RECORDS OF A NATURAL EXPERIMENT

HOUSEHOLD REGISTERS COMPILED IN TAIWAN BY THE JAPANESE COLONIAL GOVERNMENT—AN INTRODUCTION TO TWO COMPUTERIZED ARCHIVES

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There is too much tendency, I think, to go by experiments made in the study rather than by those which nature may be said to make. The reason for this is not difficult to understand. Men, as a rule, are more comfortable in their study, and they admire their own and each other's ingenuity. But the greatest ingenuity can hardly ever give what is the absolutely essential factor in all experiments where animal psychology is concerned, viz. natural—or at any accustomed conditions—conditions. I therefore think that to watch an experiment made by nature is in nine cases out of ten much better than to make one oneself.

> Edmund Selous, "An Obervational Diary of the Habits—Mostly Domestic—of the Great Crested Grebe."

Beside the low cost of aquiring a massive amount of pertinent data, one common advantage of archival material is its nonreactivity. Although there may be substantial errors in the material, it is not usual to find masking or sensitivity because the producer of the data knows he is being studied by some social scientist. This gain by itself makes the use of archives attractive if one wants to compensate for the reactivity which riddles the interview and the questionnaire.

> Eugene J. Webb, Donald T. Campbell. Richard D. Schwartz and Lee Sechrest, Unobtrusive Measures.

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I. INTRODUCTION

In 1905, less than five years after Taiwan was ceded to Japan as one result of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, the new colonial government set in motion a carefully crafted registration system. Administered by the police as part of their effort to impose a Pax Japonnica on what had been an unruly frontier, the purpose was social control. The Japanese authorities wanted to know where everybody lived and who they lived with. The long-term, unintended consequence is a set or records that preserve a detailed picture of social life in one part of late imperial China. One can recover a large part of the life history of every person alive in 1905-45 and reconstruct the exact composition of every family he joined. The Taiwan household registers' only rival for sweep and detail are the registers established by the Dutch government in 1865.

The value of the Taiwan registers for demographic research is obvious. What is not obvious to scholars not familiar with family life on Taiwan is their value for sociologists, psychologists, and even biologists. Custom there did not encourage (let alone require) people to raise children they did not want (or need) and did not force marriages to conform to one model. There were half a dozen forms of marriage each of which was distinctive enough to leave its mark on fertility and divorce rates. The result is that what is preserved in the Taiwan household registers is not simply the raw material needed to calculate demographic rates. It is also the record of a grand natural experiment the equivalent of which cannot be found anywhere else in the world. One can ask what parents do when it is easy to find someone willing to adopt and raise their children; what the result is when men in a patriarchal society are forced to marry into their wife's family; and what the consequences are when husband and wife are reared together from an early age.

Social scientists discouraged by the enervating miasma spread by post-modernism will find relief in the Taiwan household registers. The data recorded there are hard-shelled facts that will not yield to deconstruction. It is true that the registers were created by a colonial power to bolster its position, but this does not mean that the information recorded is unreliable. To the contrary, this is the reason it is reliable. The enormous effort the Japanese authorities took to create and maintain the household registers would have been wasted if they had not taken pains to make sure that the information they wanted was reported promptly and recorded accurately. Their concern for accuracy is evident in the design of the reporting system and the requirement that the police check the information reported by frequent home visits.

What follows is eighty percent pedagogical and twenty percent inspirational. I describe the

organization of the computer files included in two archives, summarize some of the research based on these files, and note a few of the many questions they can be made to address. The description of the computer files is necessarily detailed, numbingly so in places. My hope is that by including brief references to research based on the files I can inspire readers to have the patience necessary to master the details.

I will call the archives I describe "the Stanford Archive"[1] and the "Academia Sinica Archive." Both are devoted to data extracted from household and land registers compiled by the Japanese colonial government on Taiwan in the years 1900-45. The computerized core of the Stanford archives covers eleven villages and two small towns in the southwestern corner of the Taipei Basin in an area known since Ch'ing times as Hai-shan. The Academia Sinica archive covers a widely dispersed selection of communities, including communities in the Pescadores Islands as well as in mainland Taiwan. The computerized files in the two archives preserve something of the lives of approximately 440,000 individuals. Many more are preserved in the xeroxed registers held in the Academia Sinica archive and could be added to the existing files.

I will first describe the household registers and then introduce the two archives. It is necessary to treat them separately because while they are based on the same source, their organization and contents differ significantly. They can be made to yield comparable data but require learning two distinct systems. There are only two important limitations. One is that while the Stanford archive includes hard copies of the reconstructed composition of thousands of households, the information needed to reconstruct household composition is not included in the computerized data base. The other is while the computerized data base in the Academia Sinica Archive includes all the information needed to reconstruct household composition, it is limited to information drawn from the household registers. The major advantage of the Stanford Archive is that the computerized files include important information from the Land Registers. This appears in the form of the total amount of land tax paid at the time of all events between 1906 and 1945.

I have argued that the Taiwan household registers provide a detailed record of a nearly unique natural experiment created by the Chinese kinship system. The price for anyone who wants to take advantage of this opportunity is the effort required to learn what that system was. If the researcher is conscientious, this is not a small task. The colonial administration that produced the household

[1] It would be as appropriate to call it "the Cornell archive" because the work was initiated at Cornell and partly funded by a Ford Foundation grant to Cornell.

registers also produced as part of its effort to insure social stability a vast body of material documenting the Taiwanese kinship system. The purpose was to lay the basis for a legal code that conformed to Taiwanese custom. The agency responsible for this work was the Taiwan Shih-hsi Yen-ch'iu Hui (the Commission on Old Taiwanese Customs). It was appointed in 1901 and included a team of scholars from the University of Kyoto many of whom had been trained in Germany and were familiar with the effort to preserve old German customs.

The primary work of the Commission was the collection and analysis of contracts dealing with every aspect of Taiwanese social relations. Both the Commission's analysis and the documents analyzed were eventually published in thirty-seven paired volumes. They occupy seven feet of shelf-space in my office where they dwarf the publications of the British and French anthropologists who attempted to document the kinships systems of their colonial subjects.

The Commission organized a journal called Taiwan Kanshu Kiji (Taiwanese customs). In the course of its five-year tenure the journal published articles and documents concerning almost every aspect of Taiwanese society. The most valuable for study of the kinship are verbatim records of interviews (Mondo) with elderly Taiwanese chosen for their knowledge of local custom. The subjects include land tenure, forms of marriage, marriage ritual, adoption, concubinage, bridewealth, and, inheritance.

As comprehensive and detailed as they were, the publications of the Commission did not exhaust interest in the Taiwanese kinship system. The 1930's and early 1940's witnessed the appearance of several large volumes and an important journal--the Minzoku Taiwan edited by the physical anthropologist Kanaseki Takeo. The most useful books are Suzuki Seiichiro's Taiwan Kyukan: Kankonsosai To Nenju Gyoji (Taiwanese Customs: Coming-of-age, marriage, funerals, and annual rites), Ikeda Toshio's Taiwan No Katei Seikatsu (Family life in Taiwan), and Yoshifusa Kinebuchi's Taiwan Shakai Jigyo Shi (The Structure of Taiwanese Society).[2] The latter summarizes much of the material in the Taiwan Shiho and includes more documents of the kind collected by the Commission on Old Customs.

The Taiwan Szu Fa and most of the publications that followed in the l930's are the work of legal scholars. They cover in detail the rights and duties created by Taiwanese institutions but have

[2] The complete references are Suzuki Seiichiro, Taiwan Kyukan: Kankonsosai To Nenju Gyoji (Taipei: Taiwan Nichinichi Shiumposha, 1934), Ikeda Toshio, Taiwan No Katei Seitkatsu (Taipei: Toto Shoseki, 1944) and Yosihifusa Kinebuchi, Taiwan Shakai Jigyo Shi (Taipei: XXXXXXXXXXX, Showa 15).

little to say about their other facets. The great value of the Minzoku Taiwan is that it enlarges our picture of many Taiwanese institutions with essays concerning particular places, religion and ritual, proverbs and songs, arts and crafts, and children's games. Beautifully illustrated with line drawings, wood cuts, and photographs, it is largely the work of native folklorists many of whom drew on personal experiences. The most valuable for researchers interested in household registers two issues devoted to what the Taiwanese call sim-pua, "little daughters-in-law."[3]

The legal scholars and folklorists who wrote during the Japanese period collected documents and interviewed old men, but they did not conduct surveys, did not observe kinship behavior, and, surprisingly, did not make use of the evidence recorded in the household registers. The only exception was the Japanese sociologist Yuzuru Okada, who, in 1943, undertook a field study of 340 farms families in Shih-lin Chen. This study, published in 1945 under the title of Kiso Shakai, is essential reading for anyone interested in working with the Taiwan household registers. It is the first study to make extensive use of the household registers and, until now, almost the only study of family life in Taiwan that takes account of the incomes of the families studied.

With the exception of Okada's pioneering effort, field studies of Taiwanese society did not begin until the late 1950's. It was then that American anthropologists—financed by a new interest in China but unable to go there—initiated a second wave of research that crested in the 1960's. Where their Japanese predecessors had treated Taiwanese kinship as a legal system, the Americans treated it as a social system with religious and economic dimensions. They collected documents and interviewed old men, but they also observed what people did. They were the heirs of a research tradition that made reading Bronislaw Malinowski's Trobriand Islands monographs essential training.

All the publications produced by the American generation include an extended discussion of kinship and most address little more than kinship. They were written in the pre-post-modern period when kinship was still a respectable subject. The most useful for researchers preparing to work with the household registers are Myron Cohen, House United, House Divided: The Chinese Family in Taiwan; Hill Gates, Chinese Working Class Lives: Getting by in Taiwan; Steven Harrell, Poughshare Village: Culture and Context in Taiwan; Burton Pasternak, Kinship and Community in Two Chinese Villages and Guests in the Dragon: Social Demography a Chinese District, 1895-1946; Margery Wolf, The House of Lim and Women and the Family in Rural Taiwan; and Arthur P. Wolf

[3] These are volumes 11 and 12, November and December, 1943.

and Chieh-shan Huang, Marriage and Adoption in China, 1845-1945. The last of these includes a chapter-length introduction to the household registers and chapters on adoption and each of the three most common forms of marriage.[4]

The Chinese anthropologists who took refuge on Taiwan in 1947 continued to do research but concentrated on the island's aboriginal peoples, as did the great majority of their students. It was not until the 1970's that native anthropologists took up the line of research initiated by the Japanese and developed by the Americans. Their work is represented in English in the papers included in Hsieh Jih-chang and Chuang Ying-chang's The Chinese Family and Its Ritual Behavior.[5] Researchers who read Chinese should also consult Chuang Ying-chang's Chia-tsu yu Chieh-hun: Taiwan Pei-pu Liang-ke Au-ke Ts'un-lo chih Yen-chiu (Family and Marriage: A study of Two Hokkien and Hakka Villages in Northern Taiwan) and Tseng Chiu-mei's Taiwan Sim-pua te Sheng-huo Shih-chieh (The Lives of Little Daughters-in-law in Taiwan).[6] Both works combine field observations with data drawn from the household registers.

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[4] The complete references are Mryon Cohen, House United, House Divided: The Chinese Family in Taiwan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976); Hill Gates, Chinese Working Class Lives (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1987); Steven Harrell, Ploughshare Village: Culture and Context in Taiwan (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1982); Burton Pasternak, Kinship and Community in Two Chinese Villages (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1972), Burton Pasternak, Guests in the Dragon: Social Demography of a Chinese District (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972); Margery Wolf, The House of Liu (New York: Appleton-Century, 1968); Margery Wolf, Women and the Family in Rural Taiwan (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1972), and Arthur P. Wolf and Chieh-shan Huang, Marriage and Adoption in China, 1845-1945 (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1980).

[5] Hsieh Jih-chang and Chuang Ying-chang, eds., The Chinese Family and Its Ritual Behavior (Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 1985).

[6] The complete references are Chuang Ying-chang, Chia-tsu yu Chieh-hun: Taiwan Pei-pu Liang-ke Au-ke Ts'un-lo chih Yen-chiu (Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 1994) and Tseng Chiu-mei, Taiwan Sim-pua te Sheng-huo Shih-chieh (Taipei: Yu-shan She, 1998).

II. HISTORY OF THE TWO ARCHIVES

Both the Stanford Archive and the Academia Sinica Archive are the result for what was for me an accidental discovery. This was in 1958 a few weeks after initiating the field research that I intended to be the topic of my Ph.D. dissertation. Like every graduate student of my generation I had been told to read W.H.R. Rivers and follow his genealogical method.[7] This led to the discovery that more than half of the older women in the village I had chosen as my field site had not married in the fashion recommended by Confucian custom. They had been raised by their future husband's family and most had been nursed by their future mother-in-law.

What people told me about this form of marriage suggested that while it accounted more than half of all marriages during the Japanese period, it took the substantial authority enjoyed by Chinese parents to force couples who were reared together to marry when they came of age. A young man I met during my first few days in the village told me that he was willing marry anyone his mother chose except the girl who had been raised to be his wife. The fact that she was an exceptionally attractive young women did not tempt him. "Marrying her," he explained, "would be uninteresting (bou yi-su). It would be like going to see the same movie over and over again."

I had never read Edward Westermarck but I had read Freud and recalled Freud's derisive dismissal of Westermarck's contention that early association inhibits sexual attraction.[8] This was critical because as an English literature major with a long-standing dislike of Freudian interpretations of literary works, I was immediately attracted to the possibility that Taiwan custom might be a test that Freud would fail. What my Taiwanese informants were suggested that Freud was had no evidence to support claim that "psychoanalytic investigations had shown beyond the possibility of doubt that an incestuous love choice is in fact the first and regular one."[9] The truth might be that "generally speaking, there is a remarkable absence of erotic feelings between persons

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[7] W. H. R. Rivers, "The genealogical method of anthropological inquiry," The Sociological Review, vol. 3 (1910), pp. 1-12.

[8] See Sigmund Freud, Totem and Taboo (1913), trans. James Strachey (Rouledge, 1950), pp. 97-98; and Sigmund Frued, A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis (1920), trans. Joan Riviere (Pocket Books, 1953), pp. 120-21 and 343-44.

[9] Signumd Freud, A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis (1920), trans. Joan Riviere (Pocket Books, 1953), pp. 220-21.

living together from childhood."[10]

During my dissertation research I collected enough anecdotal evidence to publish a defense of the Westermarck hypothesis.[11] This was as well received as could be expected given Freud's standing, but it was obvious that very few people were convinced that Westermarck was right. It was only a few years since six eminent biologists and social scientists had met "to consider the problem of the origins of the incest taboo" and then published a paper in which Westermarck is mentioned "only for the sake of completeness."[12] It would take more than anecdotal evidence to overturn an orthodoxy as confident as this one.

When I began what was to be thirty years of work with the household registers it was to collect the quantitative evidence necessary to resurrect the Westermarck hypothesis. I began by asking two clerks in the San-hsia county office to help me compare the fertility of major and minor marriages. My hypothesis was that if Westermarck was right, the fertility of minor marriages should be lower. Confirmation of what was then considered a very unlikely proposition gave me the confidence to undertake a larger study. My purpose now was to collect the data necessary to show "beyond the possibility of doubt" that Freud was wrong.

With the indispensible assistance of the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, I obtained permission to microfilm the household registers that are now the core of the Stanford Archive. Although my purpose had been to obtain the data necessary to conduct a definitive test of the Westermarck hypotheses, I quickly saw that the registers could be used to add a new dimension—a quantitative dimension—to the study of Taiwanese (and ultimately Chinese) family life. Rather then than simply extract the data needed to compare the fertility of major and minor marriages, I decided to reconstruct the complete history of every family in selected communities.

The work was initiated at Cornell University in 1966 and continued on a stepped-up scale at Stanford University when I moved there in 1968. The project was directed by Huang Chieh-shan

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[10] Edward Westermarck, The History of Human Marriage, 5th ed., rev. 3 vols. (Allerton, 1922), vol. 2, pp. 192-93.

[11] Arthur P. Wolf, "Childhood association, sexual attraction, and the incest taboo," American Anthropologist, vol. 68 (1966), pp. 883-98.

[12] David F.Aberle, Urie Bronfenbrenner, Eckhard H. Hess, Daniel R. Miller, David M. Schneider, and James N. Spuhler, "The incest taboo and the mating patterns of animals," American Anthropologist, vol. 65 (1963), pp. 253-65.

who contributed substantially to its plan. It enjoyed--and would not have succeeded without--Wang Shih-ch'ing's gentle guidance.

Work on what became the Academia Sinica Archive was initiated in 1982 during a year I spent at the Institute of Ethnology as a Visiting Fellow. Chuang Ying-chang was then engaged in an extensive study of Chu-pei in Hsin-chu hsien and was interested in using the household register to compare family life in the Hokkien and Hakka halves of the community. I was interested in collecting the large sample of minor marriages I would need to determine whether or not the inhibition generated by early association varied with the age at which the wife joined her future husband's family. Neither of us anticipated the project's lasting thirty years and expanding to include twenty field sites representing all of the Taiwan and the Pescadores Islands.

Well aware of the labor involved in creating the Stanford Archive, we decided to computerize the Chu-pei registers. By 1982 computer science appeared to have developed to the point that it could handle the challenge of the Taiwan household registers. It had but there were still problems. An attempt to enter the information in the registers in the order it appeared had to be abandoned because it nearly doubled the effort required. When the head of a household died or retired, the register of the household he headed was retired, and all the information concerning its current members was copied into fresh forms, thus duplicating a large proportion of the retired register. To avoid entering the duplicated information we spent most of a year designing an entry program that allowed us to link new and old information. The program asks the typist to identify each person encountered (by entering such information as his name and birthdate) and then searches the data bases to see if this person has been seen before. If he has, the typist’s task is simple. All she has to do is to add to an existing life history.

I will not detail all the problems we encountered getting the information entered back out in usable form, but I will mention our first finding because it helps explain why we persisted. For people interested in the ethnic differences that appear so important in Taiwan, Chu-pei offers what looks like a natural experiment. The villages west of the rail line are the homes of Hokkien, and those west of the rail line are Hakka. During the colonial period there was no obvious difference in the ecology or economy of the two communities. If then the social life, or, more generally, the culture of Hokkien and Hakka are substantially different, as is so often claimed, these differences ought to influence some of the aspects of family life recorded in the household registers.

To test this general hypothesis we focused on the most salient of the many differences thought to distinguish Hokkien and Hakka--the difference in gender relations. We asked: Do Hakka women

really enjoy higher status than Hokkien women? Are they actually better able to control the course of their lives? Working on what I take to be the well-founded assumption that Chinese women did not want as many children as their husbands, we compared the fertility of women in Chu-pei, predicting that the Hakka women living east of the rail line would bear fewer children than the Hokkien women living west of the line. Even when we controlled on form of marriage and family composition, we found no difference. Surprised but not prepared to abandon a view with such strong credentials, we reasoned that the difference between the two groups might not appear until the value of children began to decline after World War II. We therefore analyzed a large sample of post-war registers and repeated the comparison. Again the results were negative. Not only was there was there no difference in the fertility of Hakka and Hokkien women in the colonial period, their fertility began to decline at the same time and proceeded at the same pace.[13]

The general point I want to emphasize is that the household registers have the potential of forcing us to reconsider and perhaps reject received wisdom. They are depositories of what I like to think of as hard-shelled facts capable of breaking up hoary stereotypes.

After a while the activity our project generated attracted the attention of Chuang's colleagues at the Institute of Ethnology. Some wanted nothing to do with a project producing data cited by E. O. Wilson in support of sociobiology. Others saw the possibility the household registers offered and responded by collecting the registers from their own field sites. They included Chen Hsiang-shui who had worked for years in Chiu-ju, Pan Ying-hai who had a special interest in the plains aborigines living in Ta-nei and Chi-pei, and Yu Guang-hung who collected registers in Lu-kang and later a complete set of the registers compiled in Peng-hu. Paul Katz added a set of registers from Tung-kang, and Chuang expanded our growing collection with registers from Chu-shan, An-p'ing, and Shen-kang. I concentrated on the registers from Shu-lin and San-hsia until I realized that they were really peri-urban sites shaped by their relations with Taipei City. I therefore mounted an effort to collect registers from Ta-tao-ch'eng and Meng-chia. This was a far more productive decision than anticipated. Evidence I will discuss briefly in Chapter 7 argues that the difference between rural and urban settings was far greater than anyone would have imagined.

Only a small proportion of registers collected by the project have been computerized. I have extracted some information to support my work on the Westermarck hypothesis, but otherwise the registers that fill the shelves in the project's office remain virgin territory. Whether or not it would be

[13] See Chuang Ying-chang and Arthur P. Wolf, "Fertility and women's labor: Two Negative (but instructive) findings," Population Studies, vol. 48 (1995), pp. 427-433.

worth the effort to computerize more of these registers is difficult to say. It depends on what ideas people have. It could be that as work with the registers refines our understanding of family life on Taiwan we will want to search the registers for rare but revealing circumstances. The only suggestion I can make with confidence is that it would be well worth the effort to collect the registers from a few neighborhoods in Tainan City. The results emerging from our work with the Taipei registers argues that we still have a lot to learn about urban Taiwan.

III. THE TAIWANESE KINSHIP SYSTEM

1. Introduction

A description of the Taiwanese household registers must begin with a description of the Taiwanese kinship system. The language of the registers and nature of the events recorded there require it. What follows is only a brief introduction to a complex system that must be mastered by anyone who intends to use the household registers for research purpose. Failure to do so is likely to result in his producing misleading and eventually embarrassing conclusions.

The Taiwanese kinship system is one of several localized versions of the Chinese kinship system. It shares six features with the kinships systems found in other localities--patrilineal descent, a preference for virilocal residence, a strict gender hierarchy,[14] partible inheritance, a tendency to produce corporate kinship groups, and what I call state patriarchy.[15] This final feature is critical because without it much of the behavior recorded in the household registers would have been undoable if not unthinkable.

With the important exception of a small minority descended from Taiwan's native Austronesians, the people who appear in the household registers are the descendants of 18th and 19th century immigrants from Fukien and northern Kwangtung. What I call "the Taiwanese kinship" might be better characterized as the "Fukienese kinship system" or the "Min kinship system." This system resembles the kinship systems found in Kiangsi, Chekiang, and Kiangsu south of the Yantze River. The strong contrast is with the kinship systems found north of the Yantze River, west of the Chiu-ling Mountains, and most of Kwangtung and Kwangsi.

2. Marriage

The distinguishing feature of the Taiwanese/Fukienese system was general acceptance of a number of radically distinct forms of marriage and adoption. In China generally a bride was

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[14] The Chinese gender hierarchy stands as a prime example, perhaps the prime example, of what Hill Gates calls "hyper gendering." See Hill Gates.....

[15] See Arthur P. Wolf, "Europe and China: Two kinds of patriarchy," in Marriage and the Family in Eurasia: Perspectives on the Hajnal Hypothesis (Aksant, 2005), pp. 215-238.

transferred to her husband's family on her wedding day and remained their dependent the rest of her life. Both her children and her labor belonged to her husband and his parents. This is the only form of marriage mentioned in moralizing texts, the only fully ritualized form of marriage, the most prestigious form of marriage, and the only form for which contracts were rarely written because everyone understood what rights and duties were created.

I call this form of marriage "major marriage." In Taiwan, as in China generally, it was the proper way to marry and thus the most prestigious form of marriage. What is most surprising about kinship on Taiwan is that despite this, there were many communities in which major marriages accounted for less than fifty percent of all first marriages. Instead of waiting until their sons reached marriageable age and then taking as their wives girls raised in other families, many people adopted their daughters-in-law and raised them themselves. Many of these "little daughters-in-law" were taken at a few months of age and nursed by their mother-in-law. Husband and wife were then raised together as intimately as brother and sister.

I call this form of marriage "minor marriage." It varied in frequency from two to three percent of all first marriages in southern Taiwan to forty and even fifty percent in northern Taiwan and the Pescadores Islands. In the south where minor marriages were rare, only poor families choose to raise their son's wives. But in the north where minor marriages were common, many wealthy families chose this form of marriage. The wealthiest among them sent their "little daughter-in-law" home a few days before the wedding and then brought her back in a sedan chair to make it look like she was marrying in the major fashion.[16]

The average age of adoption for minor marriages varied from a few months to six or seven years. It was highest in southern Taiwan where minor marriages were rare and lowest in northern Taiwan and the Pescadores Islands where minor marriages were popular.

Girls taken as sim-pua were usually matched with one of their foster parents' sons, but they remained eligible to marry anyone in their foster family. The great majority married as intended, but there were exceptions. A few married one of their father's brother's sons, and a few others, violating the rule against jumping generations, married one of their father's younger brothers. I call these "special minor marriages."

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[16] See Sophie Sa, "Marriage among the Taiwanese of pre-1945 Taipei," in Family and Population in East Asian History, ed. Susan B. Hanley and Arthur P. Wolf (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1985), pp. 277-308.

Whether or not a boy was matched for a minor marriage depended primarily on the sex of his mother's next child. If the child was a boy, his mother did not adopt a sim-pua for his older brother because she could not manage three small children. But if the child was a girl, she gave her away and replaced her with a sim-pua. This was the preferred arrangement because having just born a child, the women could nurse her son's future wife. This was desirable because it was believed that the girl a woman nursed herself would make a bridal daughter-in-law.[17] She would be just like a daughter.

This practice combined with late weaning--and thus birth intervals of two and half to three years--meant that most sim-pua were three to four years younger than their intended husband (their thau-tui-a). There were, however, numerous exceptions. When it was necessary to provide a wife for their son, parents matched infant girls with ten and even twelve year old boys. It was also common for parents to match sim-pua with boys born after their adoption. In South China the demand for sons was reflected in the belief that a woman could enhance her chances of bearing a son by adopting a girl. It was said that the girl would "lead" a boy into the family. When this attempt to circumvent reproductive biology succeeded the girl was often matched with the boy she induced.

The essential difference between major and minor marriages was the age at which bride was transferred. This had many consequences--positive for the mother-in-law/daughter-in-law relationship and negative for the conjugal relationship[18] --but it did not violate the basic principles of the Chinese kinship system. The rights and duties created by minor marriages were the same as those created by major marriages. There was, however, another class of marriages that were despised because they did violate these principles. These are what I call "uxorilocal marriages." The Taiwanese called them chiu-zip, "calling in [marriages]." Men who married in this fashion were stigmatized as ciou-e, "called in."

The defining feature of uxorilocal marriages is that instead of taking his wife to live in his home under his parents' authority, the husband went to live in his wife's home and had to accept her parents' authority. Regardless of the circumstances, men who married into their wife's family were accused of "abandoning their parents" and stereotyped as "worthless human beings," one result

[17] See Arthur P. Wolf, "Adopt a daughter-in-law, marry a sister: A Chinese solution to the problem of the incest taboo," American Anthropologist, vol. 70 (1968), pp. 64-74.

[18] The negative consequences for the conjugal relationship are spelled out in detail in Arthur P. Wolf, Sexual Attraction and Childhood Association: A Chinese Brief for Edward Westermarck (Stanford University Press, 1995).

being that men who married uxorilocally usually went at night to avoid their neighbors' critical gaze.

Custom in Taiwan distinguished three forms of uxorilocal marriage. The most extreme of the three ran hard against the grain of the Chinese kinship system. This was what was known on Taiwan as tou-tng, "terminating the line." In this case the husband dropped his own surname in favor of his father-in-law's surname and accepted all of duties of a son with respect to this wife's father. Old people told me that during the Japanese period a man who married in this fashion was only referred to as ciou-e, "called in," as matter of courtesy. "A man who takes his father-in-law's surname is really khit-e, "purchased."

At the opposite extreme from tou-tng was a form of marriage knows as ciou-ni-han, "calling in for a time." This was a temporary arrangement that did not violate the principle of patrilineal descent. The husband retained his own surname and the right to name all of his children to his own line. He only agreed to live and work for his wife's parents for a limited period in return for their waiving the usual bride price. The husband was usually a poor man who could not afford a bride price, and the wife's father an aging man whose only sons were still children. The marriage gave the husband a wife he could not otherwise afford, and the wife's father help he badly needed.

The most common form of uxorilocal marriage in Taiwan fell somewhere between these two extremes. The husband retained the right to claim some of his children for his own line, while agreeing that others would belong to his wife's father's line.

The distribution of the children between the two lines varied from marriage to marriage. In some cases the wife's family claimed only the eldest son, usually with the stipulation that if he died as a child another boy would be assigned to replace him. More commonly, the descent of the children was alternated, with the first, third, and fifth going to their mother's father, and the second, fourth, and sixth to their own father. Whatever the agreement was, it was specified in a written contract.

In Taiwan, as in China generally (and most of the rest of the world), a married man could take a second wife. Although the woman was not a "wife" and the marriage not a "marriage" in the native view, the only difference was that the wife was an inferior kind of wife, and the marriage an inferior kind of marriage. Women who married in this fashion are referred to in the household registers as a chie. I follow the English-language tradition and call them "concubines."

Marriages involving a previously married man or woman were of two kinds. There were virilocal marriages (in which the wife joined the husband's family) and uxorilocal marriages (in which the husband joined the wife's family. The great majority of the latter were marriages in which

a family "called in" a husband for a widowed daughter-in-law with no surviving sons. The marriage agreement always stipulated that at least one of the couple's sons must take his descent from his mother's first husband's family.

If the wife was marrying for the first time and going to live with her husband's family, a second marriage was treated much the same as a major marriage. The only difference was that the wife had to pay ritual respect to her predecessor. But if the wife was a widow or a divorce, the marriage was not celebrated in the major fashion. Jurally, it was a major marriage, but, ritually, something less. Where it made little difference if a man was widowed or divorced, it made considerable difference if a woman was.

3. Adoption

One must be very careful in applying the English word "adoption" to Chinese kinship. It is understood as "the action of taking a minor who is not one's offspring into the legal relationship of child."[19] By this definition, Taiwanese adopted boys, but never girls.

In northern Taiwan and the Pescadores Islands people gave away the majority of their female children within a few months of birth. Although they were raised by people other than their natural parents, these girls were not raised as daughters. The great majority were raised as sim-pua, "little daughters-in-law," and a few as ca-bo-kan, "servant-slave girls." Girls registered as long-lu are not exceptions. The term means "adopted daughter," but it is not a native term. It is one of the few terms the Japanese introduced in establishing the household registers. That long-lu were really sim-pua by another name is evident in the fact that they many of them married one of their foster parents sons.

Ca-bo-kan are the Taiwanese equivalent of the better known Cantonese mui tsai.[20] They were usually purchased at seven or eight years of age by wealthy families and put to work performing menial chores. A few were retained as concubines by the head of the adopting family or one of his sons, but the majorities were married out as young adults. Most ca-bo-kan contracts required that the adopting family arrange and pay for the girl's marriage.

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[19] Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, fifth edition (Oxford University Press, 2002).

[20] See Royal Mui Tsai Commission, Mui Tsai in Hong Kong and Malaya (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1937) and Maria Jaschok, Concubines and Bondservants (London: Zed Books Ltd., 1988).

Boys were adopted "into the legal relationship of child." What makes Taiwanese customs notable is that there were two ways of accomplishing this. One was to persuade an agnate--almost always a brother or cousin--to give you one of his sons. Boys taken in this fashion were called ke-pang-kia," crossing the pang child." Pang can be understood as referring to the branches of a lineage or the wings of house. Thus a ke-pang-kia: was a boy who crossed from one branch of a lineage to another or from one wing of a house to another. In most cases he did both.

The advantages of a ke-pang-kia: is that the boy was a known quantity and free. The disadvantage was that he grew up knowing his natural parents and might prefer them to his foster parents. The result was that even if they had an agnate willing to give them a boy, many people preferred to purchase a child from a stranger or a distant relative. These boys were known as bieng-lieng-kia. Lu Hsun says that being-lieng are bollworms imprisoned by wasps who "rap and tap outside day and night, praying, "Be like me! Be like me!"'.[21] Old folks told him that the wasps, being female, had no other way of carrying on their line.

4. Family cycle

Maurice Freedman distinguished what he called "rich and poor versions of the Chinese family."[22] Poor families often failed to raise more than one son and if they did, often failed to keep more than one at home. When the son who remained married and got a child, three generations were present, but the senior generation was unlikely to live long enough to see a fourth generation emerge. Thus the cycle was one in which elementary family grew to stem and was soon reduced once more to elementary.

Rich families, in contrast, commonly raised several sons and kept them all at home. They married young and remained in an undivided family until their parents died. When they lived to an a ripe old age, as they often did, their grandsons as well as their sons married before the family finally divided. The result was a joint family the elements of which were themselves complex units that soon expanded into new joint families. In this "rich cycle" elementary and stem families were only temporary stages in the development of joint families.

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[21] Lu Hsun, "Idle thoughts at the end of spring," in Selected Works of Lu Hsun (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1957), vol. 2, pp. 124-25.

[22] Maurice Freedman, Chinese Lineage and Society (The Athlone Press, 1966), pp. 44-45.

The life-cycle course a family followed was largely the result of three variables--fertility, mortality, and, more important than either of these, the timing of family division.[23] Even when they enjoyed high fertility and low mortality people could not produce complex families if their sons set up independently shortly after marriage. And even if they suffered low fertility and high mortality, a family could achieve a high degree of complexity if their sons and grandsons all married and remained living together for many years thereafter.

The customary rule of thumb in Taiwan was that family division waited on the deaths of the senior generation. There were, however, many exceptions. Where the second generation included three or more brothers, it was common for one of them (usually the middle member in a set of three) to hive off before both parents died.[24] Less commonly but not rarely, brothers remained together for years after their parents departed, creating what Alfred Le Play called a frereches. These families sometimes accumulated a total membership of sixty or seventy persons.

An important but unintended result of the public health measures undertaken by the Japanese colonial government was a sharp increase in the number of families following Freedman's rich cycle. Fewer children died—making more families complex—and old people lived longer--delaying family division. By 1936, 51.7 percent of the population in two chen in the southwestern corner of the Taipei Basin lived in joint families.[25] This family form became so common that XX.X of the men born in these two communities experienced life under its regime.[26] Those who were not born in joint families married into joint families or died as members of joint families.

The inevitable result of this change was an increase in the extent to which people's lives were effected by the presence of family members. More people were denied autonomy by the presence of their parents; more men had to share their patrimony with a brother; more women had to endure the

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[23] See Arthur P. Wolf and Chuang Ying-chang, "Fraternal fission, parental power, and the life cycle of the Chinese family," in The Development of Anthropology in Taiwan, ed. Hsu Cheng-kuang and Lin Mei-jung (Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 1999), pp. 387-404.

[24] See Wolf and Chuang, ibid, pp. 401-402.

[25] See Arthur P. Wolf, "Chinese family size: A myth revitalized," in The Chinese Family and Its Ritual Behavior, ed. Hsieh Jih-chang and Chuang Ying-chang (Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 1985), Table 2, p. 35.

[26] See Arthur P. Wolf, "Family life and the life cycle in rural China," in Households: Forms and Functions, ed. Robert M Netting and Richard Wilk (Academic Press, 1984), pp. xx-xx.

authority of a mother-in-law; more of the elderly were assured of support in their old age; and more children enjoyed the indulgences offered by grandparents. There were advantages for some, and disadvantages for others. The critical point is that this must be taken into account in analyzing decisions about such matters as marriage, adoption, and the timing of family division. All such decisions were conditioned by the presence of many people with many different interests, and this was more so in the 1930's than in the 1910's.

5. Inheritance.

Regardless of where in China they lived people who could lay an honest claim to being Han thought it right and natural that a man's property be divided equally among his legitimate male descendants.[27] Grant that in some areas wealthy families sometimes gave a small share to the eldest grandson to insure his marrying. Grant further than property acquired during a man's lifetime and primarily as a result of his own effort was not as strictly subject to this rule as inherited property. Grant also that daughters usually took with them at marriage a small share of their father's liquid estate in the form of a dowry. Nonetheless, the fact remains that despite speaking mutually unintelligible languages and living under markedly different ecological conditions, Chinese everywhere believed that a man's legitimate heirs enjoyed equal and nearly exclusive rights in his estates. The qualifications are trivial compared to the substance of the fact.[28]

Taiwanese kinship was not an exception to this rule. Whatever its peculiarities, it was Chinese in this critical respect. This is evident in the process by which property was divided as well as the way shares were allocated. In Taiwan as in every other Han community for which we have adequate evidence, it was customary to ask their mother's brother to arbitrate when sons would not agree on what constituted equal shares of their father's estate. Though people in North China have never heard the Taiwanese proverb to the effect that in Heaven there is the Heavenly Emperor, and on earth, the mother's brother, they immediately understand the comparison and readily agree that it is applicable

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[27] Persons who do not read Chinese can do no better than R. F. Johnston's account of inheritance in Weihaiwei. See R. F. Johnston, Lion and Dragon in Northern China (London: John Murray, 1910).

[28] See Arthur P. Wolf, "The origins and explanation of variation in the Chinese kinship system," in Anthropological Studies of the Taiwan Area, ed. Kwang chang-chih, Kuang-chou Li, Arthur P. Wolf, and Alexander Chien-chung Yin (Department of Anthropology, Taiwan National University, 1989), pp. 241-260.

to their own customs.

6. Parental authority

The keystone of the Chinese kinship system was what I have called "state patriarchy."[29] If they make an effort, parents everywhere can control their small children, and, in most societies, wealthy parents can influence if not control their adult children.[30] The difference between China and most other societies was that even if they were poor, Chinese parents could control their adult as well as their sub-adult children. This was true even if the children were married and had children of their own. The reason was that beginning as early as the tenth century; the Chinese state underwrote parental authority. Children whose parents complained to a magistrate were lucky if they escaped with a lecture on filial piety. Many were flogged and/or imprisoned. Confucianism was only a moral doctrine in theory. In practice it was pact guaranteeing parental authority in return for unquestioning acceptance of state authority.

Although the imperial government never controlled Taiwan as completely as it would have liked, the Confucian pact held as firmly there as on the China mainland. This is evident in the fact that until the changes initiated by the colonial government undermined the traditional system, a person's life course was largely set by how many children his parents had and of what age and sex. Children were resources and thus a child's fate depended on what other resources his parents possessed. We will see in Chapter 7 that whether or not a person married and how he married largely depended on his sibling position. It even predicated whether or not a woman would bear a child before marriage.

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[29] See Arthur P. Wolf, "Europe and China: Two kinds of patriarchy," in Marriage and the Family in Eurasia: Perspectives on the Hajnal Hypothesis, ed. Theo Engelen and Arthur P. Wolf (Aksant, 2005), pp. 215-238.

[30] This is what I call "property patriarchy."

IV. THE HOUSEHOLD REGISTERS

The language of the household registers is Japanese, but their use does not require mastering that language. Anyone with a rudimentary knowledge of Chinese can learn to read the registers in a few hours. There is, however, one indispensible qualification: to make effective use of the registers one must master the peculiarities of he traditional Taiwanese kinship system.[31] With only one exception of any significance, the Japanese did not impose their kinship system on their Taiwanese subjects. They accepted the Taiwanese kinship system as they found it and recorded their subject's behavior in the vocabulary of that system.[32] One result is that the record they created is not distorted by the categories of an alien kinship system. Another is that the researcher must take the time to learn the meaning of such terms as sim-pua, pieng-ling-kia:, and ke-pang-kia:.

The Japanese began to experiment with a household registration system in 1898, only three years after the island was ceded to Japan a result of the Sino-Japanese War. Unfortunately, none of these early registers survive, but they appear to have been household registers in the literal sense. The registration unit was all of the people living in the same house. Since Taiwanese houses tended to grow by stages into compounds and compounds into villages, the result was often a unit of two or three hundred members. Recognizing the difficulty of keeping track of such a large, amorphous entity, the Japanese abandoned this initial effort after a few years and replaced it with a system which took as its basic unit what Hokkien speaker call the ke, Mandarin speakers the chia, and English-speaking translators the "family" or "household." The problem then was to decide whether a person was or was not a member of a particular ke. Wisely, the Japanese sidestepped the many difficulties raised by this question and let each native answer it for himself. They only required that every person belong to a ke and only one ke.

Thus what I call "household registers" might better be called "ke registers." In Taiwan a ke consisted of a head and the people who accepted his or her authority. It was always an economic unit, but not always a residential unit. Members could live and work elsewhere but retain their membership as long as the household was not formally divided. The native view of the ke is evident in the fact that household division was known as fen-tsao, "dividing the stove." Custom required the

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[31] For an English language account see Arthur P. Wolf and Chieh-shan Huang, Marriage and Adoption in China, 1845-1945 (Stanford University Press, 1980), chapters 4, 5, and 6, pp. 57-117.

[32] See Appendix A for a list of the more important terms in this vocabulary.

members who were hiving off to build a new stove and then kindle a fire with hot coals from the old family stove. Older people define the ke as "the people who eat from the same stove." They are people who pool their resources and share the fruits of their labor.

In most of my publications I treat the household registers as though they were opened on January 1, 1906, and closed on December 31, 1945. In fact, the registers were officially established on January 15, 1906, as the result of an order issued on December 26, 1905. Readers of my work should note this but not fear that I have distorted my results by setting the initial date two weeks before the official date. The content of the registers makes it clear that in most if not all localities, the police began recording all events as of October 1, 1905, the date of the census. If there is a problem with my choice of dates, it is, rather, with the terminal date. The Japanese registers continued in use through most of 1947 despite the change of government at the end of World War II. I have never used any of the data recoded in 1946 and 1947 for fear that it is unreliable as result of the change of administration, but it could be that, to some extent, this is also true of the data recorded in 1944 and 1945. Though men who worked with the registers during the war have told me that the offices remained open, the quality of the work conducted there may well have declined as the Pacific war moved closer and closer.

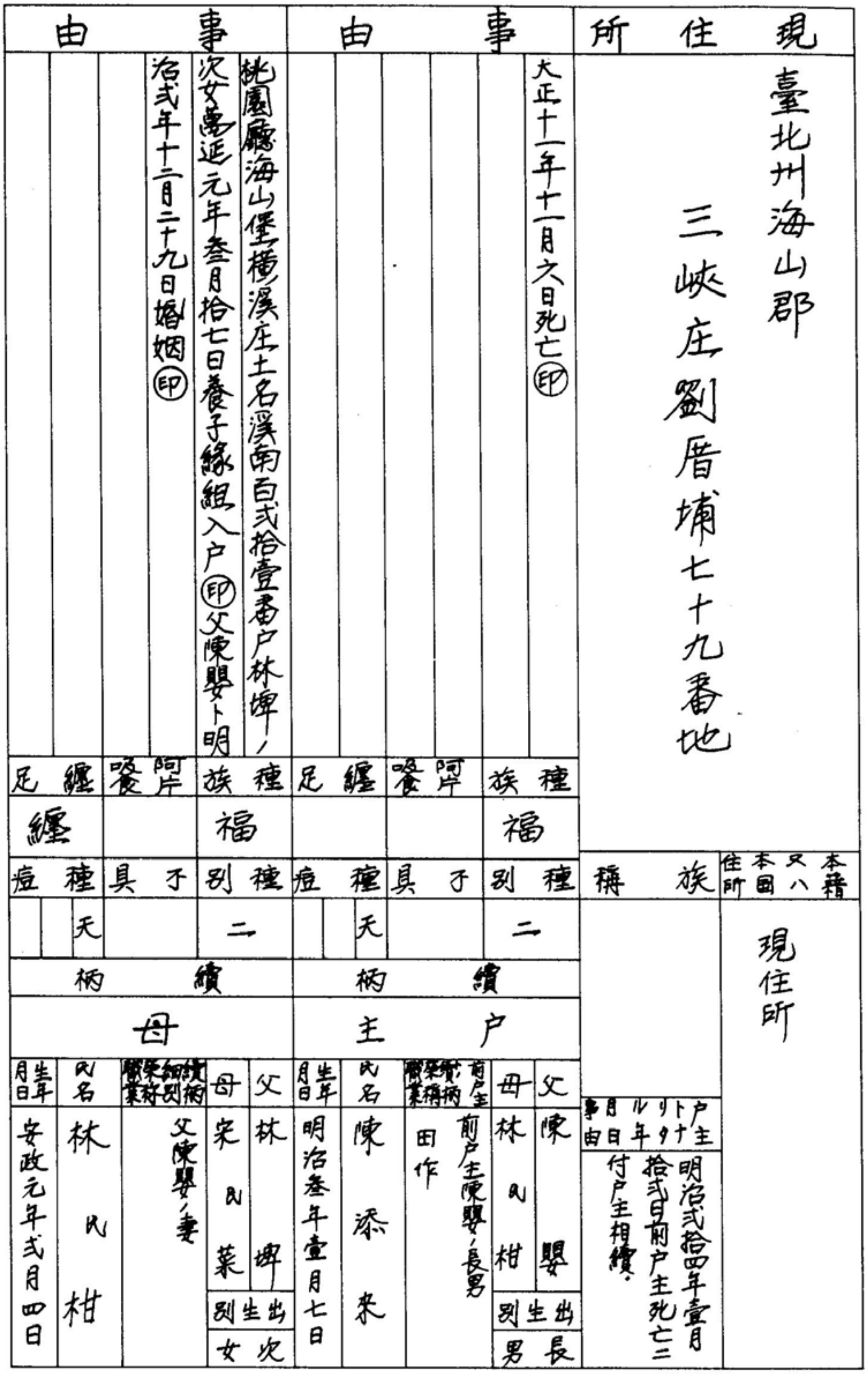
In establishing the initial set of household registers, the Japanese police were not satisfied to simply record the composition of families as of some date in 1905 or 1906. They also made a concerted effort to determine the birth dates of all family members and the dates and means of their entry into the family if not by birth. Information concerning recent events was probably drawn from defunct household registers, but that concerning events prior to 1900 could only have been obtained by interviewing family members. They may have consulted private sources such as ancestral tablets and clan genealogies to confirm birth dates, but in most cases the information concerning other events depended on verbal reports. When I have been able to compare the household registers with other sources I have found that the great majority of the dates are accurate, but I also have evidence that in many cases people concealed events considered disgraceful. Thus it is critical to take account of whether an event occurred before or after the opening of the initial registers. Data indicating that unorthodox forms of marriages were more common after 1905 than before cannot be trusted.

The information requested when the registers were established in 1905 was recorded on forms like those shown in Figures 4.1 and 4.2. The registers read from right to left, from what I have labelled Column I to Column IV. In the original registers (and in the slightly modified forms

introduced later) the first column notes the family's present address (in the box at the top of the column), their prior address if any (in the largest of the three boxes at the bottom of the column), their "race" (in one of the two small boxes at the bottom of the column), and the circumstances under which the present head of the household became head (in what I call the Succession box at the bottom of the column). These include death of the previous head, retirement of the previous head, and creation of a new household by division.

All the addresses recorded in the registers contain at least five elements. They are: 1) the province (chou or ting), 2) the county, city, or island (chun, pao, shih, hsiang, li, or au), 3) the village or town (chieh, chuang, ts'un, she, ch'u, or shih), 4) the neigbhorhood (ta-tzu or t'u-ming), and 5) the number of the household (fan-ti). The terms at levels 2 and 3 maintain a distinction between rural and urban localities. Chun, pao, hsiang, au, chuang, ts'un, and she are rural localities; shih, and chieh are urban localities. The term she ("village") is only used for aboriginal communities and thus distinguishes Han and non-Han communities.

Figure 4.1 Transcription of Typical Household Register.



現住所：臺北州海山郡三峽庄劉厝埔七十九番地

本籍又ハ本国住所：現住所

種族稱：

戸主トナリタル年月日事由：明治弐拾四年壹月拾弐日前戸主死亡ニ付戸主相續

事由：大正十一年十一月六日死亡㊞

種族：福　阿片吸食：　纒足：

種別：二　不具：　種痘：天

續柄：戸主

父：陳嬰　母：林氏柑　出生別：長男

前戸主トノ續柄：前戸主陳嬰ノ長男　職業：田作

氏名：陳添來　生年月日：明治参年壹月七日

事由：桃園廳海山堡横溪庄土名溪南百弐拾壹番戸林偉ノ次女嘉延元年参月拾七日養子縁組入戸㊞父陳嬰ト明治弐年十二月二十九日婚姻㊞

種族：福　阿片吸食：　纒足：纒

種別：二　不具：　種痘：天

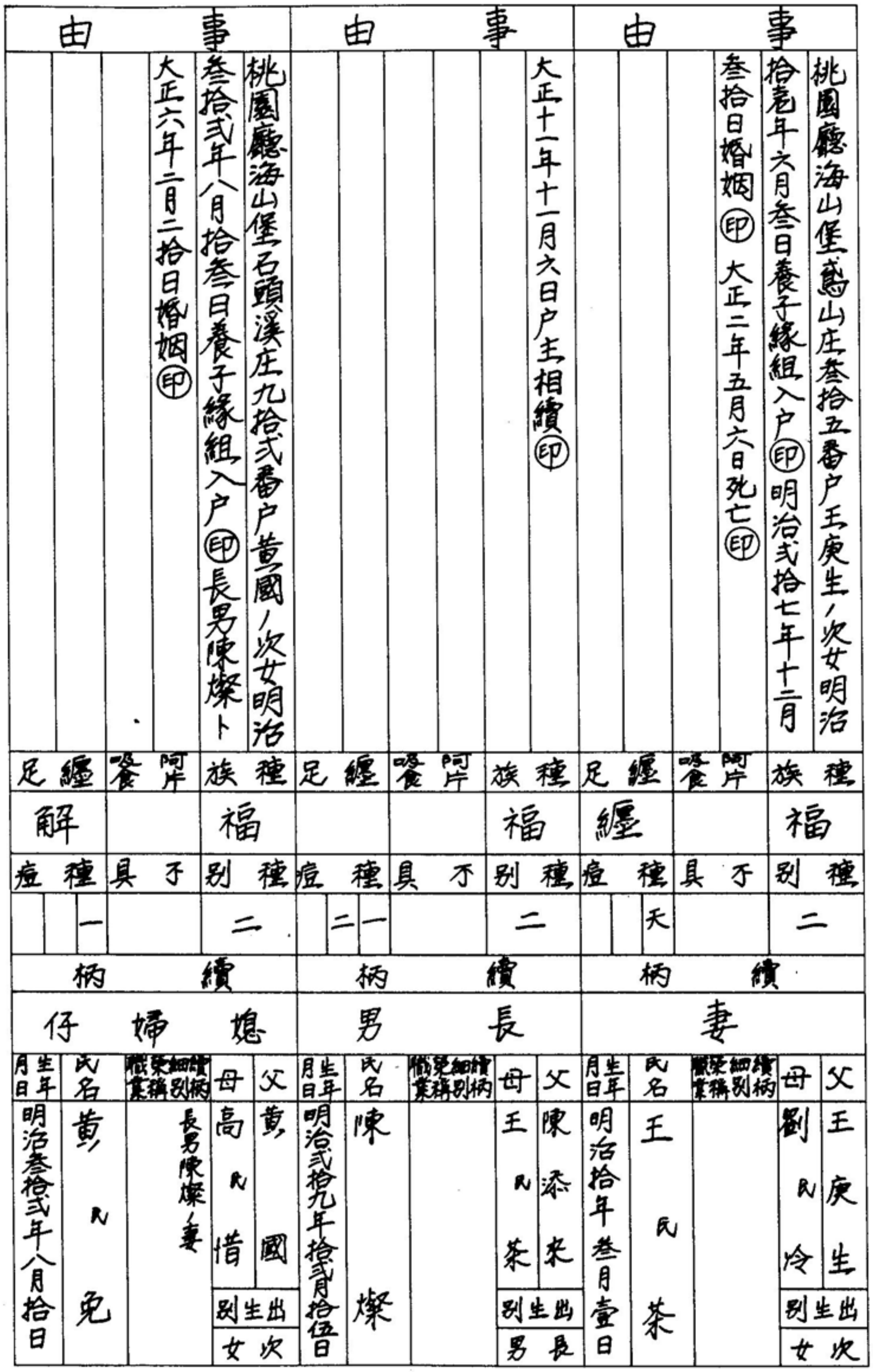
續柄：母

父：林偉　母：宋氏菜　出生別：次女

前戸主トノ續柄：父陳嬰ノ妻

氏名：林氏柑　生年月日：安政元年弐月四日

Figure 4.1 (cont.) Transcription of Typical Household Register.

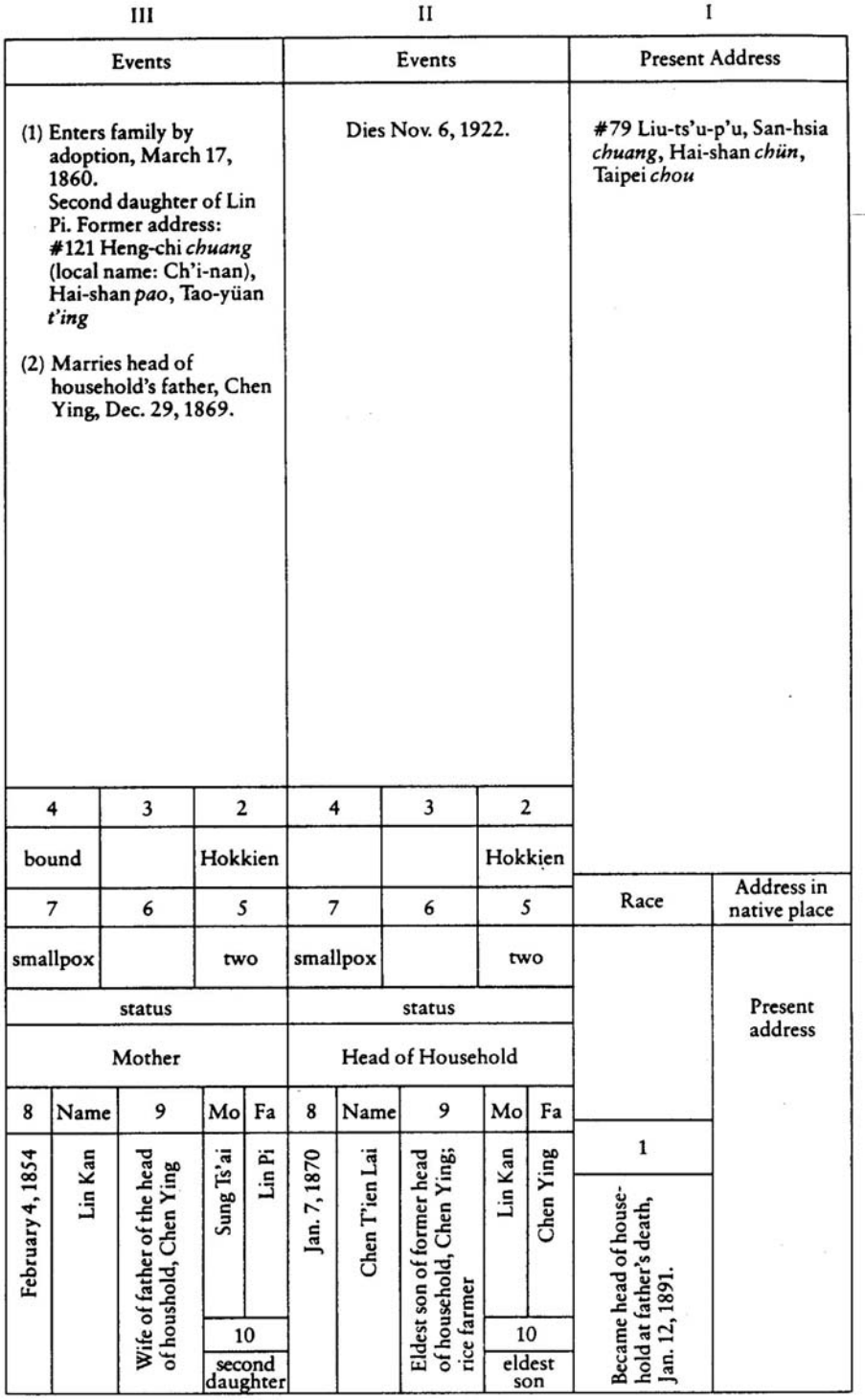


事由
桃園廳海山堡鶯歌山庄叁拾五番戶主王庚生ノ次女明治拾壱年六月叁日養子緣組入戶㊞明治弍拾七年十二月叁拾日婚姻㊞
大正二年五月六日死亡㊞
種族 福
阿片
纏足 纏
種別 二
種痘 天
續柄 妻
父 王庚生
母 劉氏冷
出生別 次女
氏名 王氏茶
出生年月日 明治拾年叁月壹日

事由
大正十一年十一月六日戶主相續㊞
種族 福
種別 二
種痘 二 一
續柄 長男
父 陳添來
母 王氏茶
出生別 長男
氏名 陳燦
出生年月日 明治弍拾九年拾弍月拾伍日

事由
桃園廳海山堡石頭溪庄九拾弍番戶黃國ノ次女明治叁拾弍年八月拾叁日養子緣組入戶㊞長男陳燦卜
大正六年二月二拾日婚姻㊞
種族 福
纏足 解
種別 二
種痘 一
續柄 媳婦仔
父 黃國
母 高氏惜
出生別 次女
續柄細別 長男陳燦ノ妻
氏名 黃氏免
出生年月日 明治叁拾弍年八月拾日

Figure 4.2 The events and dates shown are copied from a real register, but the names and addresses are fictitious. The register reads from right to left. 1. Date and circumstances of becoming household head; 2. Ethnicity; 3. Opium addiction; 4. Bound feet; 5. Class; 6. Deformities; 7. Small pox vaccinations; 8. Birth date; 9. Specification of family status; 10, Same-sex sibling order.



III					II					I	
Events					Events					Present Address	
(1) Enters family by adoption, March 17, 1860. Second daughter of Lin Pi. Former address: #121 Heng-chi *chuang* (local name: Ch'i-nan), Hai-shan *pao*, Tao-yüan *t'ing* (2) Marries head of household's father, Chen Ying, Dec. 29, 1869.					Dies Nov. 6, 1922.					#79 Liu-ts'u-p'u, San-hsia *chuang*, Hai-shan *chün*, Taipei *chou*	
4	3	2			4	3	2				
bound		Hokkien					Hokkien				
7	6	5			7	6	5			Race	Address in native place
smallpox		two			smallpox		two				
status					status						
Mother					Head of Household						
8	Name	9	Mo	Fa	8	Name	9	Mo	Fa		
February 4, 1854	Lin Kan	Wife of father of the head of houshold, Chen Ying	Sung Ts'ai	Lin Pi	Jan. 7, 1870	Chen T'ien Lai	Eldest son of former head of household, Chen Ying; rice farmer	Lin Kan	Chen Ying	1	Present address
			10					10		Became head of household at father's death, Jan. 12, 1891.	
			second daughter					eldest son			

Figure 4.2 (cont.) The events and dates shown are copied from a real register, but the names and addresses are fictitious. The register reads from right to left. 1. Date and circumstances of becoming household head; 2. Ethnicity; 3. Opium addiction; 4. Bound feet; 5. Class; 6. Deformities; 7. Small pox vaccinations; 8. Birth date; 9. Specification of family status; 10, Same-sex sibling order.

VI			V			IV		
Events			Events			Events		
(1) Enters family by adoption Aug. 13, 1899. Second daughter of Huang Kuo. Former address: #92 Shih-T'ou-ch'i *chuang*, Hai-shan *pao*, Tao-yüan *t'ing* (2) Marries eldest son, Chen Ts'an, Feb. 20, 1917.			Succeeds as head of household Nov. 6, 1922.			(1) Enters family by adoption June 3, 1878. Second daughter of Wang Keng-sheng. Former address: #35 Yen-shan *chuang*, Hai-shan *pao*, Tao-yüan *t'ing* (2) Marries Dec. 30, 1894. (3) Dies May 6, 1913.		
4	3	2	4	3	2	4	3	2
unbound		Hokkien			Hokkien	bound		Hokkien
7	6	5	7	6	5	7	6	5
smallpox		two	smallpox		two	smallpox		two
status			status			status		
Sim-pua			Eldest Son			Wife		

8	Name	9	Mo	Fa	8	Name	9	Mo	Fa	8	Name	9	Mo	Fa
Aug. 10, 1899	Huang Mien	Wife of eldest son of head of household, Chen Ts'an	Kao-Hsi	Huang Kuo	Dec. 15, 1896	Chen Ts'an		Wang Ch'a	Chen T'ien-lai	March 1, 1877	Wang Ch'a		Liu Neng	Wang Keng-sheng
			10					10					10	
			second daughter					eldest son					second daughter	

The number included in all addresses deserves special attention. It does not refer to a street address as would be the case in most parts of the world today. By the time the Japanese implemented the household registers, they had already completed a cadastral survey of most of the island. This allowed them to use the number of the plot of land on which a family's house stood as the final element of their address. This means that one can use the cadastral maps (a small sample of which is shown in Figure 4.3 to determine exactly where a family lived. A sufficiently determined researcher could discover the percent of marriages that were village endogamous and even trace the fault lines that divided many villages into mutually suspicious neighborhoods.

Figure 4.3 Sample Cadastral Map

In most registers the address recorded in what I will call the Address Column has been changed a number of times. In many a small piece of paper has been pasted over the upper half of the column to make room for a new address. A large proportion of these changes were necessitated by redistricting initiated by the colonial government. The family did not actually move house. This is evident in the fact that many of the changes are limited to the upper levels of the address.

The term tzu in the small box at the bottom of the first column of the registers is better translated "ethnicity" than "race." The terms employed distinguish people in terms of ancestral origins and nationality as well as biological affiliation. The most common are Pen-jen (Japanese), Fu (Hokkien-speaking Chinese resident on Taiwan), kuang (Hakka-speaking Chinese resident on Taiwan), Ch'ing-jen (Chinese national), p'ing-p'u (Siniziced Taiwan aborigine), shuang-jen (Taiwan aborigines living in the mountains and not sinicized), and wai-kuo-jen (all non-Chinese foreigners). In 1905 when the registers were established approximatly ninety-five percent of the persons covered were either Hokkien or Hakka-speaking Chinese. This number grew to approximately nine-seven percent by 1945.

Each column of a register beyond the first (the Address Column) was devoted to one member of the household. The only rule in assigning persons to columns was that the first of these columns was reserved for head of the household (the hu-chu). The obvious reason for this is that the other members of the household were identified in terms of their relationship to the head. Thus the terms "mother" and "wife" in the large boxes in Columns II and III of my sample register say that these women were the head's mother and the head's wife. To date I have found XXX different terms in what I will call the Relation to Head Box. They are listed with English translations in Chapter 11. All were in common use during the years covered by the registers.

It is important to note that when the term in the Relation to Head Box is ambiguous the person's relationship to the head is further specified in a note. Thus the "daughter-in-law" in Column III of my sample register is further identified as the head's eldest son's wife. The result is that it is almost always possible to reconstruct the exact structure of a household. The only persons who cannot be located structurally are a few identified in the identify box as t'ung-chu-jen ("living together person"). They could be distant relatives, servants, or simply boarders.

All the columns devoted to individual members of the household contain fourteen labeled boxes. The seven at the bottom of the columns provide what amounts to a nearly unique identification of the person assigned to the column. The information includes the person's name and birthdate (in the two boxes on the left side of the column), his parents' names (in two boxes on the

right hand side of the column), and his or her same-sex sibling order (in the small box below the parents' names). In my work with the registers I have yet to find two persons I could not distinguish with the information provided in these boxes. One would probably find such cases if he were to survey all the registers on the island, but it is obvious that they would be rare. The "linkage problem" that bedevils research with the European parish registers is not a serious problem in Taiwan.

The six small boxes in the middle of each column contain miscellaneous (and somewhat curious) information. The three uppermost report (in the right hand box) the person's "race" or "ethnicity," (in the middle box) the fact that they smoked opium if they did, and, in the case of women, (in the left hand box) the condition of their feet—bound, unbound, or never bound. The Japanese went to the trouble of recording the condition of women's feet because they were determined to stamp out what they considered a cruel custom. They succeeded with the result that this information does not appear in registers created after 1920.

The lower three of the six boxes in the middle of the column record a police rating on a three-point scale (in the box on the right hand), physical deformities that might help identify the person (in the middle box), and, the fact of the person's having been immunized against smallpox (in the left hand box). A police rating of one indicates that the person belonged to a social elite and was not suspected of anti-Japanese activities; a rating of two (by far the most common rating), that the person was a respectable commoner of ordinary class; and a rating of three, that the person had a criminal record or was suspected of or had engaged in resistance activities. In most (but not all) of the registers the police rating was blotted out by Chinese authorities when they inherited the household registers.

The information recorded in the top half of column consists of a series of dated events. They include how the subject of the column entered the household if he was not born there, how and when he departed, and whatever life history events befell him in the meantime. This is what I call the Event List. The most common events are, of course, birth, death, and marriage, but handbooks used by the police list a total of 156 events. These include every event that changed the structure of a household in any way. All events are dated and indicate in what way the household was effected. The result is such events as "hired hand registers in as sojourner from such-and-such place" and "is denied recognition as succeeding household head."

The events listed in police handbooks are listed in Chapter 11 with approximate English translations. "So-and-so" is always a named individual, and "such-and-such a place" a named place. Events that removed the person from the household (e.g., death, marriage out of the household,

adoption out of the household, etc.) were recorded in red rather than black ink.

All the events recorded in the Event List note the date of the event and indicate where the person is going or where he is coming from. This includes the address of the household, the name of the head of the household, and the person's relationship to the head of the household. This last information is important when one does not have the registers for the other household. It often allows one to determine whether or not a bride was raised as an adopted daughter and whether or not she is marrying for a second time.

Under the Japanese administration everyone had to be registered in one and only household, but they did not have to live at that address all the time. They could live at another address so long as they kept the police informed of where they lived. When informed of a temporary move the police noted the change on the person's permanent register and created a temporary register kept in the office responsible for the district to which the person was moving. When the person returned home this was noted on his permanent register and the temporary register was cancelled. The entries noting such changes were always dated and always included the address at which the person could be found.

The procedure for revising registers (to reflect changes in the household) was elegantly simple. If a member of the household died or departed as a result of adoption, marriage, or household division, his name was stuck out (as in the case of Wang Ch'a in Illustrations 4.1 and 4.2), and the circumstances of his departure recorded in red ink in the Event List at the top of the column. When a child was born or the family recruited a new member by marriage or adoption, he was assigned to the next open column, new pages being added to the register as necessary. This process of deleting the names of members who departed and adding columns for new members as they were recruited continued until the original head of the household died or retired. All information pertaining to persons who were members of the household at this point was then copied onto fresh forms, after which the old register was struck across with a red line and assigned to a file containing all the registers retired that year. I call these retired registers "Inactive Registers." "Active Registers" are the registers that were still in use when the colonial government was succeeded by the republican government.

Since the date at which a household head became head is always noted in the first column of a register, it is easy to begin with the registers current at the end of the Japanese period (the Active Registers) and trace a household back through time to 1905. If the person who was head in 1905 was a young man at the time and survived to a ripe old age, there will not be any Inactive Registers. The history of the household will be complete in its Active Register. This occurs but is rare. Tracing

the history of most household usually requires recovering two or three and perhaps as many as four or five Inactive Registers. It all depends on how many times the headship changed and thus ultimately upon life expectancy and the heads' ability to control their descendents.

It is important to keep in mind that a number of Active Registers (as many as a dozen) may trace back to one Inactive Register. This is because households with two or more sons (or, if only one son, two or more grandsons) eventually divided. A Chinese household genealogy looks like one of the trees used to illustrate human evolution. The number of branches reflects the household's reproductive fortune. The history of a household blessed with high fertility and low mortality will look like a tree blessed with good soil and ample water.

To understand how the household registers were created--and why the information recorded is reliable--one must understand the pao-chia or hoko system. Briefly, the pao-chia system was an instrument of control designed to take advantage of the fact that in rural China neighbors were commonly relatives bound by shared interests. Under the model system prescribed in administrative handbooks, neighboring families were organized into groups of ten termed chia, and adjacent chia into groups of ten termed pao. A member of each unit was then designated its leader and assigned such tasks as organizing corvee labor, collecting taxes, and reporting suspicious activities. The basis of the system was collective responsibility. The group as whole was held responsible for the behavior of individual members. His obligations to his kinsmen as well as his own best interests forced a man to turn out for corvee labor and to report the neighbor who dared to organize opposition to the government.

Initially, the Japanese were suspicious of the pao-chia system and ordered it disbanded, largely because they feared it would be used to organize resistance to their rule.[33] When this threat failed to materialize their fear subsided, and the system was revived as instrument of colonial policy. In addition to helping raise corvee labor for construction projects, it was the perfect means of collecting the information needed to establish and maintain household registers. The police could not hope to teach the regulations governing the registers to a largely illiterate population, and it was impossible for them to check frequently enough to discover every birth, death, marriage, and adoption. The solution was to teach the rules to literate locals and hold them responsible for seeing that all vital events were reported. Suppose a child was born in the household head by a man named Wang Pi. Under the Japanese pao-chia system Wang Pi had to report the birth to the head of his chia, who

[33] See Chen Ching-chih, "The Japanese adaptation of the pao-chia systems to Taiwan, 1895-1945," The Journal of Asian Studies, vol. 34 (1975), pp. 391-416.

recorded all the pertinent details on a form provided by the police. The head of the chia then handed the form on to the head of his pao, who added his name guarantying accuracy, and then delivered the form to the police.

Since the people involved in reporting an event were often relatives and always neighbors, it is easy to imagine their conspiring to deceive the police if they had reason to do. This possibility did not elude the Japanese authorities. Once a year police were sent to every household to check on the accuracy of the information submitted by the pao-chia heads. The fact that they would be held responsible for any discrepancies discovered is one of the reasons the recorded information is reliable.

Whether it is used by the researcher, the police, or the tax collector, the value of a household register depends as much on its coverage as one its accuracy. There is always the danger that as families move from one registration district to another some will slip out of the system, eventually creating a large pool of unregistered transients. This did not happen in Taiwan. Having invested an enormous effort in getting the entire population registered, the Japanese did not allow people to escape surveillance. When a person or a household wanted to move from one district to another, their old registration was not cancelled until they presented a receipt proving that they had registered in another district. Consequently, if a person moved and failed to report the event, this would be discovered at the next door-to-door check and set off an investigation. A person could only escape the registration system by exiling himself from his native community.

When a family moved from one registration district to another, the event was handled in much the same way as the death of a household head. All information pertaining to current members of the household was copied onto fresh forms, which were sent to the office responsible for the household's new place of residence. The old register was then cancelled and filed as an Inactive Register in the office in which it had been compiled. The result is that the files held by a local police station include the registers of all the families that ever lived under its jurisdiction. The only exceptions are those families that moved from one village or neighborhood within the same registration district. In this case the register was simply passed from one office to another, with no note being made in the records of the community the household was quitting. With no mention of the household in the records held by this office, the researcher does not learn of its former residence there until he examines the records held by the second office. Consequently, one must survey the records held by all the offices in a registration district to be certain of recovering all the households that ever resided in any given community. Failing this a researcher must be satisfied with the households that did not move and those who moved out of the registration district. He will be missing households that

moved within the immediate area.

After thirty years of working with the Japanese household registers I am convinced that they are both thorough and accurate. Indeed, with apologies to the Dutch, I am convinced that they are the most thorough and most accurate registers ever compiled. I base this conviction on the sophisticated organization of the registration system, internal consistency, and comparison with information from other sources. In 1958, five years before I had ever seen a household register, I spent two years in Hsia-ch'i-chou, a small village on the middle reaches of the K'e-kan River near Shu-lin, where I constructed detailed genealogies of all the families living in the village at the time. I believe that these are as accurate as it is possible to obtain when one has to depend on the memories of living informants. I say this because the village turned out to be the childhood home of Wang Shih-ch'ing. He and his mother (who had married into the village at age sixteen) checked and corrected the information produced by my interviews.

My Hsia-ch'i-chou genealogies included 56 marriages arranged during or just before the Japanese occupation. These included 31 major marriages, 17 minor marriages, and 8 uxorilocal marriages. Later when I began working with the household registers, I compared these classifications with those in the registers. I found only the four discrepancies noted in Table 4.2 and only one of these was clearly the result of an error in the household registers. In two cases the disagreement was due to the ambiguous nature of uxorilocal marriages, and in one case the error is as likely to be in my genealogies as in the household registers.[34]

[34] For detailed analysis of the discrepancies, see Arthur P. Wolf and Chieh-shan Huang, Marriage and Adoption in China, 1845-1945, pp. 27-28.

Table 4.1 Comparison of the Classifications of 56 Marriages in Hand-complied Genealogies and Household Registers

Form of marriage	Classification in genealogies	Classification in Registers: Major	Minor	Uxorilocal
Major	31	30	1	0
Minor	17	1	16	0
Uxorilocal	8	1	1	6

For further details see Arthur P. Wolf and Chieh-shan Huang, Marriage and Adoption in China, 1845-1945 (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1980), pp. 26-28.

In the early 1950's Tuan Chi-hsien undertook a detailed study of fertility in Yun-lin hsien in southern Taiwan using the household registers as his primary source of information.[35] His data produced total fertility rates of 5.81 for the period 1903-07, 6.32 for 1908-12, and 6.79 for 1913-17, 6.74 for 1918-23, and 7.30 and above for the rest of the Japanese period. Fearing that relatively low fertility in the earliest years was due to a failure to register children who died as infants, Tuan interviewed 463 of the women included in his study. He found that 9.5 percent of births by women aged sixty or more at the time of the study did not appear in the household registers, but this was true of only 1.5 percent of the births among women aged forty-five to sixty. Many of the missing children reported by women aged sixty or more would have been born before the household registers were established or within a few years thereafter. Thus Tuan's study argues that while the Japanese police did not catch every birth, they did not miss very many. In many cases a birth was recorded one day and the child's death the same day or the next day.[36]

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[35] Tuan Chi-hsien, "Reproductive histories of Chinese women in rural Taiwan," Population Studies, vol. 12 (1958), pp. 40-50.

[36] A researcher concerned to obtain as nearly complete a record of births as possible should confine himself to households living within easy walking distance of a police station. My work in San-hsia suggests that the neo-natal death rate was higher near police stations than elsewhere. The most likely reason is that the nearer they lived to a police station, the more likely people were to report a birth the same day.

The description of the two archives that follows in Chapters 7 and 8 requires familiarity with many of the specialized terms introduced in this chapter. I will therefore conclude with a table listing the more important of these terms with brief definitions.

Table 4.2 Definitions of Special Household Register Terms

Register

A register consists of one or more formatted sheets of paper each of which contains six structured columns. The first column of the first page notes the household's address(es) during the life of the register. Each of the remaining columns is devoted to one member of the household. The first of these columns (always the second column on the first page) is reserved for the head of the household.

Active Register

An Active Register is a register still in use when the Japanese registers were replaced by Chinese language registers following World War II. Active Registers do not have a closing date, and a few record events dated as late as the early 1950's.

Inactive Register

An Inactive Register (or "dead register") is a register that was retired before the Japanese registers were set aside in favor of Chinese registers. These register were always slashed across diagonally with a red line before they were filed. The great majority note the date they were retired.

Address Column

The Address Column is the first column on the first page of a register. All the household's addresses are recorded in the upper two-thirds of the column. The lower third is what I call The Succession Box.

Head of Household Column

The Head of Household Column is the second column on the first page of the register. It is pivotal because a register was always retired when the head died or retired.

Event List

The upper half of every column in a register is a vertically-line space in which events involving the subject of the column were recorded. These events are ordered chromatically (they were recorded as they occurred) and are always dated.

Succession Box

The Succession Box is located at the bottom of the address column on the first page of the register. It notes the date at which the head of the household became head, the circumstances of his succession, the name of the previous head, and the relation of the present head to the previous head.

Relation to the Head Box

This box appears in the middle of every column of the register except the address column. The box in the Head of Household column reads "Head of household." The boxes in all the other columns identify the subject of the column in terms of his or her relationship to the head.

Identity Box

All columns except the address column have an Identity Box. It is located at the bottom of the column and contains the subject of the column's name, father's name, mother's name, birthdate, same-sex sibling order, and, in the center of the box, what I call the Relationship Note.

Relationship Note

This is a brief—but very important--note found in the center of the Identity Box. It identifies one of the person's primary relatives who is also a member of the household—typically a father, mother, husband, or wife. Without this note it would be impossible to link many children to their parents or wives to their husbands.

V. LAND REGISTERS AND LAND MAPS

In 1895 when Taiwan was ceded to Japan, the land system was both variable and complicated. Most of the land was jointly owned, not by two or more owners who exercised common rights jointly, but by two or three owners with different rights. At the top of what was often a three-layered system was the ta-tsu, or "great rent receiver," usually a descendant of a prominent family that had been granted their title as a reward for government service. Below the ta-tsu was the hsiao-tsu, or "small rent receiver," and below him the tenant who actually cultivated the land. The ta-tsu collected rent from the hsiao-tsu but could not sell or lease the land; the hsiao-tsu was obliged to pay rent to the ta-tsu and could sell or lease the land; and the tenant paid rent to the hsiao-tsu and had no rights whatsoever beyond his contract. He could be evicted at any time if the hsiao-tsu could find a tenant willing to pay more.

One of the first significant acts of the new Japanese colonial administration was to simply this system by abolishing two-tiered ownership. In 1904 the rights of the ta-tsu owners were declared null and void an act which automatically granted full ownership to the current hsiao-tsu. Fortunately for the historian this reform was preceded in 1898-1903 by a careful cadastral survey. All landowners were required to submit a description of their land or forfeit their rights. The authorities then surveyed the land and prepared detailed reports which are usually referred to as the 1898-1903 Cadastral Survey. In addition to the location, size, and quality of the land, the reports note the names and addresses of both the ta-tsu and the hsiao-tsu and the amount of rent each received. They also note if the hsiao-tsu cultivated the land himself and, if not, name his tenant, and whether or not he paid for water rights and, if he did, name the person he paid.

Most of the documents submitted by the landowners were either lost or discarded, but a few survive attached to the reports prepared by the government. These contain useful historical information (like the fact that the T'u Ti Kung in Hsia-ch'i-chou was built in 1830 by a man whose son became prominent politician[37]), but this is not the reason they were preserved. It was because they were critical in settling contested claims. When used in combination with the household registers, they preserve a unique record of land disputes. One can determine how the disputants were related as well as the what they were disputing.

[37] I know this because Hsia-ch'i-chou was the site of my first field research.

The value of the 1989-1903 Cadastral survey is limited by the fact it refers to one point in time. It allows us to see how land was distributed at that point, but does not allow us to see how it changed. We can estimate a family's worth in 1900, but we cannot trace its changing fortunes. To study these processes we have to turn to the Land Tax Registers compiled by the Japanese authorities. They preserve a detailed history of every plot of land on the island and thus a close approximation of the changing fortunes of most rural families. When the registers were established in 1903 the Japanese recorded for each plot its extent (in hectares), its location (by means of the cadastral maps), its current use (paddy, dry field, tea field, house site, etc.) its grade in the case of farm land (on a scale or one to twenty in the case of paddy), the names and addresses of all the owners, and, what is the most valuable for research purposes, its taxable value (in Japanese yen). Changes of any kind were then noted as they occurred and always dated. When the change involved division of a plot, the new units were assigned numbers that were divisions of the original plot number. In every case the new boundaries were added to the cadastral map, and new registers created for each new plot.

Where the household registers allow one to reconstruct the changing composition of households, the land records allow one to trace their changing fortunes. One can watch as one household accumulates land, while another sees what it has accumulated dispersed. By totaling the amount of taxes they paid at various times, one can trace and compare the waxing and waning worth of neighbors. In rural Taiwan the amount and quality of the land a household owned—and thus the amount of land tax it paid—was a sensitive index of its social standing. A household head who paid a tax of twenty or thirty yen would have been classified as a rich peasant on the mainland, while a head who paid no tax at all was either a tenant farmer or a day laborer. He did not even own the land under his house.

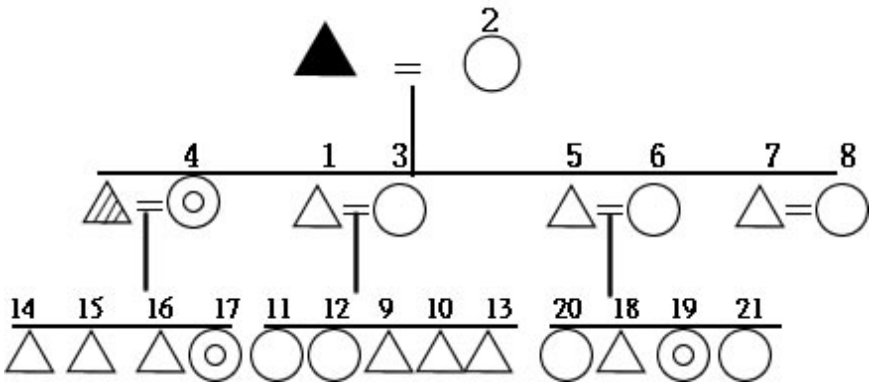
Because the land registers list the owner's addresses as well their names, it is relatively easy to link the household registers and the land registers. The problem in using the land registers to reconstruct a household's financial fortunes is that it requires surveying all the registers in all the districts in which it might have owned land. This is because the land registers are plot registers, not estate registers. In 1951-52, preparing for land reform, the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction classified by owner all the land on Taiwan, but until then there were no estate registers. To determine a Japanese-period household's aggregate worth one must locate all the plots it owned and add up the taxes paid. Since many households owned a number of small plots or small shares of plots, this often involves dealing with as many of two or three hundred plots. It took five person-years to reconstruct the estates of the 1,195 families included in the Stanford Archive.

To illustrate why this effort is worthwhile I have reconstructed the history of what I will call the

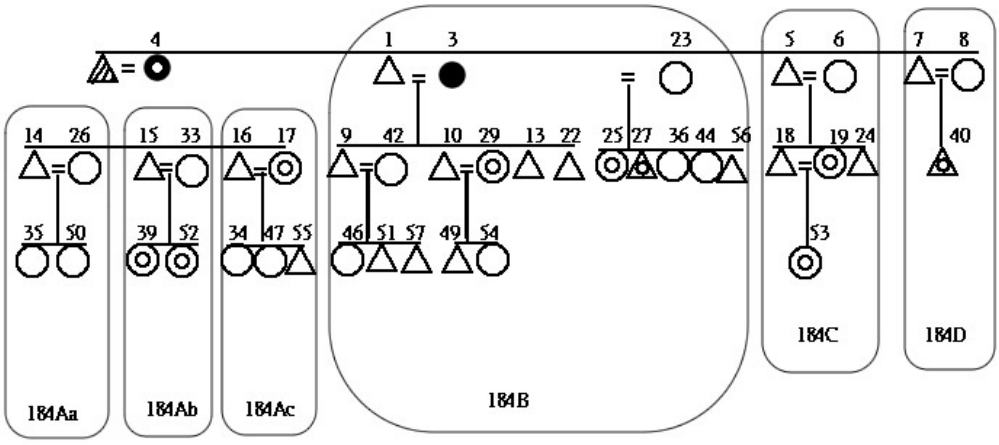
Liu family estate. The estate the family divided when they broke up in 1925 was the product of a gradual process of accumulation. The 1898-1903 Cadastral Survey gives the household's estate as a house site, a small piece of upland, and 4.5690 chia of paddy.[38] By the time the official Japanese land registers were established in 1906 this estate had grown to include 5.2210 chia of paddy. This process of accumulation continued, slowly but steadily, over the next twenty years. The family purchased property in 1907, 1908, 1909, and 1913, and 1915, accumulating a total of 8.5225 chia of paddy by 1925. This was divided into six shares by the six households created in 1925 (see Figure 5.1). The senior branch of the family took 3.1005 chia out of which #14 received .8654 chia, #15 1.1915 chia, and #16 .8845 chia. The second branch of the family (head by #1) took 2.1640 chia; the third branch (headed by #5) took 2.1955 chia; and the fourth branch (headed by #7) took 1.882 chia and the small upland field. A former neighbor of the Liu family told me that in the 1920's it took "more than one chia of paddy" to support an average family. By this standard the division of one substantial estate produced three inadequate estates and three barely adequate estates.

[38] One chia equals 2.40 acres, or approximately one hectare.

Figure 5.1 The Liu Family in 1906 and Following Division in 1925



Liu Family in 1906



Liu Family in 1925

Their neighbor's view of what constituted an adequate estate was partially borne out by the subsequent history of the Liu family. The three men whose shares were inadequate by his standard soon sold most of their land. Within a year of the division #15 and #16 sold all of their shares, and four years later, in 1929, #14 sold .4910 chia of his share. The three men who received more nearly adequate shares fared somewhat better, but not as well as their neighbor would have predicted. In 1928 #16 sold .8845 chia of his share, and in 1932 disposed of the remaining 1.3510 chia. Only #1 and #5 managed to retain all of the land they took out of the original estate, and only #1 managed to increase his estate by buying additional land.

The land sold by the Liu household was all purchased by families whose own estates ranged in size from three chia to six chia. This suggests a cyclical process of accumulation and dispersal. Families accumulate land until division shatters their estate into inadequate share which are then gathered in by other families whose undivided estates afford them a secure economic base. Some of those who are forced to sell leave the community and seek a living elsewhere. This is apparently what happened to #15 who sold his land in 1926 and moved to Taipei City in 1932. Others remain in the community and eke out a living as best they can. The fact that his two daughters both bore illegitimate children within a year of their seventeenth birthday suggests that prostitution was the means by which #16's household survived. Men who receive larger shares and are able managers survive the impact of division and gradually rebuild their estates. This appears to be the course #1 and #5 followed.

A cyclical process of the kind hypothesized would obviously falter and eventually come to a halt if wealthy business men and absentee landlords were able to purchase local land and add it to their permanent estates. The history of the Liu family tells us why this was not the inevitable result of divisions that produced less than viable estates. Four of the five parcels acquired by the Liu family prior to 1925 were bought from members of the Liu lineage, and six of the eight parcels they dispersed after 1925 were sold to members of the Liu lineage. In this community kinship boundaries restrained the movement of land and thus supported a cyclical process of accumulation and dispersal. The role of kinship in the channeling the movement of land is also evident in the fact that two of the three transactions with families outside of the Liu lineage were with affines.

The differential success of the Liu heirs after family division is partially attributable to the relative size of the shares of the estate. The three men in the junior generation who sold most of their property received shares less than half the size of the three men in the senior generation. But this is not an entirely adequate account of the differences among the heirs. Only two of the three men in the

junior generation had to sell all of their property. One of the three managed to hold on to most of his share. And while one of the men in the senior generation lost his entire share, another retained and soon enlarged his share. The reason for these strikingly different outcomes may be that the two men who outstripped their brothers were the two eldest men. It could be that additional years gave a man an edge in experience or a more developed network of social ties. Or it could be that the fact his children were older and more productive gave a man a significant financial advantage. Or there is the interesting possibility that success in managing a household is partially a function of personality characteristics forged by the composition of the family in which a man was raised.

What I hope the example of Liu household demonstrates is that while the household registers can answer many question, the combination of the household and land registers can answer many more. The land registers do more than provide the information needed to measure a household's resources and assess its social standing. They allow one to treat households as corporate enterprises that may or may not succeed. This opens for investigation an entirely unexplored set of questions concerning family dynamics and the relationship between family dynamics and the economy.

VI. CAUTIONS AND WARNINGS

The fact that the Taiwan household registers are among the most accurate in the world does not insure against a researcher's producing misleading and even erroneous results. To obtain the good results that the registers are capable of producing researchers must always design their queries to take account of when the information in the registers was recorded and how it was recorded. Failure to do so is likely to be embarrassing because sooner or later someone will discover the error and feel that it must be corrected.

The point is best made by way of an example. Suppose a researcher wanted to determine how the many changes initiated by the Japanese occupation effected the relative frequency of major, minor, and uxorilocal marriages. If he had not taken the trouble to give careful consideration to how the registers were created, he might proceed by simply counting the relative frequency of the three forms of marriage for all the cohorts represented in the registers. The results for women born in Hai-shan would look like those displayed in Table 6.1. If he were not familiar with previous studies of marriage in Taiwan, the researcher might well conclude that, surprisingly, the frequency of uxorilocal marriages rose sharply among women born after 1870, and that, even more surprisingly, after falling for several decades, the frequency of minor marriages stabilized and then rose among women born after 1921.

The reason for these fluctuations was not economic or social changes initiated by the Japanese occupation. They are artifacts of the way the household registers were created. Where marriages occurring after 1905 were recorded at the time of marriage, those occurring before 1905 were recorded in 1905 when the registration system was initiated. In the case of women born in the 1850's and 60's this was thirty or more years after the fact, the inevitable result being that many uxorilocal registers were never recorded. One reason was that because uxorilocal marriages are inherently unstable, many had been terminated long before the Japanese arrived. An even more important reason was that because uxorilocal marriages are considered disgraceful, everyone who could do so concealed the fact that he had married uxorilocally. The only reason the frequency of uxorilocal marriages appears to arise is because marriages arranged later were more likely to survive and more difficult to conceal than those arranged earlier.[39]

[39] This example is discussed in more detail in Arthur P. Wolf, Sexual Attraction and Childhood Association: A Chinese Brief for Edward Westermarck (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1995), pp. 42-45.

Table 6.1 Relative Frequency of Major, Minor, and Uxorilocal Marriages in Hai-shan by Wife's Year of Birth

Year of birth	Number of marriages	Percent of marriages		
		Major	Minor	Uxorilocal
Before 1866	125	57.6	40.8	1.6
1866-1870	244	57.4	41	1.6
1871-1875	307	49.8	45.6	4.6
1876-1880	411	45.9	45	9
1881-1885	592	44.7	47.3	7.9
1886-1890	499	45.9	38.8	15.3
1891-1895	490	41.6	38.6	19.8
1896-1900	656	46.3	36	17.7
1901-1905	672	48.5	36.2	15.3
1906-1910	726	54.8	32.4	12.8
1911-1915	711	58.2	30.5	11.3
1916-1920	637	66.3	23.8	10
1921-1925	692	63.7	25.7	10.6
After 1925	205	54.6	37.7	8.3

The surprising rise in the relative frequency of minor marriage is simpler. It is the compound result of two facts that must always be taken into account when calculating the relative frequency of the three forms of marriage. One is that women who married in the minor fashion married two to three years earlier than women who married in the major fashion or uxorilocally. The other is the fact that the Japanese registers were closed in 1946 when the colonial administration was replaced by a Chinese administration. The inevitable result is that the frequency minor marriages rises after 1920 because more of the women whose parents had arranged minor marriages had actually married by 1946 than those whose parents preferred major or uxorilocal marriages.

Two cautions need to be noted with regard to events occurring before 1906. The first is that they are only a selection of the events in the lives of the people alive in 1906. The Japanese police made a determined effort to discover people's situation in 1906, but they did not attempt to reconstruct their personal histories. The result is that children who were born and died before 1906 and marriages made and terminated before 1906 are not recorded. We can sometimes infer their existence, but we cannot test our inferences. The fact that a man's children have different mothers suggests that his current wife is not his first wife, but this is as far as we can go. We cannot determine how the man married or how his marriage ended.

The second caution regarding events occurring before 1906 is the result of their being recorded after the fact and often long after the fact. This means that they are only as accurate as the vagaries of memory and willingness to admit misadventures allow. The effect is clearest in the case of uxorilocal marriages, but this is only one of many possibilities. It is likely that women who were adopted as sim-pua did not always report the fact with the result that what appear to be major marriages are sometimes minor marriages.

Similar cautions also apply to events occurring in 1946 and 1947. These were years of political chaos occasioned by World War II and the departure of the Japanese colonial administration. It is all but certain that, like events occurring before 1906, they are incomplete and occasionally inaccurate. To be safe I usually treat the household register as having been retired December 31, 1945.

Another set of cautions is prompted by the fact that while the household registers exist in every community in Taiwan, our data bases are limited to the registers maintained in our study sites, all of which are all small, bounded places. This means that some of the events appearing in our computerized files occurred outside of our study sites. These events will be accurate if they occurred after 1906, but they are only a selection of the events in the history they represent. Consider the

case of a family who moved into one or our study sites in 1920. The information concerning all the people who were members of the household at the time of the move will appear and will be accurate, but we will know nothing about those who died or disappeared before the family moved. Thus for most purpose we cannot include this family in our analyses because we will be missing children who died or were adopted out of the family before they moved into our site. We cannot even be sure if the marriages recorded are first marriages. There will be no way of discovering a wife or husband who died or was divorced before the move.

A special caution must be noted with regard to persons who married or were adopted within a study site. There is a danger of their being counted twice—once when they were removed from the first family and once again when they entered the second family. The safest course is to limit adoption to persons born in study site families, and marriage to persons rose in study site families. The high frequency of adoption precludes limiting marriages rates to persons born into study site families.

A general caution is that for most purposes one must structure analyses to exclude the possibility that the some of the events in question were not recorded. This usually means limiting the analysis to events recorded within the study area after 1906 and before 1946. I think of these as events in the lives of people and families who are under observation. This requirement can be met by setting aside persons who were not under observation during the relevant ages or limiting the analysis to those years they were under observation. An analysis intended to determine the probability of adoption by age ten could be limited to children born between 1905 and 1935 or it could include all the under-age-ten years of all the children born between 1905 and 1945. Clobbering together bits and pieces of people's lives is one's best choice if he wants to make maximum use of the information available and his only choice if he is investigating a short period or a small place.

Most of the dangers identified here can be avoided by observing the following three rules:

I. Do not assume that events occurring before January 1, 1906, or after December 31, 1945, have been recorded accurately.

II. Never assume that the record of events occurring before January 1, 1906, after December 31, 1945, or outside of a study site is complete.

III. When counting the frequency of events do not include both entries and exists from households.

The structure of the Taiwan household registers is only one source of influences that can frustrate the intentions of an unwary researcher. Another more invidious source—because the threats posed are not so easily discovered—is the structure of Taiwanese society. An obvious example—because it is now well documented—is regional variation in the relative frequency of major, minor, and uxorilocal marriages (See Table 6.1) Because of the large difference in fertility between the three forms of marriages (see Table 6.2) this variation must be taken into account when testing for the effects of regional variation of other kinds. Failure to do so is one reason George W. Barclay had to conclude that "[a strong spatial pattern of fertility] was present, and lacks any apparent reason to explain it."[40]

My experience in comparing the divorces rates of major, minor, and uxorilocal marriages provides a less obvious example. When I began my work I followed the example of most researchers and simply calculated the proportion of marriages ending in divorce. My figures suggested that while minor and uxorilocal marriages were far more likely to end in divorce than major marriages, there was almost no difference between them (See Table 6.2). It was years before I discovered that while this was literally true, it was misleading if taken to mean that the forces favoring divorce were stronger in uxorilocal marriages than minor marriages. When I compared the three forms of marriages in terms of a figure obtained by summing the probabilities for each year of the first twenty years of marriage I found that minor marriages were far more vulnerable than uxorilocal marriages (again, see Table 6.2. The reason was a difference in the timing of divorce. Where divorces among uxorilocal marriages were concentrated in the first few years of marriages, divorces among minor marriages were spread across the life of the marriage. Because the number of marriages at risk of divorce declined as the population aged, the result was that minor marriages divorces produced higher probabilities than major marriage divorces. The logic of the argument can be inferred from the numbers reproduced in Table 7.3.

[40] George W. Barcly, Colonial Development and Population in Taiwan (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1954), p. 252.

Table 6.2 Comparison of Two Ways of Calculating Divorce Rates

Form of marriage	Proportion of marriages ending in divorce	Cumulative probability of divorce
Major	7.2	.079
Minor	17.2	.209
Uxorilocal	17.8	.168

It is impossible to list a simple set of rules that, if conscientiously observed, will guide the researcher around all the pit falls set by Taiwanese kinship system. It is prolific source of confounding influences many of which have yet to be identified. The best the researcher can do is treat it with the care he would take if it were a mischievous monkey who delighted in inventing numbers that appear reliable but will eventually prove embarrassing.

VII. EXAMPLES OF RESEARCH

1. Introduction

My purpose in this chapter is not to summarize the results of research based on the household registers. It is only to provide examples of that research in the hope that this will encourage new research. The potential of the household registers for demographic research is obvious. I have therefore selected examples that will be of interest to historians, economists, and psychologists. My goal is to encourage readers to view the household registers as a resource the full potential of which will not be realized until all the problems posed by human behavior have been solved.

2. Regional Variation

To demonstrate the value of the household registers for studying regional variation I have compared the relative frequency of major, minor, and uxorilocal marriages among women born in the years 1886-1900 in the nineteen localities included in the Stanford and Academia Sinica Archive.[41] I limit my comparisons to this cohort because these women married before influences set in motion by the Japanese occupation blurred the traditional social landscape. They constitute our best evidence of what Taiwan was like in the last year of the Ch'ing dynasty.

The figures presented in Table 7.1 show that the frequency of minor marriages varied sharply—from 1.1 percent in Chi-pei to 48.9 percent in San-hsia. More importantly, it demonstrates that the variation was regional. The nine sites in Northern Taiwan and the Pescadores all have higher frequencies than the three sites in Central Taiwan, and these all have higher frequencies than the four sites in Southern Taiwan. The surprise (for me at least) is that the major contrast is between Northern Taiwan and the Pescadores, on the one hand, and Central Taiwan and Southern Taiwan, on the other. What did two places as dissimilar as Northern Taiwan and the Pescadores have in common? What was it that distinguished them from Central and Southern Taiwan? I hope historians will welcome these questions and use the household registers to refine our understanding of variation within Taiwan.

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[41] A fuller treatment of this topic is available in Chuang Ying-chang and Arthur P. Wolf, "Marriage in Taiwan, 1881-1905: An example of regional diversity," Journal of Asian Studies, vol. 54 (1995), pp. 781-795.

The data in Table 7.1 raises another question that will not be welcome in some quarters. Burton Pasternak's analysis of a large set of household registers argues that minor marriages were rare in Lung-tu in Tainan hsien.[42] Is this because Lung-tu was a Hakka community? Or was it because it was a southern community? The evidence in Table 7.1 favors the second answer. It says that contrary to the assumptions generated by identify politics, region trumps ethnicity. Half of the population of Chu-pei and almost all of the population of E-mei were Hakka, but both report very high frequencies of minor marriages. This raises the question of why it was that ethnicity was such a weak determinant of social behavior? Why did it give way to regional influences in such a vital aspect of kinship as marriage?

Table 7.1 also argues that while the frequency of uxorilocal marriages varies as markedly as the frequency of minor marriages, the variation is local rather than regional. The highest frequencies are found in Taipei City in the north, Ta-ch'ia and Chu-shan in the central region, and Chi-pei in the south; the lowest frequencies, in E-mei in the north, Lu-kang in the central region, and Tung-kang in the south. Chuang Ying-chang and I have argued that the frequency of uxorilocal marriages is largely controlled by mortality, but these data suggest that this cannot be the entire explanation. Mortality was not particularly low in Lu-kang and Tung-kang and particularly high in Chu-shan and Taipei.

There is reason to expect the frequency of uxorilocal marriages to be high in Ta-nei and Chi-pei because their residents include many people descended from the matrilineal Siraya, but descent from non-Han ancestors cannot explain the variation shown in Table 7.1 any more than mortality. Uxorilocal marriages were as common in Chu-shan as in Ta-nei and Chi-pei and far more common in Ta-ch'ia. The household registers tell us that historians and anthropologist cannot rest satisified with what they have accomplished to date. Much of variation the registers document has yet to be explained.

[42] See Burton Pasternak, Guests in the Dragon: Social Demography of a Chinese District, 1895-1946 (Columbia University Press, 1985), Table XX, p. XXX. Pasternak's evidence says that minor marriages accounted for less than XX.X percent of all first marriage in Lung-tu.

Table 7.1 Relative Frequency of Major, Minor, and Uxorilocal Marriages Among Women Born in the Years 1886-1895 (San-hsia* and Shu-lin* are for women born 1880-1899)

Field site	Number of women	Major %	Minor %	Uxorilocal %
Northern Taiwan				
San-hsia*	1,112	38.4	44.3	17.2
Shu-lin*	932	40	48.5	11.7
Chu-pei	382	47.9	37.4	14.6
E-mei	312	45.2	44.9	9.9
Pei-p'u	136	44.1	36	19.9
Wu-chieh	311	39.2	38.3	22.5
Ta-tao-ch'eng	231	40.3	34.2	25.5
Meng-chia				
Central Taiwan				
Chu-shan	270	60.7	13	26.3
Lu-kang	220	69.1	20.5	10.4
Ta-ch'ia	98	51	11.2	37.8
Shen-kang				
Southern Taiwan				
Ta-nei	450	73.5	6.2	18.9
Chi-pei	93	72	1.1	26.9
Chiu-ju	133	75.9	2.3	21.8
Tung-kang	95	79	8.2	12.6
An-p'ing				
Pescadores				
Ma-kung				
Hu-hsi	150	34.7	44.7	20.7
Pai-sha				

3. Effects of Form of Marriage

Tables 7.2 and 7.3 compare the fertility and divorce rates of major, minor, and uxorilocal marriages in Hai-shan. They show that both fertility and divorce rates varied--and varied markedly--with form of marriage. Major and uxorilocal marriages produced far more children than minor marriages, and minor and uxorilocal marriages produced far more divorces than major marriages. The total fertility rates are 7.74 for major marriages, 7.49 for uxorilocal marriages, and 6.06 for minor marriages, and the probabilities of divorce by the end of twenty-five years of marriage are .079 for major marriages, .168 for uxorilocal marriages, and .209 for minor marriages.

The minor marriages in Tables 7.2 and 7.3 are all the marriages in which the wife was adopted into her husband's family. These include marriages in which they wife was adopted as an infant but also marriages in which she was adopted in later childhood or early adolescence. Tables 7.4 and 7.5 refine our view of minor marriages by comparing them in terms of the age at which the wife joined her future husband's family. Both tables argue that the age at which wives in minor marriages were adopted mattered greatly. Table 7.4 says that fertility rose with age of adoption—from 5.68 to 7.76, and Table 7.5 says that the probability of divorce fell with age at adoption—from .245 to .109. These figures tell us that when the wife was adopted as an infant the fertility of major marriages exceeded that of minor marriages by 36.3 percent while the divorce rate of minor marriages exceeded that of major marriages by 210 percent.

These difference between the two forms of marriage have obvious implications for demographers and historians interested in regional variation, but they also has have strong implications for anthropologists, psychologists, and biologists. Comparison of the figures displayed in Tables 7.2-7.5 undermine Sigmund Freud' claim that "an incestuous love choice is...the first and regular one" and strongly support Edward Westermarck's claim that "there is a remarkable absence of erotic feelings between persons living closely together from childhood."[43] Thus it is no exaggeration to say that the Taiwan household registers preserve information capable of resolving debates that have occupied scholars for several generations.

[43] The route to these conclusions is marked in detail in Arthur P. Wolf, Sexual Attraction and Childhood Association: A Chinese Brief for Edward Westermarck (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1995).

Table 7.2 Age-specific Marital Fertility by Form of Marriage Among Hai-shan Women Born 1880-1930

Form of marriage	Age of wife						Total marital fertility
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	
Number of woman-years							
Major	4,951	11,706	10,575	8,290	5,920	3,979	
Minor	4,559	7,390	6,676	5,165	3,887	2,762	
Uxorilocal	1,113	2,402	2,412	1,592	1,484	1,024	
Births per 1,000 woman-years							
Major	332	344	298	259	205	110	7.74
Minor	263	252	236	214	155	91	6.06
Uxorilocal	345	311	279	254	201	108	7.49

Table 7.3 Annual and Cumulative Probability of Divorce by Form and Duration of Marriage Among Hai-shan Women

Dur. mar.	Form of marriage: Major			Minor			Uxorilocal		
	Woman years	Ann. prob.	Cum. prob.	Woman years	Ann. prob.	Cum. prob.	Woman years	Ann. prob.	Cum. prob.
0	3,347	0.006	0.006	1,606	0.004	0.004	718	0.03	0.03
1	3,232	0.008	0.014	1,652	0.016	0.02	691	0.04	0.069
2	3,055	0.007	0.022	1,612	0.019	0.039	651	0.026	0.094
3	2,910	0.007	0.029	1,582	0.02	0.059	632	0.014	0.107
4	2,779	0.006	0.036	1,553	0.019	0.077	611	0.019	0.125
5	2,654	0.003	0.039	1,256	0.021	0.097	576	0.012	0.135
6	2,500	0.005	0.045	1,517	0.021	0.116	559	0.005	0.14
7	2,387	0.003	0.048	1,509	0.012	0.127	538	0.009	0.148
8	2,289	0.002	0.05	1,491	0.011	0.137	513	0.007	0.155
9	2,193	0.004	0.055	1,477	0.013	0.149	480	0.002	0.156
10	2,101	0.006	0.061	1,453	0.008	0.156	466	0.004	0.16
11	1,987	0.004	0.066	1,427	0.011	0.166	447	0.002	0.162
12	1,894	0.001	0.068	1,387	0.011	0.176	431	0.004	0.166
13	1,820	0.001	0.069	1,355	0.009	0.184	410	0.002	0.168
14	1,737	0.002	0.072	1,328	0.006	0.189	380	0	0.168
15	1,655	0.002	0.074	1,286	0.003	0.192	252	0	0.168
16	1,578	0	0.075	1,246	0.005	0.197	333	0	0.168
17	1,499	0	0.075	1,226	0.004	0.201	317	0	0.168
18	1,415	0	0.075	1,198	0	0.201	297	0	0.168
19	1,321	0	0.075	1,149	0.001	0.203	283	0	0.168
20	1,239	0.001	0.077	1,112	0.004	0.206	264	0	0.168
21	1,129	0.001	0.078	1,059	0.001	0.208	243	0	0.168
22	1,028	0	0.078	995	0	0.208	214	0	0.168
23	928	0	0.078	932	0	0.208	192	0	0.168
24	812	0.001	0.079	864	0.001	0.209	166	0	0.168

Table 7.4 Age-specific Fertility of Minor Marriages by Wife's Age at Adoption

Wife's age at adoption	Age of wife						Total marital fertility
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	
Number of woman-years							
0	3,360	4,285	3,268	2,344	1,484	819	
1	774	993	800	637	474	286	
2	432	543	407	330	246	147	
3	340	497	366	271	201	135	
4	215	273	223	171	115	79	
5-9	926	1,330	1,061	872	710	510	
>10	743	1,032	856	638	504	338	
Births per 1,000 woman-years							
0	234	241	226	207	147	81	5.68
1	212	250	234	228	169	70	5.82
2	264	238	244	231	175	123	6.38
3	288	284	273	248	194	103	6.95
4	297	260	295	223	217	114	7.03
5-9	300	312	285	271	204	88	7.3
>10	311	327	300	276	210	127	7.76

Table 7.5 Probability of Divorce by Among Minor Marriages by Duration of Marriage and Wife's Age at Adoption

Wife's age at adoption	Duration of marriage				
	5 years	10 years	15 years	20 years	25 years
Number of woman at beginning of duration					
0	1,212	999	866	685	515
1	290	293	267	260	241
2	156	150	151	144	127
3	129	127	113	106	100
4	82	82	85	81	67
5-9	341	374	380	369	362
>10	261	285	302	289	276
Probability of divorce					
0	0.087	0.173	0.221	0.237	0.245
1	0.111	0.185	0.225	0.24	0.252
2	0.062	0.17	0.214	0.247	0.247
3	0.074	0.173	0.203	0.219	0.227
4	0.156	0.166	0.216	0.245	0.257
5-9	0.059	0.133	0.16	0.167	0.167
>10	0.058	0.084	0.106	0.109	0.109

4. Frequency of Adoption

Tables 7.6 and 7.7 compare the probability of adoption by selected ages among male and female children born in our study sites between 1906 and 1916. No one familiar with Chinese society will be surprised to see that girls were far more likely to be given away than boys. What will surprise most people is that probability of adoption was so very high for both sexes. The probability for males approached or exceeded .10 in five sites, and the probability for females approached or exceeded .50 in ten sites. Incredibly--and the word does not exaggerate—the probability of adoption for girls born in E-mei was .62 and for those born in Hu-hsi an astounding .71.

The great value of the household registers is that they give us the ability to look behind figures like those reported in Tables 7.6 and 7.7. We can refine our analysis to identify the children who were given away and the circumstances that prompted their removal. Tables 6.8 and 6.9 say that for both boys and girls, the critical condition was the composition of the family in which they were born. Where the probability of adoption for boys born into families with no surviving sons was only .004, it was .155 for boys born into families with three or more surviving sons. And where the probability for girls born into childless families was .399, it was .888 for those born into families with two or more surviving sons. Thus it is not too much to say that in Taiwan a child's life course was set by his or her sibling position. The great majority of girls raised at home married in the major fashion, enjoyed high fertility, and ran little risk of divorce, while the great majority of those given away married in the minor fashion, suffered low fertility, and ran a high risk of divorce. Sibling position was the real life equivalent of destiny, fate, or what Taiwanese call "mia".

I will discuss the implications of this finding in the next section. The point I want to make here is that again we have evidence that the household registers are of value for psychologists and sociologists as well as demographers. The Western view has always been that women are possessed of something like a maternal instinct. In her recent review of motherhood Sarah Hrdy allows for the possibility that for a short time after giving birth, many women take an objective attitude toward their offspring, but nonetheless insists that once they begin to nurse most women find it "impossible to surrender a child."[44] But what, then, are we to make of what the household registers say about the probability of adoption in Taiwan? A probability of .888 says that almost all the girls born into families with two or more sons were given away. Their mothers were not all impoverished human

[44] Sarah Blaffer Hrdy, Mother Nature: A History of Mothers, Infants, and Natural Selection (New York: Pantheon Books, 1999).

beings--emotionally or financially. They were normal human beings who simply decided that that there was no point in raising daughters if they had sons. I have interpreted this as indicating that maternal instincts may not exist.[45] I may be wrong about this, but the question I raise remains. How do we reconcile adoption rates like those in Tables 6.8 and 6.9 with the assumption that women find it intolerable to give away a nursing child? Further work with the household registers offers the possibility of refining our understanding of what has always been taken to be a vital aspect of human nature.

[45] Arthur P. Wolf, "Maternal sentiments: How strong are they?" Current Anthropology, vol. 44 (2003), pp. 31-49.

Table 7.6 Probability of Adoption by Selected Ages Among Girls Born 1906-1916 by Locality

Field site	Probability of Adoption by Selected Ages									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	10	15	20
Northern Taiwan										
San-hsia										
Shu-lin										
Chu-pei	0.25	0.35	0.41	0.46	0.48	0.5	0.52	0.56	0.6	0.61
Guan-xi	0.27	0.38	0.43	0.46	0.49	0.52	0.54	0.57	0.61	0.61
T'ai-pei	0.21	0.29	0.34	0.39	0.4	0.41	0.43	0.48	0.5	0.51
E-mei	0.37	0.49	0.53	0.57	0.59	0.61	0.62	0.65	0.68	0.69
Pei-p'u	0.31	0.4	0.43	0.46	0.48	0.5	0.52	0.55	0.59	0.59
Wu-chieh	0.07	0.13	0.21	0.27	0.36	0.41	0.45	0.53	0.62	0.63
Ru-chuan	0.23	0.3	0.36	0.4	0.42	0.43	0.44	0.46	0.51	0.52
Meng-chia										
Central Taiwan										
Chu-shan	0.12	0.15	0.17	0.18	0.21	0.22	0.24	0.29	0.35	0.36
Lu-kang	0.14	0.18	0.22	0.24	0.26	0.27	0.28	0.32	0.37	0.37
Ta-ch'ia	0.16	0.21	0.22	0.24	0.26	0.27	0.27	0.31	0.35	0.35
Shen-gang	0.11	0.13	0.17	0.2	0.23	0.25	0.26	0.29	0.31	0.32
Southern Taiwan										
Ta-nei	0.05	0.06	0.08	0.08	0.09	0.1	0.1	0.12	0.14	0.15
Chi-pei	0.01	0.02	0.03	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.05	0.08	0.12	0.12
Chiu-ju	0.04	0.06	0.06	0.07	0.08	0.08	0.1	0.11	0.13	0.13
Tung-kang	0.05	0.07	0.1	0.12	0.13	0.14	0.16	0.21	0.26	0.26
An-p'ing	0.02	0.05	0.07	0.08	0.09	0.11	0.12	0.14	0.16	0.16
Pescadores										
Ma-kung	0.41	0.44	0.45	0.45	0.46	0.46	0.47	0.48	0.48	0.49
Hu-xi	0.63	0.65	0.65	0.65	0.66	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.68	0.69
Bai-sha	0.27	0.3	0.32	0.33	0.34	0.34	0.34	0.35	0.36	0.38

Table 7.7 Probability of Adoption by Selected Ages Among Boys Born 1906-1916 by Locality

Field site	Probability of Adoption by Selected Ages									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	10	15	20
Northern Taiwan										
San-hsia										
Shu-lin										
Chu-pei	0.04	0.05	0.06	0.07	0.07	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.09	0.09
Guan-xi	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.07	0.07	0.08	0.09	0.09
T'ai-pei	0.03	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.07	0.07
E-mei	0.04	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.07	0.07	0.08
Pei-p'u	0.07	0.08	0.09	0.1	0.11	0.11	0.11	0.11	0.12	0.12
Wu-chieh	0.02	0.03	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.07	0.08	0.08
Ru-chuan	0.03	0.04	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.07	0.07	0.08
Central Taiwan										
Chu-shan	0.02	0.04	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.07	0.08	0.09	0.09
Lu-kang	0.03	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.07	0.07	0.08	0.08	0.09	0.09
Ta-ch'ia	0.02	0.03	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.07	0.08	0.08	0.1	0.1
Shen-gang	0.03	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.07	0.07	0.08
Southern Taiwan										
Ta-nei	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.04	0.05	0.06	0.07
Chi-pei	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.04
Chiu-ju	0.03	0.04	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.07	0.07
Tung-kang	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.07	0.08	0.08
An-p'ing	0.02	0.04	0.04	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.07	0.08	0.08
Pescadores										
Ma-kung	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.08	0.09	0.09
Hu-xi	0.06	0.07	0.07	0.08	0.09	0.09	0.1	0.1	0.11	0.11
Bai-sha	0.02	0.03	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.05	0.06	0.07

Table 7.8 Probability of Adoption Among Females by Number and Sex of Surviving Older Siblings at Birth

Number and sex of older siblings	Number of births	Probability of adoption				
		By age one	By age two	By age three	By age five	By age fifteen
No siblings	1,740	0.213	0.263	0.289	0.337	0.399
One sister	808	0.43	0.501	0.557	0.607	0.663
One brother	717	0.609	0.679	0.709	0.738	0.783
Two sisters	266	0.525	0.615	0.666	0.696	0.755
1 sis & 1 bro	658	0.542	0.628	0.696	0.76	0.812
Two brothers	348	0.748	0.809	0.839	0.859	0.888
Three siblings	783	0.634	0.718	0.764	0.806	0.844
Four siblings	485	0.693	0.761	0.821	0.842	0.885
5 or more sibs	396	0.708	0.778	0.804	0.829	0.85

Note: Adopted children are counted as siblings.

Table 7.9 Probability of Adoption Among Hai-shan Males by Number of Surviving Older Brothers at Birth

Number of older brothers	Number of births	Probability of adoption			Proportion of adoptions by age one
		By age one	By age three	By age fifteen	
None	2,431	0.004	0.009	0.018	29.4
One	1,885	0.018	0.027	0.048	43.1
Two	1,195	0.052	0.077	0.099	55
3 or more	980	0.083	0.119	0.155	57.3

5. The Importance of Sibling Position

In the previous section I have taken "sibling position" to mean "sibling position at birth," but the influence of sibling position was not exhausted in the first few months of life. The evidence preserved in the household registers shows that in Taiwan sibling position never lost its ability to shunt people's lives on divergent courses. For both man and women the number and sex of siblings present as they approached puberty was critical.

Table 7.10 shows that a woman's sibling position at age fifteen exerted a powerful influence on the likelihood of her marrying by age thirty, the likelihood of her marrying uxorilocally if she married, and, most strikingly, the likelihood of her bearing a child before marriage. What mattered most is whether or not the woman had a brother or foster brother, but the brother's being older or younger also made difference. The strongest contrast was between women who had no brothers and those who had at least one older brother. In the field sites represented in Table 6.10 the latter were 9.3 times as likely to remain unmarried at age thirty, 7.8 times as likely to marry uxorilocally, and 5.9 times as likely to bear a child before marriage. This means that women who had no brothers were seven or eight times as likely to be forced into life courses that were considered irregular if not positively disgraceful.

Although Taiwanese men enjoyed many advantages denied women, their lives were also subject to the disruptive influences of sibling position. Table 6.1l shows that their position at age fifteen effected men's future as decisively as it did women's. Again what mattered most was the presence of brothers and their relative ages. The difference was that that the more brothers a man had the more likely it was that his life would take a deviant course with the sharpest contrast being between men with no brothers and those with both older and younger brothers. When we limit our analysis to men who parents were both alive at age fifteen we find that men with men with both older and younger brothers were 240 times as likely to marry uxorilocally as men with no brothers. It was better to marry uxorilocally than not marry at all, but the man who left his parents to live with his wife parents was always looked down on by his neighbors. He was either disparaged as a man who had failed his ancestors or condemned as a man who had abandoned his parents.

I have argued above that the keystone of the Chinese kinship system was what I call "state partriarchy." Because the state underwrote their authority as their side in the Confucian pact, Chinese parents enjoyed an unparalleled ability to control their adult as well as their sub-adult children. The evidence I promised for this claim is in the tables presented in this and the previous section. We see there that people's life courses were largely set by their sibling position. The reason

was that with the backing of the state, parents were able to dispose of their children as their personal resources. The result was that what happened to a child depended on what other recourse his parents commanded. Those whose parents had few resources were used one way, while those whose parents enjoyed many resources were used another. It was a cruel system but no more so that than systems in which children's lives were disposed of by the market forces of the moment.

Table 7.10 Proportion of Hai-shan Women Failing to Marry, Marrying Uxorilocally, or Bearing a Child Before Marriage by Number of

Number of brothers at age fifteen	Brothers Present at Age Fifteen			
	Number of women	Percent failing to marry	Percent marring uxorilocally	Percent bearing a child before marriage
No brothers	396	19.6	25.8	39.1
Younger brothers only	693	6.9	12.7	18.6
At least one older brother	1,286	2.1	3.3	6.6

Table 7.11 Percent of Men Who Married Uxorilocally by Number of Brothers and Presence of Parents at Age Fifteen

	Both parents alive		One or both parents dead	
	Number of men	Percent uxorilocal	Number of men	Percent uxorilocal
No brothers	292	0.3	306	7.5
No older brothers, one younger brother	746	2	205	7.8
No older brothers, two ore more younger brothers	1,107	2	140	5
One older brother, no younger brothers	354	4.2	186	11.8
One older brother, one younger brothers	289	4.5	87	9.2
One older brother, two or more younger brothers	368	5.7	61	4.9
Two or more older brothers, no younger brothers	200	5.5	119	7.7
Two or more older brothers, one younger brother	152	7.2	46	17.4
Two or more older brothers, two or more younger brothers	428	7.2	161	10.6

6. Urban Life

Although China is an old empire and as such has long supported large urban centers, the great majority of Chinese have lived their lives in villages and small towns. Knowing this, researchers have concentrated their efforts on rural communities, the result being that we know very little about many aspects of life in Chinese cities. The papers collected in G. William Skinner's The City in Late Imperial China tell us when city walls were built and how long they were, but do not tell us how many children people had or how long they lived. I know of no study of fertility or mortality in any Chinese city other than Hong Kong.

Thus one of the many values of the Taiwan household registers is that they cover all the island's cities and towns. Since the urban registers were compiled under the same rules and recorded on the same forms as the rural registers, the sufficiently determined researcher can calculate for Taipei and Tainan the same rates he might calculate for a village or town. The only limitation is time and/or money.

Tables 7.12 and 7.13 are intended to demonstrate what might be learned by the effort. They compare male and female marriage rates in Taipei City with those found in three towns and thirteen rural localities included in the two Archives. The Taipei City data includes the oldest and most highly commercialized neighborhoods in Ta-tao-ch'eng and Meng-chia. In the colonial period they were financial centers and thus in one sense the most urban places in Taiwan. The three towns were essentially service centers and included almost as many farmers, fishermen, and laborers as shop keepers and petty bureaucrats.

Table 7.12 shows that women in Taipei City married later than women elsewhere and often did not marry at all. The difference between Taipei and the other sites is striking and entirely unanticipated. Where the probability of marrying by age twenty exceeded .60 in all the other sites and .80 in nine sites, the probability was only .46 in Taipei City. And where the probability of marriage by age thirty-five exceeded .95 in all the other sites and achieved near unity in seven sites, it only managed .74 in Taipei City. This means that more than a quarter of all the women living in the older parts of Taipei City never married. It says that the marriage rate in Taipei City was lower than the Northwestern European rates that have long been considered "unique or almost unique in the world."[46]

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[46] John Hajnal, "European marriage patterns in perspective," in Population in History, ed. D. V. Glass and E. C. Eversley (London: Edward Arnold, 1965), p. 101.

Table 7.13 offers another view of the differences between Taipei City and our rural study sites. It says that while urban men married later and in smaller numbers than rural men, the differences were small compared to the differences between urban and rural women. The surprising result is that contrary to the situation in all our rural sites, men in Taipei were more likely to marry than women. The difference is not great but is the opposite of what demographers have come to expect in Chinese communities. Whatever they were the forces that shaped the marriage market in Taipei City they worked differently than those at play in rural marriage markets.

My initial interpretation was that the low marriage rate among urban women had feminist origins. My thought was that wanting to avoid what they regarded as a form of oppression, many women took advantage of the employment opportunities they found in the city to escape marriage. I even published this interpretation before I discovered my mistake.[47] I only realized the truth when I noticed that in Taipei City as in Shu-lin and San-hsia, most of the women who failed to marry had no older brothers. This suggested that rather than being the result of a feminist revolt, the low marriage rate in Taipei City was only another manifestation of parental authority. It was just that given different opportunities, urban parents used their authority differently than rural parents. Instead of pushing their daughters to marry at or shortly after menarche, they commonly refused to let them marry because they wanted the money they could earn. When I compared the proportion of women remaining unmarried in Taipei City, peri-urban Hai-shan, and rural Hsin-chu, I got the result displayed numerically in Talbe 7.14 and graphically in Figure 7.1. The fact that the pattern in the three localities is exactly the same says that parental authority was as absolute in the city as in the country. The differences in the likelihood of womens' marrying were entirely the result of differences in the how they could be employed.[48]

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[47] Arthur P. Wolf, "Women and tea in the Taipei Basin: An essay in honor of Wang Shih-ch'ing," Taiwan Historical Research, vol. 10 (2003), pp. 111-130.

[48] This argument is developed in greater detail in Arthur P. Wolf and Hill Gates, "Marriage in Taipei City: Reasons for rethinking Chinese demography," International Journal of Asian Studies, vol. 2 (2005), pp. 111-133.

Table 7.12 Probability of Marrying By Selected Ages Among All Women Coming Under Observation Before Age 50

Field site	Probability of Marring by Selected Ages									
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	25	30	35
Northern Taiwan										
San-hsia*	0.3	0.46	0.59	0.68	0.74	0.79	0.81	0.87	0.89	0.9
Shu-lin*	0.3	0.46	0.59	0.68	0.74	0.79	0.81	0.87	0.89	0.9
Chu-pei	0.32	0.52	0.66	0.77	0.85	0.89	0.92	0.94	0.96	0.97
E-mei	0.27	0.43	0.58	0.72	0.81	0.86	0.9	0.95	0.97	0.97
Pei-p'u	0.36	0.56	0.71	0.83	0.88	0.91	0.93	0.95	0.98	0.98
Wu-chieh	0.35	0.54	0.68	0.79	0.86	0.91	0.93	0.95	0.97	0.98
Ta-tao-ch'eng	0.14	0.22	0.32	0.4	0.46	0.52	0.57	0.64	0.7	0.74
Meng-chia	0.13	0.21	0.3	0.4	0.48	0.54	0.59	0.67	0.72	0.75
Central Taiwan										
Chu-shan	0.17	0.33	0.5	0.75	0.9	0.96	0.98	0.99	1	1
Lu-kang	0.25	0.43	0.6	0.75	0.84	0.9	0.93	0.97	0.99	0.99
Ta-ch'ia	0.2	0.32	0.45	0.6	0.71	0.78	0.85	0.93	0.95	0.98
Shen-kang	0.16	0.3	0.44	0.61	0.75	0.81	0.86	0.93	0.96	0.97
Southern Taiwan										
Ta-nei	0.18	0.34	0.49	0.7	0.83	0.91	0.95	0.99	0.99	0.99
Chi-pei	0.17	0.35	0.53	0.74	0.87	0.91	0.97	1	1	1
Chiu-ju	0.09	0.21	0.39	0.62	0.76	0.89	0.94	0.98	0.98	1
Tung-kang	0.16	0.28	0.4	0.58	0.69	0.79	0.85	0.93	0.95	0.96
An-p'ing	0.13	0.25	0.36	0.54	0.67	0.78	0.86	0.94	0.97	0.97
Pescadores										
Ma-kung	0.16	0.3	0.44	0.64	0.75	0.82	0.87	0.92	0.93	0.94
Hu-hsi	0.09	0.21	0.32	0.51	0.64	0.73	0.78	0.87	0.92	0.93
Pai-sha	0.09	0.18	0.33	0.52	0.65	0.76	0.84	0.95	0.96	0.97

*San-hsia and Shu-lin figures are for women born 1885-1930.

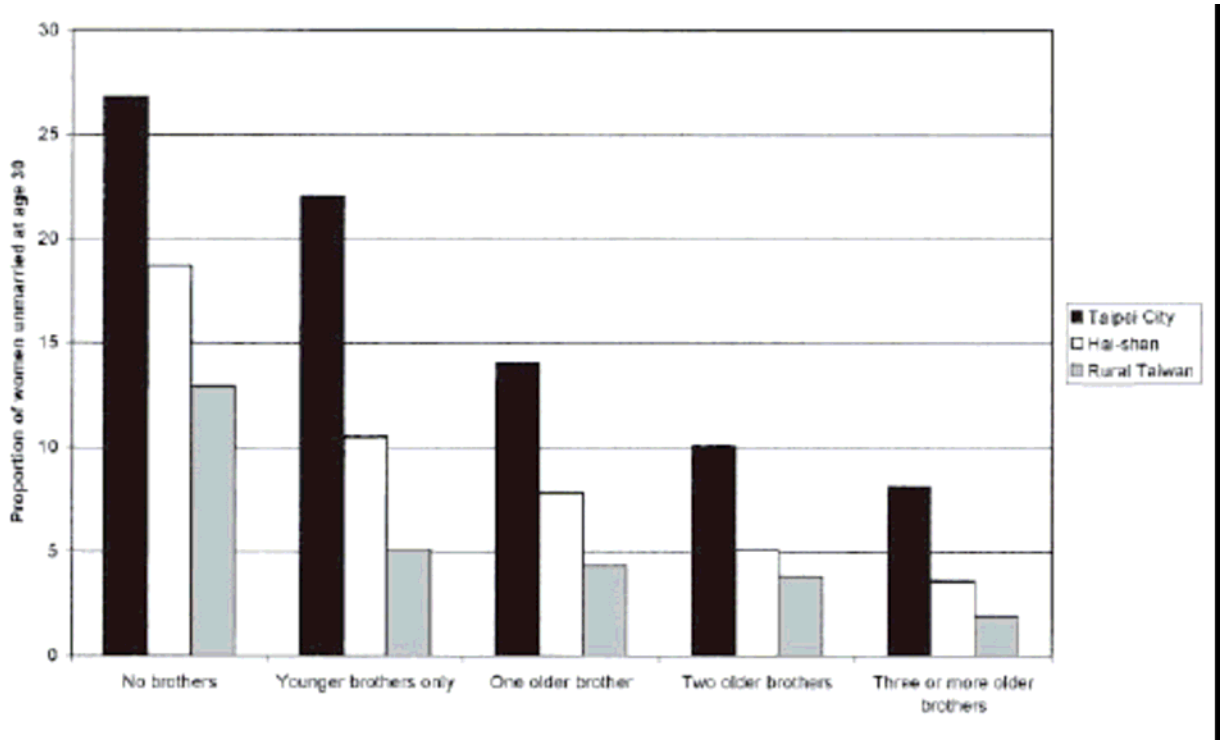
Table 7.13 Probability of Marrying By Selected Ages Among All Men Coming Under Observation Before Age 50

Field site	Probability of Marring by Selected Ages									
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	25	30	35
Northern Taiwan										
San-hsia										
Shu-lin										
Chu-pei	0.04	0.09	0.17	0.28	0.39	0.21	0.59	0.78	0.9	0.93
E-mei	0.05	0.12	0.2	0.31	0.42	0.54	0.62	0.81	0.91	0.94
Pei-p'u	0.06	0.12	0.18	0.3	0.4	0.51	0.61	0.78	0.89	0.92
Wu-chieh	0.02	0.07	0.16	0.29	0.4	0.52	0.61	0.78	0.89	0.92
Ta-tao-ch'eng	0.01	0.04	0.09	0.16	0.25	0.35	0.43	0.63	0.75	0.81
Meng-chia	0.02	0.06	0.1	0.17	0.25	0.32	0.39	0.58	0.73	0.79
Central Taiwan										
Chu-shan	0.01	0.05	0.09	0.19	0.3	0.41	0.51	0.77	0.91	0.94
Lu-kang	0	0.02	0.05	0.14	0.25	0.37	0.49	0.75	0.91	0.93
Ta-ch'ia	0.03	0.07	0.14	0.25	0.39	0.51	0.6	0.76	0.87	0.91
Shen-kang	0.02	0.05	0.1	0.21	0.31	0.44	0.52	0.78	0.92	0.94
Southern Taiwan										
Ta-nei	0.02	0.06	0.12	0.23	0.35	0.49	0.6	0.82	0.93	0.95
Chi-pei	0.02	0.05	0.11	0.2	0.33	0.47	0.58	0.76	0.9	0.93
Chiu-ju	0.01	0.03	0.11	0.23	0.36	0.52	0.58	0.81	0.92	0.96
Tung-kang	0.01	0.02	0.06	0.12	0.22	0.32	0.45	0.7	0.85	0.88
An-p'ing	0	0.01	0.02	0.05	0.09	0.18	0.28	0.61	0.85	0.9
Pescadores										
Ma-kung	0.01	0.03	0.07	0.17	0.29	0.42	0.54	0.79	0.88	0.91
Hu-hsi	0.01	0.03	0.07	0.13	0.22	0.34	0.48	0.76	0.91	0.93
Pai-sha	0.01	0.03	0.09	0.18	0.31	0.47	0.63	0.83	0.93	0.95

Table 7.14 Proportion of Women Unmarried at Age 30 by Locality and Number of Younger and Older Brothers at Age 15

Location	Number of brothers at Age 15				
	No brothers	Younger brothers only	One older brother	Two older brothers	Three or more older brothers
Number of women					
Taipei City	501	549	465	198	111
Hai-shan	603	916	818	492	390
Rural Taiwan	629	1,503	1,107	740	647
Proportion unmarried at age 30					
Taipei City	26.8	22	14	10.1	8.1
Hai-shan	18.7	10.5	7.8	5.1	3.6
Rural Taiwan	12.9	5.1	4.3	3.8	1.9

Figure 7.1 Proportion of Women Remaining Unmarried at Age Thirty by Number Older and Younger Brothers at Age Fifteen



VIII. THE STANFORD ARCHIVE

The procedure Huang Chieh-shan and I followed in creating the Stanford Archive was laborious but produced a record that made it easy to follow a household through time and see why it developed as it did. Our first step was to locate all of a family's registers and then list in chronological order all the events that shaped its composition. This done, it was easy to reconstruct its composition on January 1, 1906, the date we took as the beginning of the registration system. All we needed to do was to set aside all those persons who had not entered the household by that date. The composition of the household was then charted on a 5" x 8" card. The result in the case of the Chen household taken as my example in Figures 2.1 and 2.2 is shown Figure 7.1. The chart says that the on January 1, 1906, the household consisted of the head (the man numbered one), his widowed mother (who had married in the minor fashion), his three children (two sons and an adopted daughter), his three younger brothers (the eldest having already married), and his two adopted sisters-in-law.

Having charted the composition of a household in 1906, we then re-charted it every its composition changed, producing a series of 5" x 8" cards that recapitulated its history, event by event. When a family divided into two or more segments, we set aside members of the junior segments and followed the senior segment through to the end of the Japanese period. This done, we returned to the point of division and reconstructed the history of each of the junior branches. The final product is a chromatically ordered set of kinship charts that display the precise composition of the household at every point in time from January 1, 1906, and December 31, 1945. The researcher can review the history of a household as quickly as he can turn the cards that depict its changing composition. He can immediately see how the composition of a household might have effected the decision to give away a daughter or allow a son to marry uxorilocally.

The household shown in Figure 7.1 endured as a unit until October 22, 1922, when it divided along the lines shown in Figure 7.2. During these seventeen years, its composition changed forty times. Fifteen children were born; seven children and one adult died; two women and one married into the household; and two couples reared in the household came of age and married. This is why I describe the process as laborious. It took seven years (and approximately 27 person years) to reconstruct the histories of the 3,000 families included in the Stanford Archive.

Figure 8.1 The Ch'en Family on January 1, 1906

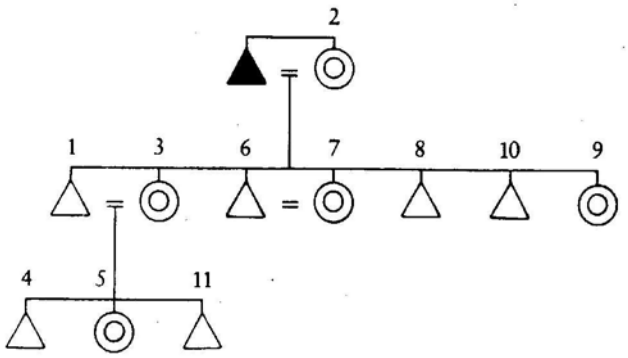
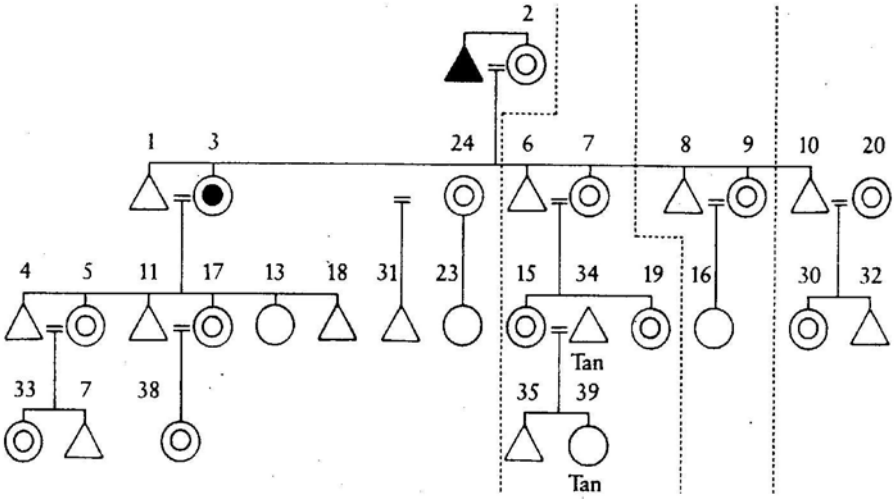


Figure 8.2 The Ch'en Family after Division of October 22, 1922

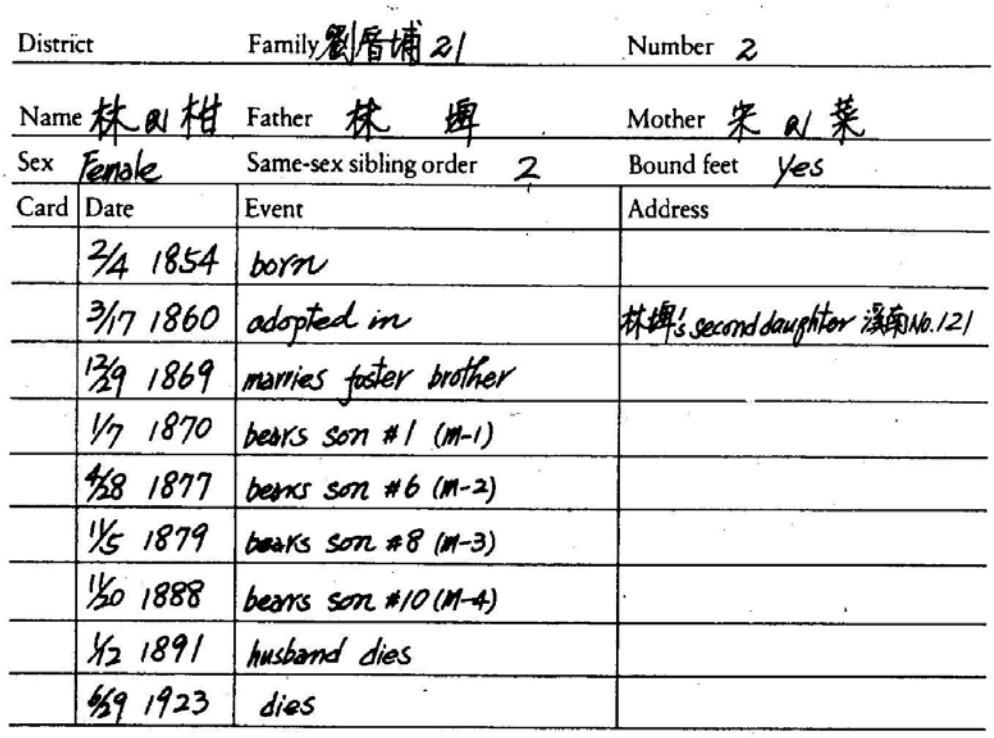


The cards depicting household composition (which I call "event cards") are indispensible for many purposes, but they do not carry all the information recorded in the registers. They omit the birth dates of people born outside of the household or before the registers were established, and they are silent concerning the previous lives of people who entered the household by way of marriage or adoption. This information was preserved on what I call "biography cards" or "person cards." As we extracted the information used to construct household composition, we prepared for each person a card of the kind shown in Figure 7.3. The information on these cards is essentially the same as that recorded in the person columns of the original registers. We identify the subject of each card by name, father's name, mother's name, sex, and same-sex sibling order, and then list in chronological order the major events in his life. The only significant difference is that the cards for women include the birth dates and sex of each of their children. We did so to facilitate calculating fertility rates.

Often all the information one needs can be obtained by examining either the event cards or the person cards, but some questions require information from both sets of cards. To link the two we assigned a number to each person as well as to each household. Thus if one wants the birthdate of a person identified as 22 on an event card, he need only consult person card 22 in her household's file. When a person who had already been assigned a number in one household appeared in a second household (as was often the case because of marriage and adoption), we assigned him (or, more often, her) a second number, but did not prepare a second person card. All that appears in the file of the second household is a colored index card equating the two numbers. This precludes counting the one person twice and provides a means of tracing people across households as well as through time.

It is important to know that the Stanford files do not contain all the information recorded in the original household registers. We did not bother with rare and inconsequential events like "changes name", "acquires citizenship," and "denounces citizenship." More importantly, we did not include such events as "registers as sojourner" and "registers as sojourner with so-and-so." In other words, though they would be valuable for some purposes, we did not include events concerning temporary change of residence, limiting ourselves to events that effected a permanent change in household composition. The reason was simply that it would have greatly increased what was already a very heavy burden.

Figure 8.3 Sample Biography (or Person) Card



District Family 劉厝埔 21 Number 2

Name 林劉柑 Father 林 塿 Mother 宋劉菜

Sex Female Same-sex sibling order 2 Bound feet Yes

Card	Date	Event	Address
	2/4 1854	born	
	3/17 1860	adopted in	林塿's second daughter 漳南No.121
	12/29 1869	marries foster brother	
	1/7 1870	bears son #1 (M-1)	
	4/28 1877	bears son #6 (M-2)	
	11/5 1879	bears son #8 (M-3)	
	11/30 1888	bears son #10 (M-4)	
	1/2 1891	husband dies	
	6/29 1923	dies	

When I moved to Stanford I considered computerizing this process and asked the computer science center to estimate how much it would cost. It was a memorable experience. The two men sent to consult were used to dealing with questionnaire data of the kind collected by survey sociologists. When I explained that my units were households and individuals in household, they looked worried. And when I further explained that the composition of the households changed and individuals moved between households, they looked very worried and said they would get back to me in few days. Their response was that the estimate I wanted would cost $10,000. I took this as saying that computer science was a long way from dealing with Taiwan's household registers.

I therefore continued to reconstruct households on 5" x 8" cards and eventually completed all the households in eleven villages and two towns in Shu-lin and San-hsia. I never attempted to computerize the process described above, but eventually I was forced to computerize the analysis. It got to the point that it took two or three days to calculate a figure as simple as average age at marriage. To speed up the process I created a set of ASCII files for the women living in each of the thirteen communities. It was limited to women who survived to age fifteen and included only the

information needed to calculate such basic demographic rates as age-specific fertility and the probability of divorce. The analytic programs were written in Pascal by Phillip Ritter who is now a data analyst at the Stanford University Hospital.

These initial ASCCII files were expanded dozens of time as my interests grew. I created a second set of files for males, included in the files children as well as adults, added space to note adopted children as well as natural children, and eventually inserted columns noting what happened to these children. The most costly expansion—in both time and money—was the addition of land tax data. The data entered was the total amount of land tax paid by the household in which the subject lived at the time of each of the events that constitute his or her life history. This allows one to determine how a child's chances of survival were effected by his household's resources. It even allows one to take account of whether the household's resources have been expanding or contracting.

A special feature of the computerized files is the inclusion of codes concerning the fate of the subject's children. These codes appear on the same line as the child's birth or adoption and are dated. The files allow for three events, but do not include events after he/she marries. The great majority of the events noted are death, adoption, and marriage. The purpose of these codes is to allow one to assess the influences of sibling order on infant and children mortality, probability of adoption, and form of marriage. They made it easy to compare the fate of children born or adopted by parents with X number of surviving boys and X number of surviving girls.

The final version of the Stanford files includes a code indicating whether or not the subject's parents or parents-in-law were members of his household at the time of each event. This was added to allow me to determine whether or not decisions concerning marriage and adoption were influenced by the presence of an older generation. Except for a simple code indicating whether the subject was living as a dependent in another household, this is the only information in the Stanford files concerning household structure. One cannot use these files to calculate household size or determine the relative frequency of simple, stem, and grand households. These calculations require hand counts using the 5" x 8" event cards.

Thus the Stanford Archive includes two sets of materials—cards that reconstruct the histories of households and individuals and computerized files that are limited to individuals. We have already seen above a sample of the cards. The variables and their codes are defined in Table 8.1, and their file names and file locations are listed in Table 8.2. There are a total of 26 files—thirteen for men and thirteen for women. The names of the files (e.g, Chinan. [male] and Chinan. [female]) are

the names of the thirteen communities included in the Stanford Archive.

Table 8.3 provides a sample of the computerized files of seven women in Ch'i-nan li in San-hsia chen. The files of individual women are separated by an end code (999) in columns 2-4. All of the files begin with the woman's birth (event 01) and end with her death (event 91), her departure by marriage or adoption (events 30 and 10), or the end of the household registers (event 96). The files include the birth dates of all the children the women adopted while living in the study site as well as all the children she bore.

Table 8.1 Variables in the Computerized Stanford Files

District number (District)

This is an assigned number—one for each of thirteen for the thirteen districts in the computerized Stanford Archive. The numbers for the districts are as follows:

Ch'i-pei.....1

Ch'i-nan.....2

Ch'i-tung.....3

Lung-p'u.....4

Chiao-ch'i.....5

Chia-t'ien.....6

Ch'eng-fu.....7

San-hsia.....8

Ch'i-chou.....9

Sha-lun.....10

Peng-tso.....11

P'o-nei.....12

Shu-lin.....13

House number (House)

This is also an assigned number. The number begins anew for each of the thirteen districts.

Person identity number (Person)

This again is an assigned number. Like the house number, it begins anew in each of the thirteen districts.

Control codes (Control)

This is a code created to avoid the error of including in a count periods in a person's life when he was not living in the study site. The record for these periods is incomplete (see page XX).

1.....Comes under observation in 1906 or on entering study area

2.....Lost to observation in 1946 or on leaving study area

Event (Event)

The events are the core of the individual files and are best thought of as computerized versions of the person cards described above (see page XX). The only difference is that in a few cases the English on the cards has been revised for the sake of clarity and/or consistency. "Marries foster brother" on the cards becomes "marries in the minor fashion" in the computerized file," and "husband marries in" becomes "marries uxorilocally."

Only two events require special attention—"bears male child (date unknown)" and "bears female child (date unknown)." These are inferred events included to makes women's life histories as complete as possible. Often the same-sex sibling orders of a woman's surviving children say that she bore children who did not survive to be registered. These were children she bore before 1906 or while living outside of the study area. I have included these children by assigning them birth dates in the middle of the woman's longest birth interval.

01.....Is born legitimate (also 81)

02.....Is born illegitimate (also 82)

10.....Is adopted into or out of household (also 83)

11.....Is adopted within the household

12.....Is adopted in or out when mother marries

13.....Is adopted in or out when father marries

14.....Is adopted in or out when mother divorces

15.....Is adopted in or out when father divorces

16.....Is bought or sold as ca-bo-kan

17.....Is recognized as own child by father

18.....Registers in or out when mother marries

19.....Registers in or out when father marries

20.....Registers in or out when mother divorces

21.....Registers in or out when father divorces

22.....Terminates status as adopted child

30.....Marries in major fashion (first marriage)

31.....Marries in minor fashion (first marriage)

32.....Marries uxorilocally (first marriage)

33.....Marries in family but not in sibling set

34.....Takes concubine or marries as concubine

35.....Concubine becomes wife

36.....Remarries virilocally

37.....Remarries uxorilocally

38.....Marries but form unknown

39.....Husband or wife dies

40.....Husband or wife disappears

41.....Divorces

51.....Bears male child (date known)

52.....Bears female child (date known)

53.....Bears male child (date unknown)

54.....Bears female child (date unkown)

55.....Adopts boy as pieng-lieng-kia:

56.....Adopts boy as ke-pang-kia:

57.....Adopts girl as sim-pua

58.....Adopts girl as long-lu

59.....Takes girl as ca-bo-kan

60.....Boy adopted out returns

61.....Girl adopted out returns

62.....Son returns after divorce

63.....Daughter returns after divorce

64.....Recognizes boy as own child

65.....Recognizes girl as own child

85.....Comes under observation when registers open in 1906

86.....Male joins family as t'ung-chu-jen or comes under observation when family moves in

87.....Female joins family as t'ung-chu-jen or comes under observation when family moves in

88.....Succeeds as household head when previous head dies

89.....Becomes household head at division of a household

90.....Retires as household head

91.....Dies

92.....Dies and descent line terminated

93.....Family moves and lost to observation

94.....Subject disappears

95.....Records end with no explanation

96.....Subject present when records end in 1946

Bound feet (Feet)

"Bound" means the woman's feet had been bound and were still bound when the registers were established; "unbound" means that her feet had been bound but were unbound by this time

1.....Bound

2.....Unbound

3.....Never Bound

Event date (E_month, E-day, and E_year

Ethnicity (Ethnicity)

"Plains aborigine" is the equivalents of shu-fan ("cooked savage") in the registers, and "Mountain aborigine" is the equivalent of sheng-fan ("raw savage") in the registers.

1.....Hokkien (Min)

2.....Hakka (Ke-chia)

3.....Plains aborigine

4.....Mountain aborigine

5.....Japanese

6.....Mainland Chinese (Ch'ing)

7.....Other

Status of parents (Parents)

Depending on the subject's situation (adopted or not, married or unmarried), the code refers to his/her parents, foster parents, or parents-law. All changes (e.g., the death of the subject's father or father-in-law) are treated as events and dated in columns 23-30 (e_month, e_day, and e_year). Thus the code indicates which of a subject's parents, if any, were present at every point in time.

1.....no parents, foster parents, or parents-in-law

2.....both parents, foster parents, or parents-in-law

3.....father, foster father, or father-in-law, but no mother, foster mother, or mother-in-law

4.....mother, foster mother, or mother-in-law, but no father, foster father, or father-in-law

5.....father, foster father, or father-in-law with second wife or woman married after subject was born or adopted

6.....mother, foster mother, or mother-in-law with second husband or man married after subject was born or adopted

7.....no parents, father's second wife

8.....no parents, mother's second husband

Family Situation (Family)

This code preserves some of the information in the household cards. It identifies persons living alone, living alone except for dependent children, or living as dependents in a relative's household. One purpose is to locate instances in which an elderly parent was living with a son or daughter who had married out of their natal household.

1.....subject living alone

2.....subject living alone except for adopted children or grandchildren less than 15 years of age

3.....subject living alone except for natural children or grandchildren less than 15 years of age

4.....subject living alone except for unmarried siblings

5.....subject living as dependent without children

6.....subject living as dependent in family with virilocally married daughter or adopted daughter

7.....subject living as dependent in family with uxorilocally married son or adopted son

Identity number of spouse, child, or adopted child (O_identity)

Birthdate of spouse or adopted child (O_month, O_day, O_year)

Sibling order (Sib_order)

First event in life of child or adopted child (a_event)

This is the first event after the person has entered the household. If the person enters the household more then once, it is the event following the most recent entry. The codes for this event are as follows:

01.....Dies

02.....Is adopted out of the family

03.....Is adopted out of family when parent marries leaves

04.....Is given away as ca-bo-kan

05.....Is adopted within the family

06.....Terminates adoption and leaves

07.....Returns after being given out in adoption

08.....Leaves when mother leaves the family (but is not adopted out of family)

09.....Bears illegitimate child (females only)

10.....Registers child as own while unmarried (males only)

11.....Adopts child while still unmarried

12.....Marries in major fashion (first marriage)

13.....Marries in minor fashion (first marriage)

14.....Marries uxorilocally (first marriage)

15.....Marries in family but not in sibling set

16.....Takes concubine or marries as concubine

17.....Leaves with parent when parent divorces or remarries

18.....Lost to observation when family moves

19.....Lost to observation by means other than above

20.....Present when registers close in 1946

Date of first event in life of a child (a_month, a_day, a_year)

Minor marriage status of subject's children

This is a constructed code included to facilitate the analysis of adoption and minor marriages. It indicates whether or not children born or adopted into the household were matched for a minor marriage. Children who did not actually marry in the minor fashion are considered matched if there

is an unmatched sibling of the opposite less than seven years older or less than three years younger. The code also indicates whether or not matched couples had an opportunity to marry by noting cases if which the boy or girl died before age fifteen or was given out in adoption before age fifteen. Thus the code can be used to identify cases in which it is likely that the couple refused to marry.

1...Not matched for minor marriage

2...Matched with younger girl/boy but dies before both are 15

3...Matched with older girl/boy but dies before both are 15

4...Matched with younger girl/boy who dies before both are 15

5...Matched with older girl/boy who dies before both are 15

6...Matched with younger girl/boy given away before both are15

7...Matched with older girl/boy given away before both are 15

8...Matched with younger girl/boy who moves before both are 15

9...Matched with older girl/boy who moves before both are 15

Second event in life of a child (b_event)

Codes are the same as for the first event.

Date of second event in life of a child (b_month, b_day, b_year)

Third event in life of a child (c_event)

Codes are the same as for the first event.

Date of third event in life of a child (c_month, c_day, c_year)

Occupation (occupation)

Table 8.2 Names and Locations of Variables in Stanford Files

Variable	Name	Location
District number	district	2-3
House number	house	4-7
Person identity number	person	8-12
Land tax	landtax1	13-15
Land tax	landtax2	16-18
Control code	control	20
Event	event	20-21
Bound feet	feet	22
Event month	e_month	23-24
Event day	e_day	25-26
Event year	e_year	27-30
Ethnicity	ethnicity	31
Presence of parents or parents-in-law	parents	32
Identity number of spouse or adopted child	id_other	33-37
Ego living alone or as dependent	situation	38
Birth month of spouse or adopted child	o_month	39-40
Birth day of spouse or adopted child	o_day	41-42
Birth year of spouse or adopted child	o_year	43-46
Sibling order of subject	sib_order	47
First event in life of child	a-event	48-49
Month of first event in life of child	a_month	50-51
Day of first event in life of child	a_day	52-53
Year of first event in life of child	a_year	54-57

Table 8.3 Sample of the Computerized Stanford Files

```
3  9  4          011 11518801
3  9  4          10  1141888
3  9  4          32 12 21898        3 10221877
3  9  4          52 11211903        5          12 1 21924
3  9  4          57  8261905        6  9 41903 1211191924
3  9  4 13691185  1 11906 1
3  9  4 13691 51 10131906 1     9            01 9 91907
3  9  4 13691 51  2251909 1    11            12 4221929
3  9  4 12416       1 11911 1
3  9  4  1835      3221912 1
3  9  4  1835 51  4141913 1    37            0111 61919
3  9  4  6690      1 11916 1
3  9  4  6690 51 11151918 1    38            0111 21921
3  9  4  7914      1 11921 1
3  9  4  7914 51 10251923 1    39            20 1 11946
3  9  4  7339      1 11926 1
3  9  4  5861      1 11931 1
3  9  4  5146      1 11936 1
3  9  4  6555      1 11941 1
3  9  4  6555 39  2101943 1
3  9  4        296  1 11946
999
3  9  6          01  9 419031
3  9  6          10  8261905
3  9  6 13691185  1 11906 2
3  9  6 12416       1 11911 2
3  9  6  1853      3221912 2
```

3 9 6 6690 1 11916 2
3 9 6 7914 1 11921 2
3 70 23 0 0 30 11191924 4 7 1171904
3 70 23 0 0 11221924 4
3 70 23 0 0 52 5151927 4 37 12 2201945
3 70 23 0 0 51 1 21930 4 38 20 1 11946
3 70 23 0 0 51 3 21933 4 39 20 1 11946
3 70 23 0 0 52 8281935 4 40 2 11936 02 2 11936
3 70 23 0 0 52 7261941 4 43 20 1 11946
3 70 23 0 0 7 11943 4
3 70 23 296 1 11946
999
3 9 8 011 7 619051
3 9 8 13691110 7281906 4
3 9 8 12416 1 11911 4
3 9 8 14301 3221912 4
3 9 8 16240 1 11916 4
3 9 8 18944 1 11921 4
3 9 8 18944 31 10261923 4 1 9 11897
3 9 8 18944 52 2 61925 4 19 12 3111945
3 9 8 18369 1 11926 4
3 9 8 18369 51 3 71927 4 20 20 1 11946
3 9 8 18369 52 11131929 4 22 02 6111930
3 9 8 9675 1 11931 4
3 9 8 9675 52 2221932 4 23 0212131932
3 9 8 9675 52 3 91935 4 26 02 3101935
3 9 8 9675 58 12251935 4 27 1261935 0110191938
3 9 8 9781 1 11936 4
3 9 8 9781 51 9241937 4 29 20 1 11946

3 9 8 9781 51 10141940 4 30 20 1 11946
3 9 8 12812 1 11941 4
3 9 8 12812 52 3251944 4 34 20 1 11946
3 9 8 296 1 11946
999
3 9 12 13691101 320190914
1 143 22 0 0 10 11171909 2
1 143 22 0 0 3201912 2
1 143 22 230 1211929
999
3 9 27 01 12619351
3 9 27 9675110 12251935 2
3 9 27 9781 1 11936 2
3 9 27 291 10191938
999
3 12 4 01 82818841
3 12 4 10 11 81886
3 12 4 31 12301900 3 2241877
3 12 4 51 8171902 6 13 8291930
3 12 4 1847185 1 11906 2
3 12 4 1847 57 10 81909 2 10 11 71906 12 4201928
3 12 4 1847 51 12281909 2 11 12 4121941
3 12 4 1847 1281910 4
3 12 4 4 78 1 11911 4
3 12 4 4 78 51 2 51913 4 14 12 1181942
3 12 4 4 78 39 11301913 4
3 12 4 4 78 51 12 11914 4 15 01 8211915
3 12 4 5 21 1 11916 4
3 12 4 5 21 52 9101918 4 17 01 9101918

3 12 4 5678 1 11921 4

3 12 4 5687 8 71922 1

3 12 4 5687 52 7 91925 1 22 01 7111929

3 12 4 5737 1 11926 1

3 12 4 5737 58 4221929 1 24 9 71915 13 8291930

3 12 4 6653 1 11931 1

3 12 4 3322 12281933 1

3 12 4 1607 1 11936 1

3 12 4 2 43 1 11941 1

3 12 4 296 1 11946

999

3 28 5 011 31018841

3 28 5 10 5 71884

3 28 5 31 12301902 4 10101879

3 28 5 33669185 1 11906 3

3 28 5 24 7 1 11911 3

3 28 5 24 7 52 12171912 3 16 09 2221931 12 7261935

3 28 5 4587 5 21914 3

3 28 5 9969 1 11916 3

3 28 5 7962 1 11921 3

3 28 5 7298 2 51923 3

3 28 5 6623 1 11926 3

3 28 5 1515 1 11931 3

3 28 5 1515 55 9291931 3 22 12301930 20 1 11946

3 28 5 1515 10 71931 1

3 28 5 2 32 1 11936 1

3 28 5 2 32 39 5 21939 1

3 28 5 2791 1 11941 1

3 28 5 296 1 11946

```
999
  3  35    3          01   1 518841
  3  35    3          30   2131903          1   1251878
  3  35    3   0327185   1 11906 4
  3  35    3   0327 52   7 71906 4      6               02 2121907
  3  35    3   0327 57   2151907 4      7 12201906 09 8 51923 14 8151925
  3  35    3   0327 52   7 11909 4      8               02 8251909
  3  35    3   0723       1 11911 4
  3  35    3   2144       8151911 4
  3  35    3   2144 52   7141912 4      9               0211 31914
  3  35    3   2144 52 12 81914 4     10               02 2151915
  3  35    3   3231       1 11916 4
  3  35    3   3231 51   7161916 4     11               1211 51944
  3  35    3   3231 52 12201919 4     12               01 1 71920
  3  35    3   0   0      1 11921 4
  3  35    3   0   0 51   6101922 4     13               02 1 81923
  3  35    3   0   0 51 12161923 4     15               0210 81924
  3  35    3   0   0      1281940 1
  3  35    3        296   1 11946
999
```

The subject of the first file (3-9-4) was born (event 01) in 1880, adopted into the household in 1888 (event 10), and married uxorilocally (event 32) in 1898. She bore children (events 51 and 52) in 1903, 1906, 1909, 1913, 1918, and 1923, and adopted one child (event 57) in 1905. Three of her seven children died young (a_event 01), three married out of the family in the major fashion (a_event 12), and one was still living at home in 1946 (a_event 20). The woman's husband died in 1943 (event 39).

The subject of the second file (3-9-6) was born (event 01) in 1903 and adopted (event 10) into the household in 1905. She married out of her foster household in the major fashion (event 30) in

1924. Her husband was a landless farmer (he paid no land tax) living in the same village as her foster family (which we know because while the subject's family number and person number change when she marries, her district number does not). She bore five children (events 51 and 52) in quick succession in 1927, 1930, 1933, 1935, and 1941. The third child (a girl) was given out in adoption (a_event 02) as an infant, and the eldest (also a girl) married out of the household (a_event 12) in 1945.

The subject of the third file (3-9-8) was born (event 01) in 1905 and adopted into the household (event 10) in 1906. She married in the minor fashion (event 31) in 1923 and bore eight children (events 51 and 52) and adopted one girl as a long-lu (event 58). Her adopted daughter was taken in 1935 (at age ten months) and died in 1938. The subject gave away three of her five female children (a_event 02) within a year of their birth. The other children were all alive and living as members of the subject's household in 1946 (a_event 20).

The subject of the fourth file (3-9-21) was born in 1909 and given out (event 10) to another village (Ch'ipei) in the study site later the same year. She married out of her foster household (event 30) in 1930. Her file ends with her marriage because she married out of the study site.

The subject of the fifth file (3-9-27) was born (event 01) and adopted into the household (event 10) in 1935. Her file is short because she died (event 91) in 1938 at age three.

The subject of the fifth file (3-12-4) was born in 1884 (event 01), adopted in 1886 (event 10), and married in the minor fashion in 1900 (event 31). She bore three children (events 51 and 52) before her husband died (event 39) in 1939, and three more after he died. She also adopted one girl as a sim-pua (event 57) and one as a long-lu (event 58). The girl adopted as a sim-pua married out of the family (a_event 12), but the girl adopted as a long-lu married the subject's eldest son (a_event 13). All three of the subject's illegitimate children died young (a_event 01).

The subject of the sixth file (3-28-5) was born and adopted (events 01 and 10) in 1884 and married in the minor fashion (event 31) in 1902. In twenty-seven years of marriage she bore only child (event 52), a girl in 1912, and then, nineteen years later, in 1931, adopted a boy as a pieng-lieng-kia: (event 55). Her daughter bore an illegitimate child in 1931 (a_event 09) and then married out of the household in 1935 (a_event 12). Her son was adopted as an infant and still living with the subject in 1946.

The subject of the seventh file (3-35-3) was born (event 01) in 1884 and married into the household in the major fashion (event 30) in 1903. She bore eight children (events 51 and 52) and adopted one girl as a sim-pua (event 57). The subject gave away (a_event 02) six of her eight

children, including two boys and four girls. One son died as a child (a_event 01), and another survived to marry in the major fashion (a_event). The adopted daughter bore an illegitimate child in 1923 (a_event 09) and then married uxorilocally in 1925 (a_event 14). This girl was adopted three days after the subject gave away her first-born child.

IX. THE ACADEMIA SINICA ARCHIVE

1. Introduction

The core of the Academia Sinica Archive consists of twenty Access databases representing the household registers from twenty localities. The information is more nearly complete than the information in the computerized files in the Stanford Archive and the files are more sophisticated. The one disadvantage is that the user has to master Access and the software needed to extract useable data from Access.

2. Procedure for Creating New Files

3. Table Names and Structure

The data base contains the ten linked files listed below. The Parent Table and the Entering Leaving Table were created using the other eight files. They do not contain any additional information, but greatly facilitate analysis.

The overall structure of the ten files is displayed in Figure 9.1.

Address Table (Address)

Household Dynamic Table (HouseDyna)

Household Static Table (HouseStat)

Occupation Table (Occupation)

Person Dynamic Table (PersonDyna)

Person Location Table (PersonLoca)

Person Static Table (PersonStat)

Relationship to Head of Household Table (RelationHead)

Parent Table (Parent)

Entering and Leaving Table (EnterLeave) Simplify names.

Figure 9.1 Structure of Academia Sinica Database

4. Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in the table and field names. Field names are constructed to distinguish fields that contain identity numbers and those that contain substantive information. The names of the identity fields are short (three letters) and upper case throughout (as in PID, HID, and AID). The names of the substantive fields are longer and include lower case letters (as in BoundFeet and H_MoveInDate).

P: Person. "P" is the person who is the subject of an event or referent of information in a table.

H: Household. "H" is the household which is the subject of an event or the referent of information in a table.

R: Household register.

5. Identity Numbers

All the identity numbers employed were assigned in creating the data base. There are no identity numbers in the household registers.

Personal Identity Number (PID)

Every person who appears in the household registers for a given field site is assigned an identify number unique to the site. The numbers are not unique for all the persons who appear in the data base because it includes a number of study sites. Persons named in the registers who do not appear in person (e.g. a parent who died before the registers were opened) are assigned minus numbers. These are referred to as Ghost Numbers or GID.

Household Identity Number (HID)

Like PID, HID is an assigned number unique for every household in a study site. A household was assigned a new number when its register was set aside as an inactive or dead register because the head died or retired or the household moved out of the registration district. When an existing household divided the segment headed by the previous head retained the old household number.

The other segments were all assigned new numbers. This reflects the fact that the household registers treat division as a process by which some (but not all) of the members of an existing household depart to create one or more new households. These new households are recorded on new registers and are therefore assigned new numbers. The old household is reduced in size but remains active and therefore retains its old number.

Family Identity Number (FID)

Like AID and HID, FID is an assigned number. When a household moved out of is registration district its register was cancelled and a new register created when and if it returned. Similarly, registers were sometimes replaced when a family moved within its registration district. Since a new HID was always assigned when a new register was created, the result in both cases were households with two HIDs. FID was created to address this problem. It does not change when a new register is created and a new HID is assigned and can therefore be used reconstitute households with two registers.

Address Identity Number (AID)

The boundaries and names of the higher level administrative units were changed several times during the Japanese administration. The result is that a household may have more than one address without having ever moved. The Address Identity Number deals with the problems by assigning one number to all addresses that refer to the same place. The effect is to replace addresses with places.

Event Identity Number (EID)

An event is a recorded action, e.g., a birth, marriage, adoption, etc. Since all events are dated, they can be arranged chronologically. Its Event Identity Number is the number of an event in a chronological list of all the events occurring in a study site.

6. Address Table (Address)

Addresses appear in the registers in the Address Box in the first column and the Event Lists in the upper half of the succeeding columns. All these addresses are included in the Address Table.

Address codes vary in length from two to five digits. In all codes above the 5th level the first digit specifies the nature of the unit (e.g., chou or ting), and the remaining digits, the name of the unit (e.g., Taipei or Tainan).

There are no standard English equivalents of many of the units in the addresses in the registers. The terms given below only serve to distinguish units by level and rural vs. urban.

Address Identity Number (AID)

See defintions of Identity Numbers.

Address Level One (AdLevel1)

These are the highest level units employed by the Japanese administration. There is more than one option because names are boundaries were changed.

1--chou (州), county

2--ting (廳), county

3--ch'i-ta (其它), other

0--pu-shih-yung (不使用), not applicable

-1--pu-chueh-ting (不確定), uncertain

Address Level Two (AdLevel2)

These are second level administrative districts defined by the Japanese authorities. There are a number of options because at this level urban and rural localities were distinguished. Four and eight were deleted as codes at this level.

1--chun (村), township

2--pao (堡), township

3--shih (市), city

5--hsiang (鄉), township

6--li (里), village

7--au (澳), island

9--ch'i-ta (其他), other

0--pu-shih-yung (不使用), not applicable

-1--pu-chueh-ting (不清楚), uncertain

Address Level Three (AdLevel3)

The third level distinguishes Chinese and aborigine communities as well as rural and urban communities.

1--chieh (鎮), town

2--chuang (庄), Chinese village

3--hsiang (鄉), Chinese village

4--ts'un (　　), Chinese village

5--she (社), aborigine village

6--ch'u (　　), district

7--shih (市), city

8--ch'i-ta (其它), other

0--pu-shih-yung (不清楚), not applicable

-1--pu-chueh-ting (不確定), uncertain

Address Level Four (AdLevel4)

T'u-ming are usually sub-units of ta-tzu. They are almost always names in use before the household registers were established.

1--ta-tzu (大字), neighborhood

2--t'u-ming (　　) neighborhood

0--pu-shih-yung (不使用), no applicable

-1--pu-chueh-ting (不確定), uncertain

Address Level Five (AdLevel5)

The codes at this level and all lower levels are numbers in the address. The level five numbers is the number of an urban unit called ting-mu ( ). The field is blank if the address does not include a ting-mu number.

Address Level Six (AdLevel6)

The entries at levels 6, 7, and 8 refer to the cadastral maps compiled by the Japanese authorities in the early 1900's. The unit at level 6 is the fan-ti ( ). It is the number of a field or house site at the time of the cadastral survey.

Address Level Seven (AdLevel7)

The division of fields was accommodated on the cadastral maps by subdividing and renumberin the original plots. If a plot with the fan-ti number 5 was divided three ways, the three subplots were numbered 5-1, 5-2, and 5-3. Level 7 is the second digit in these numbers.

Address Level Eight (AdLevel8)

An eighth level is allowed to accommodate addresses created when a plot of land was divided a second time. A Level 8 number would be created if a plot numbered 5-1 were subdivided to create plots numbered 5-1-1 and 5-1-2.

Address Location

This is a derived field that can be used to simplify spatial analysis. It classifies all households in terms of the lowest level administrative units in their address. In the great majority of cases these

units correspond to local communities—villages in the countryside and neighborhoods in the city. The first twenty options are reserved for named localities in the study site. The remaining four options are for localities outside the study site. The codes reflect distance from the site.

Options 1-20: Inside the study site. The codes refer to the lowest level administrative district in the household's address.

Option 21: Adjacent to the study area. These addresses are in communities outside of the study site but immediately adjacent to it.

Option 22: In the same township. These are addresses in communities one step removed from the study site. They are not immediately adjacent to the study site but are in the same township (chuang or pao).

Option 23: In the same county. These are addresses two steps removed from the study site. They are located outside of the township but in the same county (chou or ting).

Option 24: Outside of the county. These are addresses outside of the county in which study site is located. They include addresses in China and Japan.

7. Household Dynamic Table (Housedyna)

It is important to understand what "household" means in this and the following table. The critical point is that a household comes into existence when a new register is created and endures until the register is retired. Thus the life of a household begins when a new head is appointed or the household moves into the registration district and ends when the head dies or retires or the household moves out of the registration district. It does not matter how often or how radically the composition of the household changes. It remains the same household as long as the register remains active.

Household Identity Number (HID)

See definitions of Indentity Numbers.

Family Identity Number (FID)

See definitions of Indentity Numbers.

Address Identity Number (AID)

See definitions of Indentity Numbers.

Household Moves In Date (H_MoveInDate)

This is the date at which the household took up residence at its current address. The date is often the same as the Date the Register Began, but differs if the household has moved within the registration district. In this case the Date the Register Began remains the same while the Household Moves in Date Changes. The information comes from the first event in the event list in the Head of Household Column.

Household Moves Out Date (H_MoveOutDate)

This is the date at which a registered household moved to a new address. It is often the same as the Date the Household Ended, but differs if the household has moved within the registration district. In this case the Household Moves Out Date is earlier than the Date the Household Ended. The information comes from the last event in the event list in the Head of Household Column. The field is null if the register is an active register or one of the few inactive registers that has no closing date.

8. Household Static Table (HouseStat)

The Household Static Table is limited to information that does not change during the life of a household. This includes the household's Identity Number, the Identity number of its head, etc.

Household Identity Number (HID)

See definitions of Indentity Numbers.

Family Identity Number (FID)

See definitions of Identity Numbers.

Nature of the Source Register (Source).

This code indicates whether the information concerning the household came from an active or an inactive register. The difference is important because while inactive registers have a recorded closing date (equivalent to the Household Moves Out Date), active registers do not. The only exceptions are inactive registers that were retired without recording the date at which they became inactive. They appear in the data base without a Household Moves Out Date. In most cases they should be assigned a date of December 31, 1945.

1--Active register

2--Inactive register

Personal ID of the Household Head (HeadPID)

This is the identity number of the person who is the current head of the household.

Date the Household Began (H_BeginDate)

This is the date the household's register was created. Thus it is the date the head became head or the date the household moved into the registration district. It is found in the Succession Box in the first column of the register.

Date the Register Began (R_BeginDate)

This is the date given as the first recorded event at the top of Head of Household Column. It is the date at which the present register was created and is the date to use when one wants to know when the household came under observation.

Date the Household Ended (H_EndDate)

This is the household's register was retired. Thus it is the date at which the head died or retired or the data the household moved out of the registration district. It does not change when a household moves within its registration district.

Household Identity Number of Former Household (FormerHID)

This is the HID of the household out of which the present household was created. In the case of a household created by division it is the HID of the household to which the members belonged before division. Thus it is the number to use in creating a genealogy of households.

Relation of Present Head of Household to Former Head (RelaExHead)

The information for this field comes from the Succession Box in the first column of the register. It is in the form of a four digit code used to represent the kinship terms that appear in the registers. See Chapter for a list of the terms and their codes.

Why the Former Household Ended (WhyFHEnd)

The information for this field also comes from the Succession Box. By far the most common reason given is the death of the former head. Division is not given as a reason because division does not terminate an existing household. The third option ("disappeared") is rare. The codes are the event codes listed in Chapter 11.

How the Present Household Began (WhyHbegin)

The information for this field is the first recorded event in the upper half of the Household Head Column. It notes the circumstances under which the present head of household became head. The codes are the event codes listed in Chapter 11.

Why the Present Household Ended (WhyHend)

The information in this field comes from the last recorded event in the Household Head

Column. All the options except 29 refer to the reasons the head of household relinquished his or her position. 29 are included because moving out of the registration district entailed de facto termination of the household. The codes are event codes. The codes are the event codes listed in Chapter 11.

9. Occupation Table (Occupation)

The household registers do not include a labeled space for occupation, but the household head's occupation was commonly noted in his Identity Box. Probably because occupation was only recorded as an after thought, the terms used were not standardized. The result is many synonyms and thus a lengthy list of terms. These are listed with their codes and approximate English equivalents in chapter 13.

Person Identity Number (PID)

See Definition of Identity Numbers.

Present Occupation (Occu)

In many registers one occupation has been crossed out and another recorded in its place. In this case the most recent entry is taken to be the present occupation.

Former Occupation (FormerOccu)

Often one occupation has been crossed out and another recorded next to it. In this field "former occupation" refers to the deleted entry. The field is often blank because the registers record only one occupation.

Occupation Began Date (Occu_BeginDate)

Occupation entries are not dated in the registers. This field takes as the Occupation Began Date the date the register was established. In the case of two recorded occupations (one of which has been crossed out) the date refers to the deleted occupation. A beginning date is not assigned to the

person's present occupation if it is the second of two entries.

Occupation Ended Date (Occu_EndDate)

This field takes as the Occupation Ended Date the date the register was cancelled. In the case of two recorded occupations the date refers to the present occupation.

10. Person Dynamic Table (Persondyna)

The Person Dynamic Table contains all the information that may change during a person's life. It needs to be paired with the Person Static Table for most puroses.

Household Identity Number (HID)

See definitions of Indentity Numbers.

Family Identity Number (FID)

See definitions of Identity Numbers.

Person Identity Number (PID)

See definitions of Identity Numbers.

Event Identity Number (EID) Is this really a P event?

See definitions of Identity Numbers.

Class of Event Code (EventClass) Revise name. Tag will not do.

This code distinguishes between events that did and did not take place in a household living in a study site in the years 1905-1945. The latter includes events that took place outside of the study

site and events that took place before the registers were established. The distinction is between events that took place while the household was and was not under observation.

1--Events that took place while the household was under observation.

2--Events that took place before while the household was not under observation.

Person Event Date (P_EventDate)

This is the date of the event recorded in the registers. There are only two exceptions. One is events inferred from other events as when a marriage that occured out of the study site is dated one year before the birth of the eldest child. The other occurs when a person is the subject of three events on the same day. Because the program only allows two events, one of the three is dated one day later.

Person Event Order (P_EventOrder)

It frequently happens that a person is the subject of two events on the same say (e.g., a man marries and is adopted by his wife's father or recognizes his wife's children as his own). In this case the events are ordered and numbered so that all the events in a person's life can be arranged chronologically.

Household Event Order (H_EventOrder)

Like persons, households may be the subject of two events of the same day. These are also ordered and numbered so that all the events effecting a household can be arranged chronologically.

Person Event Code (P_Event)

This is an important code for almost all purposes. It refers to the events that constitute the core of every person's life history—birth, death, marriage, adoption, divorce, etc. The coded events differ from those recorded in the household registers in one important respect: where many of the recorded events indicate movement into or out of the household (e.g., "adopted out" as against "adopted in"), the codes only indicate the nature of the event ("adopted" rather "adopted in" or "adopted out").

Movement into or out of the household is noted in a separate field called In or Out Flag (IOFlag). Thus "adopted in" becomes "adopted" in the EventCode field and "in" in the IOFlag field. The events recorded in the registers are listed in Chapter 11 together with their codes and approximate English equivalents.

In or Out Flag (IOFlag)

The purpose of this field is convenient identification of events that do and do not effect household composition. The code allows three possibilities--movement into the household, movement out of the household, and no movement with respect to the household. "In" events all add a person to the household, and "Out" events all remove a person from the household. If the subject is a woman, a marriage code with an "in" flag says she married into her husband's household (i.e., she married virilocally). If the subject is a man, it says he married into his wife's family (i.e., he married uxorilocally). A marriage code with no "in" or "out" flag for either the man or the woman means they were both members of the same household. With the exception of few concubines who later married the man who brought them into the household, this means that the marriage was a minor marriage.

Under normal circumstances an "in" event should not succeed another "in" event or an "out" event another "out" event, but exceptions occur when the sequence of events is broken by residence outside of the study site. These events are coded "2" in the Class of Event field.

1—movement out. The event involves the subject's leaving the household—as in the case of marriage out or adoption out.

2—movement in. The event involves the subject's entering the household—as in the case of marriage in or adoption in.

0—no movement. The event does not involve the subject's changing household—as in the case of a minor marriage or a concubine's being taken as a wife.

Family Identity Number of Other Family (OtherFID)

For a person leaving a family, this is the identity number of the family he is joining; for a person joining a family, this is the identity number of the family he is leaving. Null means that event did not entail the person's moving.

Identity Number of Spouse (SpousePID)

This and the following field (Identity Number of Primary Relative) form a pair. Both concern the primary relative to whom the subject of the event is linked in the event note or in his identity box. The field always shows a PID when the subject is marrying out of his or her household, but it does always show a PID when the subject is marrying into a household. This is only the case when the subject is marrying within the study site. When the subject is marrying out of the study site the code is Minus One (-1) because the spouse is not known. The only exceptions occur whenthe subject marries out of the study site but later returns. The spouse then has a PID (if he or she accompanies the subject on his return) or a GID (if she brings her children with him).

Identity Number of Primary Relative (RelaPID)

A subject's primary relative is the person to whom he is linked in the event or in his identity box. The is the foster father or foster mother in the case of adoption, the former husband or wife in the case of divorce, and the named other in the case of events like "leave household with so-and-so." Marriage events do not produce an Identity Number of Primary Relative because the primary relative is the spouse who is identified in Identity Number of Spouse. Almost all "in events" (events for which the IOFlag is "2") have an Identity Number of Primary Relative because they create new relationships. Most "out events" do not because they do not create new relationships. Codes 7 and 40 (divorce codes) are exceptions because the Identity Number of Primary Relative is used to identify the persons being divorced. An Identity Number of Primary Relative accompanying an event like 26-0 (joins with so-and-so a newly established household) links the person who is the subject of the event to his primary relative at the time and household is created or terminated.

Relation to Primary Relative (RelaRID) What is an RID?

This information comes from either the subject's event list or his Primary Relative Box. It tells us the subject's relationship to his primary relative if this is someone other the household head. This is the foster father or mother in the case of an adoption or the former husband or wife in the case of a divorce. The relationships and their code are listed with English translations in Chapter 12.

Marriage Type (MarType)

Marriage Type is a derived classification. It is based on events listed in Chapter 11 but is not a simple translation of these events. Endogamy and exogamy refer to marriages within the household and marriages into or out of the household. To say that a marriage is "exogamous" is to say that one of the partners is marrying out of his or her household (and thus into the other partner's household). To say that a marriage is "endogamous" is to say that the partners are members of the same household (as they are in the case of minor marriages). The classes defined here do not distinguish between first and second marriages. This distinction depends on the information provided in Marriage Order field. The only difference between options 4 and 14 is the language of the registers.

1—never married. A person is classified as never married if he is not the subject of a marriage event of any kind and is not linked to a person who is the subject of a marriage event.

2—major marriage. This is an exogamous marriage in which the wife joins her husband's household. It exclude unions involving concubines.

3—minor marriage. This is an endogamous marriage in which the wife was adoption adopted by the husband's parents.

4—concubine-to-wife marriage. This is an endogamous marriage in which a concubine raised to the status of wife.

5—special minor marriage. This is an endogamous marriage in which the wife was adopted into her husband's household by someone other than his parents. She is a member of his

6—uxorilocal marriage. This is an exogamous marriage in which the husband joins his wife's household.

7—in-house marriage. This is an endogamous marriage in which the wife entered the household by some means other than adoption. It includes marriages involving temporary residents but not does not include marriages involving a concubine.

8—marriage type unknown. The primary purpose of this option is to accommodate inferred marriages.

9—concubine marriage. This is an exogamous marriage in which the wife enters her husband's household as a concubine.

10—widowed. Both men and women are allowed as subjects of this option.

11—divorced. Both men and women are allowed as subjects of this option.

12—relationship terminated. The termination of a marriage

13—concubinage terminated. This could be because the concubine leaves the household or because she is taken as an official wife.

14—concubine-to-wife marriage. This is an endogamous marriage in which a concubine is raised to the status of wife.

Marriage Order (MarOrder)

This is the rank order of the marriage among all the marriages contracted by the subject of the event. Inferred marriages are included.

Adoption Order (AdoptOrder)

This is the rank order of an adoption among all the adoptions experienced by the person who is the subject of the event. Information other than number of adoption events is considered in assigning the rank order. For example, the order of an adoption event which gives the subject's relationship to the head of her previous household as "adopted daughter" is two or more.

Address Identity Number of Other Household (RAID) Why R?

For a person leaving a household, this is the address number of the household he is joining; for a person joining a household, it is the address number of his previous household. "Not applicable" (0) says that the event did not involve a move.

Relation to Head of Other Household (RelaRHead)

For a person leaving a household, this is his relationship to the head of the household he is joining; for a person joining a household, it is his relationship to the head of his previous household. The latter is important because it often provides critical information concerning the prior status of persons coming from outside the study site. We can be certain that a woman whose relationship was "daughter-in-law" has been married and that a girl whose status was sim-pua or long-lu has experienced adoption.

11. Person Location Table (PersonLoca)

This is a specialized table created to allow one to trace people whose household has moved and bears two Household Identity Numbers as a result. So long as their household has not moved, people can be traced using the Person Dynamic Table.

Family Identification Number (FID)

See Definitions of Identity Numbers.

Person Identify Number (PID)

See Definitions of Identity Numbers.

Date the Person Enters the Family (PF_BeginDate)

This is the date the person first appears in the family. Remember that "family" refers to an artificial descent construct and not to the household. See the Definition of Family Identity Numbers under Definitions of Identity Numbers.

Date the Persons Leaves the Family (PF_EndDate)

This is the date the person leaves the family. Again remember that "family" has a special meaning in the data base.

How the Person Leaves the Family (PF_EndCode)

The codes are the same as those employed in the Person Dynamic Table. They are listed and defined in Chapter 11.

12. Person Static Table (PersonStat)

Person Identity Number (PID)

See Definitions of Identity Numbers.

Father's Identity Number (DID) Note not clear.

This is the father's unique identity number. It is often a Ghost ID (in which case it is a minus number). Null indicates that the father's names are not noted in the register, which is always the case with children registered as "illegitimate." A code of -1 says that the father was named but that it was impossible to assign Ghost ID.

Mother's Identity Number (MID) Same as above?

This is the mother's unique identity number. It also may be a Ghost ID (in which case it is a minus number). Null only means that the mother's name does not appear in the registers. It says nothing about the child's social status. A code of -1 says that the mother was named but that it was impossible to assign Ghost ID.

Person's Birthdate (BirthDate)

Person's Sex (Sex)

M--male.

F--female.

Person's Same Sex Sibling Order (SibOrder)

This information is from one of the small squares in the Identity Box at the bottom of each column. It is the person's birth order among all his or her same-sex siblings. Persons are considered siblings if they have the same father or mother and the same surname. Another way of putting is to say that persons are considered sibling is they share a parent and belong to the same descent line.

1-18—sibling order. This is the number of older same-sex siblings. It is not entirely reliable because

people often failed to count children who died as infants. This is particularly true for children born before 1905.

19—illegitimate. Illegitimate children were not assigned a same-sex sibling order at birth. They only acquire one if they are later recognized by their father. The data base does not note a change of this kind with the result that even if he is recognized by his father an illegitimate child remains illegitimate for life.

20—concubine's child. Concubine's children were identified as such but were not assigned a same-sex sibling order at birth. They could acquire one if they were later recognized by their father, but changes of the kind are not preserved in the database. Under the rules governing the database a shu-tzu remains a shu-tzu for life.

Ethnicity (Ethnicity)

This information comes from of the small boxes in the middle of each column. The general rule was that a child was assigned the ethnicity of his father. Note that Options 6, 7, 9, and 10 all say that the person is from the China mainland. Null indicates that the relevant box was blank. No number ten.

1—Fu (福), Hoklo. Also commonly rendered as Min-nan-jen and occasionally as Fukienese.

2—Kuang (廣),Hakka. Also commonly rendered as K'e-chia and occasionally (and mistakenly) as Cantonese.

3—Sheng (生), Mountain aborigine. Literally, "raw savage."

4—Shu (熟), Plains aborigine. Literally, "cooked savage."

5—Nei-di-jen (內地人), Japanese. Literally, "inside land person." This is the most common term for Japanese resident in Taiwan.

6—Ch'ing-kuo (清國), Chinese. This is the term used before the 1912 Revolution to refer to persons from the China mainland. It is common in the older registers from Taipei City.

7—Nei (內) Japanese. An abbreviation of nei-di-jen.

8—Fan (番), Aborigine. This is the general term for Taiwanese aborigines. It includes both the Mountain Aborigines and the Plains Aborigines.

9—Chih (清), Chinese. This again means the person is from the China mainland.

10—Chung (中), Chinese

11—Yi (　　), ????.

12—P'ing (平), Plains Aborigine.

Bound Feet (Boundfeet)

This information was not recorded for women born after about 1910, and later the box for the information was deleted from the printed forms used for registers. The reason was that the colonial government quickly succeeded in abolishing foot binding.

1--feet never bound.

2--feet bound and never unbound.

3--feet bound but later unbound.

Registration Status (RegStatus)

This codes identifies people whose status in the study site was never other than "temporary resident" or "sojouner." Temporary residents who married into or were adoption into a local family are treated as regular residents of the study site. The persons coded "temporary residents" in this field appear in the Person Dynamic Table but their birth is the only event noted.

1—regular resident. This says that at some time in his life this person was registered in the study site as something other than a temporary resident.

2—never other than a sojourner. This says that the person was never registered in the study site other than as a temporary resident.

13. Relationship to Head of Household Table (RelationHead)

Household Identity Number (HID)

See definitions of Identity Numbers.

Person Identity Number (PID)

See definitions of Identity Numbers.

Relationship to the Household Head (RelaHead)

The information coded in this field comes from the Relation to Head Box in the middle of each column. It is in the form of a four digit code representing the kinship term given in the original register. These terms and their codes are listed in Chapter 12. Many are classificatory terms, not genealogical specifications. They include the Chinese equivalents of English terms like "aunt" and "nephew."

14. Parent Table (Parent Table)

This is a derived table created to facilitate reconstruction of sibling sets and sibling position. This can be done without the table but requires considerable effort.

Person Identity Number (PID)

See definitions of Identity Numbers.

Parent Identity Number (ParentPID)

See definitions of Identity Numbers.

Type of parent (ParentType)

1—birth father

2—birth mother

3—foster mother

4—foster father

5—second husband of birth mother who does not adopt subject

6—second wife of birth father who does not adopt subject

7—second husband of birth mother who adopts the subject

8—second wife of birth father who adopts the subject

9—second husband of foster mother who does not adopt subject

10—secone wife of foster father who does not adopt subject

11—second husband of foster mother who adopts the subject

12—second wife of foster father who adopts the subject

99—father who died before subject was born

Origin of the relationship (RelaOrigin)

All of the codes except 104 are the same as the event codes listed in Chapter 11.

104—remarriage of foster parent

Date relationship with parent begins (Par_BeginDate)

When the subject's father died before his birth the relationhip will be viewed as ending before it began. As a result, the Par_Begin Date will be later than the Par_EndDate.

Date relationship with parent ends (Par_EndDate)

Null says the relationship did not end while the subject was under observation.

Reason for termination of the relationship (Par_EndCode)

All of the codes are the same as the event codes listed in Chapter 11.

15. Entering Or Leaving Observation Table (EnterLeave)

This is a derived table created to help distinguish events that occur while a person is and is not under observation. The distinction is between events that occur in a study site after 1905 and those that occur outside of a study or before 1905.

Person Identity Number (PID)

See definitions of Identity Numbers.

Date entering observation (EnterDate)

Reason for entering observation (EnterCode)

The codes are the same as the event codes listed in Chapter 11.

Date leaving observation (LeaveDate)

Reason for leaving observation (LeaveCode)

The codes are the same as the event codes listed in Chapter 11.

X. DEFINITIONS OF TAIWANESE TERMS

bieng-lieng-kia: (no Mandarin equivalent): A male child adopted (or, one might better say, "bought") from a stranger or a distant relative.

bou thau-tui (no mandarin equivalent): A girl who was adopted as a sim-pua but has no marriage partner in her adoptive household.

ca-bo-kan: (the most common Marndarin equivalent is ya-t'ou). A servent-slave girl similar in most respects to the better known Cantoness mui-tsai.

ke (chia): Often translated "family" but should be translated "household."

ke-pang-kia:: A male child adopted from a close agnate, most often a brother.

long-lu (yang-nyu): Literarally "adopted daughter." The term appears in the household registers but was never in common use in the countryside. It appears to have been introducted by the Japanese as part of an effort to control prostitution.

pun-ke (fen-chia):

sim-pua (t'ung-yang-hsi): Literally, "little daughter-in-law." Sim-pua were girls "adopted" to marry to a son. They can appropriately be termed "home-grown daughters-in-law."

thau-tui (no Mandarin equivalent): This is the term used to refer to the boy with whom a sim-pua is matched. He is the "opposite person" or "the one facing her."

XI. EVENTS IN HOUSEHOLD REGISTERS

The events that appear in the original household registers are listed below with the codes used in the Academia Sinica Access database. The codes consist of two elements—a primary code indicating the nature of the event (marriage, adoption, etc.) and a secondary code (the IOFlage) indicating whether the person is entering or leaving the household (1=leaving, 2=entering, and 0=remains as before). The English translations are the rough equivalents of the original Chinese.

The codes with the italicized English transitions do not appear in the registers. They are derived codes included to fascinate use of the database. The events that appear without codes do appear in the registers but are not included in the database. They all refer to temporary registration.

So-and-so is always a named person, and such-and-such-a-place, a named place.

Event 3-0 (disappears) is a rare event. When the subject is a married man or woman the event is equivalent to divorce.

The event 4 codes (marries in, marries out, etc.) do not distinguish first and second marriages. This requires

Event 7-0 (divorces but does not leave household) is necessary because divorce did not always entail the divorced party's moving out the same day. Some women remained members of their former husband's household for years and a few remarried as members of his household.

Event 8-0 (ceases to be a concubine) is only applied when a woman taken as a concubine marries the man her partner.

Event 12-0 (changes status from sim-pua to long-lu) is a common event but not very important. The change of status did not prevent the girl from marrying one of her foster brothers.

Event 13-0 (changes status from long-lu to sim-pua) is so rare that it could be deleted as an event.

The event 15 codes (is recognized, is recognized in, etc.) say that the subject of the event is accepted by a man as his natural child. It is usually—but not always—accompanied by marriage to the child's mother.

The event 18 codes (enters household, leaves household, etc.)

say the subject enters or leaves the household by means other than marriage or adoption. The subject is often a distance relative accepted as a dependent.

The event 20 codes (enters household with so-and-so, leaves household with so-and-so, etc.) commonly involve a child who enters or leaves the household at the same time as one of its parents.

Code 23 events (re-establishes an abolished household, etc.) are only chosen when a person re-establishes a household of which he was formerly the head.

Event 25-1 (establishes a new household by division) is an important event. "Division" refers to the formal process by which a household's resources were divided to form two or more new households. The code is reserved for the persons who became heads of the new households.

Event 26-1 (joins with so-and-so a newly established household) is usually found paired with event 25-1. It so-and-so is the head of the new household.

Event 72-0 (changes name) only become common after 1940 when nationalistic fervor occasioned by World War II caused many people to take Japanese names. The few changes before that were the result of requests by people whose registered names were nicknames like "Old Pig Shit." These were recorded when the registers were established because at that time many people (particularly women) did not have formal names or did not know what their formal names was.

Event 73-0 (cancels name change) only became after 1945 when many people who had taken Japanese names hurried to resurrect their Chinese names.

Event 74-0 (commits crime) is not a common event in the data base because these events were blacked out in 1946 by the newly arrived Chinese authorities. The entries that can still be read (because of sloppy work) indicate that the nature of the crime was specified. Examples include murder, theft, adultery, and prostitution.

Event as it appears in Registers	Primary code and IOFlag	English Translation
出生	1,2	is born
死亡	2,1	dies
死亡絕戶	2,1	head dies and household is abolished
失蹤	3,0	disappears
婚姻入戶	4,2	marries in
婚姻除戶	4,1	marries out
入戶(婚姻入戶)	4,2	enters household (by marriage)
除戶(婚姻除戶)	4,1	leaves household (by marriage)
婚姻(戶內)	4,0	marries (within household)
招夫	4,0	calls in husband
妾入戶	5,2	marries in as concubine
妾除戶	5,1	marries out as concubine
離寡不詳	6,-1	is widowed or divorced
離婚	7,0	divorces (but does not leave)
離婚復戶	7,2	divorces and leaves household
離婚除戶	7,1	divorces and enters household
妾中止	8,0	ceases to be concubine
守寡	9,0	is widowed
離婚復戶拒絕	40,0	divorces and is not allowed to return to former household
養子緣組	10,0	is adopted (within household)
養子緣組入戶	10,2	is adoped into household
養子緣組除戶	10,1	is adopted out of household

Event as it appears in Registers	Primary code and IOFlag	English Translation
養子緣組-因親/養父母再婚	11,0	is adopted after parent remarries
養子緣組入戶-因親/養父母再婚	11,2	is adopted in when parent remarries and enters household
養子緣組除戶-因親/養父母再婚	11,1	is adopted out when parents remarries and leaves household
媳婦仔改養女	12,0	changes status from sim-pua to long-lu
養女改媳婦仔	13,0	changes status from long-lu to sim-pua
離緣	14,0	adoption is cancelled (but does not leave household)
離緣復戶	14,2	leaves household when adoption is cancelled
離緣除戶	14,1	reenters household when adoption is cancelled
離緣復戶拒絕	50,0	adoption is cancelled but is not allowed to reenter household
認知	15,0	is recognized (within household)
認知入戶	15,2	is recognized and enters household
認知除戶	15,1	is recognized and leaves household
私生子認知入戶	15,2	illegitimate child is recognized into household
私生子認知除戶	15,1	illegitimate child is recognized out of household
嫡出子身份取得	16,0	illegitimate child is recognized and assigned a sibling position
嫡出子否認	17,0	illegitimate child is denied recognition
入戶	18,2	enters household
除戶	18,1	leaves household
入戶不詳	18,2	enters household, reason unknown
除戶不詳	18,1	leaves household, reason unknown

Event as it appears in Registers	Primary code and IOFlag	English Translation
同居人入戶	18,2	enters household as co-resident
同居人除戶	18,1	leaves household to be co-resident
查某仔入戶	19,2	enters household as ca-bo-kan
查某仔除戶	19,1	leaves household to be ca-bo-kan
隨-某人入戶	20,2	enters household with so-and-so
隨-某人除戶	20,1	leaves household with so-and-so
隨-某人同居人入戶	20,2	enters household with so-and-so as co-resident
隨-某人同居人除戶	20,1	leaves household with so-and-so to be co-resident
創戶	21,1	establishes a new household
隨-某人創戶	22,1	joins with so-and-so a newly established household
廢戶再興	23,1	re-establishes an abolished household
絕戶再興	23,1	re-establishes a terminated household
隨-某人再興	24,1	joins with so-and-so a re-established household
隨-某人絕戶再興	24,1	joins with so-and-sp a re-established household
分戶	25,1	establishes a new household by division
隨-某人分戶	26,1	joins with so-and-so a household newly established division
戶主相續	27,0	succeeds as household head
從轉居	28,0	moves in from such-and-such-a-place
去轉居	29,0	moves out to such-and-such-a-place
廢戶	30,0	abolished the household
絕戶	30,0	terminates the household
隱居	31,0	retires as household head

Event as it appears in Registers	Primary code and IOFlag	English Translation
戶冊更換	32,2	household register begins
戶冊更換	32,1	household register ends
戶主相續人指定	60,0	is recognized as succeeding household head
戶主相續人排除	61,0	is denied recognition as succeeding household head
後見人就職	62,0	guardian appointed
後見人更迭	63,0	guardian changed
後見人終了	64,0	guardian terminated
國籍取得	70,0	acquires citizenship
國籍喪失	71,0	cancels citizenship
姓名變更	72,0	changes name
姓名變更恢復	73,0	cancels name change
犯罪	74,0	commits crime
發見棄兒	75,0	is found abandoned
寄留	--,--	registers as sojourner
轉寄留	--,--	changes sojourner registration
隨-某人寄留	--,--	registers with so-and-so as sojourner
隨-某人轉寄留	--,--	changes with so-and-so sojourner registration
雇人寄留	--,--	hired hand registers as sojourner
退去	--,--	returns after sojourn
隨-某人退去	--,--	returns with so-and-so after sojourn
去轉寄留	--,--	registers out as sojourner to such-and-such-a-place
從轉寄留	--,--	registers in as sojourner from such-and-such-a-place

Event as it appears in Registers	Primary code and IOFlag	English Translation
隨-某人去轉寄留	--,--	registers out with so-and-so as sojourner to such-and-such-a-place
隨-某人從轉寄留	--,--	registers out with so-and-so as sojourner from such-and-such-a-place
雇人去轉寄留	--,--	hired hand registers as sojourner to such-and-such-a-place
雇人從轉寄留	--,--	hired hand registers as sojourner from such-and-such-a-place
隨-某人雇人寄留	--,--	hired hand registers as sojourner with so-and-so
全戶寄留	--,--	entire household registers as sojourners
土地變更	--,--	place name changed
住址變更	--,--	address changed
寄留地住址變更	--,--	address as sojourner changed

XII. KINSHIP AND RELATIONSHIP TERMS

The terms listed below are all Chinese terms in use at the time the registers were created. See Chapter 10 for definitions of italicized terms peculiar to the Taiwanese kinship system.

Chinese Original	English equivalent	Code in database
高祖父	father's father's father's father	1101
高祖母	father's father's father's mother	1111
曾祖父	father's father's father	1201
曾祖母	father's father's mother	1211
曾祖父妾	father's father's father's concubine	1221
曾叔父	father's father's younger brother	1203
曾伯母	father's father's older brother's wife	1212
曾叔母	father's father's younger brother's wife	1213
祖父	father's father	1301
太伯父	father's father's older brother	1302
太叔父	father's father's younger brother	1303
岳祖父	wife's father's father	1304
祖母	father's mother	1311
太伯母	father's father's older brother's wife	1312
太叔母	father's father's younger brother's wife	1313
岳祖母	wife's father's mother	1314
祖父妾	father's father's concubine	1321
父	Father	1401

繼父	step-father	1402
養父	foster father	1403
伯父	father's older brother	1404
叔父	father's younger brother	1405
岳父	wife's father	1406
舅	father's sister	1407
母	mother	1411
繼母	step-mother	1412
養母	foster mother	1413
伯母	father's older brother's wife	1414
叔母	father's younger brother's wife	1415
岳母	wife's mother	1416
父妾	father's concubine	1421
伯父妾	father's older brother's concubine	1422
叔父妾	father's younger brother's concubine	1423
戶主	household head	2500
兄	older brother	2501
從兄	ather's older brother's son	2502
弟	younger brother	2503
從弟	ather's younger brother's son	2504
姐	older sister	2511
從姐	ather's older brother's daughter	2512
妹	younger sister	2513
從妹	ather's younger brother's daughter	2514
姐夫	older sister's husband	2521
嫂	older brother's wife	2531
兄妾	older brother's concubine	2532

弟妾	younger brother's concubine	2533
從兄違	father's brother's son's son*	2601
從弟違	father's brother's son's son**	2602
從姐違	father's brother's son's daughter*	2611
從妹違	father's brother's son's daughter**	2612
又從兄	father's brother's son's son's son*	2701
又從弟	father's brother's son's son's son	2703
又從姐	father's brother's son's son's daughter*	2711
又從妹	father's brother's son's son's daughter**	2713
養妹	adopted younger sister	2715
長男	eldest son	3601
次男	second son	3602
三男	third son	3603
四男	fourth son	3604
五男	fifth son	3605
六男	sixth son	3606
七男	seventh son	3607
八男	eighth son	3608
九男	ninth son	3609
十男	tenth son	3610
十一男	eleventh son	3611
十二男	twelth son	3612
十三男	thirteenth son	3613
長女	eldest daughter	3621
次女	second daughter	3622
三女	third daughter	3623
四女	fourth daughter	3624

五女	fifth daughter	3625
六女	sixth daughter	3626
七女	seventh daughter	3627
八女	eighth daughter	3628
九女	ninth daughter	3629
十女	tenth daughter	3630
十一女	eleventh daughter	3631
十二女	twelth daughter	3632
十三女	thirteenth daughter	3633
婿	son-in-law	3641
媳婦	daughter-in-law	3651
長男妾	eldest's son's concubine	3652
次男妾	second son's concubine	3653
三男妾	third son's concubine	3654
四男妾	fourth son's concubine	3655
養子	adopted son	3661
螟蛉子	pieng-lieng-kia:	3662
過房子	ke-pang-kia:	3663
婿養子	long-lu's called-in husband	3664
養女	long-lu	3671
螟蛉子妾	pieng-lieng-kia:'s concubine	3674
過房子妾	ke-pang-kia:'s concubine	3675
私生子	illegitimate child	3681
庶子	concubine's child	3682
連子	step-son	3683
庶子妾	concubine's son's concubine	3691
夫	husband	4501

前夫	former husband	4502
後夫	second husband	4503
妻	wife	4511
前妻	former wife	4512
後妻	second wife	4513
妾	concubine	4514
招夫	called-in-husband	4521
招婿	called-in son-in-law	4522
先夫	late husband	4504
媳婦仔	sim-pua	4612
緣女	wife-to-be	4613
孫	Grandson	5701
養孫	adopted grandson	5702
孫女	granddaughter	5711
養孫女	adopted granddaughter	5712
孫婿	granddaughter's called-in husband	5721
孫媳	grandson's wife	5731
孫妾	grandson's concubine	5741
曾孫	great grandson	5801
曾孫女	great granddaughter	5811
玄孫	great great grandson	5901
玄孫女	great great granddaughter	5902
甥	nephew	6601
姪	niece	6611
養姪	adopted niece	6612
甥妾	nephew's concubine	6621

又甥		6701
又姪		6711
曾甥	great nephew	6801
曾姪	great niece	6811
同居人(同居)	co-resident	7001
同居寄留人	sojourning co-resident	7002
雇人	hired hand	8001
查某仔	ca-bo-kan	8002
後見人		9001

* Older than ego.

** Younger than ego.

XIII. OCCUPATION CODES

The fact that occupation does not have a dedicated, labeled space in the registers suggests that it was recorded as an after thought. This may account for the fact that the terms used were not standardized with the result that many are ambiguous and many others synonyms. The most important problem is that it is often impossible to know whether a person worked in an enterprise or owned it.

The fact that most occupations were recorded in Japanese rather than Chinese also suggests that this was an after thought. All of the kinship terms used are in Chinese and the version of Chinese current in Taiwan.

With few exceptions occupation was only recorded for heads of household and not for all heads of household. It was noted for all of the heads registered in 1905 and for most persons who succeeded to a headship in the next few years, but it was commonly neglected for persons who succeed after 1925 and almost never noted for persons who succeeded after 1935. One happy note is that the occupations of female heads were noted as frequently as those of male heads.

Table 13.1　Recorded Occupations with Codes and Translations (Demo)

Japanese Occu. Name	Taiwan Local name	English Translation	Stanford Archives	Academia Sinica Archives
田佃(業)	種植五穀的長工	Peasant	105	111
小作料二依几	收田租的	Landlord	110	130
茶摘	被請採茶的	Daily labor in picking tea	1306	150
養豚(業)	養豬業	Pig husbandry	915	210
漁業	捕魚的	Fisherman	1013	310
炭燒(業)、燒炭(業)	燒木炭的	Charcoal maker	2225	1001
採炭坑夫	挖煤的	Coal digger	2223	1051
金銀細工業	金銀珠寶業者	Jeweler	1038	1201
裁縫(業)、裁縫師(業)	製衫的	Weaver	1120	1501
靴製造(業)	製鞋的	Shoemaker	912	1701

XIV. THE STUDY SITES

The tables and maps introduced in this chapter list the names of all the study sites as they appear in the computerized files, estimate their size by noting the number of persons in each file, and further specify their location. The maps are based on the GIS database in Academia Sinica.

There is an important difference in the internal organization of the Stanford and Academia Sinica archives. In both cases the files include all the registers from one or more villages (li) or neighborhoods (lin). The difference is that where the Stanford files are organized by village and neighborhood, the Academia Sinica files are organized by field site and do not preserve villages and neighborhoods.

In the tables in Chapter 7 the Stanford Archives are represented by two field sites called San-hsia and Shu-lin. The San-hsia field site includes eight li in San-hsia chen, and the Shu-lin site, three li in Shu-lin chen and two li in Pan-ch'iao chen. I usually treat the Shu-lin and Pan-ch'iao li as one field site called "Shu-lin" because the two Pan-ch'iao li are on the Shu-lin side of the Ke-ken River next to Shu-lin town. The thirteen li are listed by name in Table 14.1

At present the Academic Sinica Archive contains computerized data from the eighteen field sites listed in Table 14.2. They include six sites in Northern Taiwan, four in Central Taiwan, five in Southern Taiwan, and three in the Pescadores Islands. Two or three additional sites will be completed in the near future.

The remainder of this chapter consists of a brief description of each of the field sites, a selected bibliography of studies of the site, and a map of the site indicating the li included in the computerized registers. These are the areas enclosed in bright red lines.

Table 14.1 Districts Included in Stanford Archive

Name of district	Name of computer file	Location of district	Number of persons in computerized files
Ch'i-pei	Chipei	San-hsia chen	
Ch'i-nan	Chinan	San-hsia chen	
Ch'i-tung	Chitung	San-hsia chen	
Ch'eng-fu	Chengfu	San-hsia chen	
Ch'ia-t'ien	Chiatien	San-hsia chen	
Chiao-ch'i	Chiaochi	San-hsia chen	
Lung-p'u	Lungpu	San-hsia chen	
San-hsia	Sanhsia	San-hsia chen	
P'eng-tso	Pengtso	Shu-lin chen	
P'o-nei	Ponei	Shu-lin chen	
Shu-tung	Shutung	Shu-lin chen	
Ch'i-chou	Chichou	Pan-ch'iao chen	
Sha-lun	Shalun	Pan-ch'iao chen	

Table 14.2 Localities Included in Academia Sinica Archive

Name of district	Name of computer file	Location of district	Number of persons in computerized files
Ta-tao-ch'eng	Tataocheng	Tai-pei shih	17,887
Meng-chia	Mengchia	Tai-pei shih	9,496
Chu-pei	Chupei	Hsin-chu hsien	20,107
E-mei	Emei	Hsin-chu hsien	14,778
Pei-pu	Peipu	Hsin-chu hsien	4,967
Wu-chieh	Wuchieh	Yi-lan hsien	14,536
Ta-chia	Tachia	Tai-chung hsien	12,073
Shen-kang	Shenkang	Tai-chung hsien	14,110
Lu-kang	Lukang	Chang-hua hsien	10,697
Chu-shan	Chushan	Nan-t'ou hsien	13,347
Chi-pei-sua	Chipeisua	Tai-nan hsien	3,268
Ta-nei	Tanei	Tai-nan hsien	21,152
An-p'ing	Anping	Tai-nan hsien	17,400
Chiu-ju	Chiuju	Ping-tung hsien	4,762
Tung-kang	Tungkang	Ping-tung hsien	11,657
Ma-kung	Makung	Peng-hu hsien	16,735
Hu-hsi	Hu-hsi	Peng-hu hsien	7,540
Pai-sha	Pai-sha	Peng-hu hsien	8,100

SAN-HSIA

Brief introduction to site

In 1905 when the household registers were opened San-hsia was one of the most important towns in the Taipei Basin, primarily because of its position on the upper reaches of the K'e-ken River. Much of the tea that was eventually sold in New York and Boston passed through San-hsia. The town is still a cultural center but its economy faded when rail transport displaced river transport. San-hsia li, one of the eight li included in the computerized files, covers the center of the old town. It provides a good example family life in what was once a prosperous rural town.

Three of the eight San-hsia li were the sites of intensive field sites in the 1960's and 1970's, four of the eight are included in the tables in my book with Chieh-shan Huang, and all eight in the tables in my Sexual Attraction and Childhood Association. The sites of intensive field studies are Ch'i-nan li (Emily Ahern), Ch'ia-t'ien li (Stevan Harrell), and San-hsia li (Margery Wolf and Robert Weller). Most of my papers draw on field work in San-hsia and Shu-lin.

Selected bibliography

Ahern, Emily M., The Cult of the Dead in a Chinese Village (Stanford University Press, 1973).

Harrell, C. Steven, Ploughshare Village: Culture and Context in Taiwan (University of Washington Press, 1982).

Wolf, Arthur P., "Kinship and mourning dress." In Family and Kinship in Chinese Society, ed. Maurice Freedman (Stanford University Press, 1970), pp. 189-207.

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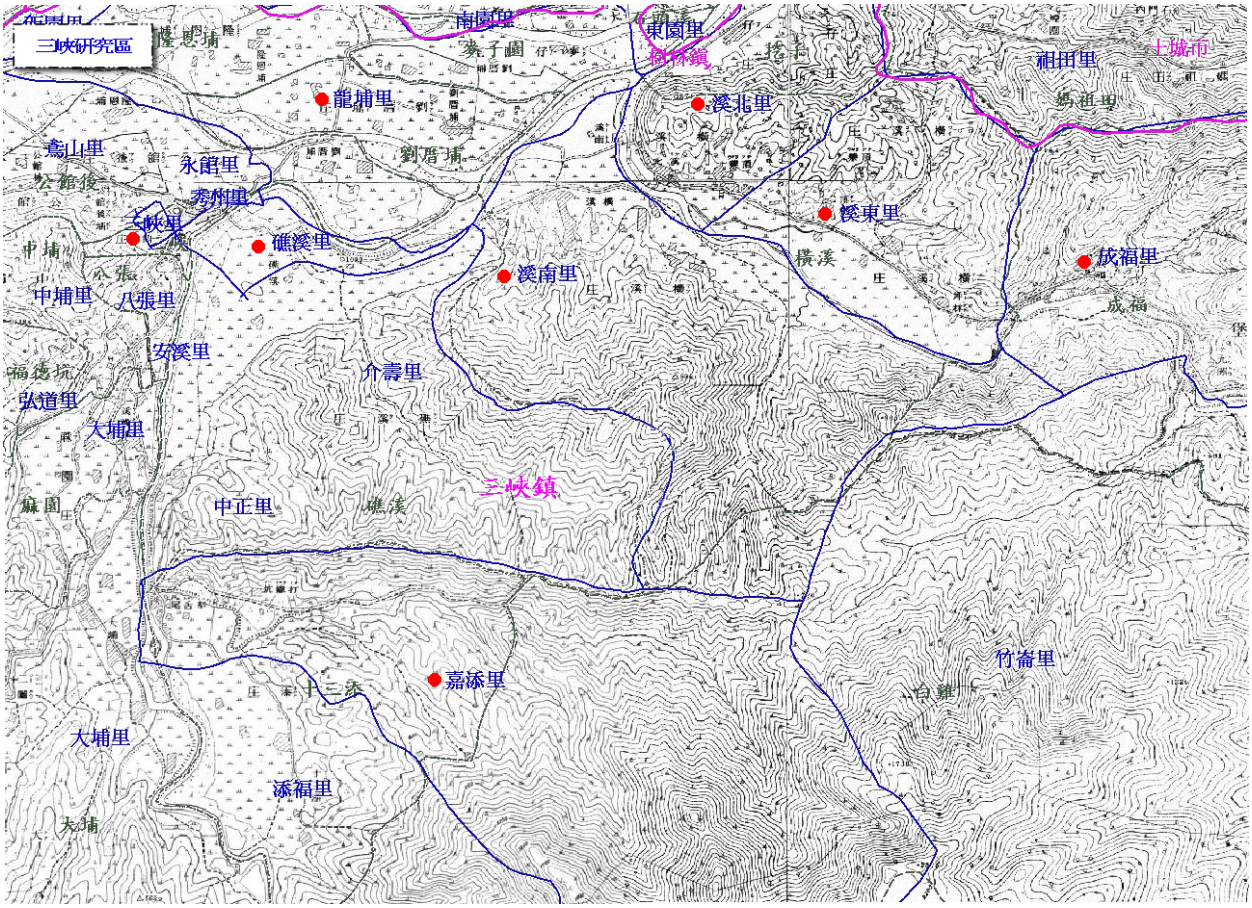
Wolf, Margery, Women and the Family in Taiwan (Stanford University Press, 1972).

Map 14.1　Location of Eight Li Included in San-hsia Field Site



SHU-LIN

Brief introduction to site

Shu-lin was settled by immigrants from the mainland as early as San Hsia, but the town that bears the name only emerged as a center when the railroad linking it to Taipei City was completed. The construction of what was once the largest winery in the Far East made it one of the first towns in the Taipei Basin capable of supporting a substantial number of wage-earners. The commercialized center of the town appears in the computerized files as Shu-tung li.

Ch'i-chou li was the site of my first field research and is represented in almost everything I have written since. It is viewed in detail in Margery Wolf's House of Lim and her Women and the Family in Rural Taiwan. The best introduction to the San-hsia site as a whole is Wang Shih-ching's "Religious organization of the a Taiwanese town."

San-hsia and Shu-lin were linked by river and then by rail to Taipei City and together consistute a peri-urban contrast with urban Taipei and rural Hsin-chu and Yi-lan hsien. An example of the differences to be expected is provided in Arthur Wolf and Hill Gates,"Marriage in Taipei City."

Selected bibliography

Wang, Shih-ch'ing, "Religious organization in the history of a Taiwanese town," in Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society, ed. Arthur P. Wolf (Stanford University Press, 1974), pp. 71-92.

Wolf, Arthur P., "Gods, ghosts, and ancestors." In Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society, ed. Arthur P. Wolf (Stanford University Press, 1974), pp. 131-82.

Wolf, Arthur P., "Women and tea in the Taipei Basin: An essay in honor of Wang Shih-ch'ing," Taiwan Historical Research (Academia Sincia, Taiwan), vol. 10 (2003), pp. 111-130.

Wolf, Arthur P. Wolf, and Chieh-shan Huang, Marriage and Adoption in China, 1845-1945. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford Universty Press, 1980.

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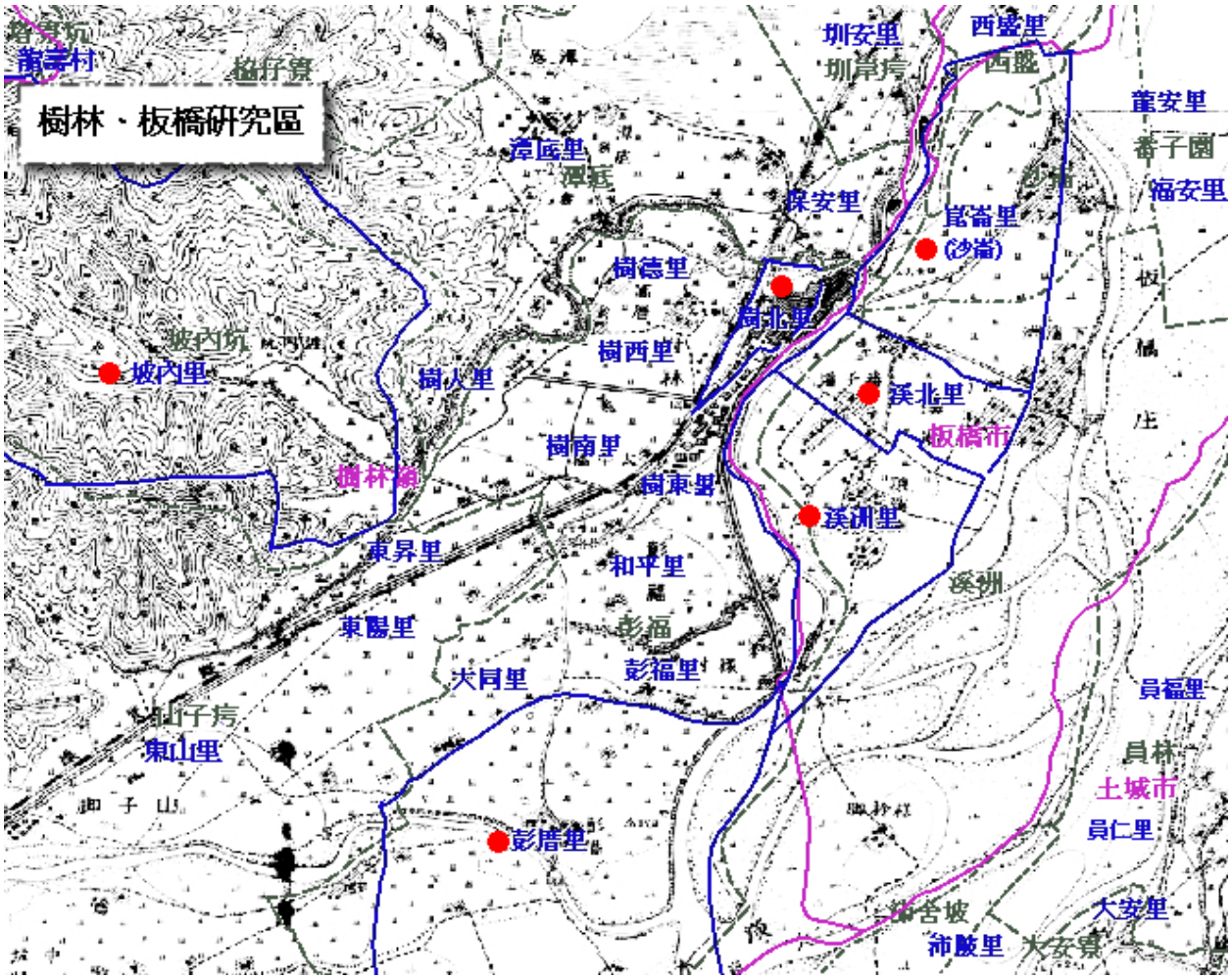
Wolf, Margery, The House of Lim (Appelton-Century Croft, 1968).

Map 14.2　Location of Five Li Included in Shu-lin Field Site



MENG-CHIA

Brief introduction to site

Selected bibliography

Ikeda, Toshio, Taiwan no Katei Seikatsu [Family life in Taiwan] (Taipei: Toto Shoseki, Taihoku Shiten, 1944).

Sa, Sophie, "Marriage among the Taiwanese of pre-1945 Taipei," in Family and Population in East Asian History, ed. Susan B. Hanley and Arthur P. Wolf (Stanford University Press, 1985), pp. 277-308.

Wolf, Arthur P. and Hill Gates, "Marriage in Taipei City: Reasons for rethinking Chinese demography." International Journal of Asian Studies, vol. 2 (2004), pp. 111-133.

TA-TAO-CH'ENG

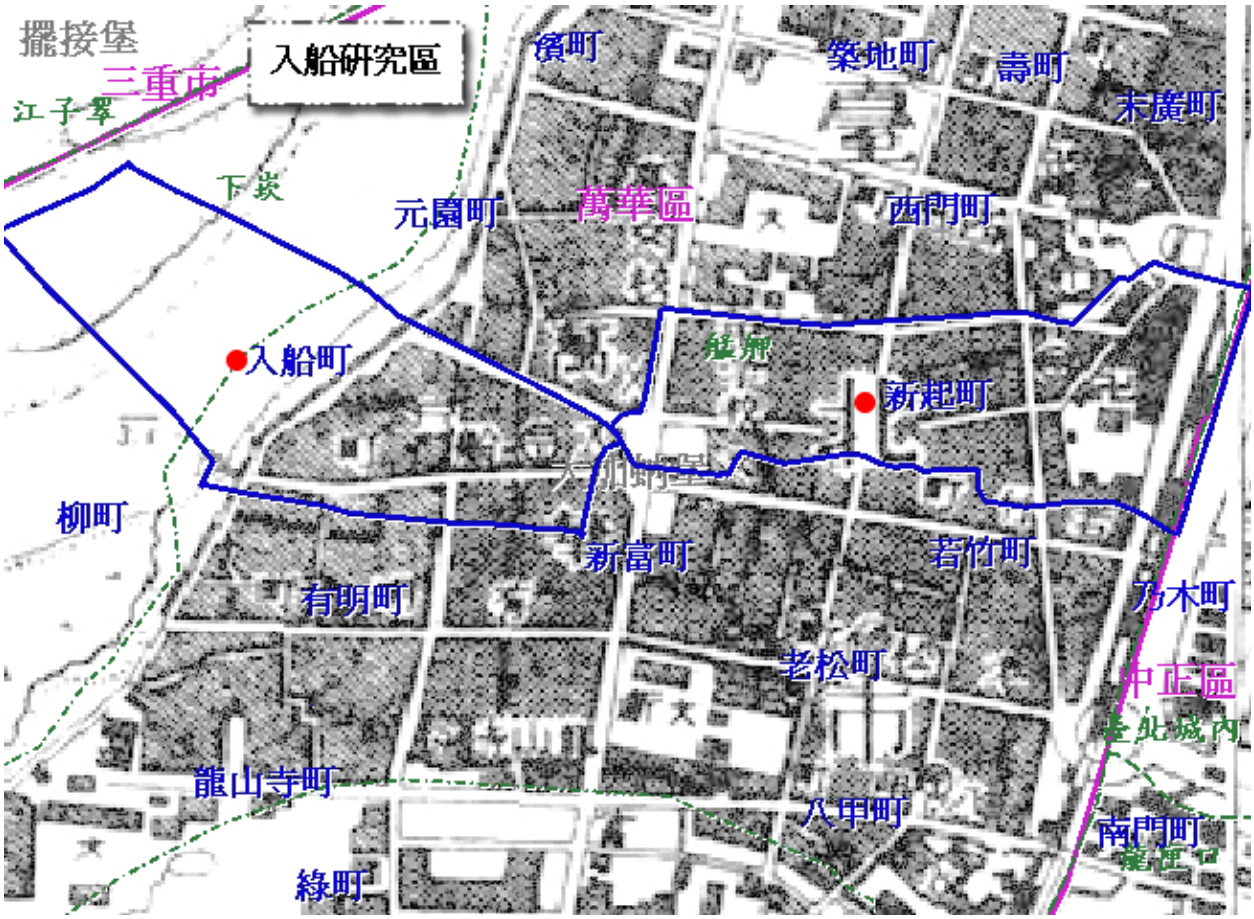
Brief introduction to site

Selected bibliography

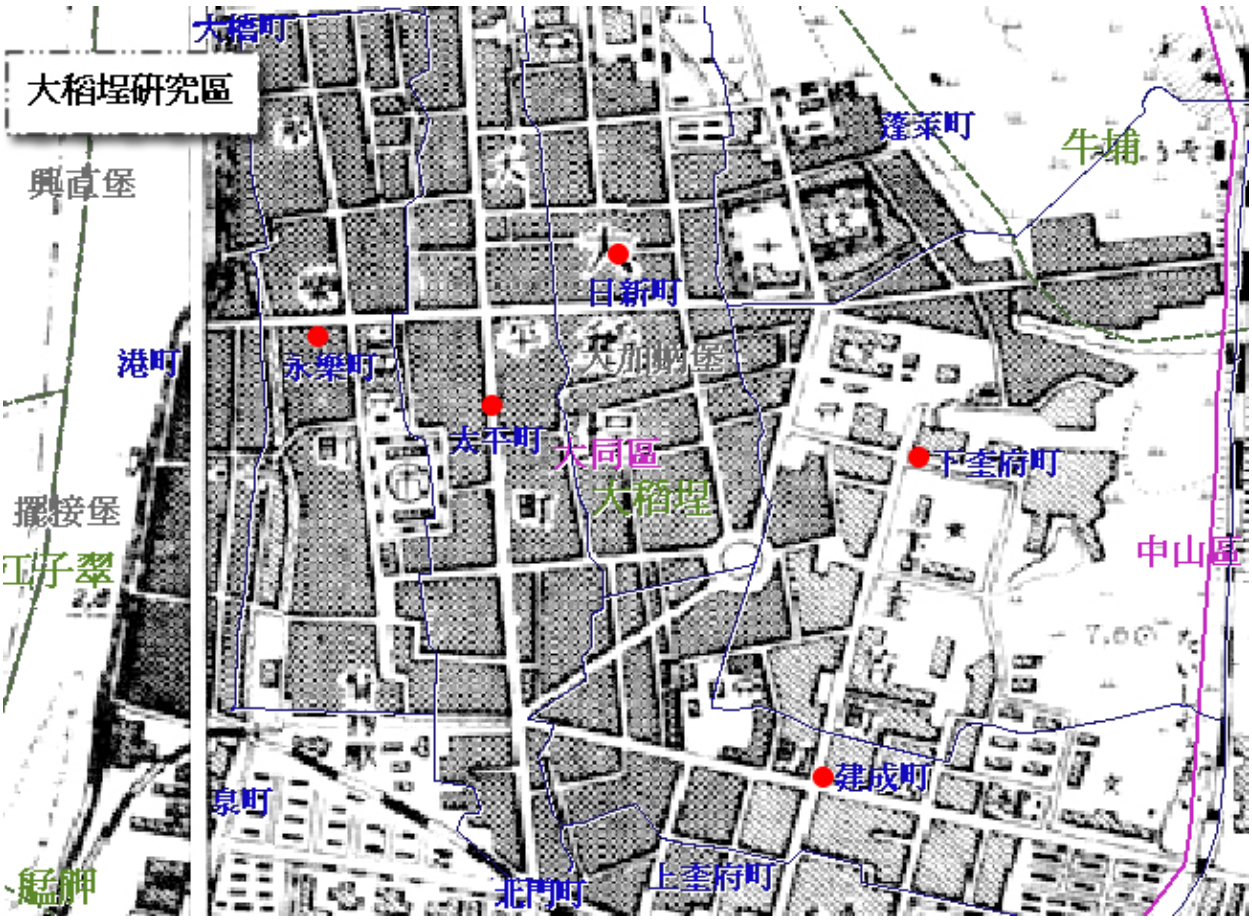
Sa, Sophie, "Marriage among the Taiwanese of pre-1945 Taipei," in Family and Population in East Asian History, ed. Susan B. Hanley and Arthur P. Wolf (Stanford University Press, 1985), pp. 277-308.

Wolf, Arthur P. and Hill Gates, "Marriage in Taipei City: Reasons for rethinking Chinese demography." International Journal of Asian Studies, vol. 2 (2004), pp. 111-133.

Map 14.3　MENG-CHIA



Map 14.4 TA-TAO-CH'ENG



CHU-PEI

Brief introduction to site

Selected bibliography

Chuang, Ying-chang, Chia-tsu yu Chieh-hun: Taiwan Pei-pu Liang-ke Min-K'e Ts'un-lo chih Yen-chiu [Family and Marriage: Hokkien and Hakka villages in North Taiwan] (Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 1994).

Chuang, Ying-chang, and Arthur P. Wolf, "Fertility and women's labor: Two negative (but instructive) findings." Population Studies, vol. 48 (1994), pp. 427-433.

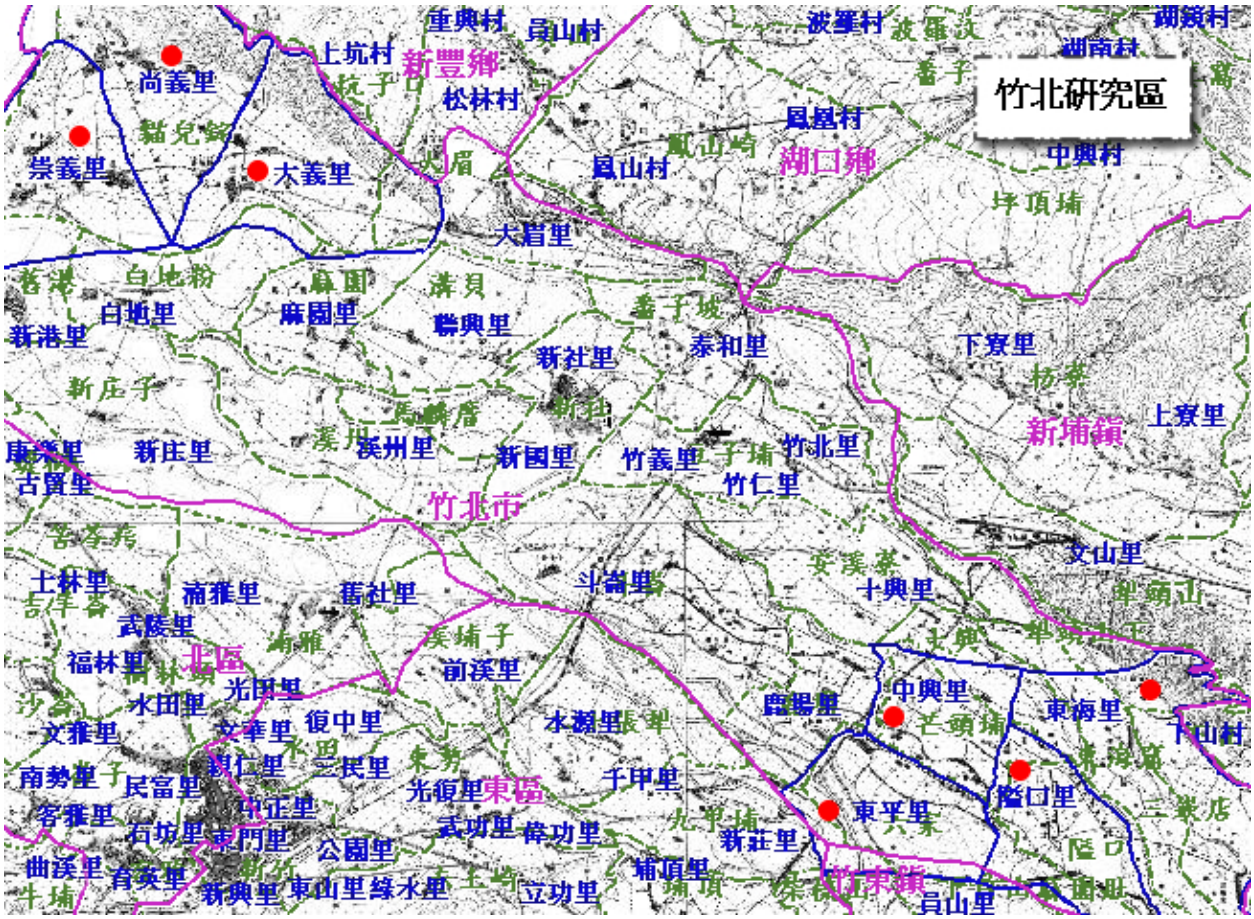
E-MEI

Brief introduction to site

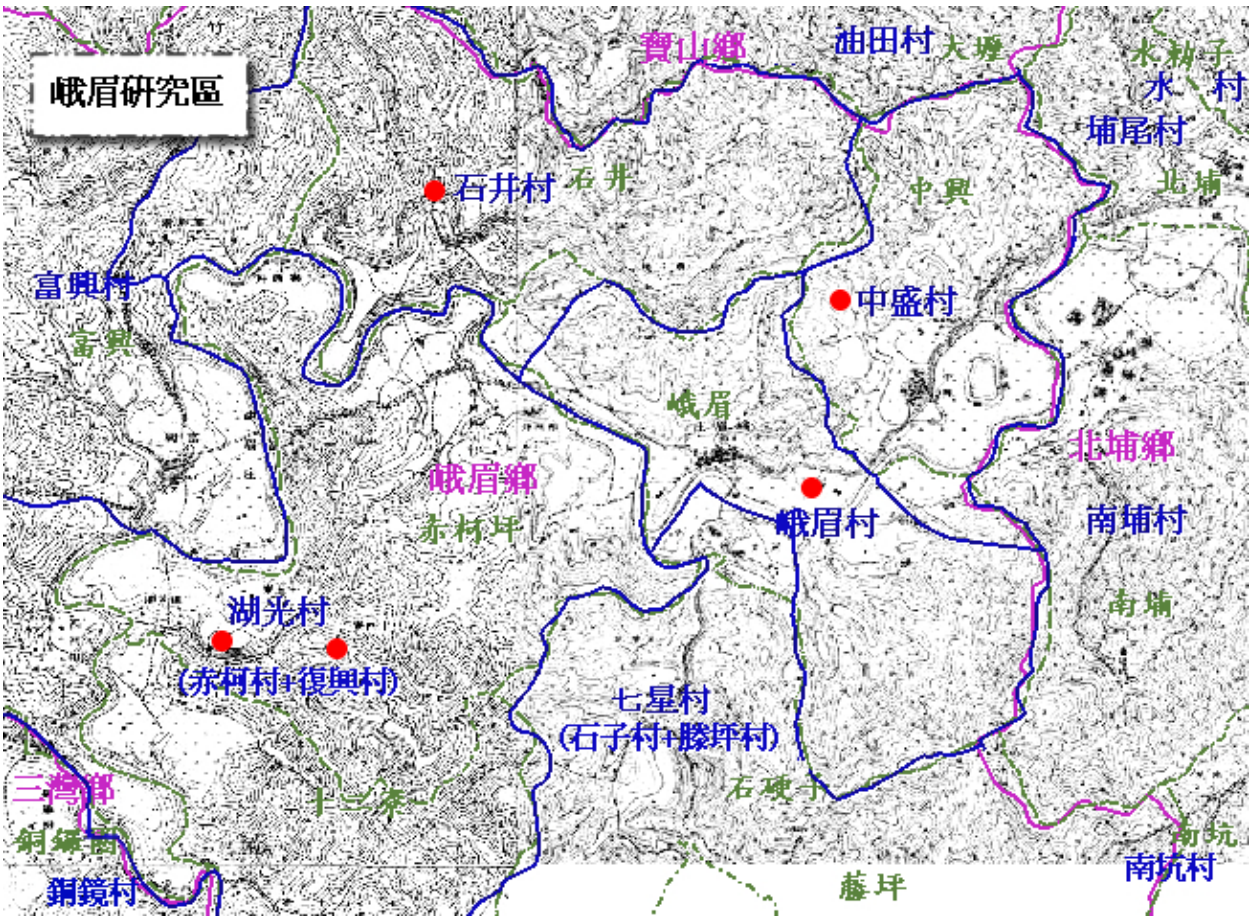
Selected bibliography

Martin, Howard J., "Early colonial land tenure and family structure in Chung-hsin," in Taiwan Li-shih-shang te T'u-ti Wen-t'i [Land questions in Taiwan's History], ed. Chen Chiu-kun and Hsu Hsueh-chi (Taipei: Academic Sinica, 1992), pp. 224.

Map 14.5　Chu-Pei



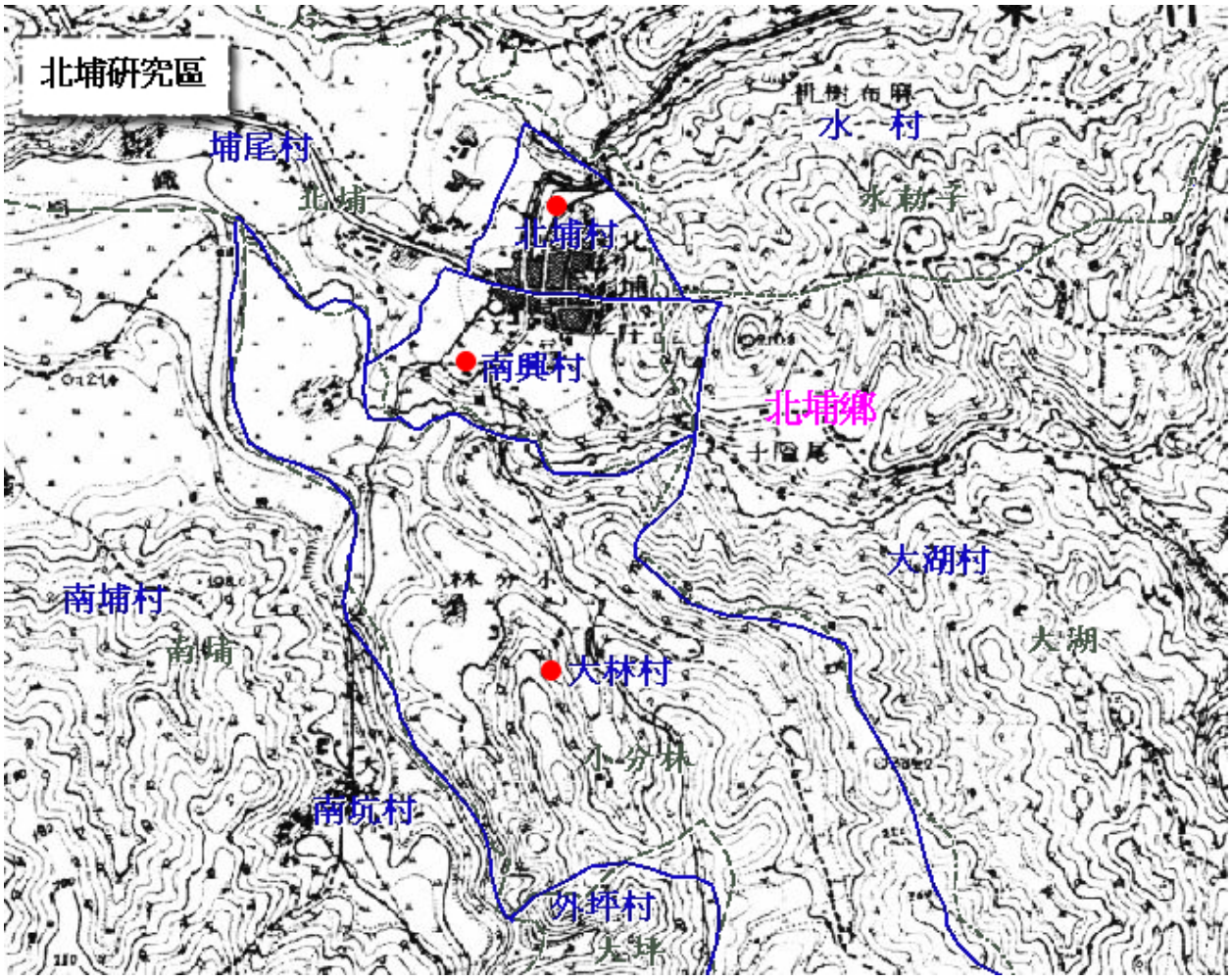
Map 14.6　E-Mei


峨眉研究區
寶山鄉
油田村
大壩
水井子
水　村
埔尾村
北埔
石井村
石井
中興
富興村
富興
中盛村
峨眉
北埔鄉
峨眉鄉
赤柯坪
峨眉村
南埔村
南埔
湖光村
(赤柯村+復興村)
七星村
(石子村+滕坪村)
三灣鄉
十二寮
石硬子
南坑
南坑村
銅鏡村
藤坪

PEI-PU

Brief introduction to site

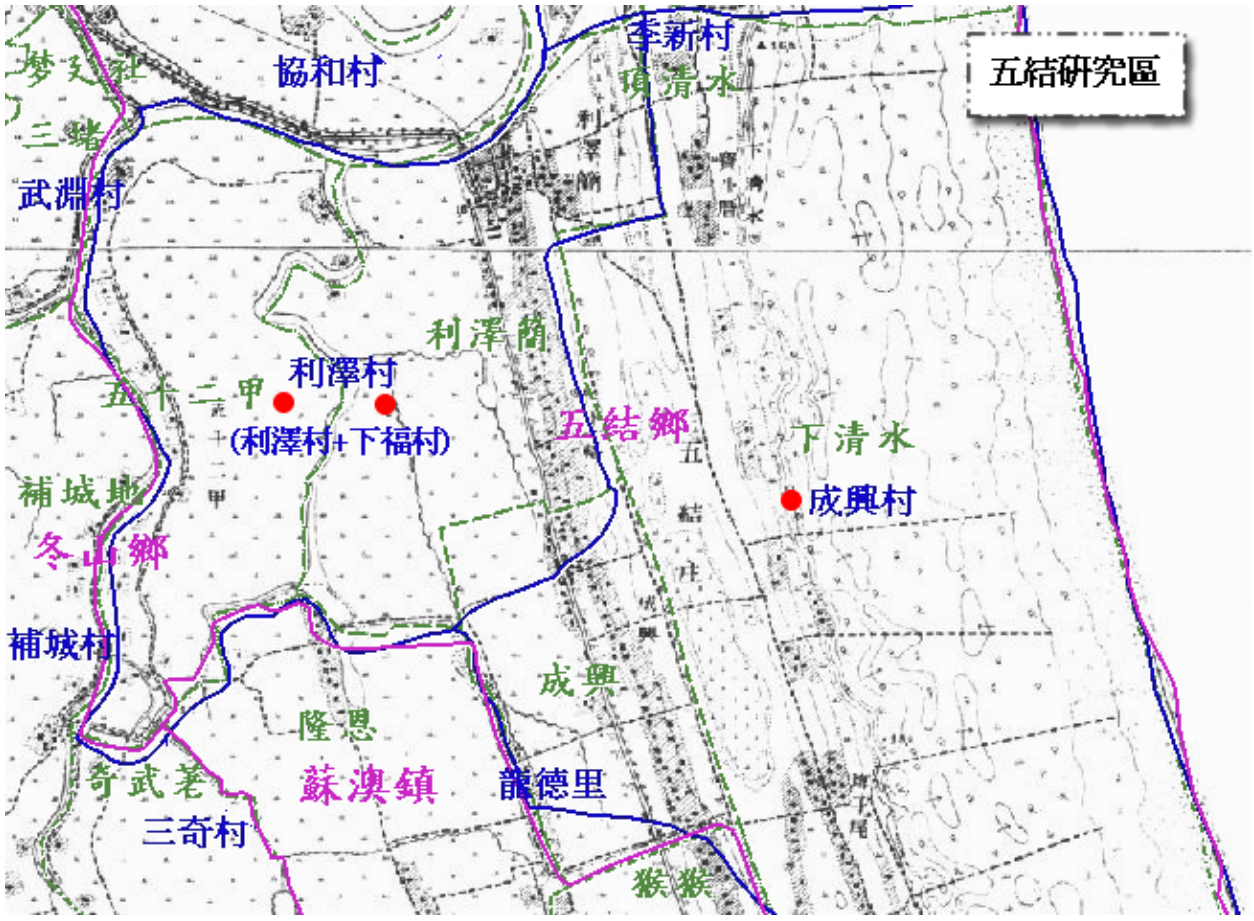
Selected bibliography



WU-CHIEH

Brief introduction to site

Selected bibliography



TA-CHIA

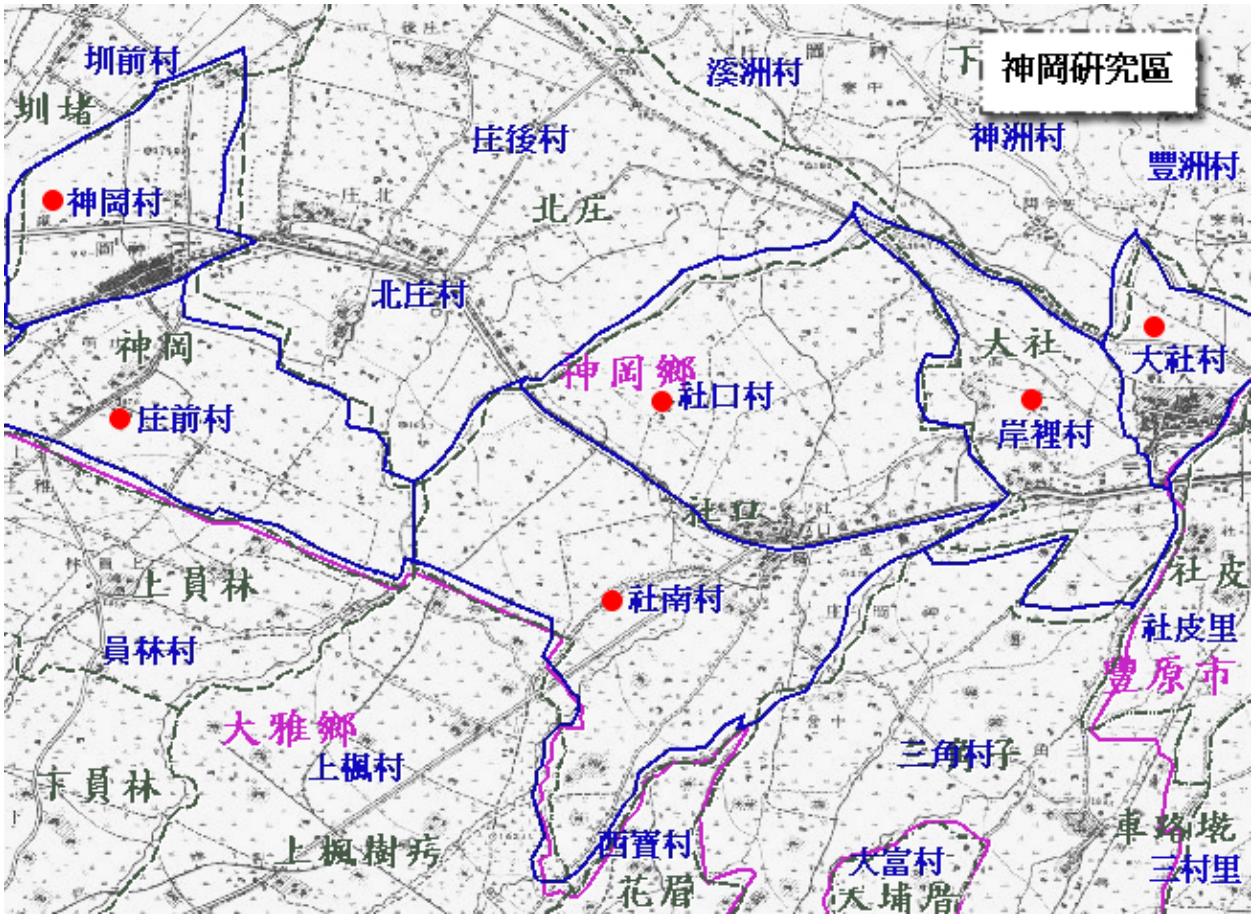
Brief introduction to site

Selected bibliography

SHEN-KANG

Brief introduction to site

Selected bibliography



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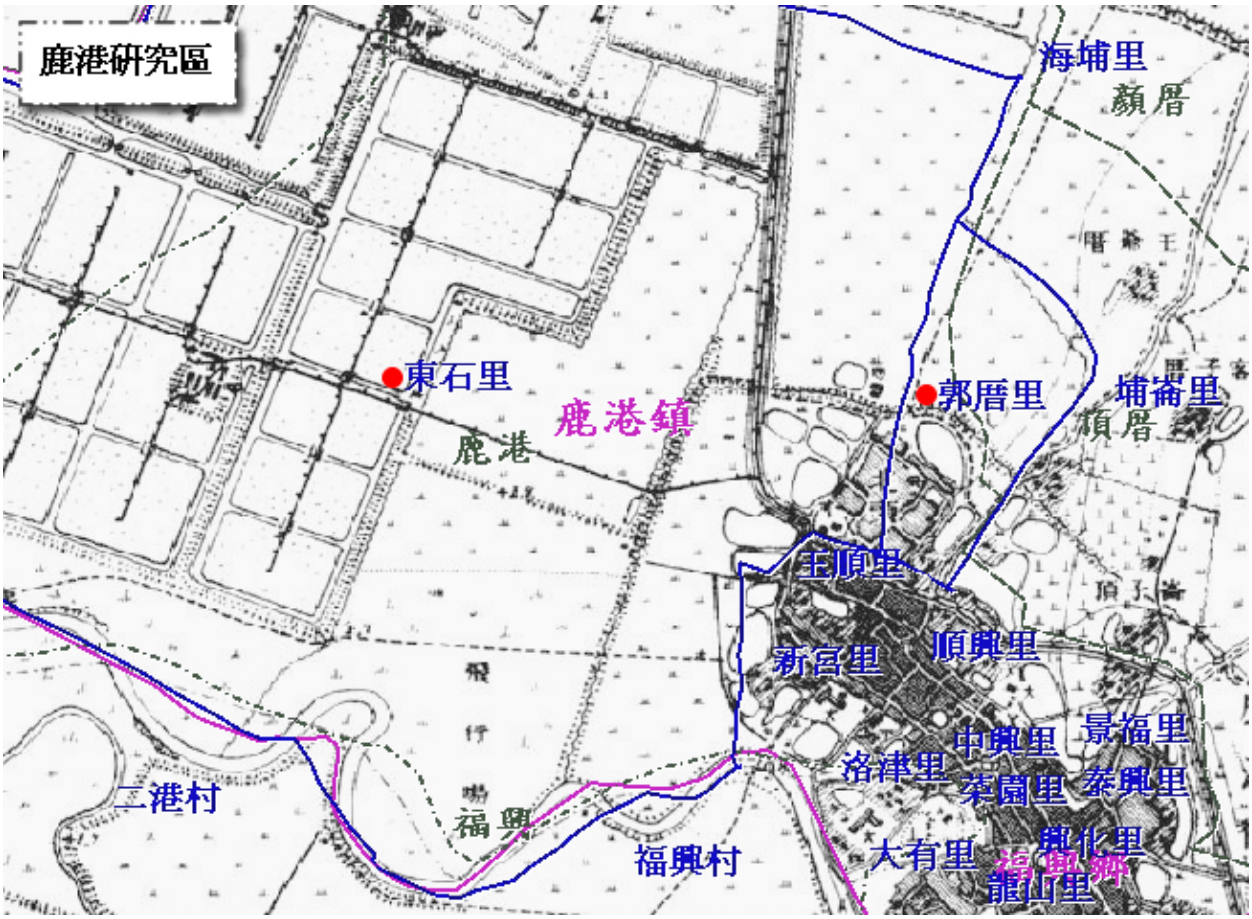
Engelen, Theo, and Hsieh Ying-hui, Two Cities, One Life: Marriage and Fertility in Lugang and Nijmegen (Aksant, 2007)



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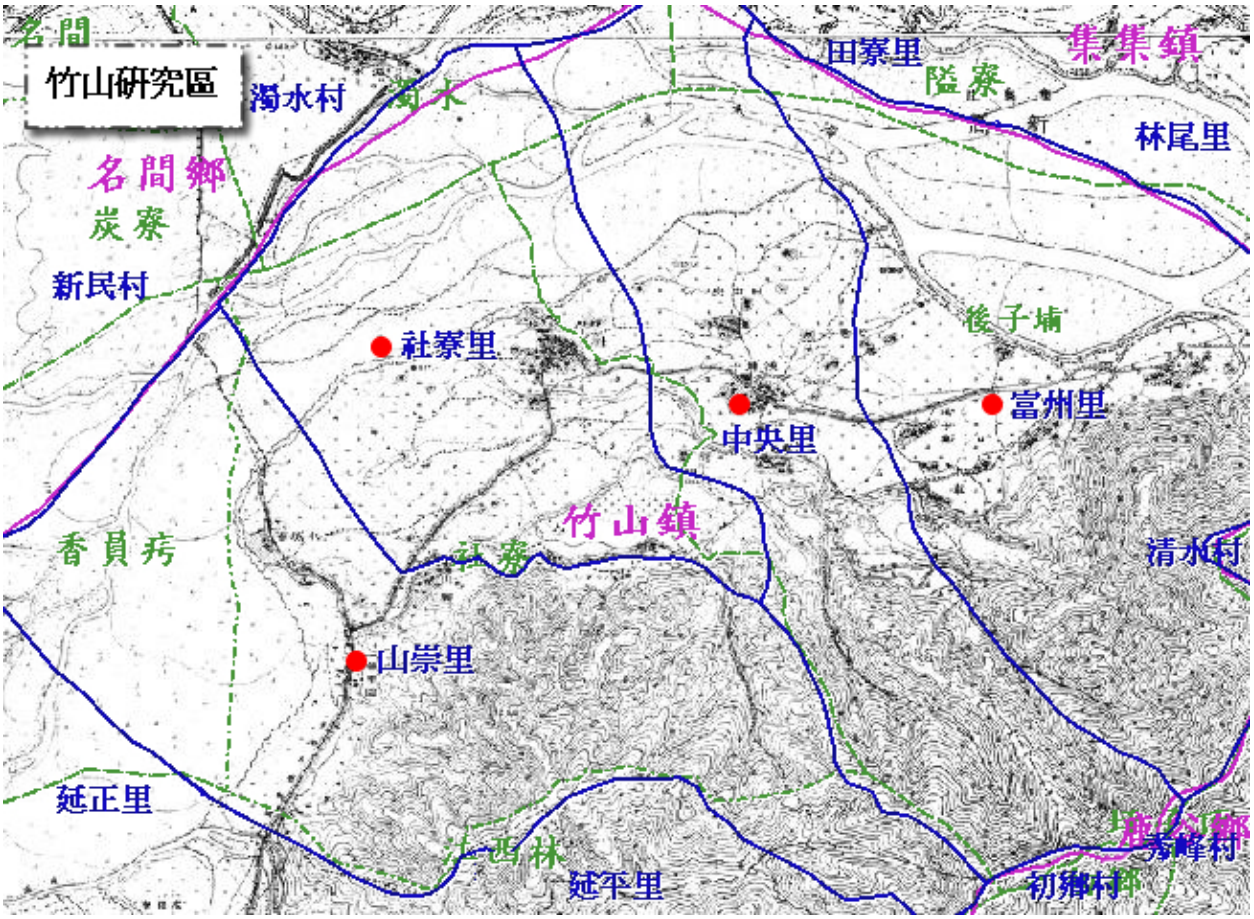

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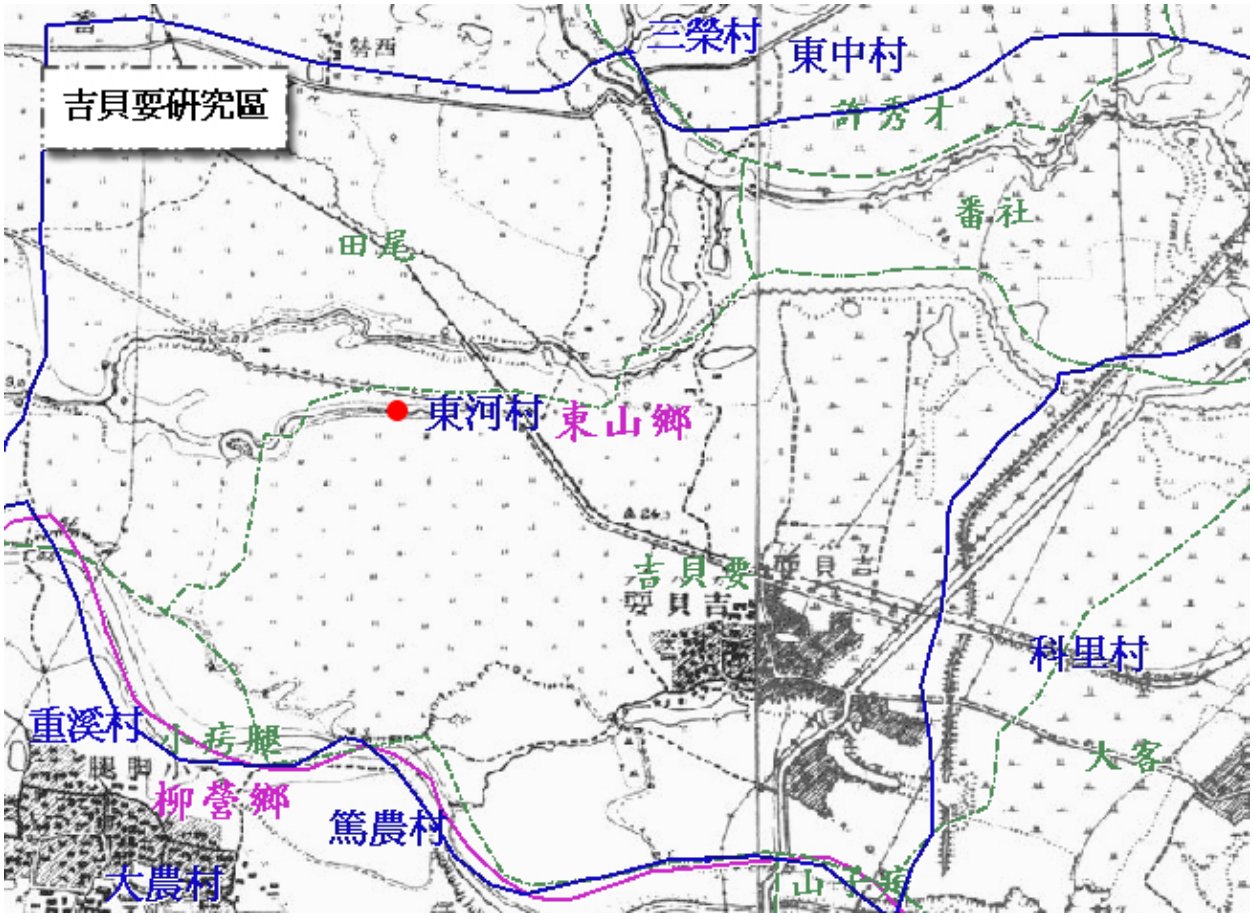

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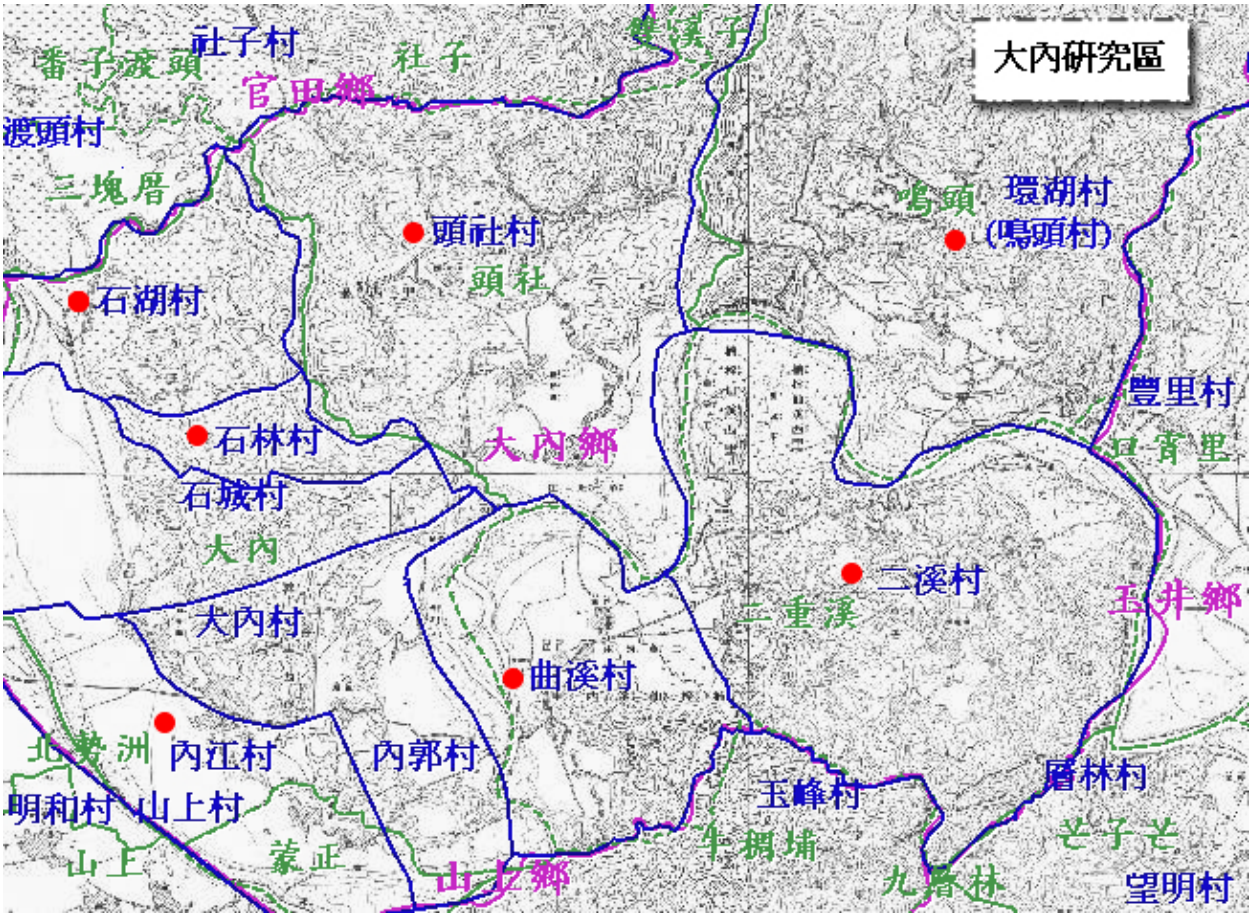

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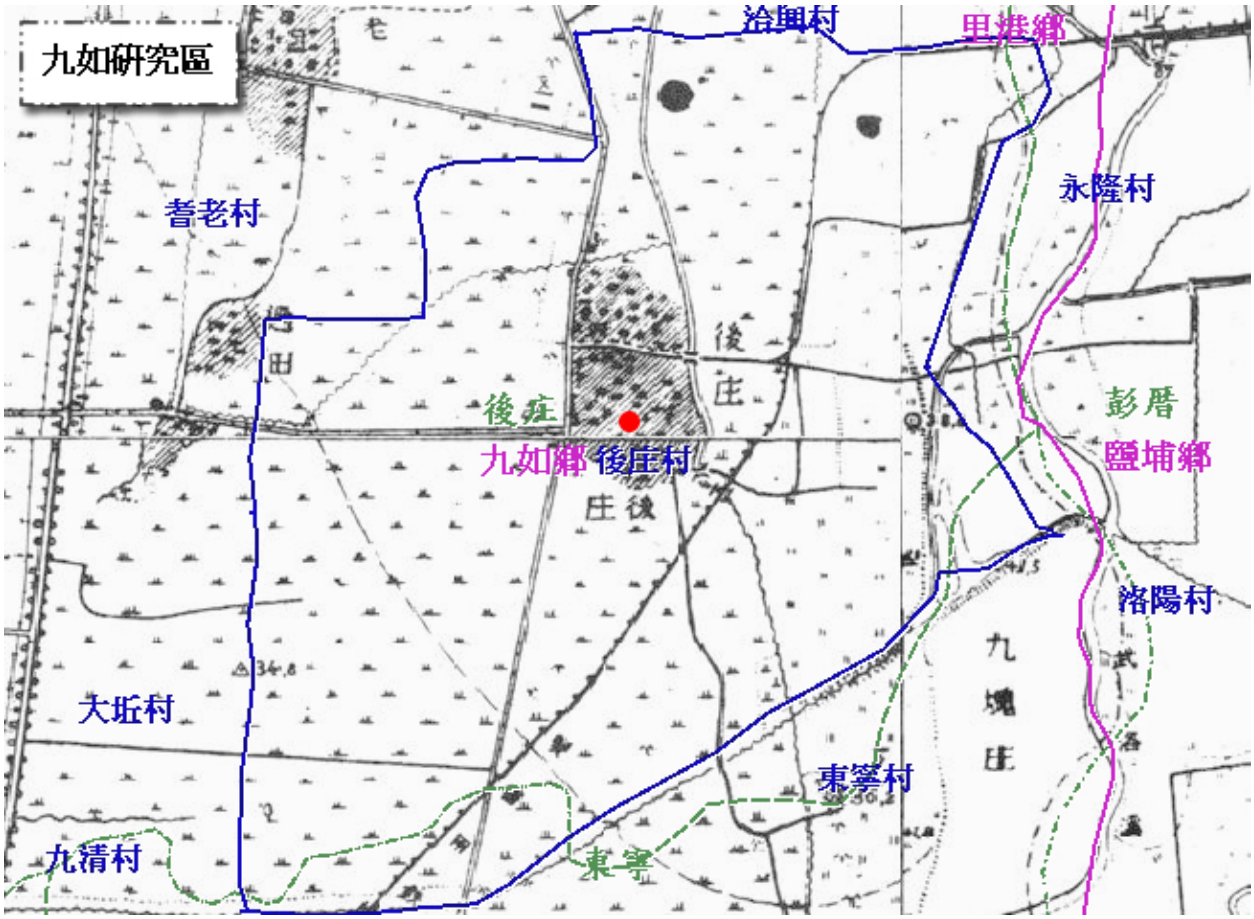

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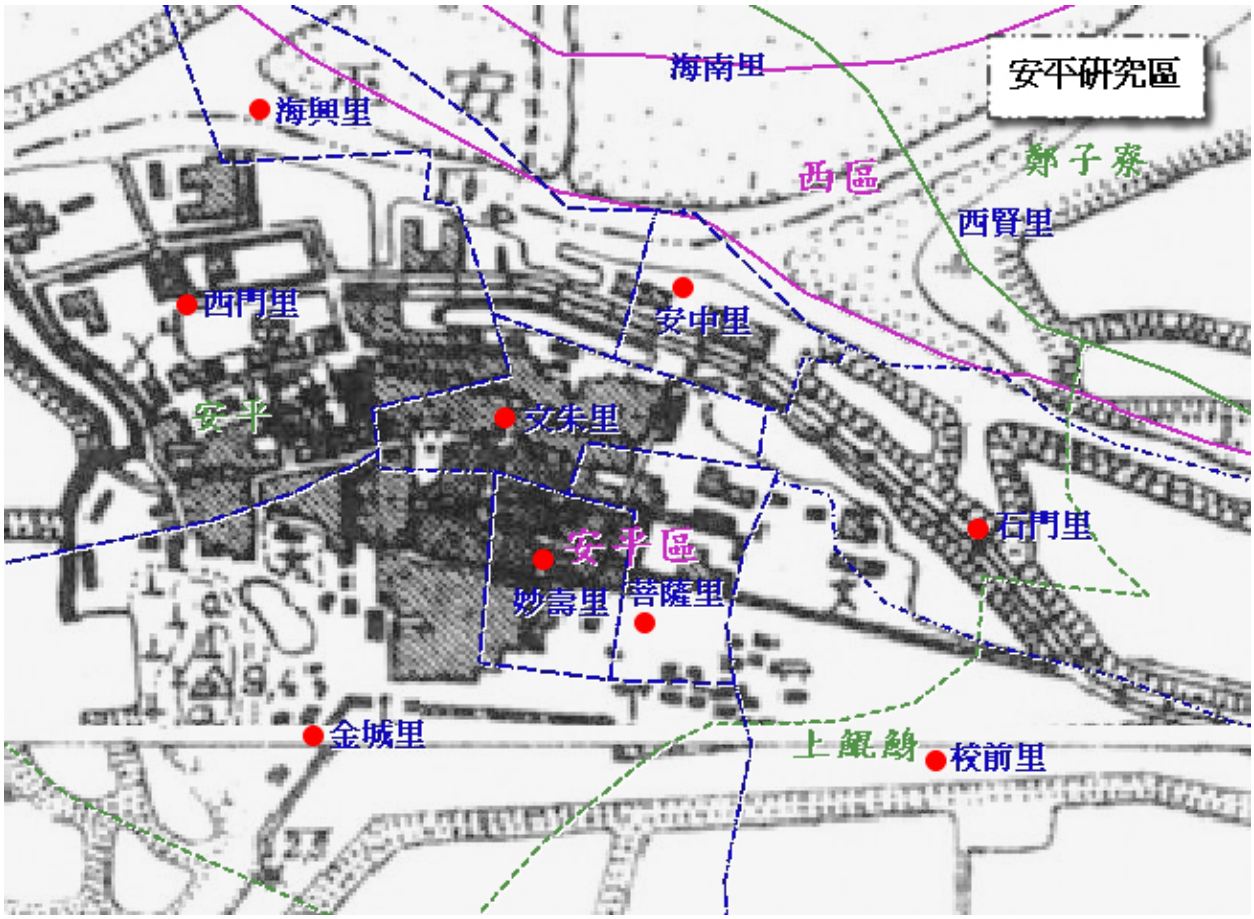

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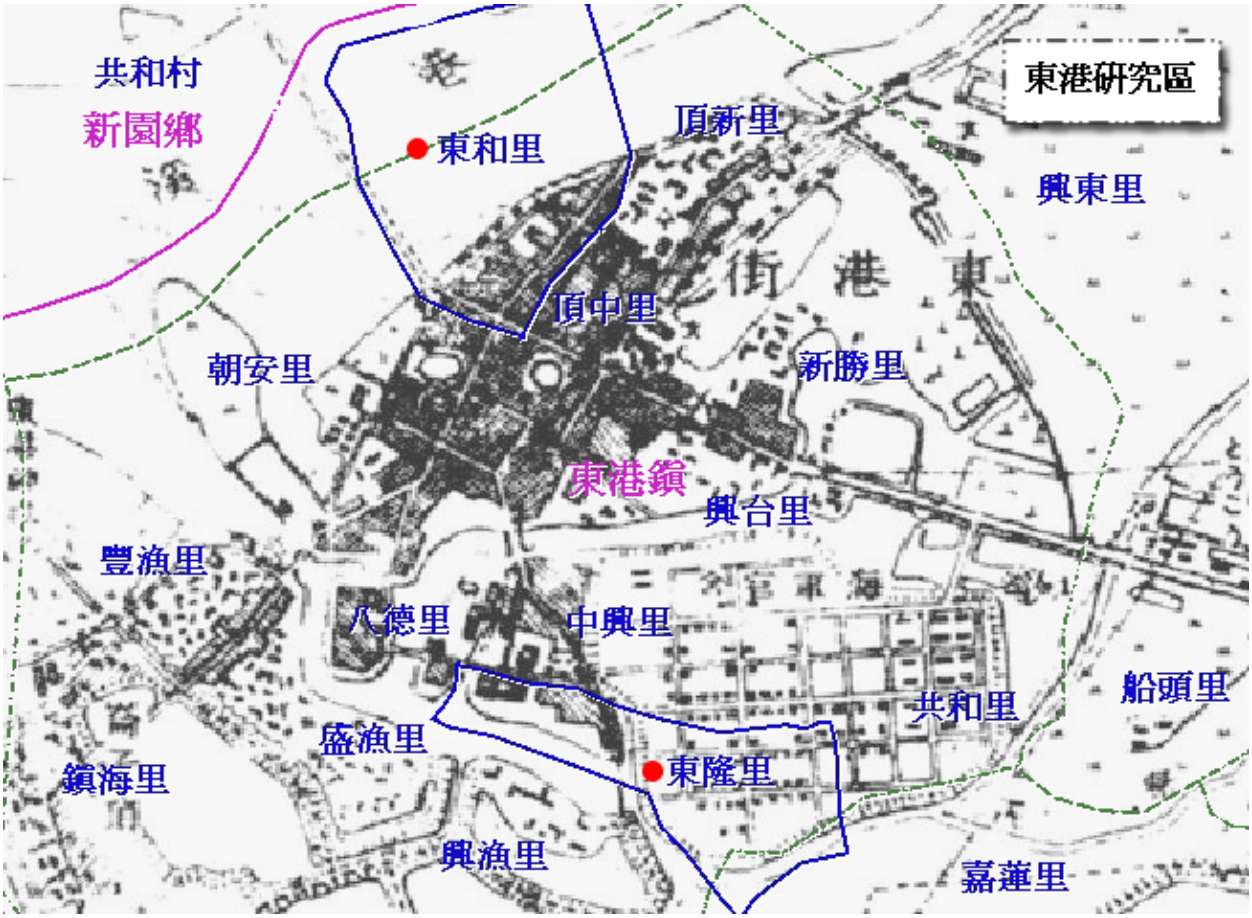

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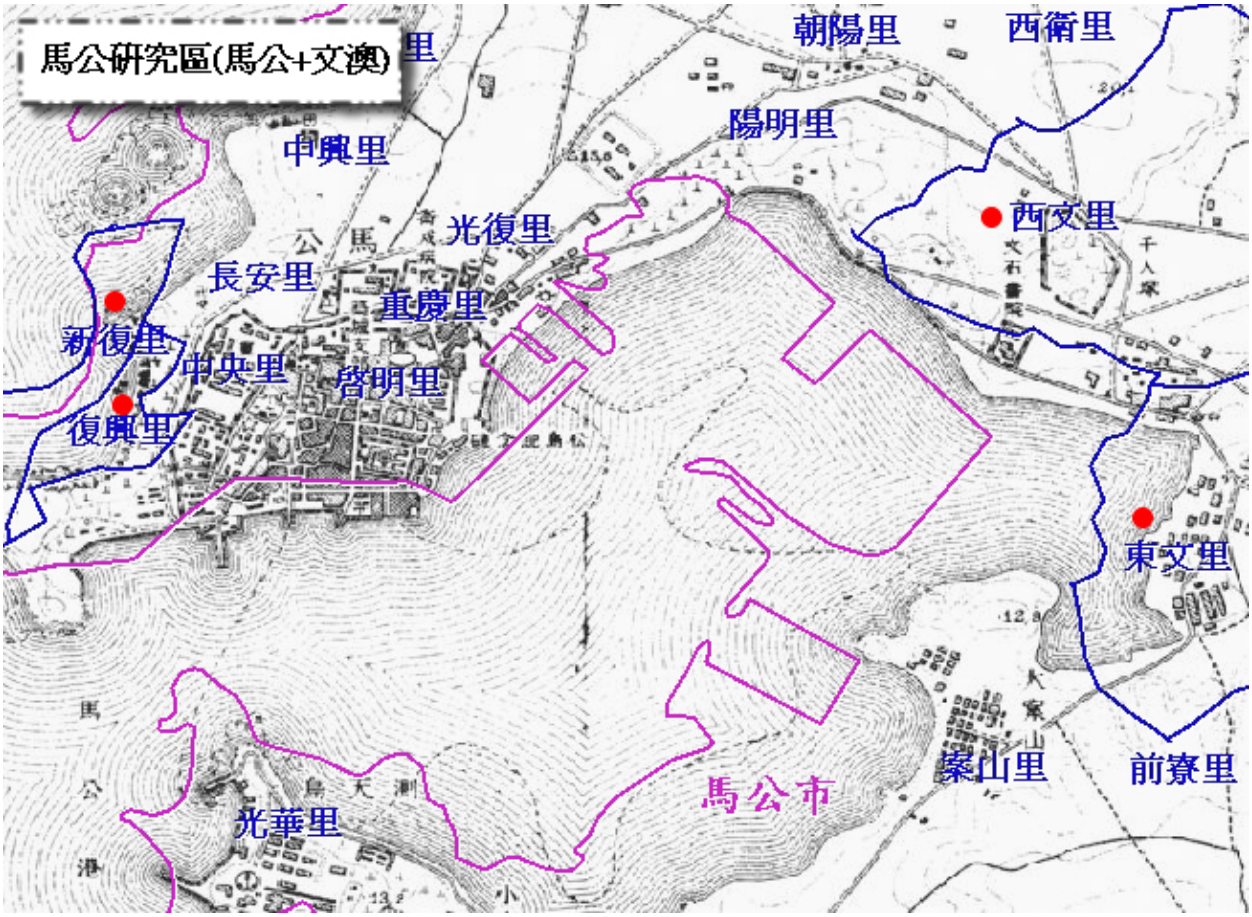

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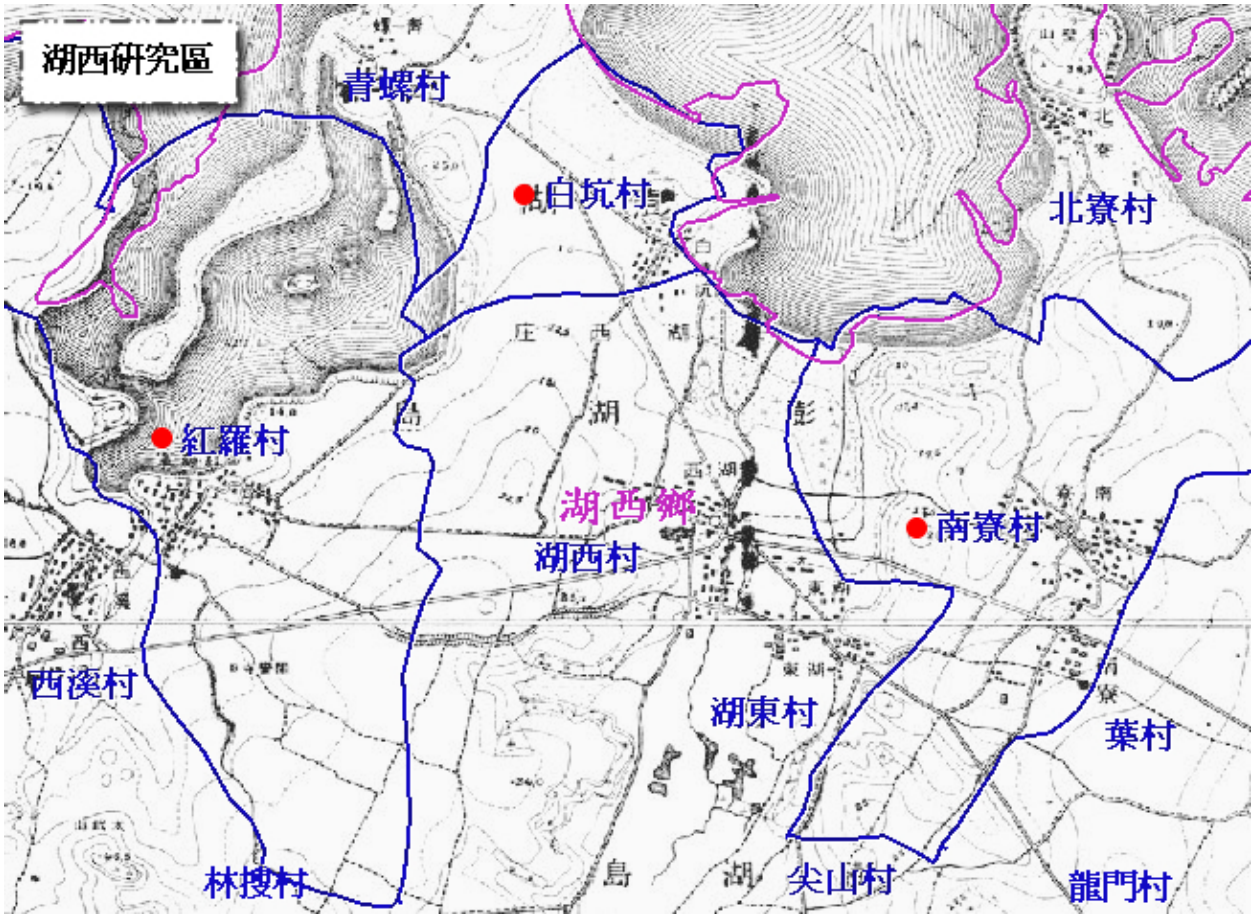

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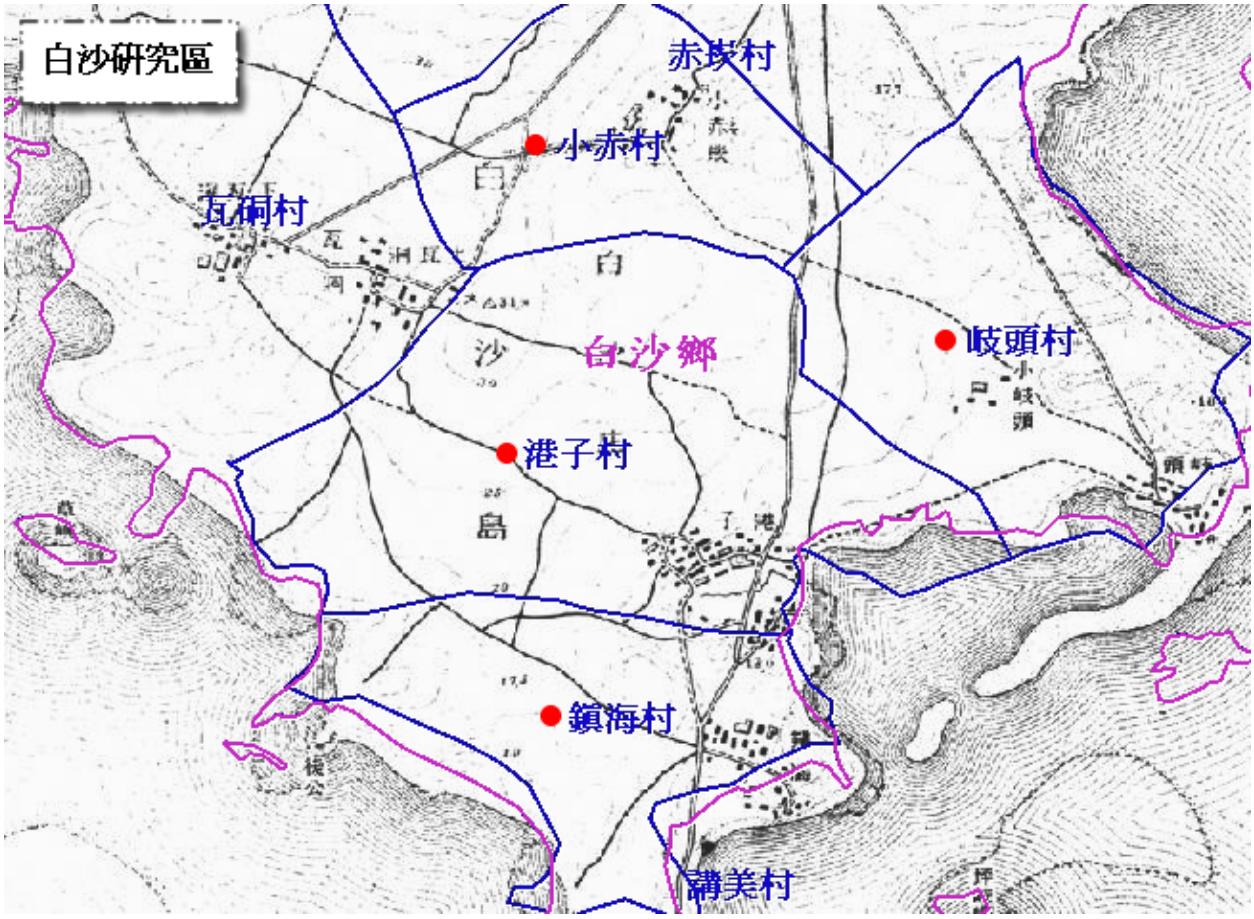

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