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The Last Refuge and Forced Migration of a Taiwanese Indigenous People during the Japanese Colonization of Taiwan – An Ethnohistory

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ABSTRACT

Through ethnohistorical studies, this paper explores social and political perspectives during the Japanese colonization of Taiwan which led to the forced resettlement of an entire indigenous society. Ethnographic life histories and translations of official Japanese police announcements are used to explore the 1941 Neibenlu (Laipunuk) Incident (內本鹿事件), a critical event in the oral history of the Bunun, a Taiwanese (Formosan) indigenous people of the southern mountains of Taiwan. We examine the reopening of Neibenlu's Japanese mountain trail and its police stations offering new access to Bunun heritage to inform present and future generations. The study offers an innovative account of a neglected topic of indigenous resistance to imperialism, combining oral ethnography and historical textual analysis.

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to provide an evidence-based account of an overlooked topic of indigenous resistance to imperialism during the Japanese colonization of Taiwan (1895–1945), combining a life account and ethnography with historical textual analysis.

Taiwan is the homeland of the ethnic groups historically referred to as Formosan aborigines, and now generally referred to as the Taiwanese indigenous peoples, who currently make up 2.42% of the total Taiwan population, at around 571,816 people.[1] Today there are sixteen officially recognized ethnolinguistic groups of the Austronesian Language Family in Taiwan (fifteen groups of Formosan language speakers, and one group of Malayo-Polynesian speakers of Orchid Island).[2] One of these Formosan groups is the Bunun, and this study centers on Neibenlu (內本鹿) in Mandarin Chinese, also known as Laipunuk in the Bunun language, a once-prosperous Bunun village in the mountains of southern Taiwan.

The prosperity of Laipunuk came to a sudden and tragic end when a Bunun man, Haisul Takisvilainan, the family leader of Laipunuk's Halipusun community, rebelled against Japanese rule and a policy of relocating the Bunun from the mountains to the lowland plains near Taitung (southeast Taiwan). Haisul fought and killed Japanese extending over a month beginning March 9th, 1941. Indigenous, local Taiwanese, and Japanese people were mobilized to catch him and his comrades.[3]

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The Bunun elders we interviewed generally recalled this time as the "Haisul event." Officially, the Japanese documented the event as the Neibenlu Incident. In the wake of the incident, Bunun families were forced from their villages overnight, their houses burned, and their lives dramatically changed forever.[4]

The story of Haisul was first told by the elders who experienced the event. Before their passing away, various accounts were shared with their sons and daughters. One of those sons, Nabu Istanda, who was especially interested in Bunun history and the elder's stories, pieced together the events of that time. Although he was not an academic trained in ethnography, he was an emic participant observer who has continued the Bunun oral tradition, sharing his collective knowledge with others (personal experience, 2004–2021). When we were made aware of Nabu's story, we recorded what was possible,[5] here re-told for the first time in English.[6] We also located archival materials dating from the Japanese period which corroborate parts of Nabu's story and provide an alternative perspective. By integrating all these sources, we arrive at an evidence-based ethnohistorical account of the Neibenlu Incident.

Theoretical framing and context

Earlier studies of ethnohistories included research methods engaging historical and ethnographic techniques and materials in a co-mingling of anthropology and history with emphasis on both sociocultural change and persistence.[7] From the early qualitative ethnological styles of Radin[8] and Neihardt,[9] who recorded and presented life accounts of Native Americans, ethnohistory as a field of study developed in the mid-20th century with the additional use of written historical documents, and today expanding in scope over time to include maps, music, photographs, site explorations and archaeological artifacts,[10] as well as evolving new technologies.

Using contemporary ethnohistorical techniques, this study accounts for the time and circumstances of the events in 1941, beginning here with a broad understanding of the Bunun and the Japanese colonization of Taiwan, including reference materials and archival images of the Japanese period for readers as suggested by Axtel.[11]

Although the vicissitudes of colonialism during the Japanese colonialization of Taiwan (1895–1945) have been well documented,[12] the historical events that led to the forced resettlement of an entire indigenous society—the 1941 Neibenlu Incident (內本鹿事件)—are not well-represented in the ethnohistorical literature.

The term "Neibenlu Incident" (Laipunuk Incident) refers specifically to the events precipitating the 1941 forced resettlement of the Bunun of Laipunuk, who lived in the southern mountain range of Taitung County during the Japanese occupation of Taiwan (1895–1945) (Figure 1).

The overall importance of the Neibenlu Incident in regards to Taiwanese history is that it ends the last refuge of the Bunun on the island.[13] The event is connected with current land rights issues among Taiwanese (Formosan) indigenous peoples in southern Taiwan

This research centers around Haisul Takisvilainan, a Bunun man who rebelled against the Japanese and their policy of relocating the Bunun from the mountains to the

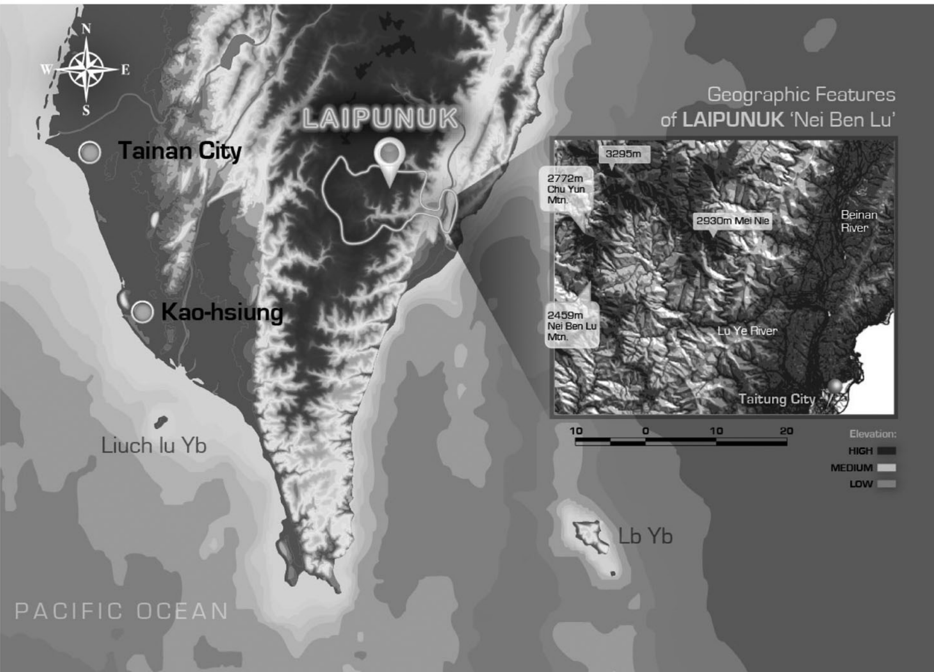

Figure 1. Map of Taiwan featuring the Laipunuk mountain watershed. Source: Steven Martin.

lowland plains near Taitung. Haisul led a group of Bunun warriors who fought against Japanese troops and killed several of them in the spring of 1941.

This study uses English translations of previously recorded Bunun oral histories, as well as English translations of contemporary Japanese documents, to address the knowledge gap in the ethnohistorical literature and provide the first detailed narrative account in English of the incident, considering the critical events from the perspectives of the Bunun, the Japanese colonial authority, and other ethnic groups on the island.

Indigenous Bunun

The Bunun are Taiwan's fourth most populous ethnolinguistic group with over 60,000 people.[14] The group is further divided into five ethnolinguistic classifications: Takituduh, Takibakha, Takbanuaz, Takivatan, and Isbukun, with the Isbukun dialect representing the largest group,[15] including the Bunun living in Laipunuk at the time of Japanese first contact.[16]

The Bunun were known as skilled hunters, fierce warriors, and a people hostile to outsiders, including other Formosan groups, incoming settlers from China, and the Japanese.[17] Particularly for males, an individual's position as a hunter within Bunun society was achieved by merit, with high respect for acts of courage (Figure 2).[18]

Japanese colonization of Taiwan

Historically, previous to the period of Japanese administration, Taiwan was not unified as a sovereign state under one authority; rather it was a mosaic of interdependent

Figure 2. A Bunun hunter during a roots-searching expedition of the Laipunuk environs in 2005. Source: Steven Martin.

communities from prehistory to the 20th century. Over the last 400 years, numerous foreign incursions occupied regions of the island, including the Dutch East India Company ruling southern Taiwan (1624–1662). From 1683 to 1895, western regions of the island were under Qing imperial authority. In 1895 the Qing government was defeated in the Sino-Japan War and Taiwan was relinquished to Japan. This event marked the beginning of the Japanese colonial rule over Taiwan until 1945 and ushered in a new chapter of adversity for the indigenous peoples.[19]

Contrary frames of reference of the Japanese colonization include those that highlight their many achievements, and those that are anti-imperialist focused on their harsh social policy and governance.[20] However, a black and white view of colonialization was never so clear, and while the Japanese received control of Taiwan in 1895 under the Treaty of Shimonoseki, they presented themselves as modernizers and providers investing extensively in infrastructure projects, such as electricity, water, roads, and railroad systems. Certainly not all Japanese at this time were as benevolent, and in fact many disagreed with occupying Taiwan at all.[21] We must consider that there were more obvious geo-political concerns which incentivized Japan to take Taiwan at the time for furthering its empire ambitions. However, by the time the Japanese arrived in Laipunuk in the early 1920s and developed the area in the 1930s,[22] the Bunun and the Japanese had years of experience through their coexistence dealing with each other under the framework imposed by Japanese imperialism.

A personal journal by a Japanese policeman in Taitung County, Setsuzo Aoki[23] provided an earnest account of colonial philosophy centered on service, modernization, and social programs for local indigenous peoples, including those living in Laipunuk.

Laipunuk—the last refuge of the Bunun

Unique in Taiwan, and due largely to the encroachment on traditional hunting areas by the Japanese, Laipunuk became a complex alliance between peoples from various

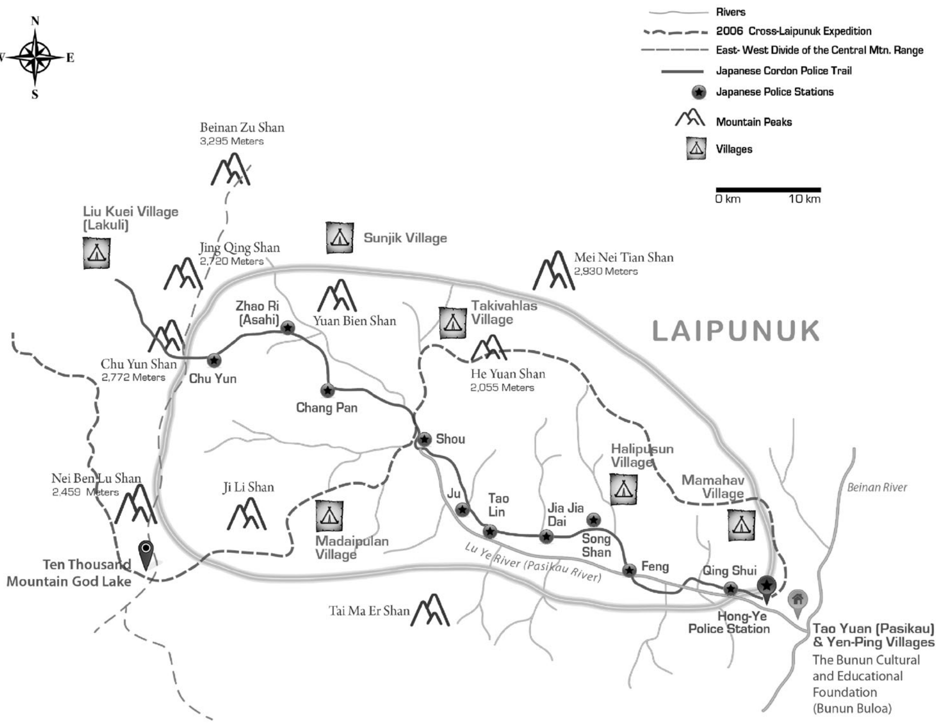

Figure 3. Map of Laipunuk villages featuring the Japanese cordon trail and its police stations with Chinese names. Source: Steven Martin.

villages, which later were classified by the government as Bunun, Paiwan, and Hakka ethnic groups.[24] At the time of the incident, although the Bunun language-speaking people were the majority, traditional collective ties and identifications were under increasing pressure.

Resistance to Japanese control throughout the mountain areas had been escalating for several decades, resulting in a number of devastating events, most notably the 1930 Wushe Rebellion which saw the killing of approximately 160 Japanese and 600 of the Seediq indigenous group.[25] With regard to the Bunun, mountain governance and gun control policies imposed by the Japanese resulted in a number of localized incidents, including the Dafen Incident in 1914, the Danda Incident in 1916, and the Dakuanshan Incident in 1932.[26] Of particular interest, the Lakuli Incident of 1915 occurred near the village of Liu-kuei, Kaohsiung County (see Figure 3), where Bunun and other Taiwanese indigenous peoples attacked the Japanese and their Taiwanese camphor workers.[27] As a result of these ongoing conflicts between the indigenous peoples and the Japanese Empire, many Bunun sought to evade Japanese authority by moving to more remote mountain villages in the vicinity of Laipunuk.[28] These events accelerated communication, collaboration, and migration among ethnic groups in the southern region, and Laipunuk was subject to immigration especially from the west of the Central Range, coming primarily from today's Pingtung and Kaohsiung counties. Consequently, Laipunuk became the last refuge of the Bunun as an independent nation and others taking refuge.[29]

The Japanese cordon trail and its police stations

The Japanese cordon trail and police stations were in part a reaction to pockets of indigenous resistance that remained in the mountains as the residents of Laipunuk were attracting police attention.[30] In 1922, Japanese police records mentioned concern over Bunun hunters' rifles, gunpowder and ammunition, suspected to be manufactured in Laipunuk, and this led to the tightening of Japanese control over the area.[31] At first, Bunun families were permitted to stay in the mountains, although indigenous children were required to attend Japanese schools at strategically located police stations, and traditional cultural practices, especially "headhunting," were forbidden by the Japanese.[32]

During the late 1920s and early 1930s, the Bunun rebel known as Lamataxinxin (Husangan Istanda) came to Laipunuk regularly to meet with his extended family members and to obtain gunpowder. In our research during the early 2000s, one of the authors interviewed a Bunun elder and living relative of Lamataxinxin, Tama Biung Istanda (1920–2007) who recalled meeting Lamataxinxin at his father's house in Suncik (northeast of Laipunuk) when the families had a serious discussion. After this meeting, the Istanda family relocated back to Laipunuk.[33] Until the capture of Lamataxinxin during the 1932 Dakuanshan Incident (mentioned above), there was suspicion among the Japanese that Laipunuk was a source of support for his resistance, especially the manufacture, repair and trade of guns and gunpowder, and so the Japanese continued to increase their control of the area.[34] Today, Lamataxinxin remains a folk hero, as a steadfast resistance fighter and symbol of local bravery, in the Laipunuk Bunun collective consciousness.[35]

In order to finally gain access and control of the remote mountain area of Laipunuk, the Japanese built networks of trails and set up police stations, trade outposts, and schools. Officially, the establishment of the Japanese cordon trail with its police stations was agreed at the 1916 South Tribes' Peoples Meeting,[36] and over the following decade the Japanese began building a network of trails and police stations that cut along the steep slopes of the mountains and river valleys crossing Laipunuk, connecting the Mumizu (Hong Ye) Police Station in Taitung County (east of the Central Range) with Lakuli (Liu-kuei) Village (mentioned above) in Kaohsiung County (west of the Central Range) (Figure 3).[37]

The trail was part of a larger scheme to connect Taitung and Kaohsiung counties and was originally 126 kilometers long in total.[38] By 1925, the Japanese had completed the Laipunuk portion of the trail[39] along the Lu Ye River.

Police stations were positioned along the main trail and served as law enforcement, communication, and education centers. Shou (Kutubuki), a main outpost area, had a trade office, indigenous children's education office, indigenous people's medical office, a public doctor's office,[40] and a jail (Figure 4).[41]

Based on Japanese field reports, Huang[42] notes that as many as 2,000 Bunun were living in Laipunuk, suggesting that the Japanese police officers meticulously registered Bunun families. Children were expected to walk to and from their villages to attend school and learn Japanese.[43] Relocation was planned in stages, as families were first encouraged to move closer to the police outposts within the Laipunuk area. Secondly, Bunun families living in the lower elevations (nearest to Taitung), such as the villages of Mamahav and Halipusun, near Qing Shui (Shimizu) and Feng (Kaede) Police

Figure 4. Bunun women (dressed in Japanese *kimono*, front rows) and children, with indigenous and Japanese policemen (standing in back row) at the Shou (Kutubuki) Police Station, Laipunuk 1933. Source: East Taiwan Section Book.

Stations, were persuaded to relocate and work as lowland rice farmers near Shang-li (today's Yanping Township).

Throughout the 1930s, the Japanese continued to encourage the Bunun to relocate to the lowlands by identifying respected Bunun leaders in each village area and offering them incentives, such as gifts or financial opportunities, to relocate. This was often the first step, relationships building with prominent, influential Bunun, who could possibly influence other individuals and families.[44] By 1940 approximately half of the Bunun had been officially relocated to the lowlands.

The remaining population would experience a *forced* migration in the wake of the Neibenlu Incident in 1941.

Methods and approach to the study

Anthropological life history accounts

In terms of the legacy of anthropological life history accounts research of indigenous peoples, the initial approach was based on previously taped audio-visual recordings of elderly Bunun who were born in Laipunuk.[45] Laipunuk descendent Tama (father/uncle) Nabu Husungan Istanda (hereby referred to as Tama Nabu) (Figure 5), served as interviewer, translator, and local source of information.

Tama Nabu had field experience with Tahai Binkinuaz[46] during an earlier study, which provided him with a written chronology of events in Chinese based on oral history. Tama Nabu is proficient in Bunun, English and Chinese, and has deep life

Figure 5. Nabu Istanda (right), at 43 years old, teaching an Amis student during the 2005 Laipunuk roots-searching expedition. Source: Steven Martin.

experience with Laipunuk-born elders, including immediate family, who survived the Neibenlu Incident and the forced migration that followed.

Tama Nabu narrated the story to the authors in his own words, and the authors served as an academic resource, organizing materials, guiding the questioning, and transcribing notes and results into English. The authors were already familiar with the subject matter and participants, and had previously analyzed the relevant translations of published announcements from the Police Department of the Governor's Office of Taiwan (see section below).

Japanese historical documents

The historical approach was based primarily on the translation and interpretation of Japanese source materials, published during and just after the event, in the form of publicized Japanese police announcements. The relevant events of the Neibenlu Incident that we were able to locate appeared in three issues of the Japanese *Riban no tomo* (*Aborigine Policemen's Companion*), issues 112, 113, and 115 respectively, and were published by the Police Department of the Governor's Office of Taiwan.[47] Chong-Lin Lee in Taitung, Taiwan, helped with the translation. He demonstrated knowledge of the writing form and style of the period, and was familiar with the subject matter and locations described. Lee verified the rank and post of each Japanese official in these documents to ensure accuracy. Transcriptions were done by the authors.[48]

Orthography and naming

Orthography applied here for Bunun names is based primarily on the Council of Indigenous Peoples[49] Online Dictionary of Indigenous Ethnic Languages, and Li,[50] *A Grammar of Isbukun Bunun*.

For clarity, Japanese police station names are followed by Chinese names in parentheses or brackets the first time and recapped in each section or report. Narrative accounts tend to favor either the use of Japanese or Chinese names depending on the police station, and this is reflected in the text. In narratives, the Neibenlu Incident is mainly referred to as the Haisul event or Laipunuk Incident; in translations, it is mainly referred to as the Neibenlu Incident (內本鹿事件). Figure 3, *Map of Laipunuk villages featuring the Japanese cordon trail and its police stations*, provides the Chinese names for each station using Romanized script.

Tama Nabu Istanda's oral story—a life account and ethnography of the 1941 Neibenlu (Laipunuk) incident

The story that follows was told by Tama Nabu, and is still shared around campfires during annual gatherings at Takivahlas village, Laipunuk, where his mother and grandparents once built a house and lived.[51] What follows is a life account and ethnography, the words from our encounters with Tama Nabu.

Narratives spoken by Tama Nabu Husungan Istanda

The story I want to tell has circulated among our people for many years, and I remember hearing it since childhood. Each time we talked with an elder, we learned something new about Laipunuk and Bunun culture. When I became the director for cultural studies at the Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation (BCEF), there was community research led by Laipunuk Bunun descendent Tahai Binkinuaz.[52] We collected stories and began to piece together a collective oral history, including the Laipunuk Incident. We also created a written chronology of the incident in Chinese and a theatrical piece for the stage at the BCEF.

Among the Bunun people, the Laipunuk Incident is referred to as the Haisul Event. It is precisely this story that inspired us to return to Laipunuk in our roots-searching expeditions and to conduct our tribal [community] mapping. We chose the 60th anniversary of the Haisul Event, winter of 2001, for the first expedition. Nearly every individual who experienced this [historical] event is gone now, and I want to tell this story in English for the next generation and the international community.

My mother

I remember my mother, Langus Istanda [1926–2015], telling me about Bunun culture in Laipunuk, when life in the village as a young girl was easy and simple. Then one day the Japanese showed up at her village and suddenly new laws and rules were enforced. She felt confused and frustrated about who to obey, her family or the Japanese.

The Japanese sent her to a school at the Kutubuki [Shou] Police Station [see Figure 4] for nine years. She said the schoolteachers and police were very serious, and they had so many modern things; it was like they had magic. In the early years, she said that the Japanese used to kill Bunun for no reason, yet they promised to treat them well, telling them that life would be better in the lowlands.

My mother said our family didn't want to relocate to the lowlands, because the elders said it was cursed with bad water and disease, but ultimately they couldn't resist the Japanese.

She told me about the Haisul Event [Laipunuk Incident] when many people went to the mountains to find Haisul and his warriors, and how everyone was worried, those still living in the mountains, and those already at the lowlands. Then suddenly, everyone was forced out of Laipunuk.

Mama told us that already by age 15 most of the Husungan family, our family, had died from malaria, and about the mosquitoes, and how entire families were trembling and shaking in their houses. She said that the Japanese came one day, closed all the doors, burned everything, and forced them to move again.

She felt that the Japanese cheated our family, but in the years before she died, she said she held no resentment toward them, especially because she met my father in the lowlands and fell in love. He was not Bunun, he was Paiwan, and such a marriage was unlikely before the Japanese period. At first, both families were against the marriage because they were from different tribes.

My uncle

My uncle, Tama Biung Istanda [1920–2007] remembers that he was about twenty years old during the Haisul Event, and I believe that Haisul was about forty-seven years old. He told me it was 1941, and Haisul's family was relocated from Halipusun [in Laipunuk] to Taminik [Shang-li area, today's Yanping Township], where they just built a new house with the help of the Japanese; but the house was unfinished when Haisul went to fight.

He told me the story how Haisul and his men had a deal with another family in Asahi [Zhao Ri], where there was a Japanese police station, to attack the Japanese. It was mainly the Palalavi family from Halipusun, led by Haisul, and the Takiludun family from Asahi, led by Biung Anika.

They had a plan and had set an exact date for the ambush. Haisul was to attack from the east, and push toward the west, and Takiludun family was to attack from the west and push toward the east. If things went as planned, they would meet at the Kutubuki [Shou] Police Station. My uncles said that they were too confident, and thought the police stations were under-manned and it would be easy.

He said that Haisul really went on time, but Biung Anika was late. Haisul was too hasty. Haisul was *mamangan* [valiant/spiritually powerful] because he was upset about moving to the lowlands. But Haisul didn't have a good plan; he saw the Japanese as just another tribe.

Tama Biung often said the Japanese were very clever. So, once the Japanese caught Haisul, they brought him down to the lowlands and left him in the village to toil in the fields, as if his daily life seemed almost normal. But the Japanese knew that Haisul and his wife and kids had no millet, so they wanted him to work all year. Then, at harvest time, once the family had enough millet, the Japanese took him to court and killed him.

Tama Biung believed that the Japanese purpose all along was to push us down to the lowlands:

First they educate and brainwash us; then Bunun will obey. They pushed us together to the Japanese schools and the bansha kaigi [literally savage village meetings in Japanese] at Kutubuki… These are the two purposes of Kutubuki…

He said that not long after the Haisul Event, the Bunun were forced out of Laipunuk:

We never thought about having the land taken away from us or being forced to leave forever… We didn't know that behavior… We just lived in the forest, followed our ancestors, and made a village. We never wanted to leave Laipunuk… Our family system was destroyed by the Japanese, and the Haisul Event was the defining moment.

Haisul and Halipusun

Our family's oral history remembers Haisul was from the Takisvilainan clan from the Halipusun community, a remote Laipunuk village located more than one-thousand meters above sea level in a rugged area with very little level ground. The only water source they had was a small gully about ten minutes from the village. We call that area *halipusun*, the Bunun name for limestone, because our elders say the water there tasted slightly bitter due to a high concentration of lime.

Haisul's house was located above the main village area in an area where his extended family had at least five houses. I have been there; the houses are little more than piles of stones today. We believe that Haisul's millet farming area was far from his house, and the elders say the difficult living conditions led to Haisul's hardened disposition. With cultural changes occurring in Laipunuk, Haisul and his family chose to follow the traditional Bunun lifestyle. At first, when the Japanese built the Kaede [Feng] Police Station nearest to their community, it likely didn't affect their life much, because it took about two or three hours to walk from Halipusun to Kaede at that time. Today, there is no trail, so the hike is very difficult and it takes much longer.

Relocation to the lowlands

One day, people of another family told Haisul that the Japanese had built houses at the foot of the mountains with an area to grow paddy rice, suggesting that it would be best to go because they wouldn't have to worry about food or a house; but mostly our people were worried that the Japanese would be angry if they don't go.

I believe that Haisul was compelled to leave along with the other families of Halipusun; had he stayed behind, he and his wife and children would have been on their own. Haisul was a follower of Bunun tradition, and in our culture, the place where a man's umbilical cord is buried is considered to be his sacred place, his spiritual home. Moving meant leaving the place where his umbilical cord was buried, so it is not something he would have done willingly.

So, against his will, Haisul's family relocated to Shang-li [today's Yanping Township], where he and his family lived in a wooden house built by the Japanese. Then, in early 1941, they were sent to Taminik [also in Shang-li] where they built a new house with the help of the Japanese, but I heard that the new house was only part-finished.

I see Haisul as a traditional hunter, used to living in the mountains, now forced to grow paddy rice for the Japanese with workers from other tribes, most likely from the Amis or Puyuma ethnic groups. This was not the Bunun way, and he wasn't happy.

We know that the Bunun elders warned our people that the lowlands were cursed. We now know that Shang-li had poor water, and lots of mosquitoes carrying malaria and other infectious diseases. My mother said that sometimes as many as ten people died in a single day; she remembers how they huddled in the corners of the Japanese houses, shaking with fever. We believe that Haisul may have had five children and at least two died after just a short time in the lowlands.

That was when Haisul began to tell other families that they should resist the Japanese and return to Laipunuk. At that time, our people were allowed to go back to check the millet fields they had left behind, but they had to report the reason for travel to the police station, including how many people were going, and how many days they would be absent. Although Haisul got permission from the police, he returned late and the Japanese punished him. I heard from some of our elders that he was tied up and beaten, but others said he was just slapped. In any case, Haisul was angry and swore revenge, and that was likely when he made a plan to return to Laipunuk forever, even at the cost of fighting against the Japanese.

Surprise attack on the Japanese police cordon trail

The oral story told in our village centers around the surprise attack on the police offices along the Japanese trail, beginning with the Shimizu [Qing Shui] Police Station from the east. Some say he had persuaded another family, originally from Takiludun, to initiate attack from the Asahi [Zhao Ri] Police Station from the west, but there's no way to say for sure how he could have communicated with them. Asahi station was far away, located at an upper elevation of Laipunuk.

We remember March 9th, 1941, as the day when Haisul left his house near Dulan Mountain and met up with a group of followers. At first, he took two of his young children with him up the trail to Laipunuk, but other friends or family intervened and took them to safety.

Once in position near the Shimizu Police Station, Haisul and his men waited in ambush until night. Before midnight, they covertly entered the police station and killed several Japanese police officers as they slept. The Japanese were too shocked to respond or defend themselves.

As Haisul and his men headed up the Laipunuk trail, they passed through the old Mamahav tribal area, arriving at the Masuvanu tribal area, near a suspension bridge. After they crossed the bridge, Haisul and his compatriot named Mahundiv, who was originally from Asahi, cut the cable between the pier and the support with their axes to slow or stop the Japanese from catching up. Some say that the steel cable was broken, but before the bridge actually collapsed, the men had already headed up the trail toward the Kaede [Feng] Police Station.

Kaede (Feng) and Kokayo (Jiajiadai) police stations

We believe that Haisul must have walked in the night on the familiar trail above the Pasikau [Lu Ye] River, arriving at Kaede [Feng] Police Station just beyond the suspension bridge. Because it was dark and everyone was sleeping, Haisul's men quickly attacked, gunning down as many Japanese police as possible. In the confusion they also

hurt a Japanese child. But this time the Japanese were quick to return fire, and in the chaos, people were screaming and the sound of gunshots sent Haisul's men running into the mountains. Most of the Japanese bullets hit the trees, and some say one of Haisul's men was hit in the leg, although no one remembers for sure.

We know that by this time, the police officers of the Shimizu Police Station had already notified the main police station at Mumizu [Hong-ye] of Haisul's assault, and as the Japanese mobilized, Haisul and his company headed up the trail. They were preparing for another attack at the Kokayo [Jiajiadai] Police Station, but they didn't have time to rest and it is apparent that they weren't thinking clearly, as they never cut the police station telephone lines, so the Japanese had already received word of the attacks.

When Haisul and his company arrived in the area of the Kokayo Police Station, they again attacked quickly, killing several Japanese. During the fighting, Haisul was wounded, and he suddenly realized that the Takiludun family from Asahi [Zhao Ri] hadn't attacked from the west as planned.

Our elders speak of these events with disappointment, that Haisul wasn't prepared and didn't think to cut the telephone lines, and had to give up during the first night and flee into the mountains.

Search party and capture of Haisul at Beinan Mountain

A persistent story is how in the following days everyone from Laipunuk, those in the mountains and those already in the lowlands, were worried that they might face retaliation from the Japanese for what Haisul had done. They remember how the Japanese had taken the incident seriously and how they had put together a search party of Japanese police, men from the Amis and Puyuma ethnic groups, and Bunun family leaders. Everyone carried a gun and food and went to Laipunuk the same night, dividing into small teams to look for Haisul. The elders say that the search-party expanded to include people living in the lowlands, and those who lived in villages near the police stations, until as many as three hundred people were involved. No one knew for sure where Haisul and the other men had gone.

We know that after a month-long search, they found Haisul, somewhere northwest of Laipunuk, near Beinan Mountain [see Figure 3], an area of high peaks, over 3,000 meters. The Japanese police officers and their search team, including Bunun and other indigenous peoples from different ethnic groups, came together to discuss the next move, fearing that Haisul would continue the struggle. They agreed on a plan to send Vilian, a Bunun leader from Pasikau, and a member of Haisul's own Takisvilainan family, to ask for his surrender.

Some elders tell a story of how Haisul's compatriot Mahundiv hid behind a large rock the following morning and committed suicide with his girlfriend Langus. There are different stories, but apparently he shot her first, and then himself, although this is unconfirmed. Our elders talk about a love story between them.

Vilian spent the morning and afternoon convincing Haisul and the rest of his group to surrender. The Japanese had promised that they would not kill them if they would come peacefully, but this was an empty promise. Once Haisul accepted the terms of surrender, the Japanese police officers confiscated their guns.

Figure 6. Tools uncovered at Takivahlas village, Laipunuk, hidden under a piece of slate. Source: Steven Martin.

Although stories may have circulated that Haisul's men then handed over the Japanese soldiers' heads they had presumably taken, this is unlikely. Headhunting has important ceremonial aspects that include the home village, and it is doubtful that they would have carried Japanese heads with them during their month-long ordeal in the mountains.

During the same day, Haisul, his group, the scout team, Japanese police officers, and Bunun leaders all came down the trail together to the Mimizu [Hong-ye] Police Station at the eastern end of the cordon trail.

At first, Haisul was sent back to Shang-li [Yanping Township] to work in the rice fields, and the elders say that very few people ever visited Haisul and his family. The Japanese were watching him and people were afraid to be associated with him. His actions brought hardship to so many families and led to the forced migration of our people in May of that same year, about a month after Haisul had been captured.

The forced migration of Laipunuk and the fate of Haisul

My mother remembers when the order to evacuate was announced, the family didn't have any time to prepare. They left with nothing. Many thought that they would be allowed to come back, and some hid their possessions and tools for the time when they could return.

Sixty years later, during our roots-searching activities and expeditions back to Laipunuk, we uncovered evidence of the tools and possessions our people left behind. On December 10th, 2002, when the government helicopters took our elders back to Kutubuki [Shou], families worked together to try and locate the tools they had hidden during the Haisul Event, such as those used in gun making, including the machinery used in kiln work. However, most of the elders were too old to hike the distances needed, and their families were unable to locate the sites based on their directions. One cache of tools was found, hidden under a flat slate, although this may have been found and placed there in the 1960s or 1970s by forestry workers [see Figure 6]. Our elders

Figure 7. Haisul (front and center) and his comrades at the Guanshan Police Station, Taitung, October 31st, 1942. Source: Eastern Taiwan Studies Association.

knew about metal-working technology; it came through intermarriage with Taiwanese from Lakuli [Liu-kuei].

My mother was old enough to remember entire Bunun families walking down the Laipunuk trail:

The line of people was long; it was an overwhelming sight… everyone was sad and silent.

Two pregnant women gave birth on the way and their babies' umbilical cords [and placentas], were buried on the trail.

Just as soon as the Bunun left, the Japanese burned all the houses to prevent any hope of return, and to discourage another incident like Haisul's from happening again. My mother, Langus Istanda, remembers my grandma and grandpa crying when they learned the Japanese had set fire to the houses.

Everyone knew that Haisul's fate was not good, but because his wife and children had very little food, the Japanese allowed him to work during the growing season. Also, the Japanese were letting things cool down, and after the harvest season, the Japanese took him to court.

Some elders say that Haisul and his family died in the Guanshan Police Station after half a year, but after the Taitung City Hall had given a guilty verdict, the Japanese police announced that Haisul had been put to death. I think the Japanese were very clever; they waited and killed him when the time was right.

The date we remember for Haisul's and his comrades' execution is October 31, 1942. I was told that the whole family was killed except for two mothers, but I am not sure what relation to Haisul they were. I don't know what actually became of them. Years later we found a photo at the Eastern Taiwan Studies Association in Taitung which had been taken in front of the Guanshan Police Station, most likely in the days leading up to Haisul's execution [see Figure 7].

The Laipunuk incident and Haisul's story were controversial for many years, yet it has gradually been forgotten. There are those who remember him as a hero, comparable

to Lamataxinxin—and others who say what he did was wrong, and destructive to the Bunun culture. It's hard to say what Haisul's ultimate endgame was. He likely didn't understand the extent of the Japanese power at the time; he saw them as just another tribe.

I believe his action was a crime of passion and he acted out of sadness and frustration, not imagining the long-term consequences of his actions. He was a large, strong man, what Bunun call *manangan* (powerful), but the Japanese were cruel to him, and his family suffered in the lowlands. He had nothing left to lose.

The young people today only know that long time ago there was a man, whose name was Haisul, who killed many Japanese. The name "Haisul" is still often given to children in our community today.

Key ethnohistorical points from Tama Nabu's story

From an ethnohistorical perspective, there are several striking features of Tama Nabu's account.

The first is that the story has been remembered orally, across several generations, through the tenuous and inexact connections of unwritten folklore. The tradition of telling stories around a ceremonial fire, used to share such lore between families and between generations, is a key part of the Bunun culture, as it is in many pre-literate cultures. There is a level of uncertainty about many of the details, with the existence of slightly different accounts and different judgments about the roles of the key characters. Tama Nabu's explicit acknowledgement of these uncertainties makes his account more, not less, compelling. As we shall see in the next section of this paper, his account is largely corroborated by contemporary documents produced by the Japanese imperial forces.

The second key point is that this continuing oral tradition, or at least, the part of it recording the events of 1941, has now been transcribed into the more fixed medium of written history—first in a 2006 graduate study in Chinese[53] and in unpublished interviews,[54] and now in 2021, published in English. This makes the story of Haisul, which had previously been accessible only to Bunun speakers globally available; it also sets the story in the stone of the written word, with one particular account of the details and one particular set of variations and judgments. No doubt this account will be subject to criticism and commentary, as additional evidence comes to light.

The third key feature of the story is the incredible courage of Haisul, and of the Bunun tribespeople he led, in taking on the might of the Japanese Empire, with no external allies and no weapons other than the guns and machetes the Bunun had made themselves.

The final point is that Haisul and his comrades were, eventually, killed by the Japanese imperialists. They chose to sacrifice their lives, to fight, to kill as many of their enemies as they could, to be "*mamangan*" (valiant) before they died, because that was the honorable thing to do according to their tradition.

In conclusion, Tama Nabu's story shows us how Japanese imperialism removed the Bunun people from their ancient lands, and forced them to adopt new crops, new ways of living, new rules, and new diseases. The Japanese Imperial forces were able to

transform most of the Bunun into passive, willing collaborators, too afraid to stand and fight; most, but not all. The story of Haisul gives us the opportunity to salute the heroic, and tragic, exceptions.

Moving on from Tama Nabu's story, we next look to contemporary Japanese archival source materials.

Translation and summary of Japanese archives—contemporary documentary evidence

The following translation and analysis of Japanese source materials is based on several published accounts of the Neibenlu Incident from the perspective of the Japanese police. The reports provide us with definitive dates and details of the incident as they correspond to Tama Nabu's oral story, including names of participants drawn from the original documents. This is the first time the English translations of these documents have been published.

Announcements from the police department of the governor's office of Taiwan

Original Japanese source material on the Neibenlu Incident was located in the form of announcements from the *Police Department of the Governor's Office of Taiwan*, appearing in the Japanese-language imperial newspaper *Riban no tomo* [*Aborigine Policemen's Companion*], issues 112, 113, and 115.[55] The reports were intended for those who could read Japanese and were interested in Taiwanese indigenous affairs. They were not intended as comprehensive reports or historical records. As the reports use the characters 內本鹿 for Laipunuk, the translation is written as "Neibenlu" throughout this section.

April 1941, issue 112—Neibenlu Bunun tribe's violence

Issue 112, the first announcement, reported that a Japanese police patrolman, along with one of his family members and one Amis [a Taiwanese indigenous people] police assistant, were killed, and a Japanese section chief and two of his family were wounded, at a Laipunuk village on March 9, 1941. Based on an emergency report, Taitung prefecture mobilized their entire police force for the investigation. By the afternoon of March 10, 1941, they determined that Haisul Takisvilainan and sixteen family members were hiding in the nearby mountains. The investigation was underway, and other indigenes assisted the police. The report downplays the event and suggests that other "resettled" indigenes supported the investigation.

The *Issue 112* announcement further included several press releases dated 9 and 10 March:

Damage situation, March 9, 11:00 pm—Taitung prefecture, Guanshan County, Shimizu police station

A short press release states that Sugawara Takeji, a 45-year-old police patrolman, was asleep at the Shimizu (Qing Shui) Police Station when he was shot and died instantly. A total of 17 others, including another policeman and his family, were unharmed.

March 10, 6:40 am—Guanshan County Kaede police station

The second press release names 36-year-old Police Sergeant Shimogawa Youjiro, who was shot through the chest and was seriously injured at Kaede (Feng) Police Station. His eight-year-old elder son was cut to the bone in the left ankle. Also, the eight-year-old son of an officer named Patrolman Kato was shot in the head and died instantly. The other 20 officers were unharmed.

Details of the report mention a Patrolman Ikeda, who was working at Kokayo (Jiajiadai) Police Station, when his 37-year-old wife Mitoko was shot through the left ankle, while a 25-year-old Amis police assistant from the Asahi (Zhao Ri) Police Station was shot through the chest and died instantly. The other four resident officers suffered no harm, and all injured persons at the Kaede station were under the care of police doctors.

The Taitung Prefecture Administration suggested the murder incident took place because the lifestyles of indigenous people who remained in the mountains were incompatible with Japanese educational progress, in contrast to those resettled in the lowlands, whose education, life and culture were progressing. The report notes that Haisul and the Halipusun community were among those resettled to Lu Ye Village, Guanshan County, on the west slope of Dulan Mountain in November 1940. They suggest that most of the Halipusun community agreed with the resettlement program, but Haisul and his family were "violent, aggressive, and reluctant." The report describes them as "lazy" in their agriculture work, and says that on March 3, one by one, they had made excuses to return to their original village in the mountains, to organize their millet harvest.

May 19, 1941, issue 113—Neibenlu incident

The *Issue 113* report provided a highly detailed account of the administrative process during the Laipunuk Incident. It notes that the administration of Taitung Prefecture set up a special task force to search the mountains, basing their headquarters at Mumizu (Hong Ye) Police Station at the base of the Laipunuk trail, and establishing communications with Kaohsiung Prefecture, which brought in the region's section chiefs to take reassignments in field positions.

The chain of command was under Taitung Prefecture Section Chief Takahashi, who assumed the position of "Neibenlu Event Chief Commander" at Mumizu Police Station. Under Takahashi's command, "Guanshan County Savage Administrator," Section Chief Iite, assumed position as the "Neibenlu Event Commander." As event commander, Chief Iite was in charge of three police officers who oversaw field operations: Police officer Kobayashi, who assumed position as "Neibenlu Event First Regiment Chief" and was stationed at Kutubuki (Shou) Police Station; police officer Tomizawa, who assumed position as "Neibenlu Event Second Section Commander" and was stationed at Kaede (Feng) Police Station; and police officer Ozawa, who assumed position as "Neibenlu Event Third Section Commander," and was stationed at Asahi (Zhao Ri) Police Station. Under these section chiefs and police officers, the man who took the front line and traveled with the local aboriginal guides into the forest in search of Haisul and his men

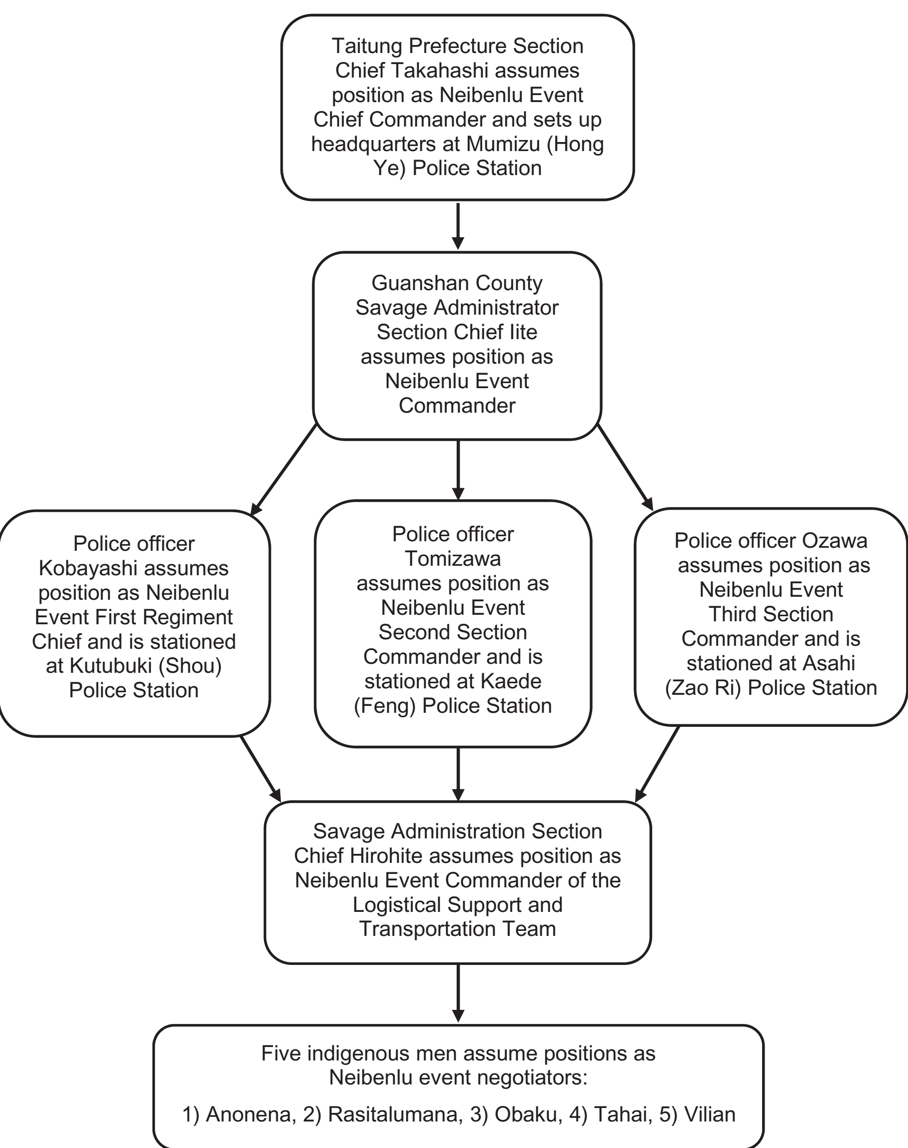

Figure 8. Chart of the Neibenlu Incident investigation chain of command. Source: modified from Martin (2006).

was "Savage Administration Section Chief Hirohite," who was the "Neibenlu Event Commander" of the "Logistical Support and Transportation Team."

This would indicate that Section Chiefs Takahashi and Iite had chosen Section Chief Hirohite to assume this position based on his experience or relationship with the local aboriginal peoples, and the likelihood that he could speak the Bunun language. Hirohite was therefore in charge of logistics and transportation of men and materials up the trail, and went into the field with a group of five Bunun negotiators. Working directly under Hirohite, five indigenous men assumed positions as Neibenlu event negotiators: Anonena, Rasitalumanan, Obaku, Tahai, and Vilian (Figure 8).

On April 1, the search team started from Asahi Police Station. The leader was Pasikau River tribal leader Vilian. The others were Anonena, from the lowlands near Dulan Mountain, and four other men. They found footprints, and located Haisul's family at an upper river named Xinwuluxi, which originates east of Beinan Mountain (see Figure 3). They had built temporary houses and were hiding, but they had little food, only a half a gallon of millet, and had pillaged a nearby hunter's trap for meat. They were suffering from the cold temperature and hunger, and they were very tired. This was all reported on April 4 around 2:00 pm at Asahi Police Station.

On April 7, at 8:00 pm, the "violent savage family" arrived at the Mumizu "search team headquarters" under strict guard, accompanied by "Savage Administration Section Chief" Hirohite, his fellow officers, and members of the indigenous community.

July 1941, issue 115—Neibenlu

Four months after Haisul's attack, the July 1941 issue of *Friends of Savage Reports* identified Haisul as the chief suspect of the "violent incident" along with his "family" of fifteen persons. It reaffirms their official surrender on April 7th at the Asahi (Zhao Ri) Police Station. They note that the incident was being seriously investigated through interviews with influential indigenous persons and that they were dealing with the "violent incident suspect." It explained that Haisul had been under the watch of a Dulan Mountain lowland *tou mu* (headman) named Salizan, along with Pasikau River area *tou mu* Vilian. Along with several other influential indigenous people, including Haisul's family, they reported to the Taitung Prefecture office and "sincerely apologized with their hearts" that they "killed the police officers who had been very kind to them" and accepting any punishment given according to regulation.

According to the chief of Taitung Prefecture, due to the serious nature of their crimes, they were under investigation according to government law and would be punished accordingly. On the same day, they were sent back to the Guanshan County Police Station and returned to jail.

The news summarizes that the "Neibenlu community's violence" occurred from midnight, March 9th until the next day, and the entire incident lasted more than 80 days. The Taitung Prefecture office was congratulated for having taken the necessary steps, managing the local front-line search team under difficult circumstances, and working together with local indigenous leaders, with public support, to prevent any further spread of violence.

Discussion

As the Japanese colony of Taiwan imposed their imperial agenda on the Taiwanese (Formosan) indigenous peoples, the Bunun occupying the mountain villages of Laipunuk were among the very last ethnic groups to be fully subjugated. Our research illuminates the series of events known collectively as the Neibenlu Incident, providing both the oral history from the Bunun perspective, and the written documentation from the Japanese colonial authority, both recognizing the forced migration of the Bunun.

Whether this forced migration constitutes a crime against humanity under international law is outside the scope of this paper; it is clear that the crime of collective punishment was committed by the Japanese Empire, here as in many other places, including the relocation of the Bunun people from the high mountains, where they were able to live above the altitude where malaria-carrying mosquitoes do not thrive, to the lowlands, where malaria-carrying mosquitoes do indeed thrive. Nobody has ever been held legally responsible for these crimes.

Haisul and his followers were clearly unhappy with the resettlement program, and Japanese announcements do not mention that two of Haisul's children died of malaria once relocated to the lowlands. Rather, his family is described as "reluctant to resettlement," and "lazy in their agriculture work."

Bunun oral tradition suggests that they were aware the resettlement areas were unhealthy because of malaria-carrying mosquitoes, yet Japanese reports, claimed the Bunun should be grateful for the "improvements" in their living conditions and the "education" they received from the Japanese, for example stating that the Bunun "killed the police officers who had been very kind to them."[56]

Although aspects of the account vary, for example, in reference to the number of policemen injured, many elements of the story are corroborated in both accounts. The ability of the Japanese Empire to organize such a swift reaction to the event and to mobilize hundreds of people suggests a level of administrative sophistication, widespread local support, and previous experience handling indigenous affairs and responding to local unrest or rebellion.

The Bunun oral history tells personal stories, with details of people, places and emotions, including hardship, malaria, and ultimately, the death sentence for Haisul and his family. The oral tradition emphasizes that the Bunun are a "mountain people," to whom it was an insult—as well as dangerous to health—to be forced down to work in a lowland rice paddy. Japanese accounts provide precise dates and details, and suggest that the Bunun were to blame, and that they were, ultimately, remorseful and apologetic. The sincerity of these "apologies" and this "remorse" is difficult to accurately establish from the existing documents.

Concluding remarks

This study offers an evidence-based account of a neglected topic of indigenous resistance to the imperial Japanese colonization of Taiwan (1895–1945), combining oral ethnography and historical textual analysis. The purpose of this ethnohistorical research paper was to document and recount these stories, oral and written, for the first time in English, as historical materials needed to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the unfolding of events during 1941 in southern Taiwan. There are likely more primary source materials yet to be discovered, offering more information from indigenous, Japanese, and possibly other perspectives. If so, future research may be able to use these to add further depth and clarity to the historical record of this example of forced relocation of indigenous people, evidently undertaken as collective punishment for the actions of a few who chose to resist the imperialist invader with their own counter violence.

The paper contributes to the historical records of Taiwan, and to the literature of human imperialisms and resistances to imperialisms globally, offering an innovative account of previously unpublished testimonies in the English language. This story represents a cultural resource, now made available globally, which is part of the tangible and intangible post-colonial heritage of the Bunun people, as well as part of the post-imperial heritage of the Japanese people in Taiwan; and like all such stories, it belongs also to humanity more generally. We realize that our research is inevitably entrenched in the cultural politics of the Taiwanese indigenous peoples, and postcolonial history cannot reach a single, impartial truth, that will remain contested. The Neibenlu Incident defines the closing chapter of a Formosan indigenous culture at home in their natural environment.

The Japanese imperial project was once a formidable global power which saw the Bunun as "savages" while at the same time bringing a colonial and totalitarian ideology together with modern services, health care, and comprehensive social programs.[57] The Bunun survived their colonization through not only acts of resistance, but also through cooperation and changing methods of horticulture, hunting, and managing whatever natural resources the Japanese permitted them to manage.

It is not possible to say what Haisul Takisvilainan's ultimate objective in rebelling against the Japanese really was. Tama Nabu suggests that he saw the Japanese as just another contending group and didn't understand the extent of Japanese power at the time. In Bunun culture, a man should be proud, strong and brave, and should collect the heads of warriors from enemy tribes,[58] yet clearly at this time, Haisul felt downtrodden under the heavy hand of the Japanese police.

With the loss of many family members, including his own children, Haisul's action may be better described as a crime of passion, rather than as a rational act of anti-imperialist resistance or a traditionally-motivated act of headhunting; however, it is difficult to know for sure, and it may be that all three motivations played a role in Haisul's decision to launch his war against Japan. It seems likely that he believed he was fighting alone, and this makes his courage stand out even more as he was up against an empire.

The fact that the name "Haisul" is still commonly given to children in the local community (personal experience, 2004–2021) strongly suggests that the oral history of the "Haisul Event" (the Neibenlu Incident) continues to be told, and that some at least of the Bunun see Haisul's actions in a positive light.

The Neibenlu Incident marks a decisive moment in time, inextricably linked to the Bunun struggle for essential entitlements such as land rights, access to traditional hunting grounds, and other natural, legal, and cultural resources—which continues today. Despite the fifty years of Japanese colonial hegemony on the island, and the subsequent dominance of Chinese language and culture in Taiwan, Bunun culture has persisted, and over 60,000 Bunun people now live dispersed across the island of Taiwan.

The Bunun, a relatively egalitarian society, have forged ahead with both innovative and traditionalist cultural leaders. In 1995, with the goal of fostering economic and cultural independence for the indigenous peoples of Taiwan, Laipunuk descendent Pastor Bai Guan-sheng founded the Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation (BCEF), the first nonprofit organization founded by an indigenous group in Taiwan, and

simultaneously began developing "Bunun Buluo" or "Bunun Community" The establishment of this center represents a case for indigenous political engagement with the Taiwan government, and has been compared with the formation of a new Laipunuk village.[59]

In 1999, Prof Chiung-His Liu, from National Taitung University, encouraged a spirited Nabu Husungan Istanda to return to Laipunuk when he introduced the concept of tribal mapping there.[60]

I asked Tama Nabu in 2020, two decades later, to describe that first return of the Bunun to Laipunuk, and he replied as follows:

> *In the year 2000, with the coming of the new democratic government, I knew it was time to become politically active and go there for myself. Because 2001 marked the 60th anniversary of the Laipunuk Incident, we had a forum at Bunun Culture and Education Foundation and we invited Laipunuk elders. There were about twelve that came.*
>
> *They entered Laipunuk from the west near Liu-kuei Village but got lost.*
>
> *The following year, on December 10, 2002, Human Rights Day, with the support of the Taiwan Government Minister of Culture, helicopters were chartered to fly 15 Laipunuk-born elders to Shou, the Japanese police station and elementary school where my mother once attended Japanese language education.*
>
> *This event was significant: it was the first time the elders had returned to their birth areas in sixty-five years; the journey would have been impossible by any other means for these elders; and it acknowledged the government's recognition of Laipunuk and Bunun heritage.*
>
> *The helicopters took only ten minutes to reach Shou.*
>
> *My mother said, "I waited sixty-five years for that ten minutes."*

Epilogue

It is important to reflect on separate voices of ethnicities, regardless of their population size, and those voices of those who would oppress indigenous and minority peoples. Modern nation states have coalesced since the 19th century integrating peoples for unity, thus creating oppressors and the oppressed. Yet an ethnohistorical perspective requires holistic views of all sides to tell a fuller and richer story. And as more threads appear in the future, the ethnohistory has the potential to be more complete.

Notes

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19. See, Martin, "A Taiwan Knowledge Keeper of Indigenous Bunun."
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22. Huang, *Taitung County History.*

23. Setsuzo Aoki, *Far and Away Taiwan: The Record of a Japanese Police Officer who Lived in an Indigenous Society* (Taitung, Taiwan: Eastern Taiwan Studies Association, 2020). [in Chinese]
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30. Huang, "Lost Laipunuk"; Huang, *Taitung County History.*
31. Huang, "Lost Laipunuk"; Huang, *Taitung County History*; Martin, "*Ethnohistorical Perspectives among the Bunun*"; Martin, "A Taiwan Knowledge Keeper of Indigenous Bunun"; Martin and Blundell, "Cultural Continuum Among the Bunun of Laipunuk."
32. Martin, "A Taiwan Knowledge Keeper of Indigenous Bunun."
33. Ibid.
34. Huang, "Lost Laipunuk"; Martin, "A Taiwan Knowledge Keeper of Indigenous Bunun"; Yang, Shu-Yuan, "The Indigenous Land Rights Movement and Embodied Knowledge in Taiwan, in Social Movements and the Production of Knowledge," in *Body, Practice, and Society in East Asia, Senri Ethnological Studies*, edited by Kyonosuke Hirai, vol. 91, 25–43.
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36. Li Tze Mao, *East Taiwan View* (Taipei: Yuen-Ming Wen Hua, 2003). [in Chinese]
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38. Yuan Liu Taiwan House, *Above Mountains of Taiwan* (Taipei, Taiwan: Yuan Liu Publishing Co., 2006), 116. [in Chinese]
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46. See, Binkinuaz, "*Laipunuk Bunun Tribal Migration Before 1942.*"
47. *Taiwan Sōtokufu Keisatsukyoku Ribanka nai Riban no Tomo Hakkōjo henshū* [臺灣總督府警察局理蕃課内理蕃の友發行所編] Compiled by the Friend Publishing Office of the Lifan Police Department of the Governor's Office of Taiwan, 1941 [in Japanese]; Police

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48. We recognize that there are other primary source materials, such as Japanese police field reports and personal records yet to be located.
49. Council of Indigenous Peoples, *Online Dictionary of Indigenous Ethnic Languages*, 2020, https://e-dictionary.apc.gov.tw/Index.htm (accessed 15 September 2021). [in Chinese]
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51. Martin, "Rebuilding Mama's House."
52. See, Binkinuaz, "*Laipunuk Bunun Tribal Migration Before 1942*."
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54. Martin, "*Ethnohistorical Perspectives among the Bunun*."
55. There were several announcement entries in issue 112, and no announcement entries in issue 114 of the 1941 *Taiwan Sōtokufu Keisatsukyoku Ribanka nai Riban no Tomo Hakkōjo henshū*.
56. Police Department of the Governor's Office of Taiwan, *Neibenlu Second Announcement.*
57. Aoki, *Far and Away Taiwan.*
58. See, Huang, "The Great Man model among the Bunun of Taiwan"; Martin, "A Taiwan Knowledge Keeper of Indigenous Bunun."
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