of capitalist accumulation, which I have dubbed “colonial dispossession,” seems to better match the Taiwan context, rather than the other paradigms which have stressed the notion that Native peoples are cast out of the regular economy or branded as “redundant” after their forced integration into settler society. Camphor capitalism ultimately generated an insurgent Native resistance which forced the Japanese to “fiscally exhaust” itself (to borrow historian Paul Barclay’s wording) and ultimately cordon off Aborigines as overly ethnicized enclaves subject to special administrative rules. The struggle for forest resources between Aborigines and modernizing regimes however did not end there. Accumulation entered a new phase, but the

contradictory dynamics of the “camphor zone” are still with us, and these can be gleaned from postwar developments.

Aboriginal Struggles Today: Dispossession after “extractive colonialism”

Walking the streets of Taipei today, one is struck not only by the orderly chaos of vehicles, scooters, and pedestrians, but also by the well-manicured streets, each one lined by rows of planted trees. Many of these trees have metallic plaques bearing the species name *cinnamomum camphora*. These are small fragments of a history that quickly ended after the Japanese left. In 1953, just a few years after the end of colonial rule and the consolidation of Chiang Kai-shek’s garrison state, the new government finally abolished the camphor monopoly. The end of camphor as a major industry in Taiwan was due to several factors. First production had been on the decline since the end of Japanese rule. For years workers had begun switching professions in large numbers while camphor-makers struggled to maintain operations in the mountains. Second, the industry was in the red every year, and capital was increasingly hard to come by. Third, with U.S. assistance to Taiwan, as well as their well-established synthetic camphor industry outpacing natural production, maintaining the monopoly did not seem like a sound idea. In addition, camphor’s application in fields like insect protection was not as prominent as it once had been, and processing facilities were on the decline. Japan’s domestic camphor industry also experienced a revival around this time. In the span of just a few years, the age of Taiwanese camphor capitalism had come to an end.²

² This overview is taken from Japan Monopoly Corporation, *Shōnō senbaishi* [History of the Camphor Monopoly], (Tokyo: Shōnō Senbaishi Hensan Inkai), 389-395.

The end of camphor capitalism also came on the heels of the Guomintang's bloody repression following the "228 Incident" of 1947. On February 28 of that year, a widow selling cigarettes was accosted by officers working for the Tobacco Monopoly Bureau, who accused her of selling contraband. A scuffle with nearby residents ensued and an individual was shot. Unrest broke out in the days that followed. With resentment from local Taiwanese brewing over the recent takeover of the island by the Guomintang, protests morphed into a generalized uprising against Chiang's authoritarian rule. Locals in many areas managed to overwhelm Nationalist police, but reinforcements from the mainland quickly arrived, killing what many estimated to be tens of thousands. The ensuing period saw terror campaigns directed against students, intellectuals, and others accused of anti-government subversion, or working on behalf of the mainland communist government. Indigenous peoples were swept up in the political repression, as their historical opposition to outside colonizers made them natural allies of this self-determination movement. Immediately following the 228 Incident, the Alishan Tsou for example helped patrol the streets in Chiayi alongside Taiwanese militias after GMD police units had been driven out. Tsou warriors also fought alongside Taiwanese forces by taking over an arms depot and helping in an unsuccessful attempt to capture a local airport. After the GMD quelled the 228 uprising, Tsou leaders returned to Alishan. Many were arrested for participation in the "Highland Aborigines Autonomous County" movement (which sought expanded legislative and political representation for Indigenous peoples on the island) or alleged connections to the Chinese Communist Party's "Taiwan Province Working Group." Out of those executed were Indigenous leaders who previously had ascended the ranks of the Japanese colonial system. These include men like Tsou elder like Yapasuyongu Yulunana. During WWII, Yapasuvongu spent time with the Japanese Kwantung Army in the puppet state of Manchukuo (Northeastern China) and was

then sent to a Red army camp in Siberia before returning to Taiwan. Another notable figure, though not executed, was Tibusungu' Muknana, who was conscripted in the Japanese “*Takasago* Volunteers” (often translated to “Aboriginal Volunteer Corps”) unit during the colonial period.³ The *Takasago* Volunteers was a special jungle warfare division of the imperial army comprised exclusively of Taiwan Indigenous. The unit was deployed to Southeast Asia, and many Aborigines volunteered to join.⁴ After the war, Tibusungu' shifted gears to fighting the GMD's authoritarian rule. He was sentenced to 23 years for his role in assisting anti-government militias in trying to capture Chiayi's Tsui-siong Airport. Atayal leader Losin Watan, a prominent elder from the Dakekan area who had studied medicine under the Japanese, was another important figure caught up in the GMD's terror campaigns. Although he refused to participate in the post-228 uprising, he was a central figure in advocating for expanded Indigenous rights and autonomy. The government ultimately accused Losin of communist sympathies and executed based on false espionage charges in April of 1954 alongside other Tsou leaders.⁵ Indigenous participation in the 228 movement bears resemblance to the 1902 Nanzhuang uprising, the 1907 Beipu revolt, and could be seen as a continuation of the forms of alliance-making, where Aborigines banded with subaltern forces opposing the centralizing dictates of colonial (or in this case “postcolonial”) states. The swift repression of Indigenous political activism in this context would leave a lasting

³ *Takasago* is short for *Takasagozoku* (lit. “high mountain people), the more “respectable” term the Japanese state in Taiwan used to refer to Aborigines after the Musha Incident.

⁴ For more on the Volunteer Corps, see Hayashi Eidai, *Taiwan shokuminchi tōji shi: sanchi genjūmin to musha jiken - takasago giyūtai* [The History of Taiwan Colonial Rule: the Indigenous Peoples of the Highlands, the Musha Incident, and the Aboriginal Volunteer Corps], (Tokyo: Azusa Shoin, 1995).

⁵ This overview of Indigenous participation in the 228 Incident is from Yang Pi-chuan, Harrison Chen and Aaron Wytze Wilson (trans), “The 228 Massacre in Alishan: ‘All we have left is ashes and bones,’” *The Taiwan Gazette* March 8th 2019, retrieved from: <https://www.taiwangazette.org/news/2019/3/8/the228-massacre-and-the-indigenous-people-of-alishan-all-we-have-left-are-ashes-and-bones> (accessed June 23rd, 2020)

mark, as a generation of talented Indigenous intellectuals and activists were wiped out, thereby foreclosing the possibility of large-scale movements for quite some time.

Alongside political repression, the Guomindang state in many ways picked up where the Japanese left off by imposing on Aborigines a slew of assimilatory policies throughout the 1950s and 1960s, only this time, the objective was to transform them into “citizens” of the Republic of China. Now a key state at the heart of the U.S Cold War security umbrella in East Asia, the ROC turned to forestry resources to boost its economy as well as develop key infrastructure to consolidate its possession of the island, which the newly-formed People’s Republic of China of course claimed as a “breakaway province.” This led to the imposition of a system of private and public property ownership on Aboriginal areas. Though the highlands were no longer the target of a monopolistic entity seeking to commodify and export forest products from global markets, the GMD state’s drive for the “modernization” of its economy made Native lands once more the target of the state’s primitive accumulation of capital. As part of the Nationalist regime’s land policy, “unregistered lands” in the mountains were automatically nationalized as “state property,” a move which paralleled the October 1895 Japanese precedent of seizing all “unreclaimed wasteland” or territory without a Qing certificate of ownership as the empire’s possession. Once more, Indigenous ways of maintaining cultivated fields and hunting grounds were systematically denied in favor of sedentary agriculture. Atayal land use, which revolves around a system of rotational agriculture, one where a portion of the land can be in active use while an “unused” portion can simply lie fallow for regeneration until the appropriate season, had no place in the new definition of “property,” which defined land strictly in terms of physical “presence” or “absence” of ownership. As part of its drive to impose freehold land titles, the government expected Atayal to hold on to a single plot for ten years – a move which would make traditional forms of land tenure

impossible. Following on the heels of the state's imprisonment and execution of Indigenous leaders, dispossession continued in a different guise through the power of law, which negated Indigenous people's ties to the land through new forms of property registration.⁶

Of course, the end of organized resistance and continued dispossession by the Nationalist state did not mean that Taiwan Aborigines ceased to navigate and adapt to another regime committed to their forced integration into a capitalist economy. While there were efforts to push back against these policies since the later part of the martial law era, these began to bear fruit during the 1990s with the rise of the Indigenous rights recovery movement. Since democratization, Taiwan's Indigenous peoples have fought for expanded recognition, land rights, hunting rights, political representation, and better economic opportunities.⁷ In 2005, the Taiwanese government passed the "Indigenous Peoples Basic Law," whose stated aim is "protecting the fundamental rights of indigenous peoples, promoting their subsistence and development and building inter-ethnic relations based on co-existence and prosperity."⁸ This new law has offered Indigenous peoples on the island a broad framework to work within, and include, among many other articles listed: guaranteed rights to local and regional autonomy for Indigenous authorities, programs for language development, rights to hunting and water resources for "non-profit seeking activities" in designated lands, the setting up of investigative surveys to clarify land claims, and consultative mechanisms that force private or governmental entities to discuss with Indigenous bodies when

⁶ My summation of postwar land policies and their ties to Atayal cosmology is based on Yayut Yi-Shiuan Chen, Da-Wei Kuan, Sandle Suchet-Pearson and Richard Howitt, "Decolonizing Property in Taiwan: Challenging hegemonic constructions of property," *Environment and Planning: Society and Space* 0 (0), 2018, 1-20.

⁷ It must be stressed that beyond the 16 mountain-dwelling Indigenous groups, there are numerous plains-based groups who for long were thought to have been fully absorbed or assimilated during the Qing period. The Siraya, whose contact with colonizers harken back to the Dutch period, is one of many examples. For more see: <https://www.taipeitimes.com/News/feat/archives/2020/04/28/2003735413>

⁸ Republic of China, "Laws and Regulations Database of the Republic of China," retrieved from: <https://law.moj.gov.tw/ENG/LawClass/LawAll.aspx?PCode=D0130003> (accessed February 27th, 2020).

infrastructure, energy utilization, ecological, or academic research in Aboriginal territories take place.⁹

Following this milestone development, in August of 2016, President Tsai Ing-Wen issued a formal apology to Taiwan's Indigenous peoples for the 400 years of colonization they suffered. She then established the "commission for historical and transitional justice," a governmental entity that would serve to give additional voice to Indigenous issues at the state level.¹⁰ Of course, there are limits to what settler regimes offer when the politics of recognition dictate the terms of Indigenous participation in civic life – a point crucially highlighted by Coulthard in his *Red Skin White Masks*. Efforts to protect traditional lands, resources, and ways on Indigenous terms have been met with political repression, a sign that even sympathetic, progressively-minded settler regimes can suppress Indigenous livelihoods for their own economic or nation-building agendas. Since the passing of the Basic Law and president Tsai's apology, Aborigines have been arrested for hunting, mining, and other activities authorities deemed to have "violated" local laws pertaining to wildlife and conservation.¹¹ Large-scale protest movements have also emerged to expand the promises of the Basic Law and Tsai's vision of reconciliation and economic justice. For example, beginning on February 23 2017, Indigenous activists camped outside the Presidential Palace for 100 days to protest the government's exclusion of private lands from traditional protected areas until police were mobilized to forcibly decamp them.¹² The recent re-election of

⁹ Republic of China, "Laws and Regulations Database of the Republic of China," retrieved from: <https://law.moj.gov.tw/ENG/LawClass/LawAll.aspx?PCode=D0130003> (accessed February 27th, 2020).

¹⁰ "President Issues Apology to Aborigines, *Taipei Times*, August 2nd 2016, retrieved from: <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/front/archives/2016/08/02/2003652277> (accessed February 27th, 2020).

¹¹ "Truku Aborigines Protest 'Unfair' Arrests," *The News Lens*, August 25th 2016, retrieved from: <https://international.thenewslens.com/article/47617> (accessed February 27th, 2020). See also "Truku protest arrest of hunters in national park," *Taipei Times*, November 21st 2015, retrieved from:

<http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2015/11/21/2003633002> (accessed February 27th, 2020).

¹² "Aboriginal Protest Campsite Torn Down by 100 Police," *Taiwan News*, June 5th 2017, retrieved from: <https://www.taiwannews.com.tw/en/news/3180155> (accessed February 27th, 2020).

Tsai Ing-Wen in January, 2020 has also brought renewed attention to the Taiwan independence question, and with that the Indigenous question as well. Following the summer 2019 Hong Kong protests and the apparent failure of China’s “two systems one country” policy, Tsai began rallying the electorate around a pro-independence agenda that sought to confront the threat of mainland aggression. Indigenous peoples though had already voiced their concerns over mainland aggression well before the election and Hong Kong flare-ups. Following President Xi Jinping’s January 2 2019 remark that reunification with Taiwan was “inevitable,” a group of Indigenous activists penned an open letter to the Chinese president. Its opening statement boldly affirmed Indigenous sovereignty, both in the face of intensifying cross-straits conflict, as well as centuries of colonization by outsiders:

We, are the indigenous peoples of Taiwan. We have lived here, in our Motherland, for more than six thousand years. We are undoubtedly not ethnic minorities within the so-called ‘Chinese nation’... We, the indigenous peoples of Taiwan, have for centuries been enduring the deeds, and sometimes the empty words, of those who have pushed up onto our island’s shores. This has resulted in us being forcibly repressed by colonialists and also ruled by authoritarian regimes.¹³

Citing various human rights abuses suffered by ethnic groups like the Tibetan and Uyghur peoples, as well as the then on-going Hong Kong protests, the letter’s authors rejected the Chinese state’s assimilatory vision of “mono-culturalism” and authoritarian one-party rule. The letter ultimately situated Indigenous peoples as the foundation for fully-fledged democratic statehood: “The future of Taiwan as a State will be based on the

¹³ “‘This is sacred space’: An open letter to Xi Jinping from the Indigenous Peoples of Taiwan,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, January 9th 2019, retrieved from: <https://www.hongkongfp.com/2019/01/09/sacred-space-open-letter-xi-jinping-indigenous-peoples-taiwan/> (accessed February 27th, 2020).

self-determination of all its ethnic groups; this is including the indigenous peoples of Taiwan.”¹⁴

The politics of adaptation and struggle against settler society, as was the case under the Japanese, are also not without their share of contradictions. In political and ideological terms, Indigenous communities today are often big supporters of the opposition Guomintang, a party which supports rapprochement with China and does not have the pro-Indigenous legislative agenda held by the ruling Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) of President Tsai. This may also seem surprising given the GMD’s postwar assault on Indigenous identity, land tenure, and forms of political activism. According to anthropologist Scott Simon, efforts to improve Aboriginal lives by the DPP has not broken the Guomintang’s “iron vote” in mountain townships, where the party had a dominating presence due to the decades of authoritarian rule there. Scott attributes much of this Indigenous support to the presence of GMD-run *fuwuzhan* (service centers).¹⁵ Service centers were crucial offices located in mountain areas throughout the postwar era where which Indigenes could visit to procure oil, rice, matches, and other supplies. Nationalist party officials are also remembered fondly in Indigenous areas because of the bridges, roads, and other large-scale projects they undertook while in office. Over time, this made the Nationalist Party synonymous with infrastructure, social welfare, and other tangible benefits that directly affect Aboriginal

¹⁴ Ibid. Beyond the political and legal aspects of Indigenous struggles, it should be stressed that Aboriginal scholars in the country are also leading the charge in bringing Indigeneity to the forefront of politics, law, culture, and other areas of contestation. In recent years, Indigenous scholars (as well as non-Indigenous) have published on diverse topics like Indigenous education, ecology, climate change, land management, law, the struggle of unrecognized groups, film, and other core issues that directly affect these communities. Leading Taiwan Indigenous Scholars include: Wang Ming-huey (Tibunsungu Vayayana, National Taiwan Normal University), a member of the Tsou nation specializing in Indigenous education and pedagogy, and also the current Deputy Minister of the Taiwan Council of Indigenous Peoples; Da Wei-Kuan (Daya Dakasi, National Chengchi University), an Atayal scholar working on ethno-geography, ecology, and spatial analysis of Indigenous land use; Jolan Hsieh (Bavaragh Dagalomai, National Dongwa University), a member of the unrecognized Sriraya who works on Indigenous issues affecting plains communities.

¹⁵ It might be worth noting here that these *fuwuzhan* echo the Japanese *bukonsho* stations, which had a similar mandate of providing supplies and welfare to Indigenes.

communities. The youth vote however is beginning to change that however, and the ruling DPP is beginning to make inroads within these communities, though its service centers pale in comparison to the GMD (sixty-four versus 383).¹⁶ Another noticeable feature within Indigenous communities today is the omnipresence of churches, both protestant and Catholic, that dot the landscape and anchor the social and spiritual lives of many Aboriginal people on the island. 5.5 percent of people in Taiwan are professed Christians, with the majority identifying as Presbyterians, a religion whose roots harken back to mid-nineteenth century missionary activities of George Leslie Mackay.¹⁷ Of that small fraction of Christians on the island, Indigenous peoples make up a huge portion of these numbers. Aborigines today are overwhelmingly Christian and have integrated the religion into their core metaphysical and cultural systems. It is no accident though that the embrace of Christianity has not resulted in the erasure of identities, but rather has been paralleled by the revitalization of Indigenous rights and initiatives for historical transitional justice and other forms of redress. Once more, as was the case under preceding colonizers, Indigenous have proven that the arrival of outside influences, whether in the form of colonizers or missionaries, leads to new forms of adaptation and accommodation that seek to strengthen, and not diminish, an embattled Indigenous sovereignty.

Camphor today is often a distant afterthought when dealing with the postwar history of Aboriginal struggles. After all, Japan's shelling campaigns ended in the mid-1910s, and the monopoly was dismantled shortly after the Japanese vacated the island. Today, camphor trees are

¹⁶ Erin Hale, "'Always Campaign Time:' Why Taiwan Indigenous People always back KMT," *Al Jazeera*, January 8th 2020, retrieved from: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/01/campaign-time-taiwan-indigenous-people-kmt-200108054107733.html> (accessed March 6th, 2020).

¹⁷ Stacy Hsu, "Taiwan has second-highest religious diversity in the world, US report says," *Taipei Times*, Friday April 18th, 2014, retrieved from: <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2014/04/18/2003588325> (last accessed March 17th 2020). For more on the activities of George Leslie Mackay, *Far from Formosa: the island, its people, its missions*, (New York: FH Revell Co., 1896).

not only in cities to beautify cityscapes, but also across protected forests, parks, as well as along roads crisscrossing mountainous areas. Visitors in Taipei can even make their way to the Taiwan National Museum Nanmen Park exhibition, which features numerous displays on the camphor trade that include distilling apparatuses, the weapons used by the frontier “pioneers” who manned them, reprocessing methods and equipment, as well as the varieties of camphor products the Japanese monopoly shipped abroad during its forty-six year reign.¹⁸ Though Indigenes are mentioned in some capacity, the symbiotic ties between camphor production and military pacification are virtually absent.

Moving from the symmetrically arranged boulevards lined with camphor trees in Taipei to any one of the island’s Indigenous mountain townships, one cannot help but notice the glaring socio-economic disparities. Today Indigenous Taiwan is a region with only a handful of industries. Tourism remains at the center, as visitors – both foreign and domestic – flock to the highlands to hike, visit national parks, purchase traditional Indigenous food or craft items, or relax in hot springs. The narrow mixture of tourism and other handicraft trades that dominate Indigenous life have made it particularly difficult for Aboriginal youths to remain in their hometowns to find employment opportunities. As a result, many attend universities or seek out work in major lowland cities. In sum, the legacies of camphor capitalism are visible to this day. With colonial extractive industries and camphor “monoculture” having hollowed out the economic diversity of the highlands, the range of livelihoods available to Aborigines is to this day limited. For historical sociologist Matsuoka Tadasu, the present-day effects of these policies across the highlands have led to economic exploitation, forced migrations to city centers, the erosion of traditional Aboriginal

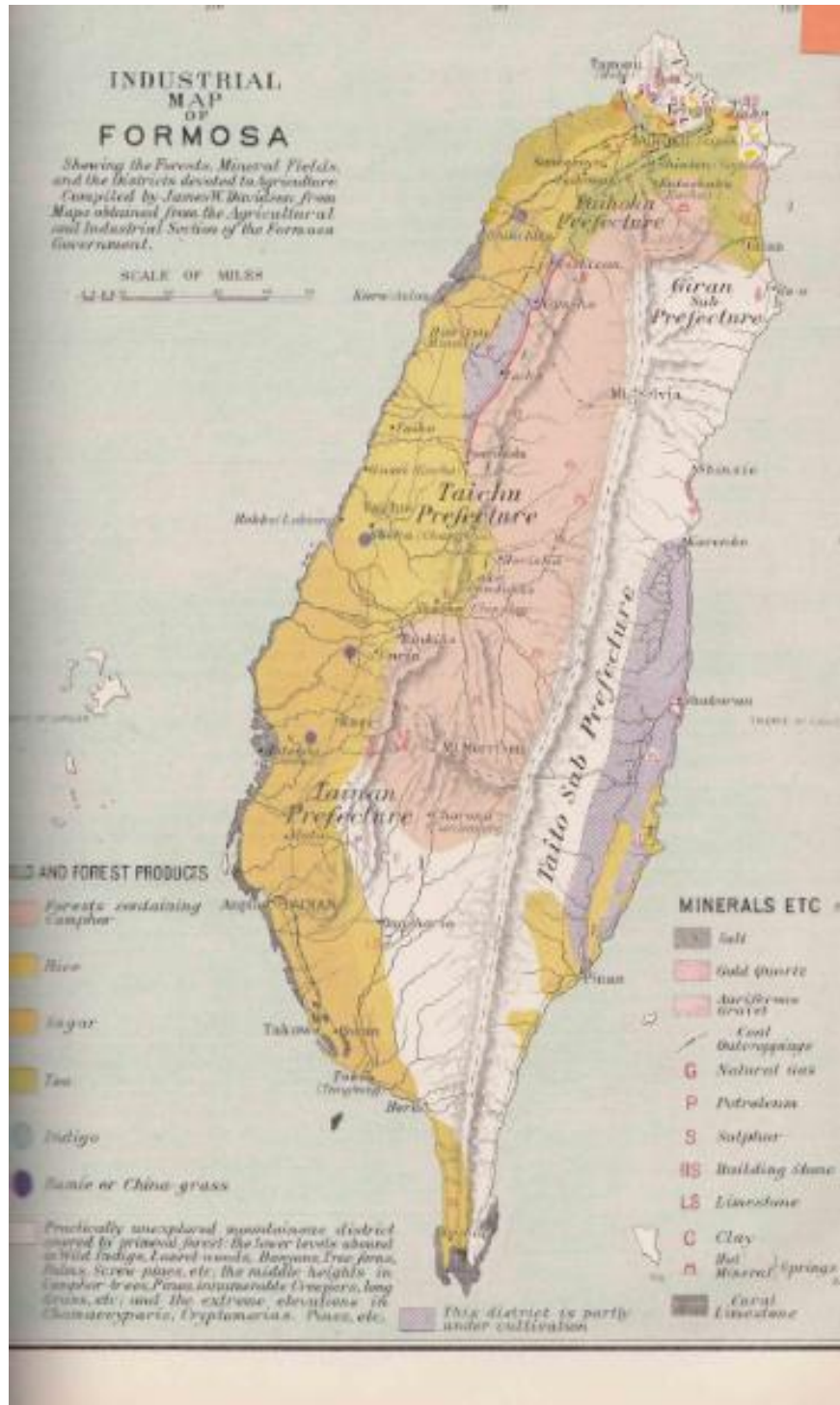
¹⁸ Those interested in the layout and collections of the museum’s website, see “National Museum of Taiwan Nanmen Park,” https://www.ntm.gov.tw/en/content_174.html

social support structures, as well as Han influence on cultural forms. When combined, these effects have contributed to an overall “crisis of ethnic destruction” among Aborigines that threaten economic and social life across Taiwan’s mountain townships.¹⁹ Furthermore, the reliance on tourism has arguably further “ethnicized” Indigenous peoples, isolating them in regions where Han visitors go to see them for leisure, or to escape the hubbub of city life. Of course, this is not to take cheap shots at the current economic configurations. Taiwan Indigenous peoples rely on these trades, and they continue to be a source of sustenance for many. The point here is simply that a mode of production that not only violently occupied Aborigines, but also isolated them from larger plains economy, continues to percolate down to the present moment in more ways than one.

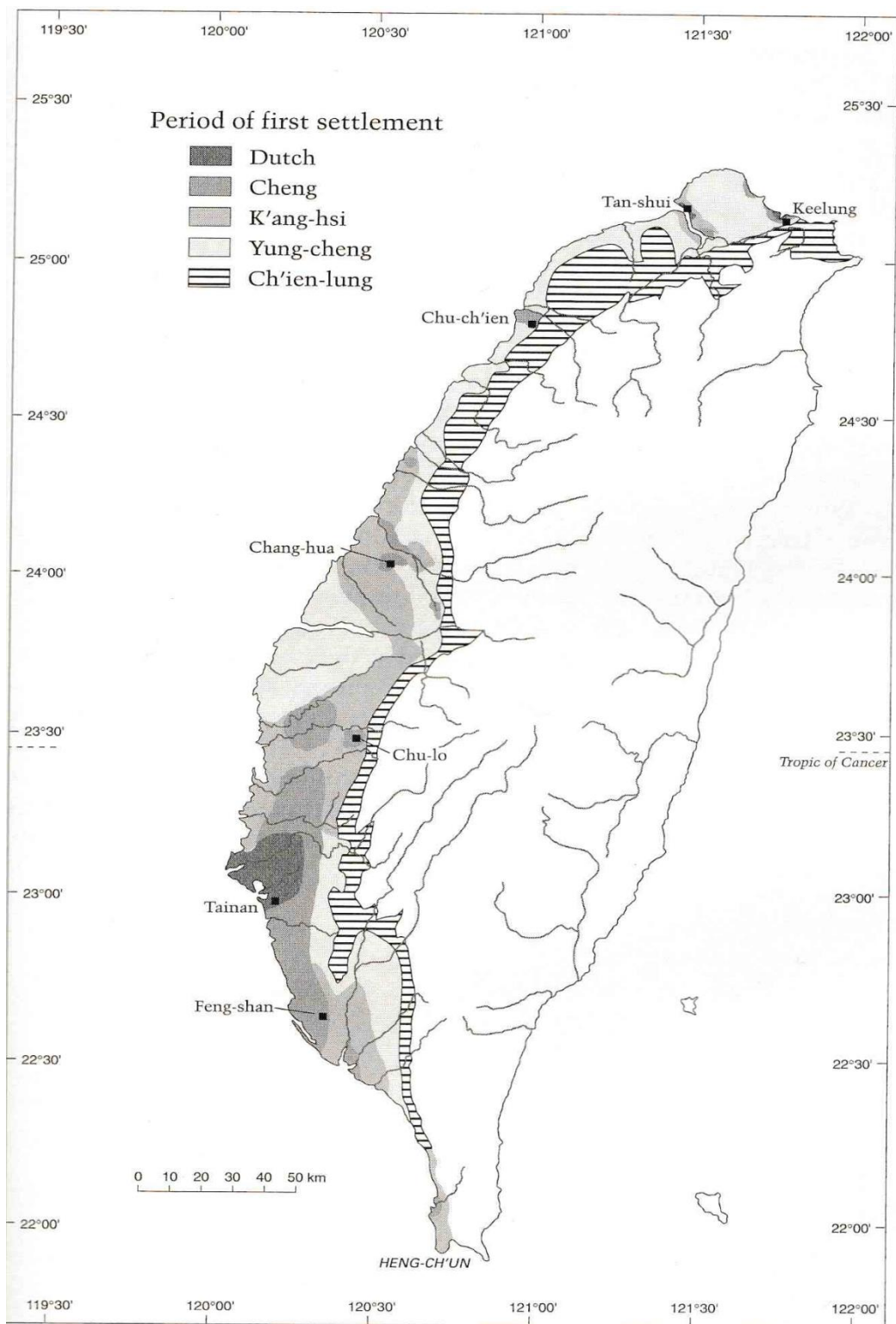
In many ways, the place of camphor in today’s Taiwan perfectly encapsulates the island’s struggle to assert its identity as a “postcolony.” Now an island that has moved past the days of violent extractive colonial enterprises, Taiwan would like to see itself as a “model” democratic state at the heart of Asia. In terms of economic capacities, Taiwan is now an exporter of multiple high-tech goods (chief among these semiconductors) and forms an indispensable piece of capitalist global supply chains. While Taiwan may have moved past the days of dependence on camphor and big monopolies serving imperial ambitions, the legacies of these economic arrangements continue to haunt Indigenous communities in profound ways. Taiwan has moved on from camphor, but its First Peoples have not. Studies which seek to center Taiwan’s Indigenous peoples, whether past or present, should not lose sight of this foundational premise of dispossession.

¹⁹ See Matsuoka Tadasu, *Taiwan genjūmin shakai no chihōka: minoriti nijūseiki* [The Regionalization of Taiwan’s Aboriginal Society: A Twentieth Century Minority], (Tokyo: Kenbun Shunppan, 2012), 4-11.

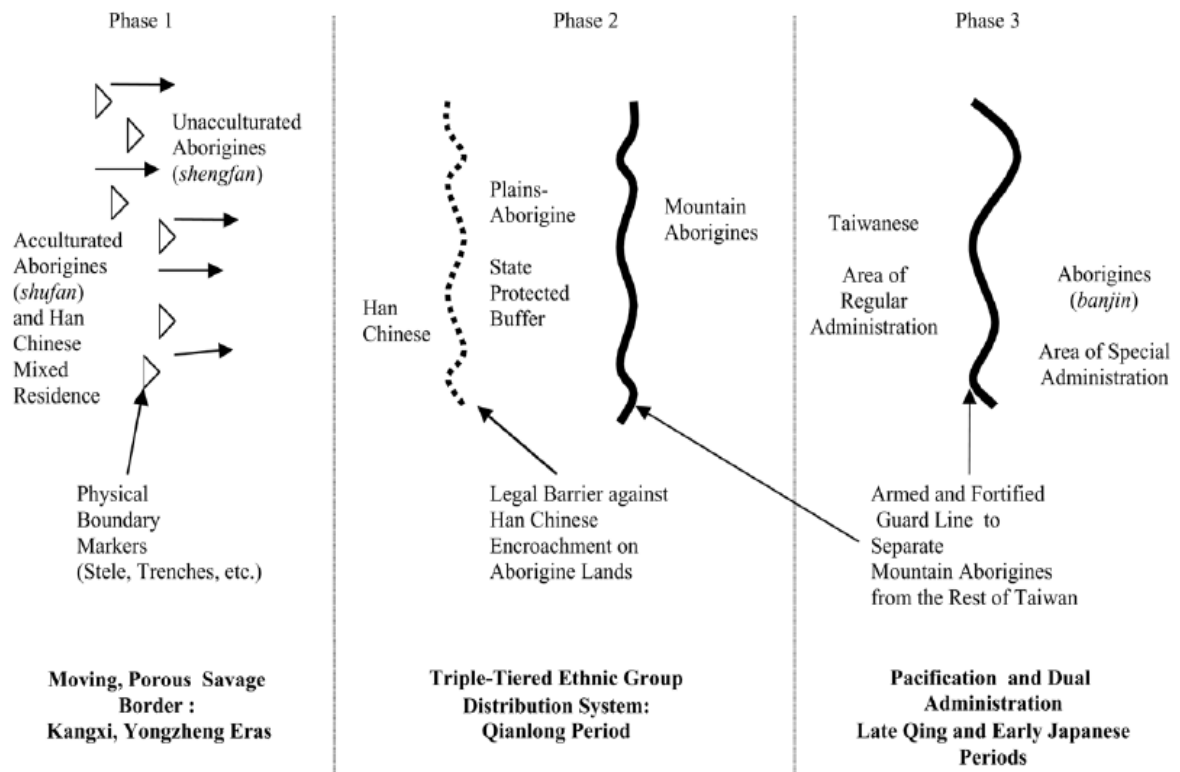
APPENDICES:



Appendix 1.1, the “camphor zone,” highlighted in pink.
 (James Wheeler Davidson, *The Island of Formosa*, 1903)



Appendix 1.2, Expansion of Han settlement during the 17th and 18th centuries.
 (John Robert Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier*, 175)



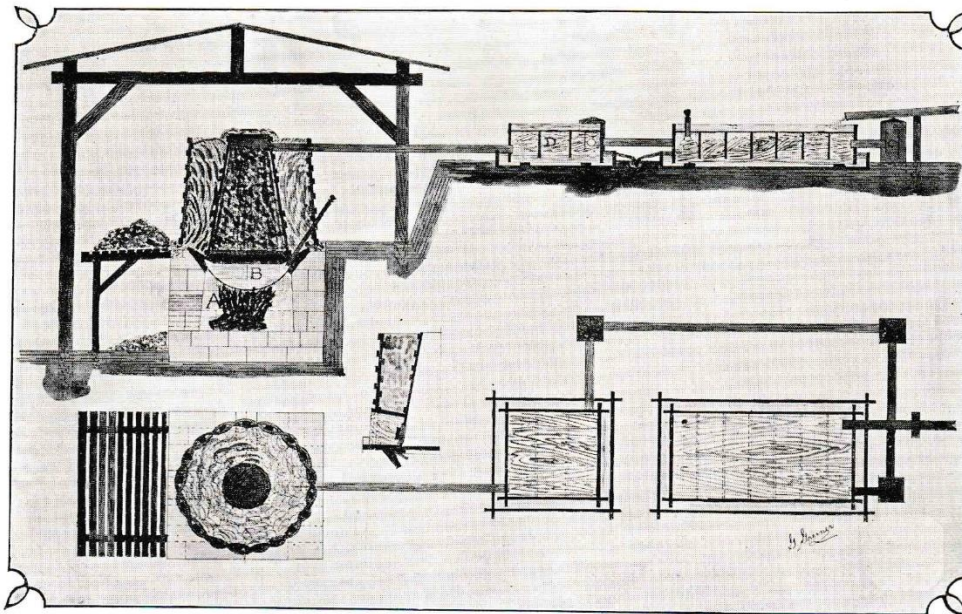
Appendix 1.3, the evolution of the Qing “savage boundary.”

(Paul D. Barclay, “Cultural Brokerage and Interethnic Marriage in Colonial Taiwan”)

Up-country Camphor Stills.



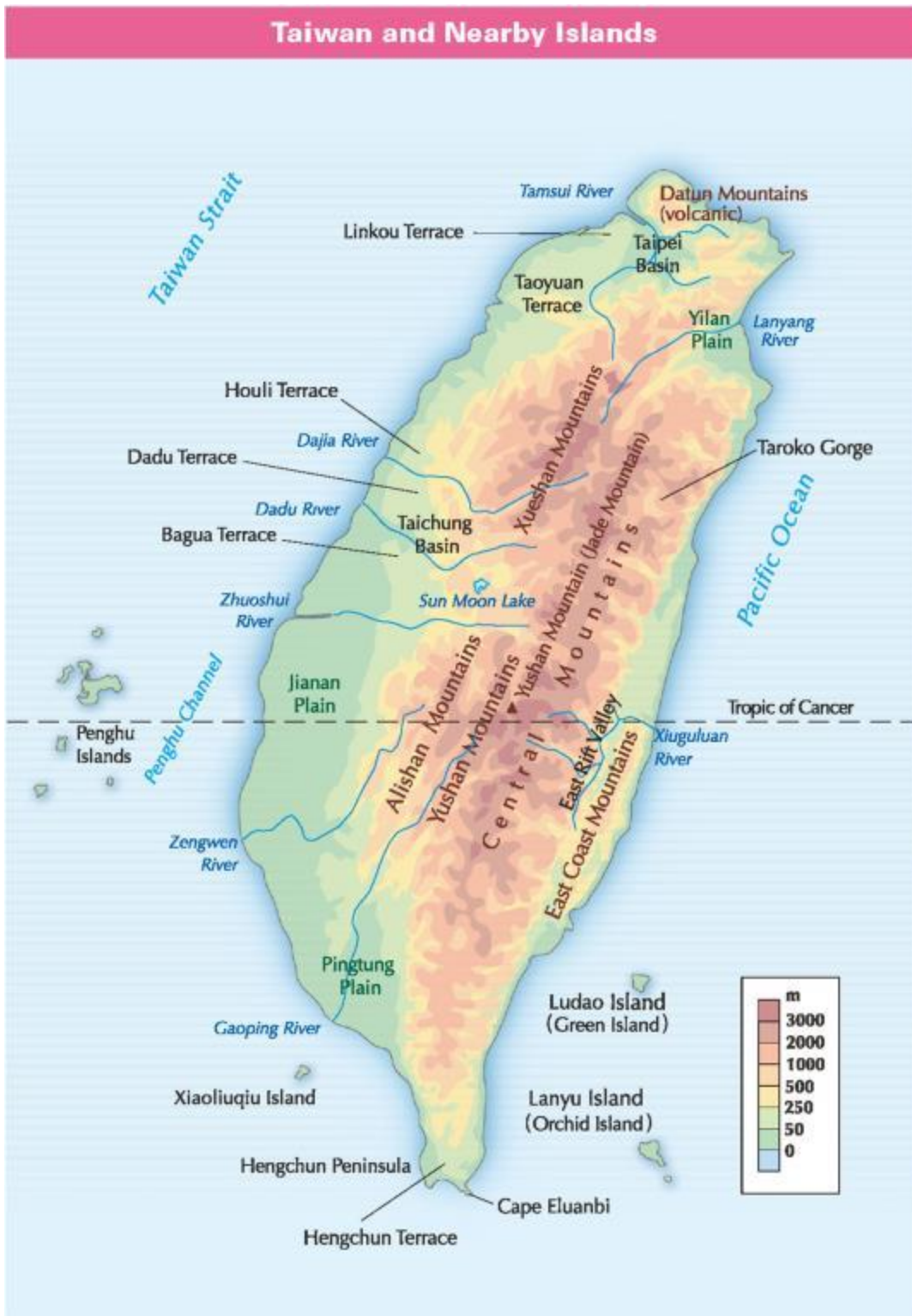
Old Model Chinese Camphor Still ("Stove")
 "A" Fire-box. "B" Water-pan. "C" Chip-retort. "D" Crystallization Jar.



Present Model Japanese Still.
 "A" Fire-box, "B" Water-pan. "C" Chip-retort. "D" Cooling-box.
 "E" Crystallization-box.

Appendix 1.4, camphor stove, Chinese and Japanese models.

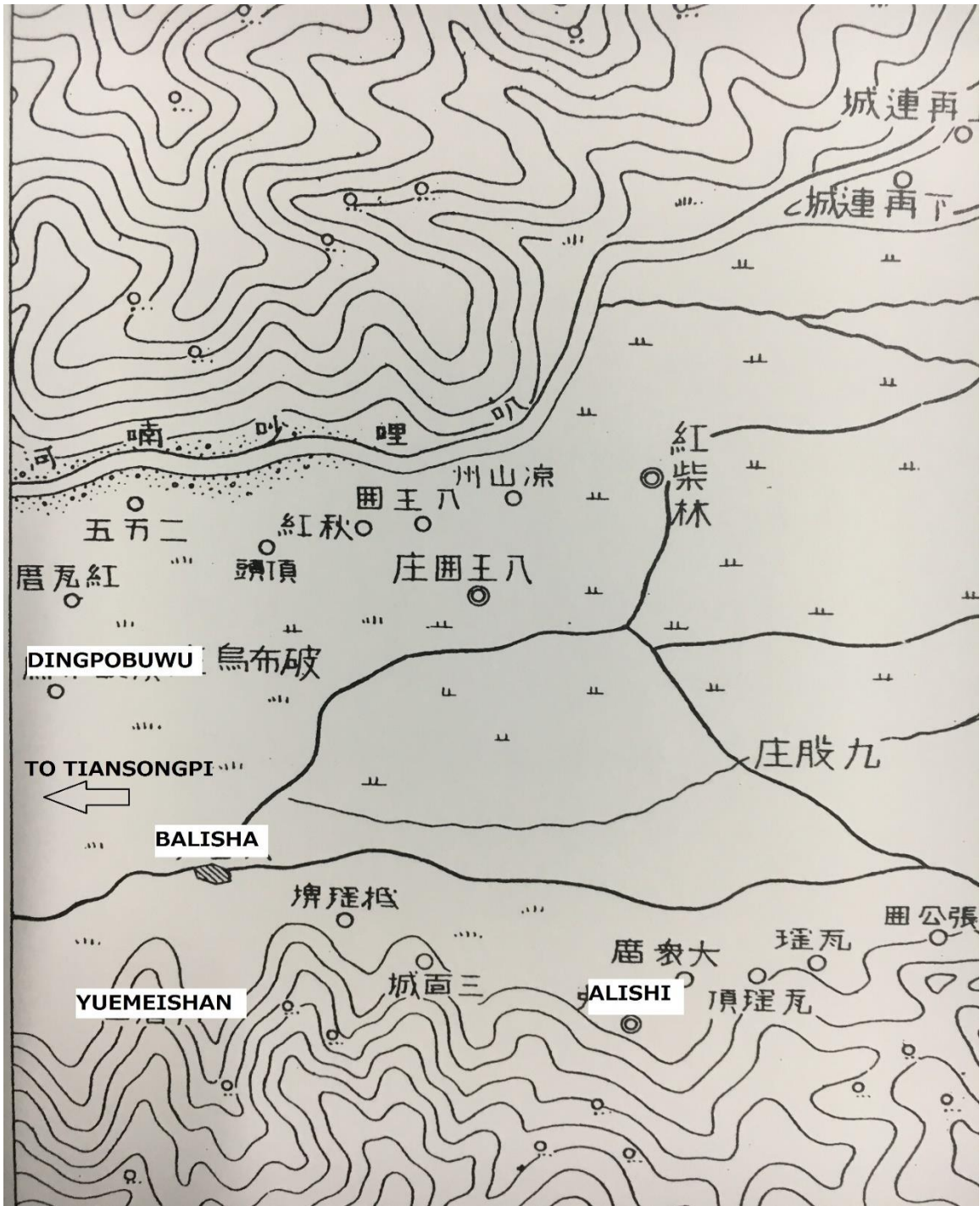
(James Wheeler Davidson, *The Island of Formosa*, 420-421)



Appendix 2.1, The Yilan Plain, top-right, northeastern Taiwan
 (Executive Yuan, *Republic of China Yearbook*)

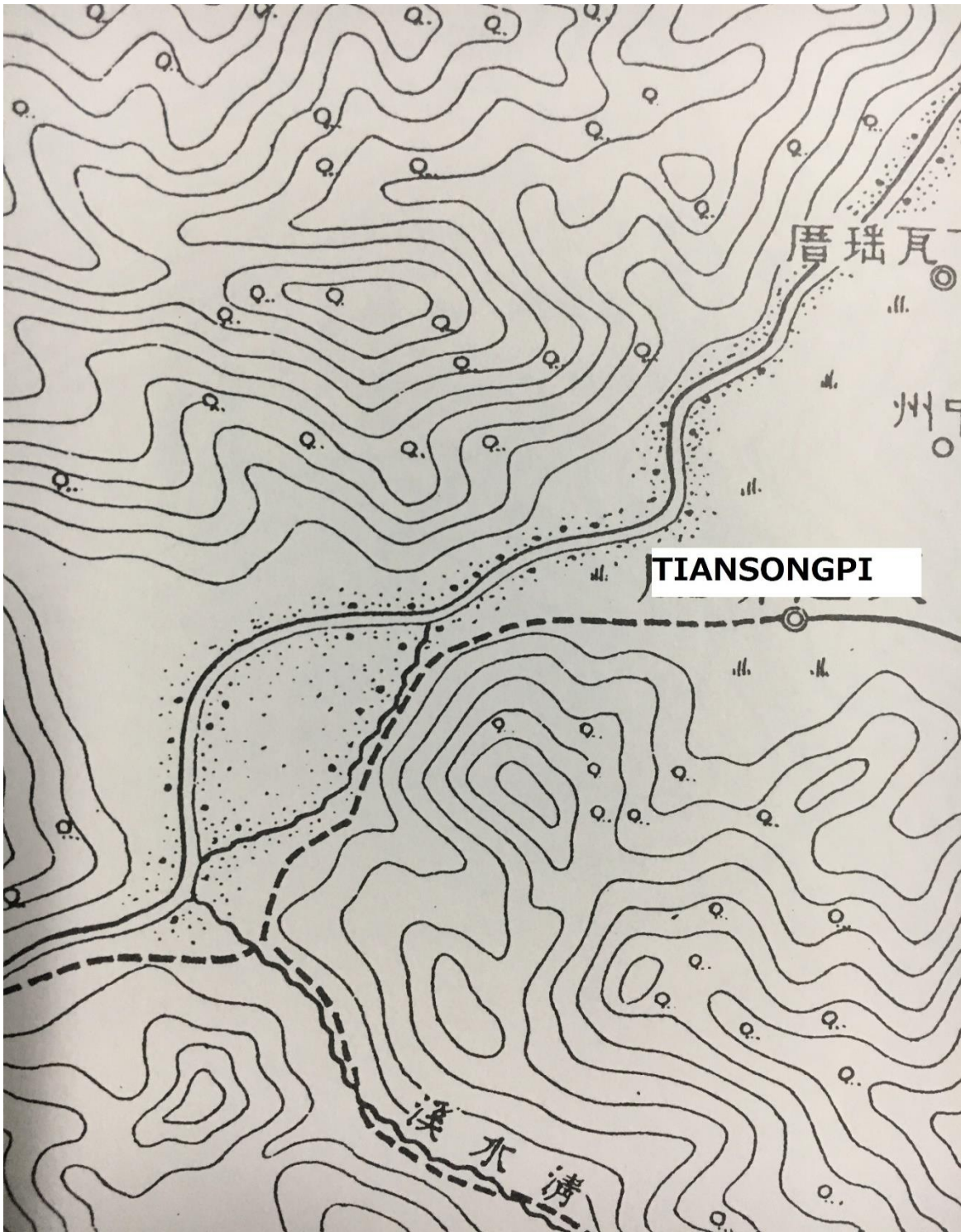


Appendix 2.2, Location of *bukunsho* stations and camphor-producing areas (shaded)
 (Adapted from Kitamura Kae, *Nihon shokumin chika no Taiwan senjūmin kyōikushi*, 43)



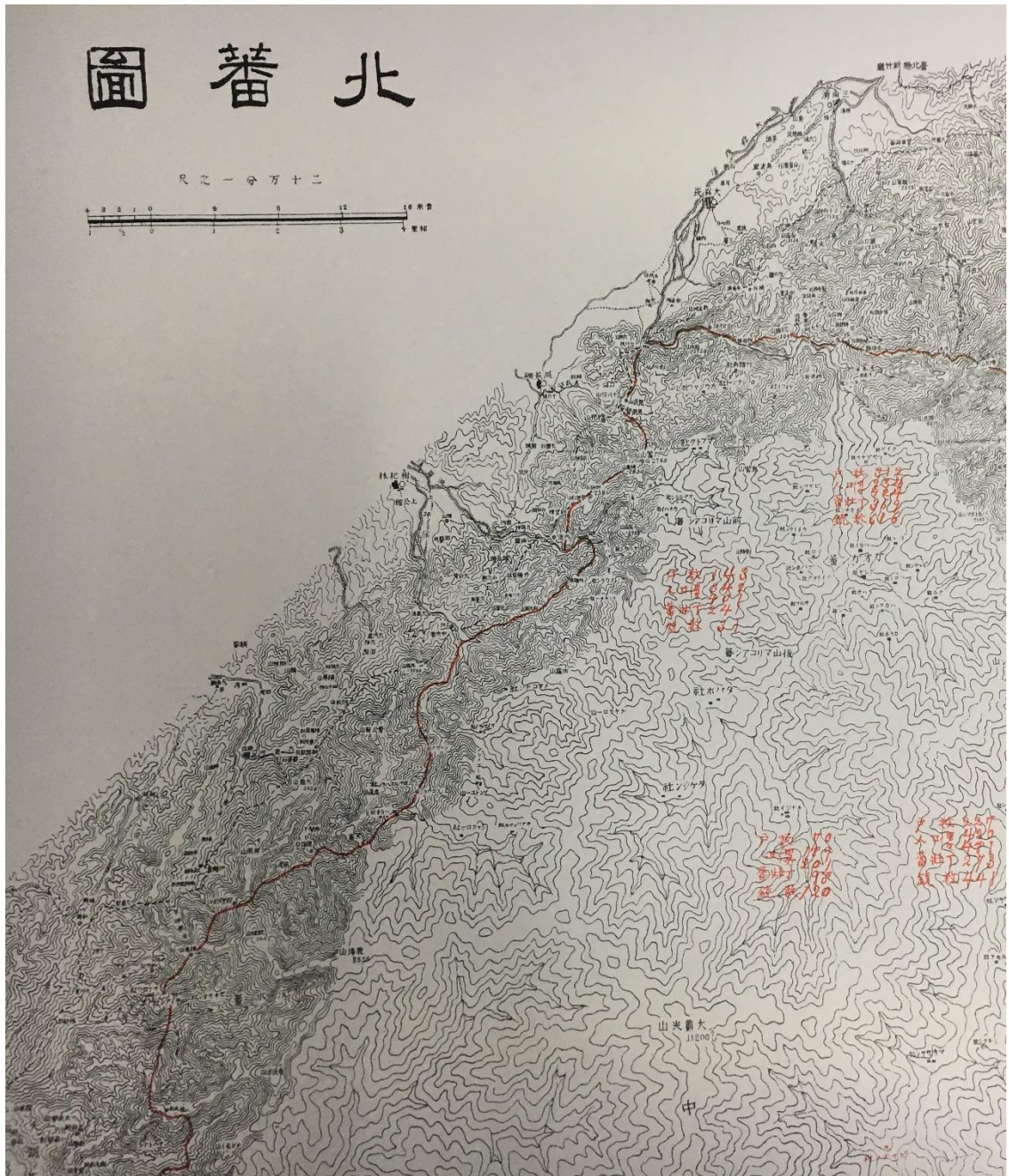
Appendix 2.3 Balisha and surrounding townships

(Adapted from Guo, Junlin. *Taiwan yuanzhuminzu lishi dituji* [Historical Atlas of Indigenous Taiwan])



Appendix 2.4 Tiansongpi sub-station area

(Adapted from Guo, Junlin. *Taiwan yuanzhuminzu lishi ditu* [Historical Atlas of Indigenous Taiwan])



Appendix 3.1, The guardline (in red) cutting across Taiwan's northeast, 1909.
 (Adapted from Guo, Junlin. *Taiwan yuanzhuminzu lishi dituji* [Historical Atlas of Indigenous Taiwan])



Appendix 4.1, “Illustration of indigenes prostrating on precipice and getting ready to kill”
(Chen Zongren, *Wan qing Taiwan fan tu su*, 100. Thanks to Pei Hsi-Lin’s “Firearms, Technology and Culture” for directing me to this source)



Appendix 4.3, Yilan Atayal male (left, seated) with inflamed thyroid glands due to salt deprivation

(Yingjie Liao [ed.], *Ska yulung*, 26)

GLOSSARY:

Akakabe: 赤壁

Alishi: 阿里史

Amis: 阿美

Arai Yasuharu: 荒井泰治

Atayal: 泰雅

Aiyū / Aiyong: 隘勇

Aiyūsen: 隘勇線

Baiyao: 白咬

Balisha: 吧哩沙

Baimi: 白米

Banchijimukyoku: 蕃地事務局

Banjin: 蕃人

Bankai keibiin: 蕃界警備員

Banmu honsho: 蕃務本署

Banseikyoku: 蕃政局

Bansha: 蕃社

Banshōryō : 蕃著寮

Benmusho: 弁務所

Bukonsho: 撫墾署

Buiku: 撫育

Chen Guozhi: 陳国治

Ch'en Ti:

Chōbatsu: 懲罰

Dabu: 大埔

Dabao: 大豹

Dahu: 大湖

Dahuzhan: 大湖山

Dahutongzhan: 大湖桶山

Dakekan/Daikokan: 大崙坎

Dijunmiao: 帝君廟

Dingpobuwu: 頂破布島

Domoku: 土目

Dongshijiao: 東勢角

Dongzhao: 冬瓜

En: 恩

Fan t'un: 番屯

Fan'zu: 番租

Fenji: 糞箕

Genjūmin/Yuanzhumin: 原住民

Gishu: 技手

Gotō Shinpei: 後藤新平

Hashiguchi Bunzō: 橋口文藏

Henchung: 恒春

Hirai Yūsuke: 平井雄介

Hongshui kanggoubao shitouzhang: 紅水抗溝堡石頭庄

Hongshui kanggoubao longmujingzhang: 紅水抗溝堡龍目井庄

Hongwacuo: 紅瓦厝

Hontōjin: 本島人

Hua fan: 化番 / 化蕃

Huang Shu-Ching:

Iraha Yutaka: 伊良波長豐

Iryoku: 威力

Jiaqing Emperor: 嘉慶帝

Jiaobanshan: 角板山

Jukuban, Shoufan: 熟蕃/熟番

Junsaho: 巡查補

Kabayama Sukenori: 樺山資紀

Kaishan fufan: 開山撫番

Kangxi Emperor: 康熙帝

Kawano Shūichiro: 河野主一郎

Kegai: 化外

Keibu: 警部

Keisatsuka: 警察課

Kijun: 婦順

Kodama Gentarō: 児玉源太郎

Komatsu Kusuya: 小松楠弥

Konō Saburō:

Kuomintang, Guomindang: 国民党

Qianlong Emperor: 乾隆帝

Quchi: 屈尺

Li Ashi: 李阿石

Lifan Tongzhi: 理番同知

Li Hongzhang: 李鴻章

Lijin: 釐金

Linyipu: 林圯埔

Liu Mingchuan: 劉銘傳

Liu Xiaoming: 劉緝光

Lize: 利沢

Lumutan: 鹿母潭

Luodong: 羅東

Naichi: 內地

Neiwan: 內灣

Matsuda Shigetarō: 松田繁太郎

Matsuda Tokiba: 松田時馬

Mawudu: 馬武督

Minsō: 民壯

Mizuno Jun: 水野遵

Mnibu (Xitou): 溪頭

Mochiji Rokusaburō 持地六三郎

Mount Sulu: 蘇魯山

Mount Manabang: 馬那邦山

Nan'ao: 南澳

Nanbu Beitō: 南撫北討

Nanzhuang: 南庄

Okamatsu Santarō: 岡松參太郎

Okubo Toshimichi: 大久保 利通

Oonosuke Konishi: 大西幸之助

Paiwan: 排灣

Pan Datou: 潘大頭

Puli: 埔里

Ri Aguai: 日阿拐

Riban: 理蕃

Rinmuka: 林務課

Saisiyat: 賽夏

Sakoku: 鎖国

Sakuma Samata: 佐久間左馬太

Sanxia: 三峽

Sediq: 賽德克

Seiban, Shengfan: 生蕃/生番

Seiryokusha: 勢力者

Sekishi: 赤子

Sekken: 接見

Senjūmin: 先住民

Shen Baozhen: 沈葆楨

Shōnō: 樟腦

Shujiho: 主事補

Sōsaku: 搜索

Su'ao: 蘇澳

Taidong: 台東

Taiwan sōtokufu: 台湾總督府

Taiwan sōtokufu keimukyoku: 台湾總督府警務局

Taiwan sōtokufu shōnō sembaikyoku: 台湾總督府樟腦專売局

Takasagozoku: 高砂族

Takekoshi Yosaburō: 竹越与三郎

Takeyumi Suegorō: 武弓末五郎

Takushokuka: 拓殖課

Tanaka Tsunatoku: 田中綱常

Taroko: 太魯閣

Tiangsonpi: 天送埤

Tōbatsu: 討伐

Tongshi: 通事

Toumoku: 頭目

Touwei: 頭圍

Tsūyakusei: 通訳生

Umenō Toeda: 梅野当枝

Ueno Sen'ichi: 上野専一

Wakō: 倭寇

Watan Yurō: 瓦丹有洛

Wei: 威

Wulai: 烏來

Wushizan: 五指山

Xinzhu: 新竹

Xishuikengshan: 洗水坑山

Xiyanlaowa: 四煙老瓦

Yilan 宜蘭

Yongzheng Emperor: 雍正帝

Yuanshanbao zhentou shanlu: 員山堡枕頭山麓

Yuemeishan: 月眉山

Yu Yonghe: 郁永河

Zenshin: 前進

Zensanban: 前山蕃

Zheng Chenggong 鄭成功

Zheng Jin: 鄭經

Zhou Yuanbao: 周源宝

Zoku: 族

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