

From Quarantine to Colonization: Qing Debates on Territorialization of Aboriginal Taiwan in the Nineteenth Century

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the changes in Qing territorial perceptions and frontier policies in nineteenth-century Taiwan. I trace the territorial question of aboriginal Taiwan to Qing quarantine doctrine in the eighteenth century and outline important historical contingencies and different local circumstances that shaped official debates on the aboriginal boundary policy in Gemalan and Shuishalian in early nineteenth century. Moreover, I point out the impacts of Sino-foreign negotiations and especially the territorial crisis of Japanese invasion in Langqiao that transformed Qing territorial discourse in the 1870s. The famous *kaishan fufan* campaign signifies the changing nature of Qing colonialism from passive quarantine to aggressive colonization. Despite the efforts of progressive officials, the late Qing colonial project was limited by its military, administrative and financial capacities in opening the mountains and pacifying the aborigines. Moreover, the territorialization of aboriginal Taiwan was continued by the Japanese colonial government after the cession of the island in 1895.

Keywords: Nineteenth-century Taiwan, Aboriginal Boundary, Quarantine, “Opening the Mountains and Pacifying the Aborigines (*Kaishan Fufan*)”, Territorialization

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1. Introduction
 2. An Island Divided: Qing Quarantine and Aboriginal Boundary Policy in Eighteenth-century Taiwan
 3. Transformation of Qing Territorial Perceptions in Nineteenth-century Taiwan: Three Case Studies of Official Debates on Aboriginal Boundary Policy
 4. Opening the Mountains and Pacifying the Aborigines: Late Qing Territorialization of Aboriginal Taiwan, 1875-1895
 5. Conclusion
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1. Introduction

This paper aims to explore important changes in Qing territorial perceptions of and frontier policies toward aboriginal Taiwan during the nineteenth century. The study of Qing Taiwan has attracted much research interest in recent years. With reference to new archival and field sources, scholars endeavor to revise the conventional narrative of Chinese emigration that considers Taiwan as a neglected frontier of Qing Empire, inhabited by unruly immigrants and troubled by frequent unrests. For example, in his overview of Qing statecraft and frontier management, John Shepherd stresses the strategic importance of Taiwan and the calculation of cost and benefit in Qing policy.¹ Looking from a regional perspective, Shih Tien-fu points out the local variations in Chinese settlement patterns and Qing administration of aboriginal affairs.² Ka Chih-ming's study on the formation of aboriginal land rights in the eighteenth century emphasizes the state manipulation of ethnic politics and unexpected consequences of historical contingencies.³ Emma Teng's discourse analysis traces the changing perceptions

¹ John R. Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier, 1600-1800* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993).

² Tien-fu Shih, *Qingdai Taiwan De Diyu Shehui* [The Local Society of Qing Taiwan] (Xinzhu: Xinzhuxien Wenhuaaju, 2001).

³ Chih-ming Ka, *Fantoujia: Qingdai Taiwan Zuqun Zhengzhi Yu Shoufan Diqun* [The Aborigine Landlord: Ethnic Politics and Aborigine Land Rights in Qing Taiwan] (Taipei: Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica, 2001).

and imagined geography of Qing travel literature on the island frontier.⁴

Meanwhile, with new recognition of the historical significance of Taiwanese indigenes and their experiences, historians begin to envision a new historical narrative of successive colonial regimes in Taiwan from the perspective of comparative colonialism.⁵ For example, in the special issue of the *JAS* on Taiwan, Tonio Andrade examines the Dutch-Han-Indigene interactions in seventeenth-century Taiwan.⁶ Paul Barclay looks at the cultural brokers and interethnic marriage in colonial Taiwan.⁷ Antonio Tavares analyses the impacts of capitalism and colonial state on camphor industry in the frontier region.⁸ Paul Katz details the penetration of the Japanese colonial state into the local society and economy that led to the violent rebellion in 1915.⁹ These comparative studies are in line with new trend in Qing historiography that characterizes the Manchu Dynasty as a colonial empire that ruled over a diverse collection of peoples and engaged in imperial expansion comparable with other early modern empires.¹⁰

In light of representative works on Qing Taiwan and comparative colonialism, this paper focuses on Qing state's appropriation of territoriality as one of its major strategies in frontier management. Human territoriality is about excluding or including people within particular geographic boundaries, and about controlling what people do and their access to natural resources within those boundaries.¹¹ Among a variety of spatial scales and forms, states and boundaries represent the most obvious political expression of territoriality. The making of boundaries is one of the major features of modern state-building.¹²

⁴ Emma J. Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683-1895* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004).

⁵ Robert Eskildsen, "Taiwan: A Periphery in Search of a Narrative," *Journal of Asian Studies* 64: 2 (May, 2005), pp. 281-294.

⁶ Tonio Andrade, "Pirates, Pelts, and Promises: The Sino-Dutch Colony of Seventeenth-Century Taiwan and the Aboriginal Village of Favorolang," *Journal of Asian Studies* 64: 2 (May, 2005), pp. 295-322.

⁷ Paul D. Barclay, "Cultural Brokerage and Interethnic Marriage in Colonial Taiwan: Japanese Subalterns and Their Aborigine Wives, 1895-1930," *Journal of Asian Studies* 64: 2 (May, 2005), pp. 323-360.

⁸ Antonio C. Tavares, "The Japanese Colonial State and the Dissolution of the Late Imperial Frontier Economy in Taiwan, 1886-1909," *Journal of Asian Studies* 64: 2 (May, 2005), pp. 361-385.

⁹ Paul R. Katz, "Governmentality and Its Consequences in Colonial Taiwan: A Case Study of the Ta-pa-ni Incident of 1915," *Journal of Asian Studies* 64: 2 (May, 2005), pp. 387-424.

¹⁰ Joanna Waley-Cohen, "The New Qing History," *Radical History Review* 88 (winter 2004), pp. 193-206.

¹¹ Robert D. Sack, *Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

¹² Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

State and non-state actors create, shape and reshape territories and territorial formation, control, resistance and transgression are all political phenomena.¹³ As the spatial form of power, territorialization involves different tendencies such as classification and bounding, land claims and legislation as well as mapping and identification.¹⁴

In the following discussion, I focus on one major aspect of the broad process of territorialization in nineteenth-century Taiwan, namely Qing state incorporation and administration of the frontier region.¹⁵ According to case studies of primary sources from Qing archives, official memorials, and local gazetteers, I discuss Qing debates on quarantine in the aboriginal territories of Gemalan, Shuashalian, and Langqiao.¹⁶ Viewing Qing debates on the aboriginal boundary policy from a territorial perspective, I outline the co-existence and competition among multiple territorial visions in Qing domestic debates and Sino-foreign diplomatic negotiations.¹⁷ I also argue that late Qing colonization project of “opening the mountains and pacifying the aborigines” (*kashan fufan*) signifies the changing nature of Qing colonialism from quarantine to colonization that transformed aboriginal Taiwan from an unbounded frontier to a de jure sovereign territory of China.¹⁸

¹³ Anssi Paasi, “Territory,” in John Agnew et al. eds., *A Companion to Political Geography* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), pp. 109-122.

¹⁴ Peter Vandergeest and Nancy Lee Peluso, “Territorialization and State Power in Thailand,” *Theory and Society* 24: 3 (1995), pp. 385-426.

¹⁵ In this paper, I use the term “frontier” to refer to “a meeting place of peoples where geographic and cultural borders were not clearly defined, and where intercultural relations produced mixing and accommodation” in contrast to the term “borderland”, which refers to “contested boundaries between colonial domains and site of imperial rivalry,” see Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, “From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-states, and the Peoples in Between in North American History,” *American Historical Review* 104: 3 (June 1999), pp. 814-841.

¹⁶ Gemalan (噶瑪蘭), Shuashalian (水沙連), and Langqiao (瑯嶠) were names used in Qing Taiwan for today’s Yilan, Puli and Hengchun regions, respectively.

¹⁷ Instead of using the term “savage border,” I employ the term “aboriginal boundary” to refer to the line drawn by Qing officials in contrast to unbounded frontier zones in Taiwan. For similar discussions in Australian and Japanese histories, see S.L. Davis and J.R.V. Prescott, *Aboriginal Frontiers and Boundaries in Australia* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1992); Bruce L. Batten, *To the Ends of Japan: Premodern Frontiers, Boundaries, and Interactions* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003).

¹⁸ I use the term “Qing colonialism” to refer to the fact that “foreign invaders claimed indigenous lands and subjugated indigenous peoples in the name of “civilization.” See Emma J. Teng, *Taiwan’s Imagined Geography*, pp. 249-258; Steven Harrell ed., *Cultural Encounters on China’s Ethnic Frontiers* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995), pp. 3-36.

2. An Island Divided: Qing Quarantine and Aboriginal Boundary Policy in Eighteenth-century Taiwan

(1) Qing Empire and Taiwan Quarantine

Located near the southeastern coast of mainland China, Taiwan became part of the Qing Empire in 1684 after successive occupation by the Dutch East India Company and the Ming loyalist Zheng (Koxinga) regime in the seventeenth century.¹⁹ As a multi-ethnic empire, the Qing Dynasty adopted different approaches and ideologies in the management of its frontier regions extending from Central Asia to Southwest China.²⁰ For example, the Qing Dynasty created a clear border with Russia to stabilize the threat from the nomadic population of Mongolia but left other frontier regions such as Taiwan ambiguously defined.²¹

Early Qing policy debates on Taiwan were characterized by state's priority security concerns about this former rebel base rather than by the island's revenue potentials for agricultural settlement. After the incorporation of Taiwan, the Qing court relocated all the surrendered officials and troops of the Zheng regime to the mainland and implemented a quarantine policy on Chinese immigrants on the island. Despite the fluctuations in immigration policies during the Kangxi (r. 1662-1722), Yongzheng (r. 1723-35) and Qianlong (r. 1736-95) eras, quarantine became the orthodox doctrine of Qing territorial administration in Taiwan that lasted for two centuries until 1875.

(2) Qing Quarantine and Aboriginal Boundary Policy in Taiwan

As the major doctrine of frontier management in Taiwan, Qing quarantine

¹⁹ Murray A. Rubinstein ed., *Taiwan: A New History* (Armonk, N. Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2007).

²⁰ Pamela K. Crossley, Helen Siu and Donald S. Sutton eds., *Empire at the Margins: Culture, Ethnicity, and Frontier in Early Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); James A. Millward, *Beyond the Pass: Economy, Ethnicity, and Empire in Qing Central Asia, 1759-1864* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998); C. Patterson Giersch, *Asian Borderlands: The Transformation of Qing China's Yunnan Frontier* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006).

²¹ Robert Eskildsen, "Taiwan: A Periphery in Search of a Narrative," p. 290.

was aimed to achieve two policy goals, namely the prohibition of Chinese emigration from the mainland and the restriction of Han settlement on the island. In addition to rotation of Qing troops and restrictions on official travel with family, the quarantine also extended to people's daily life with measures such as banning of iron and bamboo trade on the island.²² Moreover, after the suppression of the island-wide Zhu Yigui rebellion, the Qing court decided to implement the aboriginal boundary policy in 1722 to distinguish between the Chinese settlers and the Taiwan indigenes on the island.²³

The boundary was marked with physical objects such as stone steles and earth ditches along strategic posts and major crossroads. In order to enforce the boundary policy, Qing statutes stipulated the punishment for illegal immigration and boundary trespassing. In addition, local officials who failed to curb such activities in the aboriginal territory might have to face reprimand and demotion.²⁴ Between 1722 and 1760, Qing officials twice demarcated the boundary in response to the changing realities. The different boundary lines were delineated in red and blue on the imperial maps.²⁵ As a unique frontier landscape, the aboriginal boundary had henceforth become the embodiment of Qing quarantine doctrine in Taiwan.

(3) Qing Ethnic Classification and Administration of Taiwan Indigenes

The aboriginal boundary was closely related to Qing ethnic classification and administration of Taiwan's indigenous population.²⁶ Similar to the case of the Miao tribes in Southwest China, the Qing classified the Taiwan indigenes as "raw (sheng)" and "cooked (shou)" aborigines. Yet unlike the Miao, the Taiwan indigenes were never defined as raw or cooked according to their location inside or outside the "Miao wall" built by the Ming in 1615. As Emma Teng points out, the multiple subcategories in early Qing official rendering of the Taiwan indigenes testified the complex intersection of ideas about acculturation,

²² Taiwan Yinhang ed., *Taiwan Huilu Renji* [Collected Documents on Taiwan, Vol. 9], Taiwan Wenxian Congkan (hereafter TW) vol. 227 (Taipei: Taiwan Yinhang, 1966), p. 36.

²³ Chih-ming Ka, *Fantoujia*, pp. 169-179.

²⁴ Bao-zhen Shen, *Fujian Taiwan Zouze* [Memorials on Taiwan, Fujian], TW vol. 29 (Taipei: Taiwan Yinhang, 1959[1880]), pp. 12-13.

²⁵ Tien-fu Shih, *Qingdai Taiwan De Diyu Shehui*, pp. 229-232.

²⁶ David Faure ed., *In Search of the Hunters and Their Tribes: Studies in the History and Culture of the Taiwan Indigenous People* (Taipei: Shun Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines, 2001).

political submission, and habitat.²⁷

One example of the ambiguity and fluidity of Qing ethnic classification is the introduction of the term “submitted aborigines (guihua shengfan or huafan)” in the mid-eighteenth century. There were three major groups of “submitted aborigines” in early Qing Taiwan, namely the thirty-six tribes of Gemalan in the northeastern plains, the twenty-six tribes of Shuishalian in the central Puli basin, and the eighteen tribes of Langqiao in the southern coastal region.²⁸ (Map 1) As an in-between category, the “submitted aborigines” were registered in the official records and paid a nominal tax of deerskins and millet. On the other hand, they were allowed to preserve their native customs and continued to live in the territory outside the aboriginal boundary.²⁹ The expedient practice reinforced the shift away from using political submission as the primary criterion for Qing ethnic classification toward emphasizing territorial and cultural criteria.³⁰

(4) Evolution of Aboriginal Boundary and Territorialization of Ethnicity in Eighteenth-century Taiwan

Originated in the aftermath of the Chinese rebellion, the aboriginal boundary policy was devised to contain, if not prevent, conflicts between heterogeneous groups of Chinese settlers and indigenous people in Taiwan. Thus, the boundary became a moving frontier characterized by settlement of interspersed Han and native villages on either side. As Ka Chihming points out, in response to the changing realities of the settlements, the Qing court adopted various strategies of divide-and-rule to maintain control of frontier society ranging from passive segregation in the Kangxi era to alliance with plains aborigines during the Qianlong reign.³¹

In 1746, the Qing government proposed a three-tier ethnic-group settlement system separating Chinese settlers and cooked aborigines in the western plains from raw aborigines in the mountain regions. In 1788, another major effort of

²⁷ Emma J. Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography*, pp. 122-148.

²⁸ Shu-jing Huang, *Taihai Shicha Lu* [Record of a Tour of Duty in the Taiwan Sea], TW vol. 4 (Taipei: Taiwan Yinhang, 1957[1722]).

²⁹ Zhong-xuan Zhou ed., *Zhuluo Xianzhi* [Zhuluo County Gazetteer], TW vol. 141 (Taipei: Taiwan Yinhang, 1962(1717)), pp. 251-253.

³⁰ Emma J. Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography*, p. 308.

³¹ Chih-ming Ka, *Fantoujia*, pp. 255-269.

the Qing aboriginal boundary policy was the establishment of military colonies of the plains aborigines (*fantun*) after the suppression of the devastating Lin Shuangwen Rebellion. The territorialization of ethnicity and the linkages between ethnicity and territory in boundary making constituted an important feature of the Qing frontier policy in Taiwan.³² For example, in the northern Zhuqian area, there emerged in the 1790s three human geographical zones of Han, plains aborigine and the frontier settlement organizations (*kenai*) with different land systems and social organizations.³³ As the Chinese settlement moved toward inland regions of central and northern Taiwan, the question of quarantine and territorial incorporation had also become the focus of official policy debates in the nineteenth century.

3. Transformation of Qing Territorial Perceptions in Nineteenth-century Taiwan: Three Case Studies of Official Debates on Aboriginal Boundary Policy

Qing policy-making on frontier management focused on the balance of strategy, control cost, and revenue needs.³⁴ Important policy changes, such as fluctuations in immigration policies and decisions of territorial incorporation, reflected not only the capacity of the state but also official perceptions of local realities and historical contingencies. Compared with the glory of imperial expansion and development of the early Qing Empire, the history of nineteenth-century China was characterized by dynastic decline, domestic rebellions, foreign aggressions, and territorial crises. In Taiwan, Qing officials and the quarantine doctrine also faced new historical contingencies and challenges, which were drastically different from frontier settlement and land reclamation in the eighteenth century.

First of all, with the growth of population on the island, domestic migration occurred with people moving toward central and eastern Taiwan. Moreover, the

³² Paul D. Barclay, "Cultural Brokerage and Interethnic Marriage in Colonial Taiwan," pp. 330-331.

³³ Tsui-jung Liu, "Han Migration and the Settlement of Taiwan: the Onset of Environmental Change", in Mark Elvin and Liu Ts'ui-jung eds., *Sediments of Time: Environment and Society in Chinese History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 188-189.

³⁴ John R. Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier*, p. 410.

frequent outbursts of communal feuding (*xiedou*) and sub-ethnic violence among Han immigrants became new causes of social unrest and the new focus of official concerns.³⁵

Second, following the opening of Taiwan's treaty ports in the 1860s, the island's tea and camphor entered the world market. The commercialization and growing foreign demands of these commodities led to the increase in boundary trespassing and conflicts in the aboriginal territory.³⁶

Third, as maritime activities and foreign presence in Taiwan increased significantly since the mid-nineteenth century, the question of maritime safety and Qing control of the aboriginal territory also became major issues of Sino-foreign diplomatic negotiations.³⁷

Fourth, with the introduction of Western theories and practices of international law through translation and treaty-port diplomacy in the nineteenth century, modern notions of territorial sovereignty began to reshape the political discourse in East Asia.³⁸

These social, economic, diplomatic, and intellectual trends constituted new internal and external challenges to Qing frontier management and formed the background of Qing official debates on the aboriginal boundary policy. Using the cases of Gamelan, Shuishalian and Langqiao as examples, I outline the multiple territorial perceptions of Qing officials and discuss the transformation of Qing territorial discourse during the nineteenth century.

Case One: Incorporation of Aboriginal Territory: Gemalan in the 1810s

In 1810, a new Gemalan subprefecture was set up in northeastern Taiwan. It was the first administrative expansion since the Qing court established the Zhanghua County in 1723 after the Zhu Yigui Rebellion and the Danshui (Tamsui) subprefecture in 1731 following the uprising of Dajia plains aborigines.³⁹

³⁵ Harry J. Lamley, "Sub-ethnic Rivalry in the Ch'ing Period," in E. M. Ahern and H. Gates, eds., *The Anthropology of Taiwanese Society* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1981), p. 315.

³⁶ Robert Gardella, "From Treaty Ports to Provincial Status, 1860-1894," in Murray A. Rubinstein ed., *Taiwan: A New History*, pp. 163-200.

³⁷ James Davidson, *The Island of Formosa: Past and Present* (Taipei, SMC, 1988[1903]).

³⁸ Rune Svarverud, *International Law as World Order in Late Imperial China: Translation, Reception and Discourse, 1847-1911* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

³⁹ Kai-shyh Lin, "The Frontier Expansion of the Qing Empire: The Case of Kavalan Subprefecture in Nineteenth-century Taiwan," Ph. D. diss., The University of Chicago, 1999.

Located beyond the aboriginal boundary, the Gemalan plain was originally inhabited by thirty-six native tribes of “submitted aborigines.” Major Chinese settlement began in 1796 when Han immigrant leader Wu Sha and his group of frontiersmen moved into the region. In 1804, a group of plains-aborigine settlers migrated from central Taiwan with their plows and firearms. Gemalan hence became a multi-ethnic immigrant frontier with different Han and native groups competing, conflicting and cooperating in land reclamation.⁴⁰

It was not until the invasion of the notorious Chinese pirate Cai Qian in 1806 did Qing officials pay attention to the strategic importance and settlement movement in northeastern Taiwan. In 1807, the Qing court ordered an investigation of Gemalan after local residents fended off successfully the attacks from the pirates.

In his report, Fuzhou General Saichonga submitted the first proposal for territorial incorporation. He outlined the local realities of frontier settlement and the benefits of security and revenue as follows:⁴¹

Ha-a-lan⁴² used to be an aboriginal territory beyond the boundary and those Han settlers and plains aborigines should be expelled and punished according to the law. However, it is difficult to abandon the fertile paddies and disperse thousands of vagrants after years of land reclamation. The Han and the aborigines reside peacefully with each other and have shown their loyalty to the government. It is recommended that the place [should] be incorporated into the imperial domain in order to extend the influence of our civilization.

Though Saichonga’s pro-colonization report failed to persuade policy-makers of the Qing court who reiterated the continuation of the quarantine doctrine, Qing official Liang Shangguo submitted another memorial in 1809 concerning incorporation of the territory into the Gemalan frontier. In response to Liang’s call for recognizing Gemalan’s strategic importance and for beefing up local efforts in coastal defense, Emperor Jiaqing (r. 1796-1820) issued the following edict.⁴³

⁴⁰ Ying Yao, *Dongcha Jilyue* [Sketch of My Assignment to Taiwan], TW vol. 7 (Taipei: Taiwan Yinhang, 1957[1829]), p. 72-76.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁴² Ha-a-nan is the old name for Gemalan.

⁴³ Ying Yao, *Dongcha Jilyue*, p. 75.

The residents in Ha-a-nan now amount to more than sixty thousand. They showed their loyalty in assisting the officials to fend off pirate invasions. The territory should be incorporated into the imperial domain. How can we leave it beyond our civilization! Moreover, the land is rich and fertile. If the territory is occupied by bandits and pirates, it will cause serious problems to Taiwan.

Meanwhile, the plight of the natives also attracted official attention. In 1810, Governor-General of Min-Zhe Fang Weidian launched a local petition for territorial incorporation:⁴⁴

During my trip to Taiwan, I received requests from the Gemalan native chief Bao Ali and other aborigines. They submitted the household registers and shaved their hair according to the imperial customs. They complained about the loss of their land to settlers and outsiders. Following the precedents of the plains aborigines, they asked for official protection and requested the appointment of an interpreter. There was a local headman Ho Hui who also petitioned for official administration and boundary drawing of their reclaimed land.

After policy deliberation in the Qing court, an imperial edict was issued granting the approval of territorial incorporation:⁴⁵

The land of Gemalan is rich and fertile. And the price of rice is relatively cheap. The number of Chinese sojourners and aborigines has been increasing. If we do not establish official administration, disturbances will occur.

The policy making process on Gemalan reflected multiple concerns in Qing frontier management and different perceptions of the quarantine doctrine. According to local realities and historical contingencies, the advocates for territorial incorporation strived to promote the necessity of a new boundary policy so as to prevent local disturbances and minimize administrative costs. Among those important rationales for territorial incorporation, neither the revenue potential of Han settlement nor the plight of the Gemalan people was the *raison d'être* that led to belated recognition of the frontier as the imperial domain. In the aftermath of a series of pirate invasion, it was the security concern of coastal defense, rather than the revenue potential of settlement and protection of the natives' welfare, that ultimately caused the Qing court to

⁴⁴ Shu-chun Chen, *Gemalan Tingzhi* [Gazetteer of Gemalan Subprefecture], TW vol. 160 (Taipei: Taiwan Yinhang, 1974[1852]), p. 330.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 332.

abandon the quarantine policy in the Gemalan frontier. As evident in the imperial edict, it was the concern of pirate raids on the coasts combined with the fear that the frontier would become a haven for rebels and bandits that suddenly accelerated the Qing decision to extend its administration in Taiwan.⁴⁶

Case Two: Persistence of Quarantine Doctrine: Shuishalian in the 1840s

Located in the Puli basin of central Taiwan, Shuishalian has been the habitat of twenty-six tribes of “submitted aborigines” since early Qing.⁴⁷ In 1814, Han frontiersman Guo Bainian and a group of militant settlers crossed the aboriginal boundary and burned the villages and fields of the natives. The invasion continued until 1816 when the Qing officials finally expelled the intruders and reaffirmed the aboriginal boundary with stone steles. Following this tragic event, the native chieftains invited the plains aborigine farmers in the western plains to help protect their land from Chinese encroachment.⁴⁸

The plight of the natives in Shuishalian was recorded by Qing Subprefect of Aboriginal Affairs Deng Chuanan in 1823 after his field trip to the villages. In his proposal for Shuishalian’s territorial incorporation, Deng referred to Lan Dingyuan, an early Qing pro-colonization advocate, and the precedent of Gemalan subprefecture. He also criticized the obsolete gazetteer records and questioned the validity of the aboriginal boundary policy:⁴⁹

The drawing of boundaries to prohibit land reclamation is an expedient measure of our ancestors. In reality, all the old boundaries have already been trespassed [by the settlers]. It is time for change in order to deal with the new situation.

Though Deng’s critique of Qing quarantine did not result in policy changes, the call for Shuishalian’s incorporation resurged again in the 1840s during the Opium War. Pro-colonization officials added the threat of foreign aggression to their rationales for administrative expansion. Citing the military, financial,

⁴⁶ John R. Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier*, pp. 357-361.

⁴⁷ Shuishalian is the old name for the Puli basin and its surrounding regions in central Taiwan.

⁴⁸ Mitsuo Suzuki, “Hanban gōsei kazoku no keisei to tenkai: kindai shoki niokeru taiwan henkyō no seiji jinruigaku teki kenkyū (The Formation and Development of A Chinese-Aboriginal Composite Family in the Frontier Taiwan of Early Modern Period: A Politico-anthropological Study)” (Ph.D. diss., University of Tokyo, 1988).

⁴⁹ Chuan-an Deng, *Lice Huichao* [Measuring the Sea with a Calabash], TW vol. 9 (Taipei: Taiwan Yinhang, 1958), pp. 5-7.

administrative, and transportation difficulties in lifting the quarantine, Taiwan Prefect Yao Ying upheld the aboriginal boundary policy with the following statement:⁵⁰

The opening and development of the aboriginal territory will soon invite conflicts. It is better to leave the land barren in order to diminish the enemy's ambition and deter temporarily their invasion.

Qing policy debates over Shuishalian continued in 1846 when Subprefect of Aboriginal Affairs Shi Mi reported the poverty of the natives and their requests for territorial incorporation. Following the order of Emperor Daoguang (r. 1821-50), Governor-General of Min-Zhe Liu Yunke investigated Shuishalian and made the following policy recommendation in his report:⁵¹

It is easier to achieve success by opening up the aboriginal territory. The quarantine policy could not prevent disturbances... It is recommended that we reclaim the land and appoint officials in Shuishalian following the precedents of Danshui and Gemalan.

However, Liu's first-hand report and his proposal for Shuishalian's incorporation did not convince the top officials in the Qing court. In reply, Grand Councilor Muchanga reasserted the quarantine doctrine as follows:⁵²

The aboriginal territory has been separated by earth oxen and quarantined under legal statutes. The proposal of opening the territory does not serve the main object of preventing disturbances... It is better to observe the quarantine precedents and curb territorial ambition in advance than to open the territory and cause unforeseeable problems in the future. It is more appropriate to follow the ancient practices and not to make any changes.

The policy debates on Shuishalian illustrated vividly the persistence of Qing quarantine doctrine and the aboriginal boundary policy in nineteenth-century Taiwan. Despite their consensus on the priority of preventing disturbances in aboriginal territory, pro-colonization and pro-quarantine advocates differed

⁵⁰ Ying Yao, *Zhongfutan Xuanji* [Selected Essays of Yao Ying], TW vol. 83 (Taipei: Taiwan Yinhang, 1960[1867]), p. 51.

⁵¹ Yue-jian Ding, *Zhitai Bigao Lu* [Records on Taiwan Governance], TW vol. 17 (Taipei: Taiwan Yinhang, 1959[1867]), pp. 204-208.

⁵² Taiwan Yinhang ed., *Qing Xuanzong Shilu Xuanji* [Selections of the Veritable Records of the Daoguan Reign], TW vol. 188 (Taipei: Taiwan Yinhang, 1964), p. 514.

sharply in their evaluation of the aboriginal boundary policy. Pro-colonization advocates' frequent references to the Gemalan precedent and to the petitions from the native population failed to win over the conservative supporters of the boundary policy.

On the other hand, in view of Shuishalian's remote location in central Taiwan, pro-quarantine advocates did not perceive imminent threat or strategic importance in coastal defense. As detailed by Yao Ying's rebuttal to Shuishalian's territorial incorporation, it was the concerns of high costs incurred by administrative expansion and fears of foreign presence in the aboriginal territory that led to the continuation of century-old quarantine practice in aboriginal Taiwan.

Case Three: Transformation of Territorial Discourse: Langqiao in the 1870s

In October 1867, a group of Westerners crossed the aboriginal boundary in southern Taiwan and visited the eighteen native tribes of Langqiao. The reason for their adventure was the wreck of the American ship *Rover* in March. Led by the U.S. Consul at Amoy Charles Le Gendre, the foreigners reached an agreement with the native chief Tokitok (Zuo Jidu in Chinese).⁵³ In addition to returning the victims' remains and properties, Tokitok also promised to offer his assistance to foreign survivors in future shipwrecks.⁵⁴

The direct contact between foreigners and the natives in the aboriginal territory during the *Rover* incident was indicative of new challenge to Qing frontier management with the opening of Taiwan's treaty ports in the early 1860s. In their replies to Le Gendre's request for crossing the aboriginal boundary, Qing top civil and military officials in Taiwan Liu Mingden and Wu Dating reiterated the quarantine doctrine.⁵⁵

The raw aborigines are beyond the imperial domain and the realm of our civilization. The foreigners are advised to observe the boundary policy and not to venture into the forbidden aboriginal territory.

⁵³ Thomas Hughes, "Visit to Tok-E-Tok, Chief of the Eighteen Tribes, Southern Formosa," in Glen Dudbridge ed., *Aborigines of South Taiwan in the 1880s* (Taipei: SMC, 1999), pp. 22-33.

⁵⁴ Charles W. Le Gendre, *Taiwan Fanshi Wuchan Yu Shangwu* [The Aboriginal Affairs, Products and Commerce of Taiwan], TW vol. 46 (Taipei: Taiwan Yinhang, 1960), p. 25.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

In their memorial of the *Rover* incident, Governor-General of Min-Zhe Wu Tang and the Fujian Governor Li Futai supported the stance taken by local officials of Taiwan.⁵⁶

The Koalut tribe is located in the aboriginal territory and the murderers are the raw aborigines. They are not Chinese people. The territory is beyond the imperial domain and the capacity of our military authority. It is really difficult to meet the [American] request.

Although the above perception of local and provincial officials on Taiwan's frontier territory was in accordance with the existent aboriginal boundary policy, Qing Zongli Yamen in Beijing was more sensitive to Western notions of territorial sovereignty and the discrepancy of the standard quarantine rhetoric in the face of foreign territorial ambitions. In response to the *Rover* incident, Prince Gong, Director of the Zongli Yamen, issued the following admonition to the authorities in Taiwan.⁵⁷

Although the raw aborigines are not bound by our law, their land is still part of the Chinese territory. To prevent foreign ambition, it is advised that during the debate with the U.S. Consul (Le Gendre), our officials can not refer to the view that the aboriginal territory is beyond the Chinese imperial domain.

The exchanges between Qing Zongli Yamen and local officials during the *Rover* incident revealed significant shift in Qing territorial perception of Taiwan.⁵⁸ The reluctance, or rather the inaction, of the Qing local officials in responding to events in the aboriginal territory had by then become the major cause of foreign protests and diplomatic controversies. Moreover, the century-old quarantine practices and especially the indifferences of local Qing administrators toward the aboriginal territory had led to the foreigners' belief of a divided island; these practices and indifferent attitudes further caused the foreigners to question if the Qing government in fact did or could exercise its territorial sovereignty over aboriginal Taiwan.⁵⁹ Prince Gong's worry of foreign

⁵⁶ Charles W. Le Gendre, *Taiwan Fanshi Wuchan Yu Shangwu*, p. 83.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 85-86.

⁵⁸ Taiwan Yinhang ed., *Taiwan Duiwai Guanxi Shiliao* [Documents on the Foreign Relations of Taiwan], TW vol. 290 (Taipei: Taiwan Yinhang, 1971), p. 16-17.

⁵⁹ Robert Eskildsen, "Foreign Views of Difference and Engagement Along Taiwan's Sino-Aboriginal Boundary in the 1870s," in Huang Ko-wu ed., *When Images Speak: Visual Representation and Cultural Mapping in Modern China* (Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 2003), pp. 253-287.

ambition would soon become a reality in the Mudanshe Incident of 1874.

In May 1874, Taiwan suddenly became the focus of Qing's several territorial crises when a Japanese fleet landed at Langqiao and occupied the aboriginal territory. After the initial confusion, the Zongli Yamen sent a formal correspondence to the Foreign Ministry of Japan on May 11, 1874.⁶⁰

Taiwan is an island lying far off the sea and we have not yet brought the aborigines under the law nor established any administration over them. This practice follows the maxim of the Book of Rites, that is, do not change the customs of a people but follow the practices acquired from their ancestors. On the other hand, the aboriginal territory is no doubt within the jurisdiction of China. The same practice has been applied to several native peoples in other remote provinces of China such that they were allowed to maintain their own customs and livelihoods.

On the same day, Governor-General of Min-Zhe Li Henian also sent a formal protest to the Japanese Commander Saigo Tsukumichi and demanded immediate Japanese withdrawal.⁶¹

The raw aborigines of Taiwan scattered in the deep mountains are primitive in their nature. Although they are still beyond the reach of civilization and administration, they live in our territory and are therefore under our jurisdiction ... According to international law, Taiwan is within Chinese territory and the raw aborigines are under Chinese jurisdiction. They should be bound by Chinese law without interference from other nations.

In the following months, the issue of Qing sovereignty over aboriginal Taiwan emerged during the diplomatic negotiations in Taiwan, Shanghai and Beijing. During the Sino-Japanese sovereignty controversy, Qing Zongli Yamen and leading officials, such as Li Hongzhang, resorted to aggressive treaty diplomacy that finally led to the withdrawal of Japanese troops and international recognition of Chinese sovereignty on the island.⁶²

The crisis in 1874 also led to transformation of Qing quarantine policy and the emergence of new Qing territorial discourse that emphasized China's

⁶⁰ Taiwan Yinhang ed., *Tongzhi Jiaxu Ribing Qintai Shimo* [Documents on the 1874 Japanese Invasion of Taiwan], TW vol. 38 (Taipei: Taiwan Yinhang, 1959), p. 5.

⁶¹ Ji-shan Tu, *Hengchun Xianzhi* [Gazetteer of the Hengchun County], TW vol. 75 (Taipei: Taiwan Yinhang, 1960), pp. 279-280.

⁶² Lung-chih Chang, "From Island Frontier to Imperial Colony: Qing and Japanese Sovereignty Debates and Territorial Projects in Taiwan, 1874-1906" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2003).

territorial integrity. For example, when the news of a Japanese expedition reached Taiwan, Circuit Intendant of Taiwan Xia Xianlun was busy pacifying a Han bandit unrest in Jiayi. Xia reacted to the Japanese invasion with the following policy recommendation:⁶³

If the Japanese approach our core region (fudi), we will defend them with our troops and local militia. If they only seek revenge on the aborigines, we should keep alert and reason with them according to the Sino-Japanese treaty.

In his policy recommendation regarding the Japanese invasion in southern Taiwan, Governor-General of Min-zhe Li Henian echoed Xia's adherence to the existent aboriginal boundary policy. He further made distinction between the core region and the aboriginal territory:⁶⁴

It is easier to create conflicts in the borders than to resolve them. There is a difference between the aboriginal territory and the core region. If the Japanese enter the core region of Taiwan, I will demand the local authorities to defend with the troops and local militia. However, if the Japanese only seek revenge on the aborigines for killing the Ryukyu victims, we will reason with them according to the treaty agreement and will not provoke conflicts by condemning their action with force.

Nevertheless, the Qing court not only did not approve Xia Xianlun's proposal, but actually reprimanded him for his "oblivion and carelessness" when dealing with such territorial crisis:⁶⁵

The aboriginal territory has long been part of the Chinese domain. Its interdependence with the Taiwan prefecture is like the relation between the lips and the teeth. The foreign nations have coveted the territory since the opening of commerce. Japan is especially close to the territory and might intend to occupy it.... The Circuit Intendant of Taiwan is oblivious of the priorities and irresponsible for considering the conflict in the aboriginal territory as inevitable.

In view of modern international law and the notion of territorial sovereignty, the court further rebutted Li Henian for making a distinction between the core region and the aboriginal territory:⁶⁶

⁶³ Yuan-xi Wang ed., *Jiaxu Gongdu Caocun* [Written Copies of Official Correspondences in 1874], TW vol. 39 (Taipei: Taiwan Yinhang, 1959), pp. 33-34.

⁶⁴ Taiwan Yinhang ed., *Tongzhi Jiaxu Ribing Qintai Shimo*, pp. 10-11.

⁶⁵ Yuan-xi Wang ed., *Jiaxu Gongdu Caocun*, p. 38.

⁶⁶ Yuan-xi Wang ed., *Jiaxu Gongdu Caocun*, pp. 54-55.

Although the aboriginal territory belongs to the outer realm, it should be considered as part of the Chinese domain. The case should be judiciously resolved by China. How can the Japanese suddenly send troops to our territory? ... It is forbidden to use the pretext of differences between the aboriginal territory and the core region to allow the Japanese act at will.

The above exchanges signified the fundamental change in the Qing quarantine doctrine in face of territorial crisis caused by the Japanese invasion. The ambiguous status of aboriginal territory in conventional quarantine discourse was directly challenged by the Japanese who evoked the rhetoric of territorial sovereignty and civilizing mission of modern states. No longer subscribing to the quarantine doctrine, the Qing government finally abolished the aboriginal boundary policy after the Mudanshe Incident and initiated the *kaishan fufan* project in 1875.

4. Opening the Mountains and Pacifying the Aborigines: Late Qing Territorialization of Aboriginal Taiwan, 1875-1895

(1) Late Qing Territorialization of Aboriginal Taiwan: The *kaishan fufan* Policy and its Proponents

In 1875, Qing Imperial Commissioner Shen Baozhen submitted a memorial in the aftermath of Japanese invasion to southern Taiwan. Shen presented a project for opening up the mountains and pacifying the aborigines (*kaishan fufan*) and called for the lifting of century-old Qing quarantine in Taiwan. After the Sino-Japanese sovereignty debates, Shen provided the following comment on Qing aboriginal boundary policy and territorial rule in Taiwan:⁶⁷

The territory of Taiwan extends more than a thousand Chinese li [kilometers]. However, the officials only govern one-third of the island in the coastal plains. The rest is all aboriginal territory.

As a response to the territorial crisis in 1874, Shen proposed his *kaishan fufan* project by aiming to consolidate Qing sovereignty in Taiwan. With new

⁶⁷ Bao-zhen Shen, *Fujian Taiwan Zouze*, pp. 1-3.

sense of urgency for Qing maritime defense, Shen detailed his project as follows:⁶⁸

It is impossible to open up the mountains without first pacifying the aborigines. And it is unrealistic to talk about pacifying the aborigines without opening up the mountains. To open the mountains, we need to station soldiers, cut through forests, burn wild grassland, build waterways, regulate land tax, encourage Han reclamation, provide livestock and seeds, establish villages and fortresses, introduce commerce, select officials, build walled cities, and set up postal communications and official buildings. All of these policies must be implemented in order. And to pacify the aborigines, we need to select tribal leaders, survey the population and land, translate their languages, prohibit head-hunting, teach farming practices, build roads, supply tea and salt, change their mode of dress, set up aboriginal schools and revise their customs. All these efforts must be carried out simultaneously.

With military campaigns and road constructions launched in southern, central and northern mountain regions, the *kaishan fufan* project was carried out by Qing military officers, such as Brigade--General Luo Dachun.⁶⁹ The Qing court set up new administrative units, including Hengchun county and Taipei prefecture, to facilitate the territorialization of aboriginal Taiwan. Moreover, Shen Baozen's modernization efforts were continued and developed by his successors Wang Kaitai and Ding Richang; the latter offered his vision on territorial rule in 1876 with emphasis on the importance of modern transportation and industry:⁷⁰

The current problem of Taiwan is not the lack of troops but the shortage of revenues. Moreover, the major concerns are not the threats from the aborigines and the foreigners, but the difficulty of communications ... It is no use to establish new administrative units in Taiwan. The solutions lie in railway construction and the mining industry.

The *kaishan fufan* movement received new impetus in 1885 when Taiwan was made a new maritime province of Qing China after the Sino-Franco war. Following the precedent of Xinjiang, the Taiwan province was divided into three

⁶⁸ Bao-zhen Shen, *Fujian Taiwan Zouze*, p. 2.

⁶⁹ Da-chun Luo, *Taiwan Haifang Bing Kaishan Riji* [Diary of Maritime Defense and Mountain Opening in Taiwan], TW vol. 308 (Taipei: Taiwan Yinhang, 1972), pp. 58-59.

⁷⁰ Taiwan Yinhang ed., *Qingji Taiwan Yangwu Shiliao* [Documents on Late Qing Self-Strengthening in Taiwan], TW vol. 278 (Taipei: Taiwan Yinhang, 1969), pp. 18-20.

prefectures, eleven counties and four subprefectures. In his memorial on the financial prospects of the new province, the first Taiwan governor Liu Mingchuan made the case for the pacification of aborigines:⁷¹

The aborigines in Taiwan are different from the Miao and the Muslims. They are scattered without central authority. If we pacify them with favors and power, the raw aborigines on the entire island will submit within the span of five years. With the development of land and self-sufficient revenues, we can then discuss the independence of Taiwan province without turning Taiwan into a burden on China proper.

In addition to financial necessity and revenue potential, Liu further elaborated on the relationship between Taiwan's security and territorialization of aboriginal Taiwan:⁷²

The revenue of Taiwan is more than that of Guizhou and Xinjiang. However, the majority of the eight coastal counties belong to the aboriginal territory. The island is isolated by seas and depends solely on the Fujian province during the time of crisis ... In order to implement the imperial edict, it is necessary to pacify the raw aborigines in order to resolve internal threats, expand the territory and encourage new settlements. Only after the increase in cultivated land and growth of population will Taiwan be self-sufficient to become an independent province.

As a leading figure of the late Qing Self-strengthening Movement, Liu Mingchuan considered the *kaishan fufan* campaign the top item on his agenda for establishing a bona fide province. Citing the linkage among maritime defense, frontier security and financial resources, Liu argued for the urgency of internal colonization of aboriginal Taiwan:⁷³

If we subjugate all the aborigines, there will be no internal disturbances. They could also defend against foreign invasion, as well as reduce military costs. The lumber resources in the mountains will also increase revenue. This is the reason why the pacification of aborigines should not be delayed.

Characterized by new strategy of military colonization and aggressive assimilation, the *kashan fufan* project marked the end of Qing quarantine and the

⁷¹ Ming-chuan Liu, *Liu Zhuangsu gong Zouyi* [Memorials of Liu Mingchuan], TW vol. 27 (Taipei: Taiwan Yinhang, 1958), pp. 155-156.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 156.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

beginning of the Qing Self-strengthening Movement in Taiwan. In face of increasing foreign territorial ambition, the Qing court displayed new resolve in establishing effective control of aboriginal territory. As outlined by Shen Baozhen and Liu Mingchuan, the *kaishan fufan* campaign aimed to amend the discrepancies engendered by obsolete quarantine practices and the aboriginal boundary policy that separated mountain aborigines from the Han Chinese and plains aborigine communities. With its aims to penetrate the border society, control the native population and extract natural resources, the *kaishan fufan* movement represented the Qing efforts of territorialization in Taiwan that would last until the end of the nineteenth century.⁷⁴

(2) Limitations of Qing *kaishan fufan* Campaign in Taiwan: Views from Contemporary Critics

As a major part of the late Qing Self-strengthening Movement in Taiwan, the *kaishan fufan* campaign between 1875 and 1895 was closely related to Qing modernization policies on the island. In the early 1840s, the pro-quarantine advocate Yao Ying had already pointed out the huge military, financial, administrative, and transportation difficulties in opening up the mountains and pacifying the aborigines.⁷⁵ Despite the efforts of a handful of progressive Qing officials, including Shen Baozhen and Ding Richang, contemporary observations from local officials revealed the limited capacity of the Qing state in sustaining political control and managing interethnic conflicts in the mountainous regions.

One of the major critics of the *kaishan fufan* policy was Liu Ao, a veteran Qing official who served as Taiwan's Circuit-Intendant in the 1880s. Liu offered the following comments of this policy:⁷⁶

Owing to the lack of suitable personnel and proper management, the so-called opening of the mountains is merely the construction of narrow paths in the regions.... And the so-called pacification of aborigines is no more than bribing the natives with rewards.... The whole project of *kaishan fufan* existed only in name without achieving substantial results.

⁷⁴ Antonio C. Tavares, "The Japanese Colonial State and the Dissolution of the Late Imperial Frontier Economy in Taiwan, 1886-1909," pp. 362-363.

⁷⁵ Ying Yao, *Zhongfutan Xuanji*, pp. 47-51.

⁷⁶ Ao Liu, *Xuntai Tuisi Lu* [Memoir of Taiwan], TW vol. 21 (Taipei: Taiwan Yinhang, 1958), pp. 1-4, 55.

Liu Ao's comments on the lack of intangible achievements in the campaign reflected the difficulties of recruiting qualified personnel and implementing effective management. Similar observation was made by Liu Mingchuan, Governor of Taiwan. After the establishment of the new Taiwan province, Liu reviewed previous efforts of the *kaishan fufan* campaign and offered the following criticisms in 1889:⁷⁷

It has been more than ten years since the late Shen Baozhen first advocated for *kaishan fufan*. Thus far, there have only been administrative offices created for one new Beinan subprefecture and the Hengchun County. There are native tribes that extend several hundred miles north of Jiayi. Most of them have not yet surrendered. They kill several hundred settlers every year and remain beyond our jurisdiction and civilization.

Liu Mingchuan's criticism about the unfinished tasks in central and northern parts of aboriginal Taiwan indicated the limitation of Qing state in consolidating and advancing the territorialization scheme. Meanwhile, first-hand observation by Qing field official Hu Chuan also provided information about the realities on the locale. Serving in Taidong during the 1890s, Hu offered the following evaluation of the *kaishan fufan* campaign in his report:⁷⁸

It has been more than twenty years with several hundred million taels spent on road construction, military deployment, suppression and pacification of aborigines, as well as their migration and settlement. Yet, we still could not withdraw the troops and the annual cost is more than one hundred thousand taels. Until now, there has not been any increase in population or cultivated land. It seems to have become the source of deficit with no end in sight.

Hu Chuan's first-hand report pointed out the fact that notwithstanding Liu Mingchuan's aggressive efforts in province building, late Qing territorialization of aboriginal Taiwan was far from successful due to the high costs of military campaigns and resistance from the natives. After nearly two decades of modernization efforts, the *kaishan fufan* campaign failed to overcome the military, administrative, transportation and especially financial difficulties that the pro-quarantine official foresaw in the mid-nineteenth century.

⁷⁷ Ming-chuan Liu, *Liu Zhuangsu gong zouyi*, p. 233.

⁷⁸ Chuang Hu, *Taidongzhou Caifangce* [Survey of the Taidong subprefecture], TW vol. 81 (Taipei: Taiwan Yinhang, 1960), pp. 5-6.

On the other hand, it is worth noting that after the cession of the island in 1895, the Japanese colonial government began to “civilize” the Taiwan frontier zone and to bring camphor production and the forests under tighter control.⁷⁹ Between 1910 and 1915, Japanese Governor-General Sakuma Samata initiated a series of military campaigns in the name of “managing the aborigines (riban).” The Japanese troops pushed forward the aboriginal boundary or “guard line” (aiyu sen) into the mountainous regions. Notwithstanding the difference in strategy, organization and military technology, the Japanese colonial project was reminiscent of Shen Baozhen’s proclamation of the *kaishan fufan* campaign in 1874. In that sense, the late Qing territorialization of aboriginal Taiwan continued by means of complex interactions of conquest, resistance and negotiation among the Japanese colonial state, Han frontiersmen and Taiwanese indigenes.⁸⁰

5. Conclusion

This paper explores the changes in Qing territorial perceptions and frontier policies in nineteenth-century Taiwan. I discuss the territorial question of aboriginal Taiwan to Qing quarantine doctrine in the eighteenth century and outline important historical contingencies and different local circumstances that shaped official debates on the aboriginal boundary policy in Gemalan and Shuishalian in early nineteenth century. Moreover, I point out the impacts of Sino-foreign negotiations and especially the territorial crisis of Japanese invasion in Langqiao that transformed Qing territorial discourse in the 1870s. The highly publicized *kaishan fufan* campaign signifies the changing nature of Qing colonialism from passive quarantine to aggressive colonization. Despite the efforts of a handful of progressive officials, the late Qing colonial project was limited by its military, administrative and financial incapacities in opening up the mountains and pacifying the aborigines. Moreover, the territorialization of aboriginal Taiwan was continued by the Japanese colonial government after the cession of the island to Japan in 1895.

⁷⁹ Antonio C. Tavares, “The Japanese Colonial State and the Dissolution of the Late Imperial Frontier Economy in Taiwan, 1886-1909,” p. 362-363.

⁸⁰ Paul R. Katz, *When Valleys Turned Blood Red: The Ta-pa-ni Incident in Colonial Taiwan* (Honolulu : University of Hawaii Press, 2005).

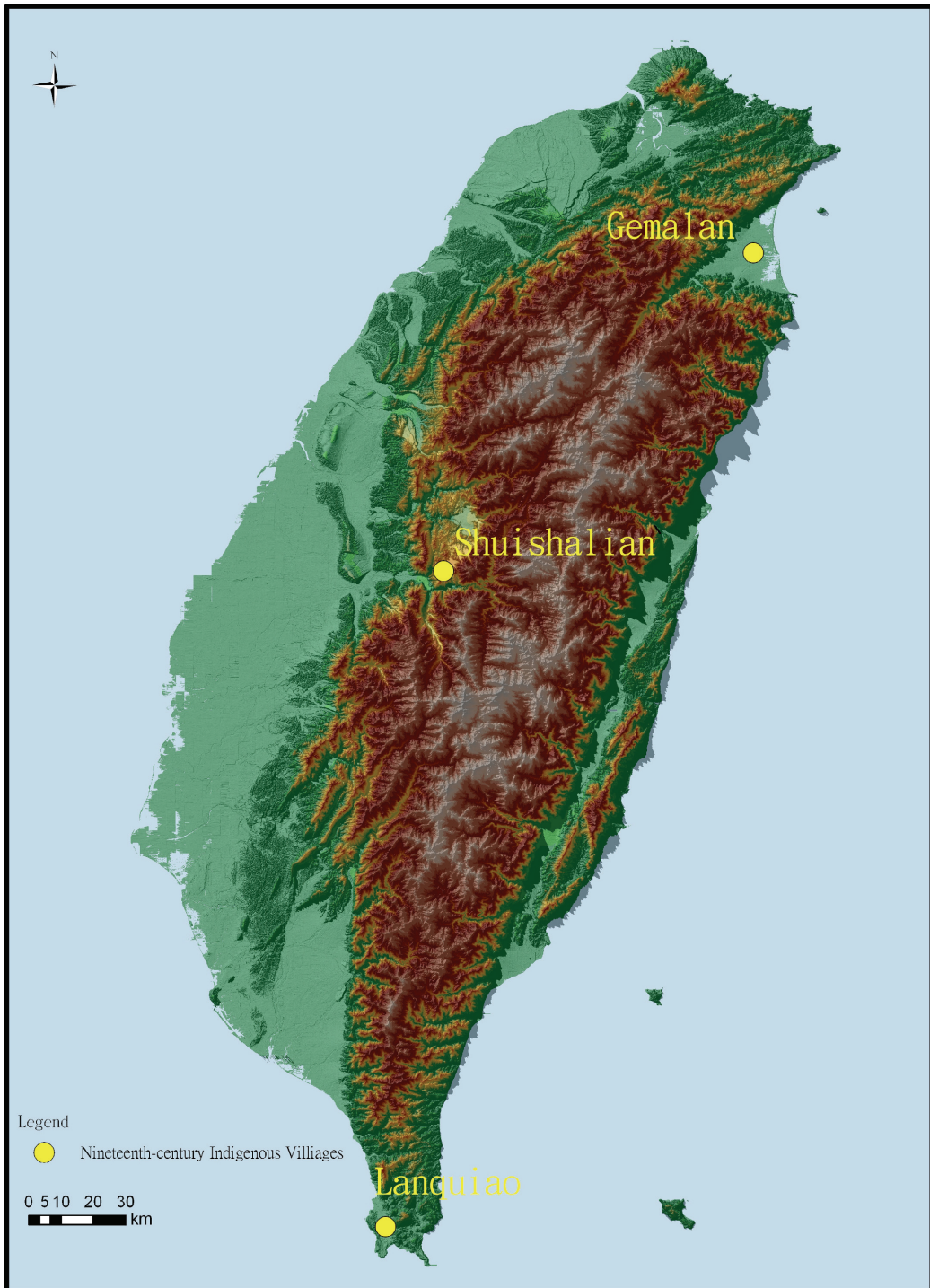
The study of Qing debates on the territorialization of aboriginal Taiwan illustrates the multiple official perceptions and important changes in Qing frontier policies in the nineteenth century. Using quarantine and the aboriginal boundary to regulate settlement movement and ethnic relations in the eighteenth century, the Qing court aimed to balance both control cost and administrative expansion in the Taiwan frontier. The pro-quarantine and pro-colonization debates on Gemalan and Shuishalian display vividly the priority of security concern over revenue potential and native welfare in Qing frontier policy-making. On the other hand, the case of Langqiao shows how Qing territorial discourse was transformed by nineteenth-century international diplomacy and notions of territorial sovereignty.⁸¹

From the perspective of territoriality, the *kaishan fufan* campaign is a state-building effort aiming to reconfigure political space and collective identities and transform former fuzzy limits of frontiers into more rigidly determined borders within the Qing Empire. However, the extent of this transformation was constrained not only by the military, administrative and financial incapacity of the state, but also by cultural and socio-economic factors on the locale.⁸² These interesting cases of Taiwan will hopefully contribute to the study of comparative colonialism and the state power in East Asia and the world.⁸³

⁸¹ James A. Millward, “‘Coming onto the Map’: ‘Western Regions’ Geography and Cartographic Nomenclature in the Making of Chinese Empire in Xinjiang,” *Late Imperial China* 20: 2 (1999), pp. 61-98.

⁸² For similar state-building process in the frontiers of modern Japan, see Tessa Morris-Suzuki, “Lines in the Snow: Imagining the Russo-Japanese Frontier,” *Pacific Affairs* 72: 1 (Spring 1999), pp. 57-77.

⁸³ Robert Eskildsen, “Taiwan: A Periphery in Search of a Narrative,” pp. 281-294.



Map 1: Gemalan, Shuishalian and Langqiao in Nineteenth-century Taiwan
(drawn by Wu Chihao)

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從封禁到殖民： 十九世紀臺灣「番地」問題與晚清領土政策論爭

張隆志

摘要

本文討論十九世紀臺灣「番地」由封禁邊疆轉型為現代領土的政策論辯過程。筆者以官方檔案、地方志書與個人文集為基礎，除說明清代臺灣「番地」問題的長期歷史與制度背景，並指出十九世紀島內移墾、開港貿易、及殖民接觸等新歷史趨勢，對於清初以來臺灣邊疆封禁政策的影響。進而分析各時期政策論辯過程，所反映出的清代領土觀念及治理策略的轉變。筆者指出清代臺灣邊疆治理的決策過程，與晚清政經情境、臺灣地方差異以及清代各級官員之領土觀念有密切關連。而清初「番界」政策雖將臺灣「生／熟番」原住民分類加以空間化，然諸如「化番」等曖昧範疇的存在，則成為十九世紀臺灣「番地」問題與政策論辯的主要焦點。例如噶瑪蘭的納入版圖、水沙連的持續封禁，以及琅嶠的國際交涉與主權論爭，均反映出十九世紀邊疆封禁傳統持續與轉型的不同面向及動態。而清末「開山撫番」運動除廢除「番界」政策，更進而成為臺灣「番地」領土化的先聲。上述臺灣邊疆治理的複雜歷史過程，提供了理解清代殖民主義內涵以及國家與邊區社會關係的重要個案。

關鍵詞：十九世紀臺灣、番界、封禁、開山撫番、領土化