

Popular uprisings in Taiwan's history

台灣歷史上的民變

Lin Cheng-rong, Associate Professor Department of History

Tam-kang University

林呈蓉／淡江大學歷史系 副教授

民變頻仍

過去一般人對台灣歷史的刻板印象，就是「民變頻仍」。以清王朝統治台灣二百一十二年的時期為例，各種大小反抗官府的民變就有上百件之多，若再加上民間頻繁的分類械鬥，顯然如俗諺所說的「三年一小反，五年一大亂」，的確是其來有自。然而，這樣的特質並非是台灣社會所特有的，而是伴隨著「唐山過台灣」，漢人將傳統中國社會的特質又移植至台灣島上罷了。在台灣四百年的歷史中，民變的型態以一九一五年為界，大致可以分為四大類型：

Frequent popular uprisings

In the past, the stereotypical image of Taiwan's history held by most people has been of frequent popular uprisings. During the 212 years of Qing dynasty rule in Taiwan alone, there were over 100 incidents of large and small popular uprisings revolting against local government offices. And if we add to this the persistent armed fighting between different ethnic groups, we can see that the old saying of "a minor uprising every three years, a major unrest every five years" was certainly based in fact. However, this wasn't traditionally characteristic of Taiwanese society; rather, along with the arrival of "China in Taiwan," the Han Chinese brought the characteristics of their traditional Chinese society with them when they moved to the island of Taiwan. During Taiwan's four hundred years and more of history, popular uprisings can be roughly divided into four main types, taking 1915 as a dividing line.

濃厚的民族意識色彩

Rich layers of national consciousness

(一) 以漢族為中心，透過民族情緒的訴

(1) With Han Chinese at the core, the demands of

求，動員民眾起來抵抗，表達對統治當局的不滿。這樣的案例，從一六五二年荷蘭時代，漢人反抗荷蘭統治的「郭懷一事件」開始，便層出不窮。較為有名的還有一七二一年驚動整個西部地區的抵抗運動「朱一貴事件」；一七八六年清朝時代最大規模的抵抗行動「林爽文事件」，清廷花了四省的兵力，歷時十六個月才彌平；一八六二年席卷台灣中部、歷時四年，以八卦會會眾為首的「戴潮春事件」。一八九五年清廷將台灣割讓給日本，以仕紳階層為首的一群欠缺「民主」概念的人士，竟以「台灣民主國」為號召，試圖抵抗日本帝國的統治，為期五個月；「民主國」事件失敗之後，從一八九五年年底直至一九〇二年期間，以北部的簡大獅、中部的柯鐵虎、南部的林少貓為首，打著「抗日」旗幟，在各處進行游擊行動。接著，從一九〇七年蔡清琳鼓勵新竹月眉社一帶住民，侵襲當地日本人官憲與民間人之「北埔事件開始」，一九〇八年丁棚二十八宿事件、一九一二年三月林杞埔的劉乾事件、同年六月黃朝的土庫事件、一九一四年羅臭頭的六甲事件、一九一五年二月台中的林老才事件、乃至同年四月余清芳的西來庵事件，一連串的武裝抗爭行動，皆夾雜著強烈的民族意識色彩。不僅如此，橫跨四個世紀的這些反亂運動還有另一個共同特徵，即多具有舊封建時代「易世革命」的特質，事件的指導者皆企圖以新「皇帝」自居。

ethnic emotion mobilized the common people to rise up and fight back, conveying their dissatisfaction with the ruling authorities. There were numerous cases of this kind, starting with the Kue Huai-yit Incident in 1652, when Han Chinese reacted against Dutch rule. An even better-known incident was the Chu Yit-gui Incident of 1721, a resistance movement which shook the entire western region. The largest resistance action of the Qing dynasty was the Lin Song-bun Incident of 1786, where the Qing court used military forces from four provinces, and it took sixteen months to restore peace. In 1862, the Dai Tiao-chun Incident, led by members of the Eight Diagrams Society, engulfed central Taiwan for four years. In 1895, when the Qing court ceded Taiwan to Japan, a group led by members of the gentry class, who are normally perceived as lacking any concept of democracy, unexpectedly appealed for a "Taiwan Republic," and tried to rebel against Japanese imperial rule. It lasted five months. After the failure of the "Republic," from the end of 1895 until 1902, the flag of the "anti-Japanese" movement was raised, spearheaded by Chien Ta-shih in the north, Ke Tie-hu in the central region, and Lim Siau-miau in the south. The movement involved launching guerilla attacks here and there, as and when the opportunity arose. Then, from 1907, Tsai Ching-lin encouraged residents in the area of Yueh Mei She in Hsinchu to attack local Japanese officers and civilians in the Peipu Incident. A long string of armed resistances, including the 1908 Tingpeng Incident, the March 1912 Liu Kan Incident in Lin Kipo, the Tu Ku Incident in Huang Chao in June of the same year, the 1914 Tou Liu Chia Incident in Luo Chou, the February 1915 Lin Lao Tsai Incident in Taichung, and even Yu Ching-fong's Seraian Incident in April 1915, were all imbued with intense national consciousness. Not only were they indicative of rich layers of national consciousness, these rebellions and

uprisings spanning four centuries had features in common: the quality of the old, feudal-era “revolutions aiming to change the world,” and the leaders of these incidents all tried to pose as new “emperors.”

對異族勢力的反撲

（二）以原住民為中心，對異族勢力的反撲。

早在荷蘭統治時期，台灣原住民便必須面對異民族統治，以及與外來移民族群進行生存競爭的雙重壓力。一六二九年新港社之役、一六三五年麻豆社之役、同年的卡拉陽社之役、一六三六年小琉球社之役、一六四一年華武壠社之役、一六四四年淡水·噶瑪蘭社之役、一六四五年塔卡瑪哈社之役等，原住民的抗爭活動屢見不鮮。明鄭時期，東寧王國的漢族政權對待原住民並不比過去寬厚，原住民襲殺通事、搶糧的事件時有耳聞，一六六一年大肚社之役、一六七〇年沙轆社之役、一六八二年竹塹·新港社之役等，在在表現出原住民對於外來統治與異族族群入侵的不滿。到了清朝統治時期，移民台灣的漢族人口日漸增加，多數原住民在反抗之餘，逐漸走向歸化、漢化之途。即使如此，原住民的反抗活動仍是層出不窮，例如一六六九年吞霄社之役、同年北投社之役、一七三一年大甲西社之役、一八七五年加禮宛社之役、一八八八年大庄諸社之役、一八九五年觀音山庄之役等。其中，規模最大的一場抗官事件首推一七三一年大甲西社事件。以大甲西社為中心，外加大肚社、沙轆社、牛罵頭社、樸仔籬、吞霄社、阿里

Counterattack on the power of foreigners

(2) With Aborigines at the core, counterattack on the power of foreigners.

Early on in the Dutch occupation period, Taiwan's Aborigines had to face the two-fold pressure of rule by a foreign race and competition for survival with immigrants from overseas. Aboriginal resistances were a common occurrence, and examples include the Battle of Hsinkang She in 1629; the Battles of Ma Tau and Kalayang in 1635; the Battle of Hsiao Liuchiu She in 1636; the Battle of Hua Wu Lung She in 1641; the Battle of Tamshui-Kemalan She in 1644; and the Battle of Takamaha She in 1645. In the Ming-Koxinga period, the Han Chinese political regime of the Tongning Kingdom treated aborigines no more tolerantly than had the previous regime, and there were frequent reports of aborigines attacking and killing officials, and raiding grain storehouses. Battles such as the Battle of Tatu She in 1661, the battle of Shalu She in 1670, and Chuchien-Hsinkang She in 1682 repeatedly showed that the Aborigines were dissatisfied with foreign rule and invasion by foreigners. With the arrival of the era of Qing rule, the numbers of Han Chinese immigrating to Taiwan increased by the day, and in addition to rebellions many aborigines gradually began to assimilate into the Han culture. Even though this was happening, aboriginal uprisings still came thick and fast. Examples are the battles of Tunhsiao She and

史社等十餘社原住民兩千餘人，由於不堪清廷官憲的剝削與漢族移民的侵墾，乃群起反撲，整個動亂為期一年之後才告結束。到了日本統治時期，雖然日本有一套完備的「理蕃政策」，可以有效地管理原住民的活動，但是在一九三〇年十月仍有霧社原住民，由於長久以來的勞役剝削與文化摩擦，而爆發了震驚全島的「霧社事件」，歷時將近兩個月才告平息。

Peitou She in 1669, the Battle of Tachiahshi She in 1731, the Battle of Chialiwan She in 1875, the Battle of Tachuangchu She in 1888, and the Battle of Kuanyin Shan Chuang in 1895. Of these, the uprising on the largest scale was the Tachiahshi Incident of 1731. With Tachiahshi She as its center, but including a dozen or more other aboriginal communities such as Tatu She, Shalu She, Niumatou She, Puzaili, Tunhsiao She and Alishih She, they banded together and launched a counterattack, because they couldn't bear the rapaciousness of the Qing officials and the territorial encroachment of Han Chinese immigrants. The unrest lasted for a year before it could be concluded. In the period of Japanese occupation, although Japan had prepared a set of "barbarian management" policies which could be used to effectively control the activities of the aboriginals, in October 1930 there were still aboriginals at Musha ("Wu She" in Mandarin Chinese) who, having been subject to a long period of forced labor and cultural attrition, erupted in violence and shook the whole island with the Musha Incident. It took almost two months to quell the uprising.

分類械鬥

（三）漢族移民不同族群之間的「分類械鬥」。台灣的幅員有限，伴隨著漢族移民陸續渡台墾殖，移民之間為了爭奪土地、水利資源，乃以透過姓氏、原鄉認同、職業等淵源所結合而成的宗親會、同鄉會、行郊等組織為後盾，來維護自身的權益。在層出不窮的各類械鬥當中，則以一八六〇年西螺、二崙、崙背一帶所爆發的廖、李、鍾三姓的械鬥最為嚴重，歷時三年才被平息。分類械鬥發生時，在清朝統治時期，

Armed fighting between different ethnic groups

(3) Armed fighting took place between Han Chinese immigrants from different ethnic groups. Taiwan has a limited area of land, and with Han Chinese continuing to immigrate to Taiwan and reclaim and cultivate the land, there was constant competition between immigrants for land and water resources. Therefore, the immigrants organized themselves through identification in terms of family names, hometowns and professions, and formed clan associations, shared hometown associations, guilds and other organizations

清廷官憲多半不會馬上插手調停，直到雙方人馬已經是兩敗俱傷時，官憲才會出馬懲處事件的兩造當事人。值得注意的是，在台灣割讓給日本之後，台灣社會逐漸走向近代化、殖民化與法治化，也進而凝聚出新的「台灣人」意識，過去以原鄉情結為中心的「分類械鬥」問題，乃自然而然地消失殆跡。

as support to protect their own interests. Amongst the endless inter-ethnic fighting, the most serious was the armed fighting that broke out in 1860 between the three clans of Liao, Li and Chung in the area of Hsiluo, Erlun, and Lunpei. It took three years to contain. When inter-ethnic armed fights broke out during the Qing dynasty, the Qing court's officials usually would not intervene and patch things up immediately, until both sides had caused destruction to each other -- only then could the officials dispatch troops to administer justice to the people responsible for the fighting on either side. It's worth noting that after Taiwan was ceded to Japan, Taiwanese society gradually moved towards modernization, colonization and rule of law, and a Taiwanese consciousness began to form. When this happened, the previous problem of inter-ethnic fighting based on hometown affiliations in the old country faded away as a matter of course.

具備了近代民族運動的特質

（四）不同於前三種類型的民變，一九一五年之後，伴隨日本統治時期在台灣辦理近代化的國家教育，台灣的民變逐漸具備了近代民族運動的特質。以一九二一年所發展出且為期十四年之久的「台灣議會設置請願運動」為例；一九二五年二林地區蔗農自行組織「蔗農組合」，而向製糖會社提出蔗農權益要求之案例；或是一九三一年在「台灣民眾黨」第四次黨員大會進行中，突然被當局提出了「結社禁止」令為例，雖然屢屢招致日本統治當局以違反「治安警察法」、或在毫無法源依據的情況下進行逮捕，甚至以妨礙社會安寧為由強迫停止一切集會活動，但卻在在顯示出台灣民

Characteristics of modern nationalist movements

(4) Different from the first three types of popular uprising, after 1915, following the national education which was part of the Japanese colonization era modernizations, Taiwan's popular uprisings gradually began to take on characteristics of a modern nationalist movement. Take for example the "Petition to Establish a Taiwan Parliament" movement which started in 1921 and lasted 14 years; or the case in 1925, where sugarcane growers in the Erlin area organized themselves into the "Sugarcane Growers Association," and brought their demands for rights for sugarcane farmers to the Sugar Refining Association; or in 1931, the fourth party congress of the Taiwan People's Party, where order "prohibiting the forming of societies" was

眾一反過去的草莽行徑，試圖在現行體制內爭取自身權益的決心。這種蘊涵近代國家特質的社會活動，從一九二〇年開始直到一九三七年中日戰爭爆發後必須終止一切組織活動為止，成為台灣社會抵抗異民族統治的另一種新形式潮流。

suddenly issued by the authorities. Although these activists were time and again arrested by the Japanese ruling authorities for violation of the "Security Police Law," or even without the slightest basis in law, or were forced to stop all gatherings and activities under the charge of obstructing the peace, they frequently demonstrated that the people of Taiwan were trying to win the right to determine their own rights and interests within the existing system. This implies that the social movements characteristic of modern nations started around 1920, and continued until all organization and activities had to stop with the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937. This fourth category was a new wave of Taiwanese social resistance against rule by foreigners.

長期以來處於不安定的狀態中

縱觀台灣四百年的歷史發展，民變頻仍，充分顯示出長久以來台灣社會一直是處在一種不安定的狀態當中。而其不安定的根源主要有三：第一、公權力經常無法有效伸張，因此民眾必須自立救助；第二、多數時候台灣社會都是被外來政權所統治，且政權的更迭頻仍，無法滿足當地住民的真實需求；第三、不同族群一起寄居在如此蕞爾的小島上，族群之間必須經常面對激烈的生存競爭。

A long history of instability

Taking a panoramic view of the last 400 years of historical development, there have been frequent popular uprisings, providing ample evidence that for a very long time Taiwan society was constantly in a state of instability. There have been three major sources of instability. First, it has often been impossible to extend public authority, and consequently the people have been forced to stand up and help themselves. Second, on many occasions Taiwan society has been ruled by regimes which came from outside Taiwan, with these political powers changing frequently, so there was no way to satisfy the practical needs of the local inhabitants. Third, with different ethnic groups living together on a very small island such as Taiwan, there are bound to be frequent intense contests for survival among different groups.

translated by Elizabeth Hoile

(何麗薩翻譯)